THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SATANIC CULT INVOLVEMENT: AN ARCHETYPAL OBJECT RELATIONS PERSPECTIVE

by

GAVIN IVEY

A dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in the faculty of Social Science at the University of Natal

Pietermaritzburg

1997

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby declare that this thesis, unless specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, is my own original work, and that it has not been submitted for any degree at another university.

Gavin Ivey
University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg
1997

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

The meaning of, and motives for, participation in satanic cult organisations was explored using a hermeneutic methodology based on psychoanalytic object relations theory. Fifteen self-professed ex-Satanists, ranging from 19 to 45 years of age, were interviewed using a semi-structured interview format. The transcribed interviews of seven of these participants (six males and one female) were selected for analysis. The interviews and interpretive analyses addressed five main questions: (1) what psychological factors predispose certain individuals to satanic cult involvement; (2) what is the process whereby individuals become satanic cult initiates, and what meaning does this have for them; (3) how do they experience life in the cult; (4) what is the psychological status of demons, and how may we understand the phenomena of demonic possession and invocation; and, (5) what prompts members to leave satanic cults, and how do they experience this process. The interpretive phase comprised three stages. In the first stage, the self and object representations in the subjects' narratives were identified, along with their associated affect links, interpersonal contexts, and fantasies about these interactional contexts. In the second stage, the underlying personality organisations structuring subjects' self and object representations were identified and employed to formulate a comprehensive interpretation of each subject's intrapsychic world, in order to illuminate the influence of this inner world on their cult experience. In the final stage, features common to the individual analyses were integrated into a general psychoanalytic interpretation of subjects' satanic involvement. A model based on a dialogue between object relations theory and analytical psychology was applied to extend the interpretive findings of the data analysis phase. This integrative *archetypal object relations* perspective was suggested to provide a richer and more encompassing understanding of satanic cult phenomena. The fact that Satanism in South Africa appears to be largely confined to the white sector of the population is located in the socio-historical context of recent political changes in South African society.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Appendices
Appendix 1 a)
Appendix 1 b)
Appendix 2 a)
Appendix 2 b)
Appendix 3 a)
Appendix 3 b)
Appendix 4 a)
Appendix 4 b)
Appendix 5 a)
Appendix 5 b)
Appendix 6 a)
Appendix 6 b)
Appendix 7 a)
Appendix 7 b)

INTRODUCTION

The decade of the 1980s saw an extraordinary social phenomenon, the historical resurrection of Satan as a personified principle of evil, and the belief that secret societies of Satanic worshippers were infiltrating and undermining Western society. This perception flies in the face of historical trends toward the modernisation and secularisation of Western society. Social theorists had confidently predicted that the combined modernising influences of technological progress, economic growth, urbanisation, education, liberal humanist ideologies, and increasing mass media exposure would hasten secularisation, and possibly even eliminate orthodox religion. Instead the opposite has occurred, and we are now witnessing not merely a widespread religious revival, but a new wave of religious fundamentalism. Central to this fundamentalist worldview is the apocalyptic belief in an internecine battle between good and evil, the latter personified by Satan, whose literal existence directly threatens Christian civilisation. At the same time there has been a revival of interest in magic, witchcraft, neo-pagan spirituality and other occult traditions, including Satanism. This has fuelled the fundamentalist Christian belief in a global spiritual onslaught by the forces of darkness.

In response to this perceived Satanic threat a vigorous anti-Satanist ideology has emerged, the social impact of which has been considerable. In America an Antisatanism Movement, comprising a coalition of conservative religious interest groups, mental health professionals and police officers, have mobilised to combat the threat of organised Satanic evil. A new category of psychological trauma and legal offence, ritual abuse, has given Satanism a sinister criminal identity. In response to the alleged atrocities committed by Satanists law enforcement officials have investigated day-care centres, scrutinised unsolved crime files for evidence of satanic connections, and launched ritual child abuse investigations in more than 100 American communities between 1983 and 1988 (Bromley, 1991). Legislation expediting prosecution of ritual crime and controlling the activities of religions related to Satanism or witchcraft has been introduced in some American states (Bromley, 1991). Mental health professionals began reporting incidents of satanic ritual

abuse, holding professional conferences, and running workshops on the detection and treatment of psychological trauma associated with ritual abuse. A consequence of this professional medical and psychological scrutiny was that a new category of victim emerged, the ritual abuse survivor. These survivors horrified professionals and laypersons alike with barely imaginable accounts of depravity and sadism committed in the service of Satan. The therapeutic process with ritual abuse survivors uncovered 'repressed memories' of bestiality, rape, physical and mental torture, sacrificial murder, and cannibalism. The Satanism scare spread from America to Britain, and other countries, such as South Africa, where a special occult crime unit was formed to investigate and prosecute Satanic crime.

Although belief in demonic forces and diabolical societies has a long history in Western culture, its extent, intensity, and dramatic renaissance at a time when secular ideology, intellectual sophistication, and technological progress had seemingly consigned it to the status of primitive superstition, poses a number of fascinating questions for social scientists. At a sociological level, the obvious question concerns the nature and confluence of those social forces responsible for generating Satanic cults at this particular juncture in Western history. At a psychological level, the inquiry concerns the individual histories, motives, and psychological status of those deviants who commit extreme acts of ritual sadism in homage to an evil deity. These questions, of course, presuppose the literal existence of Satanic cults and their ritual activities. However, in social scientific and investigative journalistic circles, an intellectual backlash against the anti-Satanism movement has seen a proliferation of publications dismissing the claims that secret Satanic cults exist, and that incidents of Satanic ritual abuse are increasing at an alarming rate. Under the intellectual banner of constructionism these authors argue that, given the conspicuous absence of empirical evidence supporting the existence of secret Satanic cults, the alleged Satanic threat is purely illusory. This illusion, and popular belief in its reality - even among educated mental health, legal, and law enforcement professionals - is explicable in terms of the ideological relationship between social insecurities, discursive practices, and vested political interests.

Any critical investigator in the realm of Satanic phenomena needs to tread warily between the sceptics and the scaremongers. The paucity of forensic evidence, and the absence of criminal convictions directly related to Satanic cult activity, suggests that the threat of a growing Satanic social epidemic is unfounded, and that it needs to be studied as an ideological phenomenon. Many, perhaps most, serious researchers find no evidence of a large organised Satanic group or movement (Carlson & Larue, 1990; Melton, 1992)

On the other hand, detailed first-hand accounts of Satanic ritual activities from cult survivors and erstwhile members cannot all be simply dismissed as the delusional fantasies of disturbed minds. Whether or not all the activities ascribed to them occur on a regular basis, Satanic cults do exist, and certain individuals are undoubtedly drawn to the ritual antithesis of orthodox Christianity. The aim of this thesis is to explore the subjective experience of Satanic cult involvement, and the meaning that this involvement has for the participants. From the perspective of this researcher five questions related to the psychology of Satanic cult involvement suggest themselves:

1. What psychological factors predispose certain individuals to voluntary participation in satanic cult activity?

2. What is the psychological meaning and function of satanic rituals, and what psychological needs are served by their enactment?

3. What is the psychological status of demonic entities, and how may we understand the phenomena of demonic invocation and possession?

4. How do participants in satanic cults experience their involvement?

5. What prompts individuals to leave the cult, and how do they experience this process?

At present, no coherent psychological model has emerged to answer these questions. The Satanic cult phenomenon has only recently attracted the attention of psychologists, and what little academically credible literature exists has addressed few of the above questions. The psychology of satanic cult involvement is thus both undertheorised and empirically underresearched. By employing a qualitative methodology procedure to access the

personal experience of satanic cult participants, this researcher hopes to answer the above questions and provide an integrated theoretical model that can account for many aspects of Satanic cult involvement.

Preliminary definitions of main concepts

Popular use of a number of associated terms has led to them being mistakenly identified with each other and used interchangeably. These terms are: occult, magic, sorcery, witchcraft, and Satanism. These terms will be frequently used throughout this dissertation, and so need to be defined and differentiated in order to avoid confusion.

"Occult" is the general umbrella term which refers to:

> a range of intentional practices, techniques, or procedures which: a) draw upon hidden or concealed forces in nature or the cosmos that cannot be measured or recognized by the instruments of modern science, and b) which have as their desired or intended consequences empirical results, such as either obtaining knowledge of the empirical course of events or altering them from what they would have been without this intervention (Tyriakian cited in Eliade, 1976, p. 48).

Magic refers to the occult practice of effecting change through supernatural force (Guiley, 1989). What makes an action magical is thus the type of power invoked: "If it relies on divine action or the manifest powers of nature it is not magical, while if it uses demonic aid or occult powers in nature it is magical" (Kieckhefer, 1976, p. 14). Other definitions attempt to distinguish magic from religion. According to this approach, the chief characteristic of religion is that it

> *supplicates* God or the gods, and the main characteristic of magic is that it *coerces* spiritual beings or forces. Religion treats the gods as free agents, whose good will must be won through submission and ongoing veneration. Magic tries to manipulate the spirits" (Kiechefer, 1976, p. 15).

This definition, although popular, is inaccurate, as certain magical traditions, e.g., Satanism, both supplicate Satan and manipulate demonic forces. So-called "high magic"

may be further distinguished by its objective of ritually actualising the divine aspects of humanity, "perfecting the various faculties of Man and raising him in stages to Godhead" (Suster, 1989, p. 28).

Sorcerers, practitioners of 'low magic', are individuals who direct their magical powers for purely personal gain, without considering themselves to be servants of any deity (Kingston, 1976; Russell, 1980). Sorcerers attempt to influence or control the hidden occult connections between natural phenomena without subscribing to any religious belief system. In its simplest form sorcery concerns "the manipulation of natural forces and powers to achieve a desired objective" (Guiley, 1989, p. 321).

Witches, skilled in sorcery and the magical arts, use charms, spells, and the conjuring and invocation of spirits for either good or evil purposes (Guiley, 1989). However, witchcraft, in the traditional sense, was distinguished from sorcery by its diabolism, i.e., the emphasis on venerating rather than exploiting evil spirits (Kieckhefer, 1976; Russell, 1980). Traditionally, witches possess supernatural powers such as flying, metamorphosis ('shape-shifting'), clairvoyance, and the ability to kill at a distance (Guiley, 1989). 'Black' witchcraft was distinguished from 'white' witchcraft insofar as it employed magic to evil ends, and served the forces of darkness, principally Satan. In its modern form, however, witchcraft is not diabolic, but rather a form of non-malevolent, neo-pagan religion.

Satanism is a form of 'black magic', representing the inverse of Christianity in both belief and ritual, and is devoted to the worship of the Christian Devil and the overthrow of God (Guiley, 1989; Melton, 1978). Some Satanic groups worship Satan as a deity with a literal and independent existence, whereas others regard Satan as a metaphor for a demonic-like power inherent in humankind. Satanic cults may be further differentiated according to whether they practice openly and abide by the law, or practice secretly and commit various ritual crimes in the name of Satan.

This dissertation spans a number of disciplines and discourses. At one level its province may be best described as the psychology of religion, where religion is defined as "an institution consisting of culturally patterned interactions with culturally postulated superhuman beings" (Spiro cited in Rizzuto, 1979, p. 3). However, this research also necessarily addresses issues typically located in the fields of psychopathology, history, sociology, anthropology, mythology, folklore, and theology. This dissertation will obviously not adequately address the questions that each of these specialist disciplines may ask about Satanism. While some consideration of each of these knowledge domains has been necessary in contextualising Satanism, the focus of the dissertation is a psychological question - what is the meaning, both explicit and implicit, of Satanic cult involvement for individual participants?

This particular research question is best addressed using a qualitative methodological procedure. Qualitative methodology, previously frowned upon by the scientific psychological community, has acquired recent respectability with the acknowledgement that forms of knowledge other than statistical correlations have a valid place in psychological research. The research data comprised verbatim transcripts of semi-structured interviews with seven subjects who claimed to have been involved for six months or longer in organised Satanic cult activities. A psychoanalytic hermeneutic framework was employed to interpret the subjective meaning that this involvement had for the participants. The research objective was to explore both the individual meanings of, and motives for, this involvement, and the meanings and motives common to all participants. In this way it was hoped that a fresh perspective might be brought to bear on the five questions posed above.

Dissertation overview and structure

The structure of the dissertation is as follows. Part One is a historical overview of the history of the Satanic myth's evolution in Western culture, and how the evolving conception of diabolical witchcraft established the foundations for belief in secret organisations committed to Satanic worship. Although organisational Satanism, as it is

practised today, emerged in the 1960s, the myth of an evil deity and secret organisations devoted to his worship, dates back many centuries. · Because the figure of Satan and his disciples has such a long history in Judeao-Christian culture, and because the prototype of demonic sorcery evolved centuries ago, some consideration of this evolution is necessary in order to set the context for the practice of contemporary Satanism. Part One comprises three chapters. The first is devoted to the history and evolution of belief in demons and Satan as the personified principle of evil. The second considers the history of the belief in diabolical witchcraft, and the origin of magical societies which were the precursors of modern Satanism. Chapter Three is a detailed discussion of modern Satanic cult theology, ideology, and practice. A classification system for differentiating the various manifestations and levels of diabolic occult involvement is introduced. Although there are numerous Satanic organisations, with different doctrinal emphases and rituals, they share an ideological foundation which establishes their common Satanic identity. These foundational beliefs and ritual practices, as well as the key individuals who created and promoted them, provides the substance of Part Two.

Part Two, comprising Chapters Four and Five, addresses the phenomena of Satanic cult involvement, and belief in the existence of Satanic cults from a number of psychological and sociological perspectives. A survey of the existing literature reveals two divergent perspectives, both of which are cross-disciplinary or multi-disciplinary in their approach. They diverge in terms of fundamental assumptions concerning the existence and incidence of Satanism. Chapter Four addresses the 'traditionalist', or what this author has termed realist, approach, characterised by the basic assumptions that underground Satanic cults do exist, and that they hold a growing appeal for socially and spiritually alienated individuals in contemporary Western societies. Chapter Five is concerned with the alternative constructionist approach to Satanic phenomena. The constructionists begin from the assumption that contemporary underground Satanism is either a social myth or, if it exists at all, has been exaggerated to the point where it is commonly perceived to constitute a threat to Christian civilisation. This approach seeks to understand prevailing

perceptions of Satanic phenomena as 'subversion myths', ideological constructions which provide a convenient outlet for social tensions originating elsewhere in society.

Part Three, comprising five chapters, focuses on the phenomena of involuntary and voluntarily induced demonic possession. Possession, whether resisted or invited, is the most forceful manifestation of Satanic influence. Chapter Six is consequently devoted to a discussion of possession and its history, symptomatic manifestations, diagnostic status in contemporary psychology and psychiatry, and psychological explanations of possession states phenomena. Chapter Seven is the first of five chapters dealing with depth psychological interpretations of satanic pacts, and both involuntary and induced possession states. It is argued that depth psychology, encompassing those psychological models devoted to the exploration of the unconscious, has emerged as the only psychological discourse potentially capable of providing a coherent natural - as opposed to supernatural - account of demonic possession. Chapter Seven locates the conceptual foundations of such an account in Freud's psychology of religion, and his influential portrayal of demons as unconscious manifestations of disavowed instinctual impulses.

On the foundations of Freudian theory an important alternative psychoanalytic model arose. Termed object relations theory, it emphasised the primary role of early interpersonal relationships, and the processes whereby these relationships are transformed into complex intrapsychic structures only hinted at in Freud's work. These internal object relations or introjects function as suborganisations of the psyche and, particularly in cases of psychological disturbance, are experienced as intrusive alien entities. Part Four explores the nature and significance of the object relations tradition for the research topic. In Chapters Eight and Nine the object relations theories of Melanie Klein and Ronald Fairbairn will be used as a framework for elaborating a comprehensive post-Freudian psychoanalytic model of possession phenomena and satanic involvement. Chapter Ten is devoted to a detailed presentation of this integrated object relations model, drawing on the work of a number of contemporary neo- and post-Kleinian psychoanalytic theorists.

The bitter conflict that led to C.G. Jung breaking away from Freud in 1913 resulted in the creation of an influential rival depth psychological tradition. Jungian, or analytic psychology as it became known, emphasised the spiritual dimension of human existence, and identified an archaic substratum, the collective unconscious, as the source of our psychological multiplicity. Chapter Eleven will focus on analytical psychology and the alternative theoretical possibilities it offers for comprehending the experience of demons, demonic possession and participation in satanic organisations.

The theoretical part of this dissertation concludes in Chapter Twelve with the presentation of a depth psychological hybrid model of demonic phenomena, based on a dialogue between between object relations theory and analytical psychology. This mixed discourse, it will be argued, provides a relatively sophisticated interpretative framework for understanding satanic pacts and demonic possession phenomena.

Part Five is the empirical component of the dissertation. It begins with chapter Thirteen, an outline of the methodology and related research issues. Chapter Fourteen presents the results of the data analysis. The first section comprises hermeneutic narratives of the seven individual interviews, and the second concentrates on a general interpretation of the commonalties emerging from the individual analyses. Although the emphasis of the dissertation is an integrative one, drawing together psychoanalytic and Jungian theories, it was not considered expedient to do so during the actual data analysis. Consequently, the analysis, and results emerging from the analysis, are expressly presented from the object relations perspective developed in Chapter Ten. This was done, however, in anticipation of reading the data with the unifying focus of the archetypal object relations hybrid articulated in Chapter Twelve. Chapter Fifteen is devoted to a discussion of the research findings, and Chapter Sixteen concludes the dissertation. The transcribed interviews and first two stages of the data analysis are appended after the list of references.

PART ONE

THE EMERGENCE OF DEMONIC MYTHS AND DIABOLICAL ORGANISATIONS IN WESTERN HISTORY

Introduction to Part One

Satanism, as the organised worship of the personified principle of evil, presupposes a mythological figure whose attributes are the mirror inverse of those properties ascribed to the Christian God. In order to understand Satanism, we are thus required to understand how Satan, the mythological antithesis of God, emerged in Western history. Chapter One will trace the mythical evolution of Satan from the prehistory of Christianity through to the present day. Once evil is personified in the form of an adversarial deity, it becomes possible to identify groups of people who ally themselves with Satan's cause, and are believed to constitute a threat to Christian society. Witches were historically perceived to be Satan's servants, and witchcraft is consequently the historical precursor of Satanism. Chapter two will thus cover the emergence of Western witchcraft and show how the infamous witch hunts of Medieval Christendom constructed a vivid stereotype of a demonic subculture. The belief in magic and satanic witchcraft declined with the Renaissance, but gradual disillusionment with Enlightenment rationalism and science led to a resurgence of interest in magic and witchcraft. The second section of Chapter Two will consider the role that 19th century magic played in establishing a context for secret magical societies, some members of which were implicated in using magic toward destructive ends. By the end of the 19th Century, the historical and mythical conditions for the emergence of modern Satanism were in place.

CHAPTER ONE

THE MYTHOLOGICAL FOUNDATION AND PERSONIFICATION OF EVIL

Introduction

The mythical depiction of a golden age, either past or future, without conflict, suffering, decay or death is deeply imprinted in the collective human mind. The contrast between reality and this Edenic fantasy has naturally evoked repeated attempts at comprehension by humankind. The apparently senseless presence of badness in the only species sufficiently evolved to imagine its absence demands explanation. Although human beings, both as individuals and groups, perceive badness in the actions of others, much human suffering cannot be attributed to human agency. Suffering is instead attributed to some supernatural cause beyond human control. The likely origins of human suffering are thus personified, malevolent, supernatural entities - spirits or gods - who, for reasons of their own, created mortal suffering. Mythological narratives thus functioned to dramatise human suffering and impute motives for its existence to the gods (Cavendish, 1975). In Western history one supernatural figure has come to be identified as the personification of evil and the malign instigator of human misery. In order to understand why some individuals would pledge themselves to Satan's service, it is necessary to trace the evolution of the Devil in Western mythology.

1.1 The mythological depiction of evil

O'Grady (1989) notes three levels on which the concept of the Devil has historically been employed. The first relates to the depiction, on a cosmological scale, of imperfection and contradiction in the universe. The second refers to the universal tendency of people to perceive themselves as surrounded by malevolent external entities and forces. The third relates to the personalised internal struggle of individuals with 'sin' and temptation. What is common to all these levels of interpretation is awareness of a tension between a good and desired state, and the experience or threat of some disruption of this state, with human suffering as the inevitable consequence. It is the phenomenon of suffering which

makes the notion of evil possible. Evil cannot be equated with suffering, however, it is necessary that this suffering be experienced as deliberately inflicted upon one by an individual, or force, external to oneself. Evil, in other words, is typically personified. Although evil, essentially defined as deliberate violence inflicted on a sentient being, usually finds human expression, it is often attributed a supernatural origin (Russell, 1977). Not all suffering can be attributed to human action or inaction. All cultures, therefore, to some extent interpret negative events as being inflicted upon them by some or other malevolent supernatural spirit or force. Evil is personified because people experience it as a malignant intrusion from outside (Cavendish, 1975; Russell, 1977). Satan, the personification of the principle of evil, is a mythological figure, and this dissertation thus begins with a review of conceptual evolution of evil in Western culture.

Every known people and culture produce myths, yet there is no commonly accepted definition of myth, and of what distinguishes myth from religion and folklore (Harris and Platzner, 1995). Myths may be defined in many different ways according to one's purposes and theoretical perspectives. Myth generally implies belief in supernatural forces, that is, "in beings who are both different from and superior to living men in that they exercise, either directly or through the intermediary of natural phenomena, a benign or harmful influence" (Luquet, 1959, p. 1). Myths are thus often religious narratives concerned with representing humankind's relationship with the supernatural world. As this is a psychological dissertation, the approach that will be adopted is one that regards myth to be a natural expression of the psyche, serving to "purge unacceptable desire, provide creative energy, reconcile individuals to their environment, and attribute moral order and meaning to the universe" (Harris and Platzner, 1995, p. 39). More specifically, the interpretation of myth to be employed here is a deliberately narrow one that stresses the unconscious significance of myth in terms of its intrapsychic origins and functions. Freud (1901) stated that "a large part of the mythological view of the world, which extends ... into the most modern religions, is nothing but psychology projected into the external world" (p.258). In other words, mythological figures are considered to be

imaginal, personified representations of unconscious psychic contents and processes. C.G. Jung provided a similar depth psychological definition of myth:

> Myths are original revelations of the preconscious [i.e., collective] psyche, involuntary statements about unconscious psychic happenings .... Modern psychology treats the products of unconscious fantasy-activity as self-portraits of what is going on in the unconscious, or as statements of the unconscious psyche about itself (Jung, 1940b, p. 154-155).

While this psychological definition of myth is simply one among many alternative definitions, it is the one best suited to the purposes of this dissertation. To say that mythical figures are *intrapsychic* manifestations of some aspect of our mental life does not suggest that people experience them this way. At the level of immediate experience, mythical figures reveal themselves as *extrapsychic*. This is why mythical figures, particularly those perceived as destructive, assume an independent and personified form. Thus the Devil may be defined experientially as "the hypostasis, the apotheosis, the objectification of a hostile force or hostile forces perceived as external to our consciousness" (Russell, 1977, p. 34). Since Satan is the mythological personification of evil in Western culture, the following section will trace his origins in pre-biblical mythological narratives.

1.2 The origins of Satan in classical antiquity

The worship of evil spirits is the first stage in religious evolution because people fear what is bad, rather than what is good, and try to placate these spirits (Carus, 1969). Although the belief in various malevolent spirits was common in primitive society, no single figure personifying evil is found in classical antiquity (Brandon, 1973; Zacharias, 1980). In the polytheistic religions of the ancients, the gods are seen as simultaneously embodying both good and bad, light and dark qualities. This divine coincidence of opposites is problematic in monotheistic religions, however, since evil must logically be attributed to God. The coexistence of good and evil in God is discomforting, and the theological solution is to separate good from evil, attributing the latter to a superhuman adversary of God. This is the theological function of the Devil. However, although Satan

/ is largely a creation of Christian theology, his prehistory reveals him to be a mythological composite deriving from a number of ancient religious traditions.[1] /The Mesopotamian and Syrian civilisations exercised the most direct influence on the Western concept of the Devil, via the Hebrew tradition. (Russell, 1977). This influence warrants some discussion.

1.3 The influence of Iranian dualism on Judaeo-Christian theology

The Mesopotamian civilisation (3000 BC), geographically located at the upper end of the Persian Gulf, survived under extremely harsh circumstances. Frequent military invasions, battles and conquests, and the associated threats of displacement or slavery found expression in Assyro-Babylonian demonology. There were a number of evil spirits associated with desert places, windstorms, plagues, and every conceivable human affliction. These spirits were usually grotesque, "appearing as ugly animals or as misshapen humans with partly animal forms" (Russell, 1977, p. 92). The Canaanites, who occupied the areas of today's Syria, Lebanon, and Israel, displayed a mythological doublet similar to the ancient Egyptians./ Baal, the lord of life and fertility, was portrayed in unceasing combat with Mot, lord of death and sterility (Russell, 1977).

The ancient Hebrew and Christian conceptions of the Devil, however, derived from a common Indo-Iranian source, the Aryan peoples, who invaded Iran and India during the second millennium BC (Carus, 1969; Brandon, 1973; Russell, 1977). These people worshipped an ambivalent sky-god who personified the opposites of light and darkness, creation and destruction. The dualistic conceptualisation of opposing, essentially good and bad deities, is first evident in Iran in approximately 600 BC. At this time, the prophet Zarathustra depicted the universe as the battle-ground of two primordial spirits characterized by truth and light on one hand, and evil and darkness on the other.) The destructive principle was seen as unambiguously evil and opposed to the will of the supreme deity. This dualistic model was a significant step in the Christian Devil's

---

[1] He is prefigured, for example, in the ancient Egyptian god Set (or Seth). In Egyptian mythology Set was the god of destruction, the antagonist of the sky god Horus (Cavendish, 1975; Carus, 1969; Russell, 1977).

evolution because it is the first documented principle of absolute evil, personified in the form of Ahriman/Mainyu, having all the qualities later attributed to Satan (Russell, 1977). For these ancients, as in Christianity, sin was the product of both the evil spirit and humans, who, yielding to temptation, chose evil over good.

Ahriman could adopt various physical guises, and his demons were capable of possessing the bodies of mortals, thereby causing disease, insanity, and death. The degree to which Mazdaism[2] influenced Judeo-Christian thought is uncertain (Russell, 1977), but the latter's theological dualism, demonology, conception of hell, and personified principle of evil, are all prefigured in Iranian religion.

1.4 Graeco-Roman dualism and the principle of evil

Iranian religious dualism persisted for centuries in various forms, and is assumed to have influenced the religious thought of the Graeco-Roman world. This influence is not immediately obvious. The gods of the ancient Greeks were ambivalent manifestations of the one God, each displaying good and evil qualities, and each personified by both ouranic (heavenly) and cthonic (underworld) mythical characters (Russell, 1977). Dualism began to emerge in ancient Greece as early as the sixth century B.C. The soul is imprisoned in the body and man's earthly task, according to Orphic dualism, was to liberate the soul through ritual purification. This is the first appearance of dualism in Greek thought, and its subsequent impact on Christianity is clearly evident in the latter's dissociation of spiritual from carnal, with the respective ethical associations of good and bad. Despite the dualism represented in the myth, the ancient Greek coincidence of opposites is evident in the fact that Dionysus is both the divine son of Zeus and the horned fertility god associated with carnal excess (Russell, 1977). The Dionysiac orgy later became the prototype for the orgies that medieval Christendom attributed to heretic sects and witches. Orphic dualism[3] was later united with Iranian dualism, paving the way

---

[2] Mazdaism or Zoroastrianism was the ancient Persian religion founded by Zarathustra, characterised by belief in the cosmic war between Good and Evil.

 for the Judaeo-Christian belief that everything associated with carnality is evil, and that this evil is created by an independent malevolent spirit.

Another belief that the classical Greeks passed on to Christianity concerned the existence of malicious minor spirits, associated with the principle of evil. The original Greek word *daimon* evolved from its neutral reference to *spirit*, to the post-Homeric separation of gods from demons, and the association of demons with evil in the late Hellenistic period. However, although classical Greek religion and mythology clearly shaped the Christian conception of the Devil, there is no mythical figure who represents the personification of evil in Greek antiquity. With the advent of Greek philosophy and the first rigorous, systemic, and rational deliberation on the nature and origin of evil, the destructive principle at large in the universe became refined and elaborated.

The monist assumption underlying Greek mythology was that there was a single benevolent and omnipotent divinity. Plato and his followers began from the assumption that all was the product of a single divine principle, but that there was a refractory cosmic aspect, either a degraded manifestation of the principle, or an entirely separate element altogether. This secondary or degraded aspect was matter in all its manifestations (the phenomenal world), co-existing with the ideal or spiritual world, which was believed to ✓ ontologically superior. Chaos, defined as disorder, irrationality, or random motion, may well have predated the creation of the cosmos, and continued to exert its pull on the material world, despite the divine intention of the creator. This argument allowed Plato a position of ethical dualism whereby evil was acknowledged, but its cause could not be located in God. During the first two centuries A.D., the Platonists entrenched this dualism, and evil was understood to be "the resistance of matter to the divine will" (Russell, 1977, p. 160).

---

[3] Orphism was an ancient Greek cult which subscribed to the doctrine that the highest spiritual objective is to divest oneself of the earthly element in one's composition, i.e., one's body, and to unite oneself with the Divine.

In later Greek thought, therefore, the Mazdaist belief in antagonistic spirits merged with the Orphic/Platonic division of matter and spirit. Human beings comprise both spirit and matter, and evil inheres in the soul's temptation and corruption by the material body. Material evil in Greek theological thought soon become moral evil, defined as hubris, excess, and a refusal to comply with the divine rational law regulating the cosmos. Thus, although no personification of evil is apparent in Hellenistic thought, the merging of Mazdaist belief in an independent destructive spirit with the Platonic/Orphic assertion of matter's refractory nature, together with the notion of moral evil and the evolving idea of evil demons, was to have a profound influence on the Judaeo-Christian theology. The picture emerging at this point is of humankind, spiritual in essence, but tainted by corporeal existence, struggling to fight against the evil pull of carnal weakness, the influence of which is aggravated by temptation of demons intent on corrupting human beings. It was a short step from this late Greek mythological and philosophical dualism to the Christian personification of the Devil as the evil principle at work in the world.

1.5 The emergence of the Devil in Hebrew theology

The ancient Hebrews believed that malevolent spirits or demons inhabited the world, although none of these were regarded as deities commanding and directing the forces of evil (Cavendish, 1967, 1977; Russell, 1977). The demonology of Mesopotamia had a significant influence on the Hebrew and Christian conception of demons as hostile spirits, less powerful than gods, but fiercely intent on inflicting human misery. Plagues, nightmares, windstorms, and physical afflictions were all attributed to demonic influence in Mesopotamia (Russell, 1977).

The gradual replacement of polytheism by monotheism meant that, logically, since God was the sole creator of everything in the universe, He was the architect of evil as well as good (Cavendish, 1967). This is evident in the cruel and destructive acts attributed to Yahweh in the Old Testament, and in sentiments ascribed to Him: "I form the light, and create darkness: I make peace, and create evil; I the Lord do all these things" (Cited in

Cavendish, 1967, p. 281). The Hebrew God was thus a "divine antinomy", both good and evil (Russell, 1977, p. 39).

The earliest references to Satan in the Old Testament indicate the name refers to a title, rather than an individual (Forsyth, 1987; Hoyt, 1989). A 'satan' meant an adversary, but not originally God's adversary. A satan's role in God's court was fulfilled by any angel, as in the Book of Job, where Satan functions as a zealous prosecutor of men before God (*Job 2:1-7*), not in the least hostile to God. His function is to elicit the wickedness inherent in humankind so that it may be punished. The importance of this is that the Old Testament has no personalised principle of evil, which is obviously a prerequisite for any dualistic distinction of opposing good and bad deities. With the Greek translation of the Old Testament 'the satan' becomes *diabolos*, from which the English term *Devil* derives. *Diabolos* means 'accuser', but already carries the negative implication of slander or false accusation (Cavendish, 1967).

The next progression in the evolution of the Satan myth occurs in 1 *Chronicles (21.1*-17), where Satan first acts independently of divine permission, substituting for God as the *agent provocateur* in human affairs (Forsyth, 1987). However, this is an isolated reference, and it was only the later apocalyptic theology that "completed the metamorphosis of subordinate official into rebellious angel, of *agent provocateur* into a sinister and mysterious spirit at loose in the universe" (Forsyth, 1987, p. 122). The personification of evil as a supernatural being in Hebrew religion appears at the time of the Return from Exile (538 B.C), and the Jewish ascription of evil to Satan occurs only in the Hellenistic period, under the influence of the aforementioned Iranian dualism.

Up until this point, the ancient Hebrews regarded Yahweh as the omnipotent creator of everything in the universe. As noted earlier, this implied that all phenomena, whether good or evil, were authored by him. Consequently, evil actions were ascribed to Yahweh or demons acting at his behest (Cavendish, 1967; Brandon, 1973, Forsyth; 1987; Zacharias, 1980). This proved problematic as the prophets insisted that Yahweh was also

a righteous god who hated evil deeds. This contradiction made the evolution of a dualistic distinction between good and evil deities inevitable. Consequently, in the New Testament, Satan evolved into a distinct personality. With Yahweh perceived as both omnipotent and moral, evil had to be ascribed to an adversary embodying opposing qualities. Satan, as God's adversary, thus emerged at this point in history to represent the dark side of God, split off and embodied in an opposing deity.

In addition to Satan, biblical mythology makes many references to demons - hostile spiritual influences seeking to take possession of humans. Old Testament scripture attributed the origin of lesser demons to the actions of corrupt angels, originally the servants of God. In the book of *Enoch,* an order of angels called the Watchers lusted after the daughters of man. They descended from heaven and had intercourse with the mortals, giving rise to a race of evil giants. Demons emerged from the bodies of the giants whom God had commanded the archangel Michael to kill because they ate up firstly human possessions, then human beings, and later began to "devour one another's flesh and to drink the blood" (*Enoch* in Cavendish, 1967, p. 285). [4]

The angel Lucifer's fall from heaven, however, is not ascribed to lust, but to the ambition of becoming equal to God: "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning ... thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend unto heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God" (*Isiah 14*:12-13). These biblical legends of Lucifer and the Watchers attribute the origin of evil, not to God, but to the fall of divine beings driven to sin by pride and lust. In Christian mythology Lucifer, after being cast down from heaven, became known as Satan. The Watchers and their demonic offspring become Satan's followers (Cavendish, 1967). Another myth has Satan expelled because of his refusal to

---

[4] Cavendish (1967) notes that the significant theme of this biblical narrative is that "evil and bloodshed and forbidden arts came to earth through an appalling crime against Nature, the physical union of the angelic and divine with the mortal, which produced monstrosities - the giants" (p. 286). This is a demonic counterpart to the Christian miracle of the saviour's birth from the Holy Ghost's Divine contact with a mortal woman, and Cavendish attributes the medieval preoccupation with sexual relations between witches and the Devil to the legend of the Watchers.

worship God's creation, man. Lust, pride, envy, jealousy, and the unnatural union of mortal and divine are thus all biblical reasons cited for Satan's expulsion from heaven.

1.6 Demons as the remnants of pagan gods

The original Greek word *daemon* had no evil significance, but referred instead to "a guardian spirit, or spirit of inspiration; a spiritual manifestation or intensification" (Hoyt, 1989, p. 17). In Christianity, however, demons are exclusively destructive spirits. In the New Testament, Jesus frequently vanquished these "unclean spirits", which were collectively portrayed as members of Satan's host, sent to torment man. Many of these demons were the transformed remnants of pagan gods, as "the gods of a conquered people become the devils of their conquerors" (Hoyt, 1989, p. 18).

In the formative period of Christianity, ascetics ventured into the deserts and uninhabited salt marshes where the heathen gods were thought to have withdrawn (Cavendish, 1977; Ribi, 1989; Robbins, 1959). These hermits sought to do battle with the pagan gods who, manifesting as tempting evil spirits, filled the ascetics with impure thoughts and impulses. The imaginal remnants of the pagan gods is evident in the demonological iconography of the Christian ascetics' visions of evil. Satan appeared as a grotesque figure, half man and half goat - a clear reference to the pagan god Pan, the "goat-footed, double-horned lover of riotous orgies, who wanders through tree-studded pastures with gaily dancing nymphs" (Zacharias, 1980, p. 9). The goat is a symbol of fertility and, as the image evolved to become more human, portrayed as a sexually insatiable and potent being, endlessly in pursuit of further carnal conquests. The goat was not only lustful and foul-smelling, but also ill-tempered, and harmful to crops and fields. For this reason, it was also associated with anger and destructiveness (Cavendish, 1975). In this historical context, it is not surprising that Christianity, with its emphasis on the spirit, should cast the ancient Pan in a demonic role. Historically, Pan is associated with Dionysus who, in some myths, appears in the form of a goat (Zacharias, 1980). Dionysus was the liberator god "who set men free of themselves, who released them from the prison of the normal, constricted, respectable and sane self, and made them for a moment divine" (Cavendish,

1975, p. 169). While Dionysus was a mythical figure, his cult of followers was real enough. Members of the Dionysian cult consumed alcohol, engaged in ecstatic dancing and, in their frenzy, tore live animals apart, eating the raw flesh (Cavendish, 1975; Russell and Wyndham, 1992). They believed that they were consuming the flesh of Dionysus, thereby incorporating him in a sacramental communion that was at once holy and terrible.

Satan was also portrayed with horns, which have both phallic and aggressive significance. Horns appear on hostile spirits in a number of mythologies and, with regard to Satan, depict not only power, but "his associations with death and the underworld, and an uncontrolled, destructive sexuality" (Russell, 1977, p. 70). Satan's wings are ancient symbols of divine power, deriving originally from the Mesopotamian deities. In medieval times he was portrayed as having leg wings, a detailing deriving from the Greek god Hermes, and Poseidon's trident emerges in Devil iconography as a pitchfork, an instrument for the torture of the damned (Russell, 1977).

Despite his power and rampant sexuality, Satan is traditionally depicted as melancholic, sad, and irritable. This is a consequence of his fate

> as a creature despised and rejected by God and the Christian world. In psychological terms this is a depressive state which ... arises from a situation of rejection and is characterised by the discrepancy between a turmoil of overweening ambition and its complete lack of fulfilment (Zacharias, 1980, p. 61)

In the New Testament, the two most significant qualities of Satan are destructiveness and deceptiveness: "He was a murderer from the beginning and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own; for he is a liar and the father of it" (John 8:44). Destruction and deceitfulness, the presentation of evil as good, lies as truth, characterises the spiritual Enemy in all religions (O'Grady, 1989). Satan's power lies not only in his malevolence, but in his ability to reverse moral polarities and present himself as the antithesis of his evil essence.

In the New Testament, Satan's identity evolved and hardened unequivocally into the following characteristics (Russell, 1977): (1) he is the unambiguous personification of evil; (2) he harms humans by attacking or possessing them; (3) he tempts people to sin, either to see them destroyed or to recruit them in his war against God; (4) he accuses and punishes sinners; (5) he commands subordinate evil spirits, fallen angels, and demons; (6) he has assimilated most of the destructive qualities of the pagan gods and spirits; (7) he is the ruler of the material world until the triumphant return of God; (8) he is locked in perpetual warfare with God; and (9) his destiny is defeat by God at the end of the world.

It is evident that the Christian Devil is a complex historical composition, comprising the physical and temperamental aspects of a number of pagan deities and spirits. Christianity is unique, however, in that no other religious tradition has assigned a mythological adversary such power and importance. The singular importance of Satan in Christianity becomes evident when, in the following section, the Christian and Islamic perceptions of the Devil are compared.

1.7 The comparative power of the Devil in Christian and Islamic theology

Judeao-Christian religion fostered a personalised principle of evil, without which Satanism could obviously not exist. It was noted earlier that all cultures acknowledge a dimension of evil which adversely affects people's lives, and which is attributed to alien influences. Only two contemporary major religious traditions, however, personify these destructive forces in the form of a being who is unambiguously bad, in opposition to a deity who is unambiguously good. These two religions are Islam and Christianity. However, in Islam, Satan emerged as a less threatening figure, and the Koran states that he will be forgiven on the Last Day (Armstrong, 1993). The Islamic conception of the Devil is closely related to that of Judaism and Christianity as all three religions are monotheistic, insisting on one omnipotent God. As with Judaism and Christianity, evil is also considered a reality intrinsic to Islamic doctrine. All monotheistic religions are forced to account for the presence of evil in a world where everything is created by God.

In the Qur'an, evil is personified in the figure of *Iblis* or *Shaytan*, meaning "to be far from" or "to be born in anger" (Russell, 1984). He was a spirit of fire who refused Allah's command to prostrate himself before God's creation, Adam, as the latter was made of clay, and was hence inferior to Iblis. His rebellion, born of pride, resulted in God expelling him from heaven, though permitting him to tempt and deceive humankind:

> The being and activity of the Devil is tolerated by omnipotent God for his own purposes. Islam is never dualistic, and the Devil has no independent existence of his own. God created the Devil, God permitted him to fall, and God allows him to be active in the world after his fall. All this is part of God's plan for the cosmos (Russell, 1984, p. 54).

Dualistic theology and the intractable evil of Satan makes the Islamic resolution to the problem of the Devil impossible in the Christian tradition. Because it embraces a fundamental dualism, the Christian spiritual world is seen as a battleground between God and the personification of evil, the Devil. For religious traditions which do not share this dualistic premise, Satan cannot emerge as the personification of evil, and is hence not as significant a spiritual threat (O'Grady, 1989). In the Hindu tradition too, evil is an integral aspect of the gods, and cannot be divorced from the good (Russell, 1977).

Summary

This chapter began with a discussion of the mythology of evil and the history of its personification, first in Indo-Iranian dualism, and later in the dualistic philosophy of Classical Greece, culminating in the Hebrew theology of the Old Testament. At this point, it was noted, the Devil emerged as an independent supernatural being, implacably opposed to the will of God. The origin of lesser demons in the biblical myth of prohibited intercourse between angels and humans was also discussed. It was emphasised that the psychological qualities and physical attributes ascribed by the Christian fathers to Satan and his demons derived from ancient Greek, Roman, and Mesopotanian deities. The chapter concluded with a comparison of the Christian and Islamic perceptions of the Devil. The Christian tradition, essentially dualistic, is the only one in which the Devil is

portrayed as an independent evil entity, working in destructive opposition to the will of God.

CHAPTER TWO

DIABOLICAL WITCHCRAFT AND MAGIC IN THE WEST

Introduction

In Chapter One, the ancient mythological origin of evil and the personification thereof in the evolving figure of Satan was reviewed. Satanic worship is historically associated with the emergence of European witchcraft in the Middle Ages, and medieval witch cults became the prototype for subsequent Satanic cults. This chapter will briefly describe diabolical witchcraft, the activities attributed to witches, and the social context of witchcraft's emergence and decline in the West. This decline has not been permanent, however, and various forms of occult activity associated with witchcraft have enjoyed a renaissance. The reasons for the occult revival will be discussed, and the various occult organisations and activities which form Satanism's prehistory will be outlined.

2.1 The origins of Demonic witchcraft in medieval Christendom

According to Hoyt (1989), the Ancient world "presents a concept of witchcraft complete in every detail, essentially undifferentiated from that of the great witchcraft delusion and attendant persecutions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Europe" (p.40). Hecate, Circe, and Medea are mythological female witch figures from Greek antiquity, who use magical powers to cruel and destructive ends. However, the European conception of witchcraft which was to emerge in the Middle Ages targeted mortals rather than mythical gods, and attributed to them the reversal of Christian values. This was obviously impossible before Christianity asserted itself as the dominant religion over Graeco-Roman polytheism. European witchcraft consequently had two main components: belief in malevolent magic, and the idea of a diabolical conspiracy against Christendom (Ankarloo and Henningsen, 1990).

Demonology, although based on isolated Biblical references, was a medieval creation and had its origins in the Church's intolerance of religious dissent (Cohn, 1975; Kingston, 1976; Scarre, 1987). Heresy and demonology were related by virtue of the Church's

perception that heretics were undermining the word of God, and were thus servants of the Devil. From the 12th and 13th Centuries, various heretical groups, despite their asceticism and solemn vows of chastity, were thought to be in league with Satan (Cavendish, 1977). At the first burning for heresy in Orleans in 1022, the charges included Devil worship (Scarre, 1987). The witch stereotype that emerged in the late Middle Ages (15th century) thus included features originally ascribed to heretics:

> Witches, like heretics before them, were accused of meeting together at night in secret places, feasting on the flesh of infants, holding orgiastic revels (often involving sexual intercourse with demons) and worshipping Satan. Above all, they were held guilty of making a pact with him, whereby they promised to become his creatures and do his bidding in return for temporal goods or demonic assistance in their evil schemes (Scarre, 1987, p. 15-16).

Cavendish (1977) notes that there have been three recognised forms of Western witchcraft. The first type of witch was not typically associated with evil, but employed magic, herbal remedies and Christian prayer to cure disease and infertility, interpret omens, counsel people on courses of action, and remove the harmful effects of hostile spells cast by other witches. Although capable of working destructive magic, this was not her calling, and she was an accepted part of the community. The second type was the unambiguously evil black witch, whose true identity beneath her human disguise was that of an evil spirit. She was capable of 'shape-shifting', transforming from a human into some carnivorous creature in order to kill babies and attack adults at night. The third type was the Satanist witch who, although not an evil spirit herself, allegedly worshiped the Devil and worked her black magic through demons. She was believed to meet at the 'sabbath' with other witches in order to celebrate unholy rites. Unlike the other two witches, the Satanist witch was perceived to be a threat to the whole society, rather than just to individuals (Cavendish, 1977).

Although maleficent sorcery had been recognised and dealt with as a secular offence in the Middle Ages, the fully developed notion of the demonic witch emerged only when demonic pacts fell within the jurisdiction of the papal Inquisition during the 15th Century.

In 1486, two Inquisitors, Heinrich Kramer and Jacob Sprenger, published the *Malleus Maleficarum* (Hammer of Witches), a comprehensive set of guidelines for identifying, prosecuting, and punishing witches. This soon became the standard European witch-hunters reference (Guiley, 1989). The subsequent trials and the legal documentation arising from these established the demonological witch as a distinct entity, and provided elaborate accounts of demonological practices. While sorcerers and diviners were believed to invoke Satan's aid, witches were alleged to have devoted themselves to Satan's service (Cavendish, 1977; Kingston, 1976). The main characteristics of witchcraft were established as demonic pacts, orgiastic 'sabbats', infanticide, cannibalism, renunciation of Christianity, and desecration of the cross and Eucharist (Guiley, 1989). Theoretical disquisitions on witchcraft and its treatment, aided by the invention of printing, widely disseminated this emerging demonological discourse.

When the additional power of nocturnal flight was attributed to witches, the conception of large assemblies of witches, and hence the belief in a demonic witch sect, emerged. The Church, having explicitly assumed the machinations of the Devil behind all beliefs and practices of which it disapproved, combined two 'antisocial' figures into one:

> The Satanist perversions attributed to the heretic were combined with night-flying, infanticide, cannibalism, demonic connections and harmful magic of the black witch. The effect was to make the black witch, who had long been blamed for poor harvests, mysterious diseases, cot-deaths and every kind of undeserved misfortune, into a member of an organized conspiracy, directed by the Devil against the whole structure of Christian society (Cavendish, 1977, p. 77).

2.2 The witchcraft trials of medieval Europe

In the early days of the Church, Satan and his demons were perceived as being weak relative to the power of God. Their relative weakness is further evident in the fact that demons were alleged to obey the commands of the humans who conjured them up. In the 15th-Century witch trials, the relationship between conjuror and demon undergoes a dramatic revision. The demons are no longer servants, but the masters to whom the

witches are subservient (Cohn, 1975). Demons had become ubiquitous and extremely powerful, while man had become increasingly helpless and vulnerable to demonic attack.

Ritual satanic worship in the form of diabolical witchcraft emerged in France during the period 1400 - 1700 AD, and soon spread to the rest of Europe. The purported activities of these witches are almost identical to those allegedly practised by contemporary Satanists. Russell & Wyndham (1992) identify eight characteristics of witchcraft: (1) the ride by night, (2) the pact sealed by obscene homage to the Devil, (3) the formal repudiation of Christianity, (4) the secret nocturnal meetings, (5) the desecration of the Eucharist and the crucifix, (6) the sexual orgy, (7) sacrificial infanticide, and (8) cannibalism.

Despite the fact that demonic witchcraft had its conceptual origins in the Middle Ages, most witch prosecution occurred later, in the early modern (1590's to 1660's) era (Scarre, 1987). Scarre's explanation for this provides a plausible sociological account of the witch scare, namely that it was a radical mechanism of maintaining social control during a period of social and religious instability:

> Belief systems are anchored in time, and are products of the general intellectual, social and cultural features of the societies which gave birth to them ... beliefs in the existence of a subsociety of people who have infiltrated the greater society in order to destroy it are most readily sustained by people who live in a period of insecurity or rapid transition, in which the reassuring solidity of the familiar social institutions seems under threat (Scarre, 1987, p. 50).

Cavendish (1977) notes that the Church at this time was under attack by reformers, there were wars and peasant revolts, famines and epidemics. The whole medieval system was disintegrating, and people responded to the flux and insecurity by blaming witchcraft conspiracies for the chaos they witnessed around them. This theory is corroborated by the decline in witch hunting between 1525-1560, owing to social conditions of relative peace and prosperity (Cavendish, 1977). However, the rise of Protestantism and the Catholic

reaction resulted in renewed and systematic witch persecution. Each religious group perceived the other to be part of a satanic conspiracy.

The Protestants were no more tolerant of witches than the Catholics. Many new witch-hunting manuals were published by legal and theological experts. All of them contended that Christian society was threatened by an epidemic of satanic witches, guilty of committing the most despicable atrocities in the Devil's name. The most incredible feats attributed to witches were never challenged, as any sign of scepticism was interpreted as a dangerous expression of sympathy with the forces of evil. Belief in the witches' magic, however, also testified to the almost limitless power attributed to Satan, and apparent cases of demonic possession were considered further proof of malevolent witchcraft and the invasive influence of the Devil (Cavendish, 1977).

2.3 The witches' sabbath

The infamous witches' sabbath rituals, as portrayed in folklore, are historically important because they provide the prototype for later satanic rituals. The sabbath was presided over by women, in sharp contrast to Christian rituals, where women were deprived of liturgical function and power. Christianity has historically been characterised by the rejection of both femininity's dual aspects: sexuality and fertility on the one hand, and the destructive, devouring, negative elemental aspects, on the other (Zacharias, 1980). The only Christian female symbol is Mary, a passive, sexless, one-sided image of purity and light. The witches' sabbath thus not only introduced a Dionysian challenge to the Apollonian character of Christianity, but also represented the revenge of the repressed feminine (Zacharias, 1980).

The sabbath meal, typically cooked in a large cauldron, consisted of gruesome ingredients: the flesh of children, poisonous toads and snakes, etc. This is a corruption of the Christian Agape-feast, and represents cannibalistic and oral-aggressive desires antithetical to the Christian equivalent (Zacharias, 1980). Satan traditionally appeared and was kissed on the buttocks by the witches (Kingston, 1976). In Catholic theology,

the body was divided into 'honourable' parts above, and 'dishonourable' parts below. The buttocks, like the genitals, were considered unclean, and associated with the demonic. The witches' anal kiss (*osculum infame*, or 'kiss of shame'), thus represented another inversion of Christian morality. Yet another important feature of the sabbath was the sexual orgies, characterised by all imaginable perversions: homosexuality, sadism, incest, sodomy, bestiality, etc. Whereas Christian sexual morality stresses monogamy and sex for the purpose of procreation, the sabbath orgies depicted all manner of forbidden genital and pre-genital activities, thereby flouting every Christian taboo (Russel & Wyndham, 1992). Unlike the Gnostics, who used sex for the purpose of spiritual catharsis, the witches viewed the sabbath orgy as an animalistic celebration of, and union with, the primitive instinctual forces suppressed in Christianity. Russell & Wyndham (1992) note that the word *orgy* originally referred to acts performed in the context of secret religious ritual. Later on, it became associated with the ecstatic frenzy of Dionysian and Bacchic rites. The typical characteristics of the orgy - secret religious rites in the darkness, often underground, for the purpose of feasting, drinking, and sexual licence - appear in a wide variety of both Western and Oriental primitive cultures. Russell & Wyndham (1992) identify three anthropological purposes of the orgy. Firstly, it is an ancient fertility rite in which the sexual efforts of the participants symbolically encourage the fertility of the land. Secondly, the orgy signifies "a return to chaos, the undifferentiated beginning of the world, with the purpose of provoking the return of the vast creative powers that initially brought the cosmos into existence" (p. 309). The orgy is simultaneously a destructive and regenerative act:

> Licence is let loose, all commands are violated, all contraries are brought together, and all this to effect the dissolution of the world - of which the community is a copy - and restore the primeval mystical moment of the beginning (chaos) and the end. (Eliade cited in Russell & Wyndham, 1992, p. 309).

The third function of the orgy is to effect a mystical union between man and god, symbolised by the abolition of all differences - class, sexual orientation, and the moral distinction between the notions of normal and perverse. The secrecy of the orgy also has symbolic importance:

> In the first place, there is an intrinsic holiness in secrecy: the numinous qualities of things increase in proportion to their esoteric quality and decrease in proportion to their openness. Secrecy also permits the treasured sense of possessing knowledge denied to the uninitiate, the most important appeal of the esoteric tradition in every age (Russell & Wyndham, 1992, p. 308).

It was also believed that witches used consecrated hosts and holy water to perform a corrupted Mass ('Black Mass') to exalt Satan and revile God. The sabbath activities attributed to the witches thus appear to represent a combination of pre-Christian mystical rites, and emphatically anti-Christian rituals. Christianity's patriarchal and puritanical character had clearly mobilised, whether in deed or mere fantasy, the 'dark' pagan impulses it sought so strenuously to suppress The importance played by the Black Mass, at least in satanic folklore and the minds of the inquisitors, warrants further consideration in the following section.

2.4 Historical origins and significance of the Black Mass

The Mass, the most important Catholic ceremony, is a magical Christian ritual of enormous power. This is so, not simply because it was founded by Christ, but because, by means of ceremonial magic, "ordinary physical things, the bread and wine, are changed into the Divine and the worshipper consumes the Divine to become one with God" (Cavendish, 1967, p. 326). It is consequently not surprising that of all the rituals supposedly practised by Satanists through the ages, none has gripped the popular imagination more than the infamous Black Mass. The Black Mass is commonly regarded as the quintessential satanic ritual (Coleman, 1994; Masters, 1978; Tate, 1991), as it combines Devil worship with the denigration of the most sacred Christian ceremony. The purpose of the Black Mass is "both to degrade the Christian service and to transform it, as a ritual of powerful religious and magical force, to the glorification of the Devil" (Cavendish, 1967, p. 335). It follows the ritual format of the Catholic Mass, but with every aspect symbolically inverted. Popular belief has it that the Black Mass is an ancient black magical ritual, performed by witches and Satanists through the ages. Tate (1991) dates the origin of the Black Mass to the 12-13th Centuries when, he alleges, the heretical

Cathar monks corrupted the traditional Mass by denouncing Christ and incorporating perverse sexual practices into the holy proceedings.

By this account, contemporary Black Mass ceremonies simply perpetuate a well-established black magical tradition. Many historians, however, believe that there is little or no evidence, other than the accusations of Medieval inquisitors and the tortured confessions of their victims, to support theories of the Black Mass' existence before the 18th Century. (Katchen, 1992; Kingston, 1976; Robbins, 1959; Russell, 1980). Zacharias (1980), however, provides strong evidence that the Black Mass was certainly performed in 18th Century France. In 1679, Louis XIV established a commission to investigate alleged satanic practices in his own court. The findings of this commission provided some of the first concrete historical evidence that the ritual of the Black Mass was secretly practised.

The significance of the Black Mass rituals warrants some discussion. The Christian Mass is performed on the altar, symbolising the communion table and "the consecrated bridal couch" on which the mysterious marriage between Christ and the church occurs (Zacharias, 1980, p. 111). The original altar, however, symbolised the hearth, where food is prepared, and the womb, which receives, transforms, and brings forth new life. It was thus originally a female pagan symbol of sustenance, fertility, and sexuality. For this reason, the altar of the Black Mass is allegedly the body of a naked woman, a literal realisation of its primitive symbolism (Zacharias, 1980). Instead of the consecrated host, a black wafer, sometimes tainted with menstrual blood, is employed, thereby symbolically defiling the body of Christ.

The historical question of whether these covens or sects actually existed is problematic. [1] Reputable historians are careful to state that the historical truth about witchcraft must be

---

[1] Scarre (1987) claims that trial records of confessions, "apparently sincerely made", suggests that many people did practise black witchcraft. This wide-spread claim that accounts would not have arisen had these not had grounding in historical reality has been challenged by many authors (Cohn, 1975; Kingston, 1976; Robbins, 1959; Russell; 1980). Cohn (1975), after careful re-examination of archival material, concludes that there is no serious evidence for the existence of any sect of Devil-worshippers in medieval Europe.

distinguished from what people believe about it (Kingston, 1976). Whatever conclusions are reached in this regard, the undoubtedly paranoid medieval belief in witchcraft requires some explanation. The following section attempts to locate witchcraft beliefs within the social context of early European history.

2.5 Historical origins of the demonic conspiracy theory in Christian heresy

In trying to understand the sociology and social psychology of belief in sectarian black magic, and the persecutory practices accompanying this belief, Cohn (1975) traces a pervasive historical fantasy, dating back to Antiquity: the presence of a clandestine, conspiratorial subculture responsible for perpetrating inhumane, sacrilegious acts, and committed to the overthrow of the existing social order. The antics of this group, identified by the 2nd Century AD, typically involve cannibalistic infanticide, sexual orgies involving perverse acts, and the worshipping of strange divinities in the form of animals. In medieval Christendom, sacrilegious acts and the worshipping of Satan were appended to these previously identified behaviours. The collective nuclear fantasy behind these beliefs is that the despicable ritual acts are the means by which a group of conspirators affirms its solidarity and attempts to seize power from an existing regime. Despite changing social contexts, the motive force behind the demonic sect fantasy is the same in all cases: "the urge to purify the world through the annihilation of some category of human beings imagined as agents of corruption and incarnations of evil" (Cohn, 1975, p. xiv).

Although Cohn is sceptical about the validity of the Church's accusations against the heretics, Cavendish (1967) argues that the Gnostic ideology underlying many of the heretical sects justified the Christians' fears. The Gnostics embraced a rigid spiritual dualism and the rejection of everything earthly, which was associated with Satan. Because the earth was evil it could not have been created by a good God, but by lesser deities, *Archons*, hostile to God or ignorant of His existence (Cavendish, 1967). The

---

Cavendish (1977) states that there were probably a small number who did indeed worship the Devil and who "came as close to being Satanist witches as was humanly possible" (p.118)

chief Archon was frequently identified as the God of the old testament, an evil, sadistic, vengeful and treacherous deity. For some Gnostics, the logical extension of this line of reasoning was that Jehovah was the Devil and Satan a good angel. The serpent of Eden, usually associated with the Devil, was perceived to be a "saviour, sent by the supreme God to teach Adam and Eve the knowledge of good and evil, so that they could see the evil nature of the world Jehovah had created" (Cavendish, 1967, p.292). In addition, the emphasis on spiritual knowledge (*gnosis)* as the only path to the divine justified contempt for conventional morality. Some Gnostics adopted a life-style of severe austerity, but others, perceiving Jehovah's commandments as a means of subjecting man to His evil will, actively adopted profligate lives and practised magic in defiance of Him. The pursuit of experiences and activities forbidden by Christian morality thus became a moral obligation. Consequently, although there is no evidence that the Gnostics actually worshipped the Devil, their beliefs must certainly have fuelled Christian suspicion in this regard.[2] However, from the twelfth century a number of heretical Christian sects - the Cathars, Bogomils, and Luciferans - adopted ideologies broadly consistent with the earlier Gnostic beliefs (Cavendish, 1967; 1977). In 1227, the Pope attempted to stamp out heresy in Germany. Confessions made by Luciferans indicate that they may well have been Satanists, worshipping the Devil as worldly creator and ruler, revelling in anti-Christian rituals, and anticipating Satan's overthrow of God (Cavendish, 1967).

In 1307, members of the Order of Knights Templar were tried and convicted of Devil worship, although the Church's motives for crushing this wealthy and powerful sect seem to have been material and political, rather than spiritual (Carus, 1969; Cavendish, 1967; · 1977).[3] They allegedly renounced Christ, desecrated crucifixes, indulged in homosexual

---

[2] Zacharias (1980) claims that the Gnostic heretics did engage in magical rites involving sexual orgies, at which a demon, in animal form, was present. These orgies were aimed at cathartic purification of the soul, and liberation from sensual desire. The Gnostics' fervid Christian beliefs and their goal of spiritual cleansing means that these heretical rites were not truly satanic.

[3] Ironically, despite the popular belief that Christians initiated the persecution of religious heretics by attributing abominable anti-human acts to them, the fact is that Christians were originally the victims of such practices in the second century AD (Cavendish, 1977; Eliade, 1976). The classical Graeco-Roman world was unified by the authority of the emperor and reverent observance of the polytheistic religion of the time. The Christians negated the beliefs and values of the pagan world, and were thus seen as a threat to

rituals, and omitted aspects of the Mass. While it is certain that the Templars deviated from Christian orthodoxy and developed sacred rituals of their own, whether they were Satanists or not is unclear (Zacharias, 1980).

It appears that the stereotype of the devil-worshipping sect was fully developed by 1100 (Cohn, 1975). The specifically Luciferan doctrine attributed to heretical Christian groups is simply an addition. Centuries later, the familiar allegations of orgies, infanticide and cannibalism were revived and associated with various allegedly heretical religious groups in medieval Christendom, thereby integrating them more firmly into Christian demonology:

> In the eyes of the pagan Greeks and Romans, people who indulged in promiscuous orgies and devoured children were enemies of society and of mankind. In the eyes of medieval Christendom they were, in addition, enemies of God and servants of Satan; their fearsome deeds were inspired by Satan and his demons .... Erotic debauches, infanticide and cannibalism gradually took on a new meaning, as so many manifestations of a religious cult of Satan, so many expressions of Devil-worship (Cohn, 1975, p. 17).

2.6 The historical decline in witchcraft belief and prosecution

The rationalising influence of the Protestant Reformation, together with the ideological transformation of the Enlightenment, led to what the sociologist Max Weber referred to as the 'disenchantment' of the world (Nelson, 1987). By disenchantment, he meant the erosion of magical and spiritual aspects from everyday living. The Christian church, once so powerful, began to witness a widespread decline in support during the 18th century. This had implications for belief in occult forces and practices. In 1600, the belief in the threat of demonic witchcraft was widely accepted, even among the educated classes. By the 1730's, however, these beliefs had changed dramatically, to the point where very few individuals charged with witchcraft were actually convicted (Guiley, 1989).

---

social cohesion. The early Christian customs of the *Agape* (love-feast) and Eucharist were interpreted by the Romans as sexual orgies and cannibalistic acts.

A number of factors were responsible for this historical shift. In addition to the Reformation, the emerging ideologies of materialism and humanism are readily identifiable as contributing influences. The central tenet of materialism is the belief that the universe is governed by natural, rather than supernatural, forces. God's influence was discernible, not through supernatural intervention, but through the natural laws He had originally initiated, but which now functioned without him (Cavendish, 1975). This dislocation of God from the cosmic centre to the periphery also meant that Satan, as the opposing spiritual force, was no longer evident in the fortunes and actions of humankind. The Renaissance usurpation of the Christian religious worldview by the humanist belief in rational-scientific explanation not only undermined the influence of God in people's lives, but also the influence of the Devil. This is because Christianity, as a dualistic religious ideology, makes an absolute distinction between good and evil, personified respectively by the figures of God and Satan. The erosion of religious faith in the post-Renaissance age of scientific optimism thus simultaneously undermined belief in the power of Satan.

This is not to say that the scientific revolution was the decisive factor. The latter's influence was gradual and occurred over centuries. It was more the consequence than the cause of the changing worldview, although it obviously strengthened the naturalistic perspective. Science contributed by converting scepticism about Satan and the reality of witchcraft into firm disbelief (Scarre, 1987). A world that followed the calculable and predictable logic of natural laws was largely impervious to warring deities, and hence the need to be hypervigilant of Satan's presence in the behaviour of one's fellow men fell away (Cavendish, 1977). Sorcery, too, was rendered untenable by the new mechanistic worldview. The universe had become a "dead piece of machinery, its cogs and wheels turning in accordance with immutable laws which left no scope for magical manipulation and little for effective religion" (Cavendish, 1977, p. 122-123). In the new spirit of rationality, magic was regarded with contempt. Astrology lost its appeal, folklore was replaced by reason, and 'demon possession' was attributed to medical causes.

The second important factor was the shift from theism to humanism, which stressed individual identity, agency, and responsibility. Man was no longer the plaything of higher spiritual forces, but a power in his own right, capable of planning and controlling his own destiny through reason and action and, of course, comprehension of the universe's natural laws:

> A world which could be shaped so effectively to human desires by men enjoying a new sense of their natural powers, and a conviction of their status as autonomous moral agents, appeared less and less to be a world shared with angels and demons of superhuman abilities. The Middle Ages had believed in the poverty of human resources, the helplessness of men in a hostile world through which the Devil wandered, seeking whom he might devour ... When the eighteenth century dawned, such a sense of the ubiquitous menace of Satan was no longer possible for educated people, and it was increasingly common to regard talk of the Devil as a symbolic expression of the evil tendencies within human beings (Scarre, 1987, p. 58).

Social, economic, and psychological problems thus became attributed more to ignorance and insufficient control of the scientific laws that regulated mind and matter, than to the Devil's machinations.

2.7 The modern revival of magic in the 18th Century

The 18th century saw the emergence of a counteraction against rationalism, in the form of a secret society of Freemasonry, which rapidly spread after its inception in 1717. Masonry demonstrated the need for magic, ritual, and supernatural meaning, which rationalism ignored, and the Church failed to satisfy. Masonry combined an essentially Christian ethic with secret signs, symbols, elaborate regalia, initiation ceremonies, and arcane rituals. It found historical inspiration in the cult of the Knights Templar, and was condemned by the Vatican (Cavendish, 1977). Masonry revived the notion that the universe was a divine organism, and that human beings could ascend to some mystical higher self. Some Masons were interested in alchemy and Egyptian mythology, and some conducted seances in order to summon up spiritual beings that would assist in restoring the original primordial unity, fragmented by science and rationalism (Cavendish, 1977).

While there is no doubting the honourable intentions of the Masons and other related spiritual organisations, a less noble form of secret society emerged in Europe and England in the form of 'Hell-Fire Clubs'. These 18th-Century private clubs afforded an inspirational prototype of a secret organisation devoted to hedonistic indulgence and anti-Christian rhetoric. Hell-Fire Clubs, organisations of aristocratic young men who dabbled in Satanism, emerged in all the European capitals in the 18th century (Kingston, 1976; Masters, 1978). They did not embrace any coherent philosophy, but did, however, employ the trappings of black magic ceremony, blaspheme Christianity, and indulge in sexual activities. The growing popularity of Hell-Fire Clubs in England was such that King George I proclaimed them illegal in 1721 (Masters, 1978; Parker, 1993).[4]

While secret societies - both sacred and profane - proliferated, there was also a revival in various forms of divination in the form of astrology and Tarot cards, and the first dream dictionary of symbolic dream meanings appeared in 1795. Importantly, pseudo-scientific theory became enlisted in the magical revival by Franz Anton Mesmer (1734-1815), a French doctor and member of a Masonic order. Mesmer posited the theory that planets influenced humankind through the universal medium of a magnetic force, 'animal magnetism', which all living organisms possessed, and which could be therapeutically transmitted. The significance of Mesmer's supposedly scientific discovery for the revival of magic was that he seemed to have demonstrated the existence of a mysterious natural force which was responsive to human will, and could influence others' behaviour (Cavendish, 1977).

2.8 19th Century magic and Romantic Satanism

Enlightenment rationality had no sooner taken hold of Europe than a vigorous reaction, in the form of the Romantic movement occurred. The burgeoning renewal of magical

---

[4] As part of the proceedings, Sir Dashwood, head of the Hell-Fire 'Order', had defrocked priests conduct Black Mass in a derelict abbey. The exact nature of Dashwod's cult is unclear, but it certainly incorporated aspects of sex magic and Satanism (Masters, 1978). Anton LaVey, one of the founders of modern Satanism, was significantly influenced by the Hell-Fire clubs.

interest was one aspect, but others included a religious revival in the form of evangelical Christianity, and a renewed appreciation of the 'anti-rational' arts and literature (Nelson, 1987). The most important figure in the modern revival of high magic was Eliphas Levi (1810-1875). Levi, a former Catholic deacon and later a left-wing political journalist, devoted his life to occult study. He reconciled Catholicism with occult theory by asserting that although the Christian conventions were important, Christianity had an esoteric heart which was only accessible through the mystical traditions of the West, particularly the Cabala. Levi integrated Mesmer's theory of animal magnetism with the esoteric belief in the astral body. According to his theory, magnetic energy derived from the astral body and was manifest as 'astral light'. Astral light, which bathed all reality, was characterised by opposite polarities of good and evil, and was responsive to human will. This meant that it could be mentally controlled by ritual magic, and the magician was endowed with enormous power because of the ability to "exercise the almighty powers of Nature" (Levi quoted in Cavendish, 1977, p. 136).

Spiritualism, the practice of using rituals to contact the disembodied spirits of the dead, quickly gained popularity in America and Europe in the second half of the 19th Century. Two other important movements, related to 17th Century Rosicrucianism, were the Theosophical Society, founded in New York in 1875, and The Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, formed in London in 1888. Theosophy aimed to reconcile science and mystical religion, as well as integrating the Western and Eastern Occult traditions (Cavendish, 1977). Under the leadership of MacGregor Mathers, the Golden Dawn accomplished "the construction of a coherent magical system embracing the Cabala, the Tarot, alchemy, astrology, numerology, divination, Masonic symbolism, visionary experience and ritual magic" (Cavendish, 1977, p. 143). The Golden Dawn employed magic toward the end of self-development, and interpreted the gods and spirits of earlier magical traditions as largely internal forces, rather than independent spiritual entities.

Theosophists and members of The Golden Dawn were obviously not Satanists, but the Devil began to emerge as an appealing figure in certain elitist intellectual circles in the

19th Century. Satan became a central figure in romantic literature, and, in 1846, a Parisian group, revolting against spiritual conventions of the time, met regularly for satanic worship (Zacharias, 1980). What made this cult romantic was the composition of verse prayers and poetry dedicated to Satan, a symbol of mystical revolt against materialism.[5]

2.9 Satanism in the social context of the contemporary occult revival

Satanism proper was indirectly born of the 1960's spirit of American youth rebellion against a conservative, rationalist, spiritually impoverished, Christian technocratic society (Cavendish, 1977; Katchen, 1992). Conservative Christian values and the authority of the post-war American administration were undermined by, *inter alia*, hostile youth reaction against America's occupation of Vietnam, the invention of the oral contraceptive and subsequent changes in sexual behaviour, the emergence of feminist and anti-racist ideologies, the invention of LSD and the "expansion" of consciousness through psychedelic drug ingestion, and a fascination with Eastern spiritual traditions. This youth counter-culture embodied a libertarian ideology which emphasised the pursuit of individual freedom, novel experience, personal pleasure, self-enhancement, and defiance of the socio-legal limits imposed by the old establishment. It was within this context that a renewed fascination with magic and occult practices emerged.

In 1951, Britain's Witchcraft Act was repealed as it was believed to be obsolete. However, in 1954, Howard Gardener published *Witchcraft Today*, a book which described and popularised modern white witchcraft (*Wicca*). Gardener drew on the work of anthropologist, Margaret Murray. Murray argued that witchcraft is an ancient pagan religion, originating in the prehistoric worship of the 'Great Mother', the oldest of the ancient deities, and of the Horned God (*Dianus* or *Janus*), a primitive symbol of power

---

[5] Charles Baudelaire, a member of this circle, wrote a hymn to Satan, and other literary figures such as Shelley and Swinburne used him as a symbol of Romantic inspiration. Cavendish (1975) describes the spirit of Romanticism as a belief in the individual's "overriding right to fulfilment, a new attack on the injustices of society, and a deep and magical distrust of reason and preference for feeling, imagination and inspiration as guides to truth" (p.226). In this light, it is obvious why Christianity was regarded as antithetical to human freedom, it had "fettered men's instincts in a despotic and unnatural morality" (p.226).

and fertility. Murray's theory was soon discredited by researchers, but the notion of a prehistoric, matriarchal, pagan religion held a powerful romantic appeal for those disaffected with conventional religion. (Guiley, 1989; Kingston, 1976; Russell, 1980). Witchcraft, thus revived as a neo-Pagan religion, became a spiritual influence within the women's movement (Guiley, 1989; Katchen, 1992), and the writings of a few modern occultists made the esoteric magical traditions more accessible and easy to apply. Much of this literature concerned benevolent "white witchcraft", premised upon principles of pantheism (a divine force immanent in nature), polytheism (multiple manifestations of the Divine as Pagan deities), and magic performed with ethical responsibility (Guiley, 1989; Russell, 1980). In contrast to male-dominated Christianity, the supreme 'Goddess' is elevated over her male consort, 'the Horned God', and covens are typically led by a High Priestess. White magic, performed in a magic circle with the aid of beneficent spirits, occurs through scourging, sex rituals, meditation, chanting, dancing, spirit invocation, astral projection, incense, drug and alcohol use (Guiley, 1989). There are many varieties of neo-Pagan witchcraft, but they are all reactions against the one-sided patriarchy, monotheism, and disembodied spirituality of orthodox Christianity. While the white witchcraft (*Wicca*) tradition subscribes to the principle of harming no living thing, proponents of the 'left-hand path' of magic, which paved the way for modern Satanism, do not consider themselves bound to any principle of non-malevolence. The influence of these 'black' magicians on the development of Satanism will be considered in the following chapter.

Summary

This chapter began by tracing the historical evolution of belief in satanic witchcraft in the medieval Christian church's portrayal of religious dissenters as diabolical conspirators against the religious *status quo*. Heretical groups were considered to be servants of the Devil, and were alleged to practise a range of bizarre ritual transgressions aimed at corrupting and undermining Christian society. The case of the Gnostic heretics was cited to illustrate the use of the satanic conspiracy theory by the Catholic Church. By the 15th century, the stereotype of the demonic witch who attended sabatts, made demonic pacts,

and practised black magic and cannibalistic infanticide, was established. Most prosecutions of people on witchcraft charges, however, occurred at the turn of the 16th Century as early modern social upheaval and political turmoil was attributed to Satan and covens of witches acting at his behest. Details of alleged witchcraft practices, focusing on the infamous Black Mass, were described. The demise of witchcraft belief and prosecution was discussed in the context of the emerging modern ideologies of materialism and humanism. The occult revival of the 18th Century demonstrated a countereaction against the prevailing modern rationalism, and the romantic revival of high magic and esoteric societies was briefly reviewed. The chapter concluded by arguing that the American youth rebellion of the 1960's, together with the popularisation of white witchcraft as a neo-pagan backlash against patriarchal Christian spirituality, paved the way for the emergence of modern satanic witchcraft.

CHAPTER THREE

MODERN SATANIC CULT IDEOLOGY AND PRACTICE

Introduction

In the previous two chapters, the theological/philosophical history of the Devil and black magic was discussed. Although belief in demons and a supreme evil deity spans a long period of Western history, the emergence of formal religious/quasi-religious cults devoted to anti-Christian polemics and the worship of Satan is a recent historical phenomenon. Formalised satanic worship, as a distinct and specific ritual activity, has only appeared in the past few decades in America and Britain. This chapter will provide a comprehensive definition of the term satanic cult, as well as describing satanic cult ideology and detailing the ritual activities allegedly practised by contemporary Satanists. As in all religious cults, the theology and ceremony of Satanism derives from the charismatic influence of a few individuals. This chapter will thus also review the contributions of those whose status and teachings have shaped contemporary Satanism.

3.1 The social context of religious cults

Satanism is a particular type of religious cult, the latter being generally defined as a "relatively small religious group whose beliefs, values, and practices are at variance with those of dominant or traditional forms of religion" (Pavlos, 1982, p. 3). The period from the mid-1970s to the present saw a world-wide eruption of religiosity on a scale unique in human history (Nelson, 1987). The 'Abrahamic' religions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam, which had previously adapted to secular values in order to survive, suddenly commanded enormous popular support for the sacred reorganisation of society (Kepel, 1994). What made this religious resurgence so astonishing was that it confounded the predictions of social scientists who long ago forecast that the modernising forces of industrial society - economic and technological growth, improved education, secular humanistic ideology, the spread of mass media, etc. - would all but eradicate religion (Kepel, 1994; Kutz, 1988; Nelson, 1987; Sahliyeh, 1990). Despite disparate ideological

values and ends, what all these new religious formations share are essentially fundamentalist characteristics. Kurtz (1988) defines fundamentalism as:

> any movement or attitude that stresses strict and literal adherence to a set of fundamental principles or values. A fundamentalist is one ... who professes belief in a creed, doctrine, dogma, code or ideology that he accepts unreservedly and without question ... These principles are taken as absolute, unchanging, eternal (p. 11).

Christian neo-fundamentalism - in the form of Protestant Puritanism, evangelicalism, and Pentecostalism - is the most influential current religious trend in the West. A 1986 Gallup poll identified 33% of the adult population as self-professed 'evangelicals' (Kepel, 1994). What unites these different Christian movements is a hostile reaction against secularisation, belief in the absolute infallibility of the scriptures, an insistence on the return to 'family values', the importance of 'converting' others to the Christian faith, an awareness of the internecine battle between the forces of good and evil, and the necessity of political mobilisation toward the realisation of their spiritual objectives. The absolute insistence on the literal truth of the scriptures, and the rigid distinction between good and evil, means that from this perspective, Satan is not merely a metaphor for human fallibility and spiritual weakness, but a perfectly evil, personified cosmic force which seeks every opportunity to possess those who lack faith or spiritual vigilance.

3.2 Definition and classification of Satanism

Satanism may be defined more specifically as a charismatic cult religion in which traditional (Catholic) Christian beliefs and liturgies are blasphemously inverted, and Satan worshipped as the sovereign deity. It shares, with all other charismatic religious movements, the following characteristics (Galanter, 1982, 1989; Melton, 1978): (1) A codified shared supernatural belief system, (2) a high level of social cohesiveness, (3) strong influence over members by the group's behavioural norms, and (4) the imputation of charismatic or divine power to the group or its leadership. What distinguishes Satanism from other cults, however, is that its identity and character rest on the negation and inversion of another religious tradition (Christianity).

The popular impression of burgeoning institutionalised Satanism has been created and sustained largely by anti-Satanist Christian authors, rather than reflecting any actual satanic organisational development (Melton, 1992). Although a number of Satanist organisations exist in the USA, their combined active membership has apparently never exceeded a few thousand (Melton, 1992). But however much their membership and social influence has been exaggerated, satanic cults certainly do exist. A number of authors, using a number of different criteria, have attempted to classify the varieties of satanic activity (Greaves, 1992; Ivey, 1993a; Langome and Blood, 1990; Melton, 1978; Ross, 1995; Tate, 1991). Perhaps the most useful typology is one that, firstly, distinguishes organised from informal satanic involvement and, secondly, classifies organised Satanism in terms of different levels of cult knowledge, ideological commitment, and organisational involvement (Ivey, 1993a).

Level One: Informal Satanism

1. Pseudo-Satanism

The first group hardly justifies the satanic label, and these individuals are referred to in the literature as "dabblers" (Greaves, 1992; Tate, 1991). They are generally white adolescents who, sensitive to the cultural paranoia surrounding Satanism, rebel against authority figures by professing loose allegiance to diluted satanic ideology, and engage in behaviour that conservative authorities misconstrue as satanic: participating in the Heavy Metal music subculture, wearing black clothing, drawing satanic icons, participating in fantasy and occult games, etc. Their naive understanding of Satanism, the lack of organised expression, and the general anti-establishment motive of gaining identity by rebelling against traditional norms, set this group apart from Satanism proper. Because of its social visibility, this group is largely responsible for the public misperception that the incidence of Satanism has reached epidemic proportions.

2. Solitary/self-styled Satanism

Certain individuals profess allegiance to Satan, read satanic literature, and observe solitary black magic rituals. Although not affiliated to any satanic organisation, they have

been known to commit crimes and antisocial acts in the name of Satan (Greaves, 1992; Ross, 1995).

Level Two: Organisational Satanism

1. Openly practising religious satanic/neo-satanic cults

These are distinguished from Level One Satanism by a religious/metaphysical belief system, collective ritual obeisance to an anti-Christian deity, hierarchical leadership structure, public acknowledgement of beliefs and activities, and professed eschewal of criminal practices. LaVey's Church of Satan and Aquino's Temple of Set are examples of this cult form.

2. Underground cult organisations

The religious satanic cults mentioned above are able to practise openly by virtue of their declared opposition to criminal behaviour. However, many alleged satanic cult survivors testify to the existence of highly secretive, underground groups, the members of which regularly perpetrate ritual crime as an integral part of their satanic activities. Crimes allegedly committed include drug abuse, paedophilia, rape, bestiality, abduction, cannibalism and murder.

Members of these organisations appear to comprise two distinct sub-categories, differentiated by duration of cult membership, hierarchical status, and commitment to the cult ideology. The first sub-category typically includes white adolescents who are neophyte cult members, occupy the lowest rungs of the cult hierarchy, and have little understanding of satanic ritual magic. As recent cult members, their socialisation into the satanic subculture is incomplete. Consequently, they tend to have ambivalent feelings toward Satanism, thus preventing their total commitment to, and identification with, satanic ideology. They may feel uncomfortable with certain ceremonial practices, lack detailed understanding of the meaning of the rituals, and occupy the lowest rungs of the cult hierarchy. They frequently report symptoms of demonic possession, even after leaving the cult, and cite fear of spiritual or physical retribution as the primary motive for

not severing links with Satanism. Their ambivalence and reported traumatic experiences, however, usually result in them leaving the cult after a relatively short period of involvement. They frequently commit themselves to charismatic Christian ideology in order to allay anxiety concerning their satanic past and its continued influence over them (Ivey, 1993a). Having left the cult, they frequently show related psychological disturbances, which prompts them to seek help from clergy or mental health professionals.

The second sub-category of underground Satanists are the older, experienced, long-term members who have a detailed understanding of satanic rituals and occupy positions of status within the cult hierarchy. They have thoroughly internalised the cult ideology and identify completely with their cult role. Gaining access to these individuals is practically impossible because of their level of ideological commitment, alleged criminal conduct in the cult, and consequent need to maintain absolute secrecy about their activities. This sub-category may include 'transgenerational Satanists'; members who have been raised as Satanists from early childhood by parents who are also cult members.

3.3 Influential figures in the satanic movement

The two most important proponents of modern satanic magic have been Aleister Crowley and Anton LaVey. Their influence requires some discussion of their individual contributions to satanic theology and practice. Michael Aquino's well-publicised defection from The Church of Satan and his establishment of a rival satanic organisation will also be considered briefly. The teachings of these three authors provide the ideological foundations of modern satanic philosophy.

Aleister Crowley

Reputedly the most influential modern magician is Aleister Crowley (1875-1947). Crowley "reviewed and restated the theory of magic from a modern psychological point of view - owing something to Freud - with a forcefulness, intelligence and wit unmatched by any other writer" (Cavendish, 1977, p. 146). His influence in this regard stems as

much from his character and "depraved" life-style as it does from his extensive publications on magic. Crowley, who identified himself with the Great Beast 666 of Revelations, [1] has been described as "the nearest any living person could become to evil personified" (Parker, 1993, p. 177). Whatever judgements may be pronounced on Crowley's extraordinary life and character, he certainly considered himself to be the prophet of a new aeon, and divined his mission as the liberation of humankind from Christianity (Cavendish, 1977; Suster, 1989). Crowley identified himself with a number of dark gods: Pan, Dionysus, Baphomet, Seth, and Satan (Cavendish, 1975). The spiritual tradition he advocated to replace moribund Christianity was Thelema (meaning 'Will'). The central doctrine of Crowley's Thelema was "Do what though wilt shall be the whole of the Law" (Suster, 1989, p.128). Many authors interpret this to mean that Crowley made hedonism and destructive self-gratification the foundation of his "religion". Suster (1989) testily dismisses this and argues that the true meaning of Crowley's "commandment" is that our only meaningful vocation as human beings is to discover our life's true purpose ("True Will"), and devote ourselves to actualising this. Thelema, as an ideological doctrine, was a spiritual form of individualistic libertarianism which held that within each person was the ultimate deity. Crowley thus exalted the individual and interpreted Christianity's emphasis on sin and "correct" behaviour as a loathsome restriction on the true spiritual quest. This self-realisation was a religious project and sexuality, magic, drugs, and meditation were all considered by Crowley to merely be the means to this spiritual end.

Suster (1989) claims that "serious Magicians do not indulge in 'Satanism' or 'Devil-worship' (p. 99)", thereby implying that Crowley was not a Satanist. He certainly did not acknowledge Satan as an external deity to be worshipped and placated. Satan, rather, was an internal power that could be released and harnessed through the magical practice of divination (divining true knowledge through esoteric means), evocation (calling up spiritual presences), and invocation (imaginative identification with gods/goddesses).

---

[1] In a favourable biography of Crowley Suster (1989) defines this as esoterically meaning, "God, Man and Animal conjoined ... he exemplified and personified almost all the virtues and vices of human beings" (p.87).

Crowley's "introspective" approach to the Devil is the hallmark of modern Satanism: "Crowley's great contribution was to convert the faith and practice of Satanism from reliance on an external Devil to the belief in worshipping and realising the demonic inside the individual Satanist" (Tate, 1991, p. 91).

Whatever the intellectual subtleties of Crowley's undoubtedly sophisticated approach, it is difficult to challenge the thesis that his ceremonies were deliberately blasphemous, and that his published rituals provide a "modern satanic primer" (Tate, 1991). In his 1916 publication, *Black Mass*, Crowley describes baptising a frog as Jesus Christ before crucifying and stabbing it to death while chanting: "I, the Great Beast, slay thee, Jesus of Nazareth, the slave god .... Give thou place to me, O Jesus; thine aeon is passed. The age of Horus is arisen by the Magick of the Master, the Great Beast that is Man" (Quoted in Tate, 1991, p. 96). In his "Temple of Thelema", a remote Sicilian villa, Crowley and his acolytes pursued magic rituals and ceremonies involving sodomy, bestiality, animal sacrifice, blood drinking, and the consumption of ceremonial hosts - mock consecrated wafers containing animal or menstrual blood (Parker, 1993; Tate, 1991). In his 1929 *Magick in Theory and Practice,* Crowley stressed the importance of ceremonial sacrifice, stating that for "the highest spiritual working one must ... choose that victim which contains the greatest and purest force. A male child of perfect innocence and high intelligence is the most satisfactory and suitable victim" (Cited in Tate, 1991, p. 101). Crowley himself may never have performed a ritual human sacrifice, but published statements like the former, unambiguously endorse human sacrifice.

Anton LaVey and The Church of Satan

Anton LaVey (1930-1997) was the first individual to shape a libertarian philosophy into an openly practising, organised Satanic religion. The guiding principle of LaVey's Satanism is that individualism should be pursued through the hedonistic application of magic, where the latter is defined as "the change in situations or events in accordance with one's will, which would, using normally accepted methods, be unchangeable" (LaVey cited in Schwarz & Empey, 1988, p. 70). Through his writings (1969, 1970,

1972), stylised rituals, and dramatic publicity, LaVey shaped and institutionalised a loose body of occult ritual magic into a formal religious cult. For LaVey, Satan is a Promethean symbol of "indulgence, vital existence, undefiled wisdom, kindness to the deserving, vengeance, (and) responsibility to the responsible" (Melton, 1978, p. 303). In San Francisco, on Walpurgisnacht (a pagan festival date) in 1966, he proclaimed the beginning of the satanic era and founded The Church of Satan in America. The Church, undoubtedly the most famous satanic organisation, has appropriated traditional satanic symbols and lore, and used Satan as a convenient motif for the propagation of modern occult and magical teaching. For LaVey, Satan was a dark natural force that could be harnessed by means of appropriate rituals and attitudes (Guiley, 1989; Russell, 1980). It has been noted by a number of authors that, in The Church of Satan, a philosophy of individual pragmatism and hedonism has assumed precedence over the worship of Satan as a deity (Melton, 1992). Barton (1992), LaVey's authorised biographer, describes The Church's philosophy as a "down-to-earth, rational, bedrock philosophy that emphasised the carnal, lustful, natural instincts of man, without imposing guilts for manufactured sins" (p. 70).

In 1970, LaVey published *The Satanic Bible*, a work which included both a discussion of satanic ideology - the celebration of instinctual indulgence and excess - and the practice of satanic magic. The Church of Satan promotes the development of "strong individuals who seek gratification out of life and practice the selfish virtues as long as they do not harm others undeservedly" (Melton, 1992, p. 112). LaVey's satanic philosophy emphasises self-assertion, opposition to establishment values, and the gratification of both carnal and mental wishes (Melton, 1978). Humankind's true psychological nature is characterised by lust, pride, hedonism and wilfulness. All of these attributes are believed to afford both personal happiness and the advancement of civilisation, and should be properly indulged (Guiley, 1989).

LaVey strongly prohibited illegal activities, especially animal sacrifice, as this was considered antithetical to The Church's life-affirmative philosophy (Guiley, 1989;

Melton, 1978). Drug ingestion was deemed escapist, and hence contrary to The Church's philosophical realism (Melton, 1978). According to Melton (1992), The Church has not been implicated in any of the crimes allegedly perpetrated by more "traditional" Satanist groups. LaVey did not employ the ritual of the Black Mass (Guiley, 1989; Melton, 1978). The Church of Satan never had more than a few hundred members, and lasted only a few years before several schisms forced LaVey to disband the Church's "grottos" and reorganise it as a loose coalition or fellowship of individuals (Guiley, 1989; Melton, 1992).

Michael Aquino and the Temple of Set

Two of the schismatic groups (Church of Satanic Brotherhood, and Ordo Templi Satanis) dissolved shortly after their leaders left The Church of Satan in the early 1970's. Michael Aquino, a USA military officer in the field of psychological warfare, enjoyed more success when he broke away to establish the Temple of Set in 1975. Aquino allegedly left the Church because of LaVey's vulgar commercialisation of Satanism (Tate, 1991) and his refusal to acknowledge the literal existence of Satan (Melton, 1992). In fact, realising that Satan was merely the mirror image of God, and hence a product of Christian theology, Aquino evoked the pre-Christian Egyptian deity, Set, as a more apposite satanic symbol.

Aquino was critical of LaVey's celebration of all impulsive desires, precisely because this proved destructive and degrading, rather than exalting. Aquino preserved the principle of individualism, but emphasised a rather more holistic and spiritual understanding of the individual: "Glorification of the ego is not enough: it is the complete psyche - the entire self or soul - which must be recognised, appreciated and actualised" (Aquino cited in Tate, 1991, p. 145). Aquino called this spiritual process "Xeper", which he defined as "the transformation of the Will from a human to a divine state of being by deliberate, conscious, individual force of mind" (Cited in Tate, 1991, p. 146). Whereas LaVey's Satan may be equated with the Freudian concept of libido (Suster, 1989), Aquino discerned a higher calling, reminiscent of the intention behind Crowley's understanding

of Magick: "a way of perfecting the various faculties of Man and raising him in stages to Godhead" (Suster, 1989, p.28). Accompanying this more metaphysical interpretation of Satanism was a declared rejection of any behaviour or attitude considered "undignified, sadistic, criminal, or depraved" (Aquino in Tate, 1991, p. 149). The Temple's main objective is "to awaken the divine power of the individual through the deliberate exercise of will and intelligence" (Melton, 1992, p. 114).

3.4 Satanic ideology and practices

The satanic movement is not a monolithic entity, and various personal and ideological schisms have resulted in at least six groups in America alone, breaking away from the Church to form their own organisations (Melton, 1978). However, although different satanic groups may adhere to slightly different beliefs and practices, there is a high degree of subcultural heterogeneity and a common magical world view (Katchen & Sakheim, 1992). Alfred (1976) identifies six general aspects of satanic ideology: (1) hedonistic gratification of worldly desires; (2) the ceremonial use of magic for gaining personal power and manipulating others; (3) the worship of Satan as a symbol of that which is religiously forbidden and heretical; (4) the iconoclastic desire to free oneself from conformist social norms, expectations and institutional restraints; (5) the millenariast belief in the overthrow of Christianity, and the coming of a new world order; and (6) the imputation of charismatic authority and magical power to the religious leader, or high priest. These, and other, characteristic features of satanic belief systems will be considered in detail below.

3.4.1. Magic ritual

The Satanic world view begins from the assumption that all living organisms contain a spiritual power or energy which can be transferred and absorbed through the enactment of certain magical rituals (Katchen & Sakheim, 1992). Magic may thus be simply defined as "the science and art of causing change to occur in conformity with will" (Crowley quoted in Suster, 1989, p. 97). 'Greater' magic refers to the ritual harnessing of supernatural energy, while 'lesser' magic refers to the psychological manipulation and control of

others (Alfred, 1976). Satanic magic rituals generally include prayers, incantations, curses, sacrifices, and initiation ceremonies. Elaborate robes, visual effects, masks and symbols are employed with ceremonial formality, and a strict hierarchy of authority is observed.

3.4.2. The acquisition of power and self-gratification

The acquisition and control of this power and its employment for the purposes of self-enhancement is a primary satanic objective. The importance of personal power and self-enhancement stems from a perception, reminiscent of Christian Gnosticism, that although God may have created the world, "He has either abandoned it, is not involved with it, or is even malevolently disposed against it" (Katchen & Sakheim, 1992). Because there is no benevolent deity to provide for humankind, individuals are obliged to seek and actualise their visions of personal fulfilment through development of their own powers.

3.4.3. Anti-Christian world view

Related to the above is the third assumption that, because Christianity teaches submission to God, defines "natural" impulses and thoughts as sinful, and promotes guilt in response to transgression, it is the ideological antithesis of our essentially positive human nature:

> Christian piety, with its virtues of otherworldliness, self-denial, humility, cleanliness of heart and mind, they condemn as spineless, colourless, dead. They wholeheartedly echo Swinburne's accusing line - 'Thou has conquered, O pale Galilean, and the world has grown Gray from thy breath' (Cavendish, 1967, p. 290).

Consequently, Satanism typically manifests as the antinomian reversal of Christianity (Katchen & Sakheim, 1992). Christian morality is thus scorned and the desecration of Christian symbols forms an integral part of satanic rituals.

3.4.4. Diabolism

Diabolism refers to the belief in, and worship of, the supernatural deity/deities traditionally associated with the figure of Satan in Christian theology. Satan is believed

to exist in the same way as God is believed to exist, and is worshipped as a defiant inversion of the Christian deity. An implicit tension exists between the diabolical world view and the notion that the Satanist is not expected to "worship diabolical entities but rather to manipulate them as symbols for the purpose of one's own glorification and gratification" (Alfred, 1976, p. 185). This tension juxtaposes two interpretations of Satanism, which we may designate as theological and psychological, respectively. The theological interpretation posits the literal external existence of a personified supernatural force or entity (Satan), perpetually at war with another personified supernatural force (God). Satan must be worshipped, petitioned, and placated, while God must be defiled and denigrated in a mirror inversion of the Christian religion.

The psychological interpretation does not embrace the assumption that an external supernatural force exists in any literal sense. Satan, rather, is posited to be a symbol or metaphor for some internal psychic force or energy which can be liberated and directed toward the attainment of self-fulfilment. This psychological interpretation may be further differentiated by examining the assumptions of the published satanic advocates. LaVey's Devil, it would seem, may be equated with Freud's concept of libido, while Aquino's Set seems more akin to Jung's notion of the archetypal Self. Crowley appears to make no distinction between the psychological self and the metaphysical deity. He believed himself to have attained the identity of 'Ipsissimus', meaning 'his very own self', where "the man or woman is wholly extinguished by ultimate identification with his or her own Godhead" (Suster, 1989, p. 62).

Most Satanists, it appears, are not concerned with these fine distinctions. They generally embrace the magical world view whereby the universe is held to contain multiple supernatural forces or intelligences (angels and demons), represented by symbols, which may be controlled through the power of will and ritual (Katchen & Sakheim, 1992). Satan and his demons, whether real or metaphorical, are Promethean symbols of rebellious power, which can be identified with through ritual invocation. Rituals are conceived both as "psychodramas and as magical acts that focus psychokinetic force, as

in the ritual magick tradition" (Melton, 1978, p. 303). The question of the exact metaphysical status of demons, from a psychological perspective, will be considered in later chapters. The fact that many Satanists use diabolical symbolism, call up demons, and ritually acknowledge an anti-Christian deity, suggests the implicit acceptance of the supernatural perspective of diabolism.

3.4.5. Radical individualism

Satanic ideology identifies enslavement to social norms and conventional beliefs as the primary threat to self-fulfilment. Satan is worshipped because he mythically embodies rebellion, defiance of authority, and rejection of collective morality. True individualism is necessarily iconoclastic, and this philosophy is aimed at freeing Satanists from the influence of institutions, values, and customs which typically restrict free thought and action (Alfred, 1976).

3.4.6. Hedonism

Judaeo-Christian religion and morality is based upon the principles of abstinence, self-denial, and instinctual renunciation. In contrast, Satanism encourages the indulgence of all physical, mental, and emotional desires (Alfred, 1976). Hedonism is consistent with the belief that the free gratification of our instinctual life is both natural and appropriate, promoting individual development and fulfilment.

3.4.7. Millenarianism

Satanism is characterised by prophetic appeal to the notion of inevitable historical transformation wherein the Christian age will necessarily be supplanted by a new social order, served by new gods and ideologies. Revolutionary overthrow of the old Christian world order is both preordained and justified, and the new age of Satan will emancipate humankind from the fetters of moribund Christian spirituality.

3.4.8. <u>Charismatic authority</u>

Satanic cult authority is extremely hierarchical, and the high priests/priestesses are believed to possess superhuman knowledge and power. Their cult status invests them with absolute control over cult proceedings. Cult members are obliged to perform the high priest's/priestess's bidding, and any perceived disloyalty or failure to comply is harshly punished.

3.5 Antisocial and criminal satanic ritual activities

While most openly practising Satanic organisations publicly condemn antisocial or criminal conduct, it appears certain that a number of underground Satanic organisations commit ritual crimes. These alleged criminal activities are detailed below.

3.5.1 <u>Ritual abuse</u>

A variety of sadistic physical, psychological, and sexual abusive practices are allegedly perpetrated within satanic cults (Goodwin, 1994; Gould, 1992; Tate, 1991; Trowell, 1994). Goodwin (1994) defines sadistic abuse as "extreme adverse experiences which include sadistic sexual and physical abuse, acts of torture, overcontrol and terrorisation, induction into violence, ritual involvements and malevolent emotional abuse" (p. 33). Ritual abuse is a subtype of sadistic abuse involving physical, psychological and sexual practices associated with repeated symbolic activities or rituals occurring within a religious, magical, or supernatural context (McFadyen *et al*, 1993). What defines sadistic abuse as ritualistic in a satanic context is that the abuse is not performed simply for the abusers' gratification, but because it expresses the symbolic life of the cult and furthers the latter's religious/pseudo-religious objectives. The hallmark of ritual abuse is:

the existence of an elaborate belief system and the attempt to create a particular spiritual or social system through practices that involve physical, sexual and emotional abuse ... the abuse is a vehicle for inducing in adults a religious state, a mystical experience or loss of ego-boundary, or for furthering some social objective of the group such as group solidarity ... or the corrupting of a new generation and the induction of new members into evil or forbidden practices (Finkelhor cited in Tate, 1991, p. 8).

What makes these activities abusive is that participants are frequently coerced into participating through threats, punishment or psychological manipulation, and the abusive rituals are allegedly often performed on children who are unable to give or deny consent. Typical abusive ritual activities are alleged to include: isolation, bondage, flogging and mutilation, consumption of body waste and fluid (faeces, urine, and blood), vaginal/anal rape, sexual assault with foreign objects, forced involvement in animal/human sacrifice, cannibalism, drug administration, and torture (Coleman, 1994; Gould, 1992; Katchen & Sakheim, 1992; Moore, 1994; Tate, 1991; Young, 1992).

These abusive practices are intended to induct individuals into the cult, destroy the previous self and create a new satanic identity (Katchen & Sakheim, 1992). It is alleged that abusive activities are calculated to produce psychological dissociation so that the 'old' self may continue to function on a day-to-day basis, while the split-off satanic self is elicited at ritual events (Coleman, 1994; Katchen & Sakheim, 1992). The satanic self that is created comprises qualities that are functional to the cult: sadism, disinhibition, emotional blunting, manipulativeness, paranoia, group loyalty, and hatred for all individuals and institutions embodying Christian values.

Pressurising adults or children into activities previously considered immoral, and rewarding them with promises of power and acceptance by the cult serves to undermine their moral foundation. This is facilitated by the transposition of traditional notions of good and evil. Traditional 'goodness' is portrayed as weak, hypocritical, and repressive. Traditional evil is presented as truthful, powerful, and emotionally gratifying. Eventually this value transposition, initially ego-dystonic, becomes internally accepted. Encouraging and/or forcing individuals (particularly children) to engage in self-debasing acts makes

them more vulnerable to assuming a cult identity. The religious ceremony and mythology that is integral to this process provides supernatural sanction for deviant behaviour, and promotes the belief that members will be rewarded by a benevolent Satan for doing his bidding.

Many female cult survivors report having been deliberately impregnated by cult members and later forced to abort the foetus, which is subsequently cannibalised by the cult during a ritual ceremony (Coleman, 1994; Katchen & Sakheim, 1992). Having participated in behaviour considered reprehensible by wider society binds individuals to the cult because of the guilt and fear of social condemnation. Ambivalent individuals are reminded that their cult experiences have been of such a nature that they will never be able to fit into wider society, and that the cult is their only real home and family (Katchen & Sakheim, 1992).

The supernatural powers attributed to Satan become a further source of psychological abuse. Satanic members are taught that Satan is omniscient and omnipotent. He will thus be instantly aware of any disloyalty and defectors will be magically punished. Coleman (1994) alleges that some cult survivors were forced to swallow animals' eyeballs, "so that they could be watched from the inside" (p. 249). She also cites the case of a regressed patient who "relived" the experience of having a 'bomb' implanted in her abdomen, and who lived in fear of this device exploding in her, should she display disloyalty (p.249). Other alleged cult survivors have reported similar forms of psychological control (Gould, 1992; Katchen & Sakheim, 1992). The result is the experience of "penetration by the psychological forces of the environment into the inner experience of the individual" (Lifton cited in Katchen & Sakheim, 1992). As individuals become further initiated into the cult, they acquire more status and privilege, and are subject to less abuse. Their reward is power over newer initiates and an increased sense of cult belonging.

3.5.2 <u>Ritual sacrifice</u>

As discussed above, living organisms are believed to contain spiritual energy, and blood is the vehicle for this energy. When a living creature is killed, the energy is believed to be suddenly liberated (Cavendish, 1967). For this reason, ritual blood sacrifice, in which the creature's throat is slit with a ceremonial dagger, is purported to be an integral part of many satanic ceremonies (Coleman, 1994; Katchen & Sakheim, 1992; Tate, 1991). The sacrifice is typically performed within a magic circle in order to channel and contain the energy. The warm blood is drunk from a chalice, thereby allowing the participants to absorb the creature's vital energy.

The significance of this act cannot be properly grasped without understanding further archetypal meaning of blood. Blood has always been considered the seat of life or soul, imbued with numinous qualities (Edinger, 1972). Consequently, the ancient Hebrews were forbidden to drink blood. In the book of Deuteronomy (12:23), Yahweh commands, "the blood is the life, and you shall not eat the life with the flesh". For this reason blood was believed to be the most appropriate gift of man to God, hence the wide-spread practice of blood sacrifice, and the taboo against spilling it in circumstances other than religious worship. From a psychological perspective, blood signifies "the life of the soul, of transpersonal origin, exeedingly precious and potent. It is to be reverenced as divine and any effort of the ego to manipulate, appropriate, or destroy it for personal purposes provokes vengeance or retribution" (Edinger, 1972, p. 228). Furthermore, blood has always been understood to be the solution by means of which a covenant between man and the supernatural powers, whether divine or demonic, is established. This covenant symbolism is perhaps best epitomised in the Christian communion meal or last supper, where Christ's actions are recounted: "And he took a cup, and when he had given thanks he gave it to them saying, 'Drink of it, all of you; for this is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins'".

While most sacrificial victims are animals, widespread allegations of human sacrifice abound (Coleman, 1994; Cooklin and Barnes, 1994; Mollon, 1994). Human sacrificial

victims may be babies or artificially aborted foetuses of female cult members, runaway children, vagrants, or cult members who are disobedient or wish to leave the cult. The bodies of these victims are allegedly disposed of through a variety of means.

3.5.3 Sex magic and perversion

The use of sex in satanic rituals is not simply based on the hedonistic desire for physical gratification, but rather on belief in the magico-religious properties of sexual energy (Eliade, 1976). Sperm, since ancient times, has been endowed with supernatural power *(mana)*, as has menstrual blood (Zacharias, 1980). As was noted in the early discussion of sexual orgies (Chapter Two), rituals involving excessive and indiscriminate sex also serve to eradicate boundaries and "reactualize the primordial moment of the Creation or the beatific stage of the beginnings, when neither sexual taboos nor moral and social rules yet existed" (Eliade, 1976, p. 88). A range of perverse sexual activities are pursued. These are alleged to include incest, bestiality, sodomy, paedophilia and sadism.

3.5.4 The Black Mass

The Catholic Mass is a magical ceremony which achieves magical ends. Bread and wine are transformed into the body and blood of Christ which, when consumed, allows the worshipper to become one with God. The Mass has historically been adapted and corrupted for both good and destructive ends, but Satanists are alleged to consistently perform Black Mass ceremonies (Tate, 1991). These ceremonies essentially parody the Catholic Mass, with Satan substituted for God and prayers altered or recited backwards (Coleman, 1994). Sacrilegious use is made of crucifixes, church candles, the Host, etc. Blood, water or urine is substituted for wine and Christ is ridiculed and insulted. The reason for the blasphemous inversion of the liturgy is the belief that Christ is a false God and that all He represents is essentially evil (Masters, 1978). Originally the officiator of the Black Mass was an apostate priest, but this function has now devolved to the high priest/priestess of the coven. Whatever their validity, historical accounts of the Black Mass provide comprehensive ritual guidelines that are easily emulated, and many satanic cult survivors allege that this ceremony is regularly enacted.

Summary

This chapter began by defining satanic cults as religious or quasi-religious groups devoted to the worship of the Devil, the inversion of Christian morality, and the acquisition of magical power through the performance of ritual ceremonies. It was noted, however, that the term *Satanism* is commonly understood in Christian societies to include a wide range of unconventional or occult beliefs and activities. A functional taxonomy of Satanism was proposed, based on whether or not individuals are practising members of organised satanic groups, and on their levels of cult knowledge, commitment, and involvement. The contributions of Aleister Crowley, Anton LaVey, and Michael Aquino to the development of a coherent set of satanic organisations, ideologies and practices were then discussed. It was emphasised that Satanism is not a monolithic movement, and that its recent history has been characterised by the same organisational and ideological schisms associated with traditional Christian religion. Despite this fact, the last part of the chapter was devoted to describing central features of a core satanic belief system and its associated practices. This comprises belief in magic and its employment for the acquisition of power, the worship of occult forces and entities, anti-Christian ideology, radical individualism, hedonism, the millenarinist belief in the coming of a new anti-Christian world order, and subservience to the charismatic authority of cult leaders. The chapter concluded with a description of the various antisocial and criminal activities that Satanists allegedly engage in. These include assorted ritual mental and physical abuse, ritual sacrifice of animal and human victims, perverse sexual practices, and Black Mass ceremonies.

PART TWO

THEORIES OF SATANIC CULT INVOLVEMENT

Introduction to Part Two

Academically credible literature on Satanism is sparse, but two distinct approaches are evident in the little that has been published. These approaches are distinguished in terms of whether their subject matter - satanic ritual involvement - is construed as an objectively real phenomenon that needs to be explained in terms of causal social/psychological factors, or whether it is understood to be an ideological discourse that has little basis outside of the "claimsmaking" process of the discursive system. These two distinct orientations have been termed *traditionalist*, and *constructionist*, respectively (Forsyth and Olivier, 1990). This author proposes the term *realist*, rather than traditionalist, as this approach takes for granted the objective social reality of Satanism, and tries to establish the psychosocial causes responsible for its existence and alleged increase (Bourget, Gagnon, and Bradford, 1988; Ivey, 1992 a,b; Moody 1974; Moriarty & Story, 1990; Wheeler, Wood, and Hatch, 1988). The constructionist perspective does not assume the objective reality of its subject matter. In fact, most constructionist authors are highly sceptical about the existence of any Satanic movement. However, it is precisely this discrepancy between objective reality, and public perceptions of reality, that is the focal interest. Constructionism is thus primarily concerned with the social processes and contexts in which claims about reality are made (Forsyth & Olivier, 1990; Gergen, 1985; Richardson, Best and Bromley, 1991; Schwandt, 1994). The emphasis shifts from empirical reality to the activity of 'claimsmaking', whereby individuals in a social context interpret and make knowledge claims about aspects of their socially constituted reality.

Part Three consists of two chapters, in which a broad range of social and psychological theories pertaining to Satanic cult phenomena will be discussed under the rubric of the two broad perspectives outlined above. Chapter Four will be devoted to realist theories, and Chapter Five to constructionist theory. Depth psychology theories will not be included in part three, but will be discussed separately in part four of the dissertation.

CHAPTER FOUR
REALIST THEORIES OF SATANIC CULT INVOLVEMENT

Introduction

Realist explanations of Satanic involvement differ both in terms of their theoretical models, and in terms of their level of inquiry, i.e., whether the posited causal factors are located within the individual or within social institutions and processes acting upon the individual. The following discussion will begin at the abstract social level by considering what may be termed *sociological* factors, before proceeding to discuss narrower social-psychological, and individual psychological causes. These theoretical levels are not mutually exclusive, but differ primarily in terms of whether social or individual factors are emphasised. Within each level of inquiry, however, different theoretical models may compete by advancing conflicting explanations for the same phenomenon. Unlike other subject domains, which have a long history of theoretical debate, few coherent and comprehensive psychological theories have emerged to explain the various aspects of Satanic cult involvement. Clear categorisation of the literature in terms of theoretical models is thus difficult, particularly in the case of those authors who appear eclectic or avoid committing themselves to a well-defined theoretical viewpoint.

4.1. Political destabilisation and radical social transition

From the realist perspective the increasing social attention devoted to Satanism reflects significant increases in actual Satanic cult involvement (Forsyth & Olivier, 1990). The factors, or constellation of factors, which predispose individuals to Satanic cult involvement must, therefore, derive from contemporary social change and the impact of this change on psychological life. The most general explanation for the psychological attraction of Satanism is thus a sociological one. This level of analysis focuses on the role of socio-historical ruptures or discontinuities, manifest in radical institutional and ideological transformation on the spiritual inclinations of historically contextualised communities. This sociological account implicitly informs the discussion in Chapter

Two on the rise and fall of the diabolic witchcraft scare in the Middle Ages. In the same chapter, it was noted that modern Satanism is largely a post-World War II Western phenomenon, arising from a general occult revival. This, in turn, expressed a pervasive discontent among an affluent and educated younger generation with conservative political, moral and religious parental values. The countercultural emphasis on consciousness expansion and the experimental construction of alternative life-style possibilities made magic and mysticism alluring to spiritually disaffected youths. Satanism represented a heady blend of occult magic, hedonism, and subversive individualism. As the antithesis of establishment Christianity, Satanism was the perfect subversive counter-ideology.

This is a form of macrosocial analysis which attempts to account for modern Satanism by explaining how it was the product of an historical convergence of mutually reinforcing economic, political/ideological, and technological social changes. At a social level of analysis, the existence of Satanic groups allows "both the expression of protest and a compensatory fulfilment of expectations disappointed by an institutionalised culture" (Zacharias, 1980, p. 16). This sociological account of the general predisposition to Satanism is generally accepted as the foundation of most realist theory. The power of macrolevel social analysis, however, is also its weakness, for it tends to overlook the localised social factors that generate satanic involvement in specific communities at specific historical junctures. Contemporary America and South Africa, for example, are socially dissimilar in many respects, yet both are allegedly witnessing a significant level of Satanic involvement (Ivey, 1993a, b). Macrolevel social theory would gloss over the social dissimilarities between these two countries, and therefore a local or microsocial level of analysis is called for. This author (Ivey 1993a, b), attempting to account for an alleged increase in recent South African Satanic involvement, identifies the recent disruption of the political status quo as an important possible causal factor, contributing to socio-political instability, alienation, and powerlessness among certain South African communities. These conditions, it is argued, make religious cults - including Satanism - attractive to marginalised individuals (see Chapter Fifteen).

The important feature of this type of theory is its sociological level of explanation, whether general or specific, and thus the exclusion of individual psychological factors from consideration. Other essentially sociological explanations isolate certain social factors and emphasise their explanatory significance. They could therefore be termed single-factor theories, as various other social factors are either discounted or considered to be less significant than the alleged causal factor emphasised by the particular theory. Although basically sociological, these theories are premised upon the assumption that the frustration of certain innate psychological needs by social institutions inclines individuals to search for deviant sources of substitute gratification. One such theory, described below, begins with the assumption that Satanism is basically a religious phenomenon that arises out of a sense of spiritual alienation from orthodox religious institutions and ideologies.

4.2. Spiritual alienation

Christianity may be perceived to be a one-sided religion that is ascetic, patriarchal, spiritually restrictive, and punitive. It is understandable that some people would feel alienated and estranged from Christian orthodoxy. This certainly explains the appeal of contemporary Charismatic Christian sects, which encourage dancing, possession by God, and spontaneous outbursts of divinely inspired emotion. Satanism, too, albeit in a more sinister way, holds a similar appeal, inviting the ecstatic expression of needs and impulses that are roundly condemned in Christian churches. Addressing the compensatory nature of the Black Mass, Zacharias (1980) comments: "the Apollonian spiritual religion of the Church and the empty, conventional quasireligious institutions of our culture cannot satisfy this need. The essential thing is the search for collective experiences ... to bring liberation from the barren waste land of isolation" (p. 148). Another factor implicated in this sense of spiritual alienation is the scientific worldview. The assumption made is that human beings have a religious impulse, in much the same way as they have sexual impulses, and that this has been frustrated by science's erosion of God's place in the universe, thereby necessitating the search for a substitute deity:

> Satanism is more than the romantically sinister top-dressing on the soil of forbidden pleasures and secret perversities. The Devil could gain impetus, paradoxically, from the scientific revolution, because it exiled God to the outskirts of the universe. If God was not powerful on earth, where could a strong and active deity be found by those who needed one? In the Enemy, was one answer, and modern Satanism is in part an attempt to fill the power vacuum created by God's dethronement: hence the constant Satanist insistence on the weakness and uselessness of God and Christ (Cavendish, 1975, p. 219).

Eliade (1976) notes that a pervasive sense of disillusionment with religious, ethical, social, and political institutions results in aggressiveness and rebellion against establishment dogma and convention. However, contemporary preoccupation with the occult also indicates a deep nostalgic spiritual yearning to reanimate ancient beliefs and religious ideas outlawed by Christianity, in the hope of (re)discovering lost methods of transformation and salvation. The desired mythical state, in the Judaeo-Christian context, is that of the paradisal state before the Fall, a state of innocence, wholeness and non-alienation.

4.3. The urge to Self-transcendence

Analysis of cults through the ages reveals some interesting common features. The ancient cult of Dionysus, the medieval witch cults, and the modern Satanic cults have one thing in common: all of them induce ecstatic psychic states in which all boundaries are transgressed, and the limited sense of individual self is transcended in identification with a pre-Christian or anti-Christian deity. Although the cult of Dionysus did not exist into the Middle Ages, Cavendish (1975) notes obvious parallels between the cult behaviour and that attributed to the medieval witches. Central to both is the belief that:

While Cavendish confines his observations to the cult of Dionysus and the medieval witches, most of these parallels may be extended to include modern Satanic cults. Of particular significance in all these cults is the orgy, the anthropological significance of which was discussed in some detail in Chapter Two. However, the dissolution of all boundaries, and the consequent union of opposites (*coincidentia oppositorum*) has psychological significance as well. It may be said to represent the integration and reconciliation of the conscious and unconscious psychic realms, whose normal antagonism is a constant source of psychic pain and tension (Russell & Wyndham, 1992). The sexual orgies of the witches and Satanists reveal a collective protest against contemporary religious and social situations, underpinned by the psychological wish to recover "a lost beatific perfection, namely, that of the fabulous 'beginnings', a beatitude that haunts the imagination, particularly during catastrophic crises" (Eliade, 1976, p. 91).

4.4. Dysfunctional family dynamics

Not surprisingly, a number of psychological studies have investigated a posited link between Satanic involvement and negative familial interaction. A variety of family characteristics have been posited in this regard: high levels of family disruption, exposure to familial violence (Bourget *et al*, 1988; Moriarty and Story, 1990), parental emotional withdrawal at critical developmental stages (Moriarty & Story, 1990), parental double standards (Moriarty & Story, 1990), marital separation or divorce (Bourget *et al*, 1988), parental abuse, and maternal and/or paternal psychopathology (Bourget *et al*, 1988). Correlations alone, of course, do not constitute explanations, and so the parental conflict theory must establish why negative adolescent-parent interaction would predispose adolescents to Satanic involvement. Moriarty & Story (1990) suggest that parent-adolescent conflict may interfere with the adolescent's acquisition of moral reasoning skills. The consequence is a diminished sense of morality, based essentially on self-gratification, and an inclination to 'immoral' Satanic ideology. Furthermore, conflictual parental relationships may result in general emotional detachment and consequent

adolescent conflict may interfere with the adolescent's acquisition of moral reasoning skills. The consequence is a diminished sense of morality, based essentially on self-gratification, and an inclination to 'immoral' Satanic ideology. Furthermore, conflictual parental relationships may result in general emotional detachment and consequent difficulty in establishing meaningful peer attachments. This, it is assumed, would further predispose adolescents to Satanic cult affiliation.

Olsson (1981) and Wright & Piper (1986) implicate declining parental authority as an important causal factor in adolescent occult involvement. The absence of good parental authority is experienced by adolescents in terms of empathic failures which, in turn, impact negatively on the formation of moral structures. Cult involvement simultaneously provokes adult authorities while simultaneously replacing the authority abdicated by parents. In this regard Satanism is possibly no different from any other religious cult. Curtis and Curtis (1993), writing about general susceptability to cult involvement, suggest that cults provide:

> a surrogate family atmosphere in which dislocated and disenfranchised persons attempt to reestablish the missing structure. Accordingly, individuals bereft of supportive family relations or nurturant social networks may be actually driven to seek out utopian or communal living environments ostensibly offered by cults (p. 452).

Lastly, Moriarty & Story (1990) suggest that defective parenting of an obsessive nature may result in adolescent preoccupation with guilt-related issues. In cases where parents associate guilt with religious convictions, adolescents may be inclined to ritual involvement in a maladaptive attempt to alleviate guilt.

There is, however, a serious problem with claims that the above family factors lead to satanic involvement. This concerns the observation that these factors are implicated in many varieties of adolescent deviance and psychopathology, and are consequently not specific to the pre-Satanist. The question remains as to why some adolescents from pathogenic family backgrounds should choose to get involved in Satanism, rather than in

some other deviant group activity. Bourget *et al* (1988) thus concede that the "connection between Satanism and family disruption is still weakly understood in terms of causality and effects" (p. 201).

4.4 Predisposing personality factors

Most psychological studies on Satanic involvement begin with the assumption that such involvement is deviant and hence indicative of psychopathology. This leads to the hypothesis that there is a maladaptive personality profile which predisposes certain individuals to Satanic cult involvement. This research suggests that the pre-Satanist is typically a white, middle-class adolescent, alienated from family and isolated from peer group intimacy (Bourget, Gagnon, & Bradford, 1988; Wheeler, Wood & Hatch, 1988). Personal dissatisfaction and alienation usually antedate cult attraction (Bourget *et al.* 1988), and this is characterised by a sense of self-estrangement, isolation, meaninglessness, normlessness, and powerlessness (Moody, 1974; Seaman, cited in Bourget *et al.*, 1988). Adolescents are particularly vulnerable in this regard, thus increasing their proclivity for deviant subcultures which promise to fulfil needs not satisfied in mainstream culture (Bourget *et al.*, 1988; Clark, 1992; Schwartz & Kaslow, 1974; Schwartz, 1986). Tennant-Clark (1989), using an American adolescent sample, compiled a psychosocial profile of individuals displaying high levels of occult interest and activity. The sample displayed significantly higher levels of substance abuse, and lower levels of self-worth than low occult interest research participants. High occult interest adolescents also displayed high deviance tolerance, a low desire to be considered a 'good' person, and revealed negative attitudes toward education and religion, evidenced by their rejection of traditional forms of religious expression. Wheeler *et al.* (1988), using a sample of inpatient adolescents who had been involved in Satanism, found them to be alienated loners, isolated and disconnected from family, culture, peer group, religion, and community values. They feel victimised, unhappy, powerless, and unable to compete with peers. They evidence marked depression, paranoid ideation, and alcohol/substance abuse.

Bourget *et al.* (1988) documented eight cases of adolescent, Satanism-related, psychiatric referrals, and found a link between marginal cult involvement and general psychological maladjustment, expressed particularly in delinquent behaviour. These subjects also displayed social adjustment handicaps and academic difficulties, as well as significant levels of drug abuse, prior to their satanic involvement. Low self-esteem is frequently correlated with susceptibility to general cult involvement (Bourget *et al.*, 1988; Levine, 1984; Moriarty & Story, 1990; Schwartz, 1986; Schwartz & Kaslow, 1974; Tennant-Clark *et al.*, 1989).

Pre-Satanists also tend to resort to destructive forms of escapism and sensation-seeking behaviour. They typically view peer group activities with disdain, and, to compensate for feelings of powerlessness, fantasise about revenge and death, both strong themes in satanic rituals. They yearn for status, a sense of belonging, and control over their lives (Guilley, 1989; Moody, 1974). Finding acceptance within satanic cults provides a coherent set of alternative values, simple answers to existential questions, and a degree of meaning and fulfilment otherwise absent from their lives (Bourget *et al.*, 1988; Judah, cited in Ross, 1983; Levin and Zegans, 1974; Levine, 1984; Moody, 1974; Olsson, 1983; Parker, 1989; Schwartz & Kaslow, 1974; Weiss and Comrey, 1987).

Burket, Myers, Lyles and Carrera (1994) compared the psychopathology of adolescent psychiatric patients displaying occult interests with a psychiatric peer sample. DSM-III-R diagnoses of identity disorder, alcohol abuse and hallucinogen abuse were more frequent in the occult group. Identity disorder includes symptoms of subjective distress and uncertainty about a range of identity issues, including religious identification, moral value systems, group loyalty, friendship patterns and career choice. In addition, many of the occult group individuals displayed significant problems with peer relationships and showed a greater trend toward suicidal behaviour than the clinical sample. Interestingly, this study did not find a link between adolescent occult participation and delinquent activity. Occult involvement, in other words, did not constitute an additional risk factor for violent or non-violent criminal behaviour. Burket *et al* conclude that adolescents with

a history of occult involvement display a different type of psychopathology than do their hospitalised peers, while acknowledging that "the amorphous nature of the adolescents' occult beliefs makes it very difficult to determine if their stated involvement is with actual witchcraft or Satanism or with some other fringe group" (p. 51).

There are at least four problems with generalisations about a 'pre-satanic personality'. The first concerns the fact that these generalisations are based on psychiatric hospital samples, i.e., adolescents who are psychologically disturbed. It is thus not surprising that these individuals should display a pattern of psychosocial disturbance. What about Satanists who are not hospitalised? Would their personality profiles not differ from the profiles of the psychiatric sample? If so, can one legitimately speak of the typical 'pre-Satanist' personality? A second problem concerns the age-range of the samples. Adolescents are notoriously prone to identity confusion and psychosocial instability, but what of those Satanists who are not adolescents? Examination of older Satanists may reveal a different personality profile which, again, may undermine the personality generalisations made in the literature. A third problem concerns the 'before-after' problem of personality assessment. The literature reaches certain conclusions about the 'pre-Satanist' personality, based on 'post-satanic' personality assessment. It may be argued that the experience of Satanic cult involvement has a formative influence on personality, therefore making any pre-Satanist personality speculation invalid. The last problem concerns the size of the samples. Statistical generalisations are based on samples not large enough to admit such generalisations. These problems suggest that the idea of a certain dysfunctional personality predisposition to satanic involvement should be viewed with circumspection.

4.5. Identity confusion/diffusion and the adoption of a negative identity

Underlying many of the pre-Satanist personality characteristics cited above is a lack of cohesive identity (Bourget *et al*, 1988), a multifaceted phenomenon comprising a sense of individual identity, continuity of personal character, ego synthesis, and solidarity with a social group's ideals and identity (Erikson, 1959). In a study of 106 cultists in nine cults,

Levine and Salter (cited in Ross, 1983) identified the provision of answers to identity-related issues as the cults' main attraction for members. This explains why adolescents allegedly constitute such a disproportionately large percentage of satanic cult membership. Erikson (1950, 1968, 1975) has characterised the main developmental accomplishment of adolescence as the process of identity formation, i.e., the reorganisation and synthesis of childhood identifications into a stable and coherent psychological structure. Identity formation arises from:

> the selective repudiation and mutual assimilation of childhood identifications, and their absorption in a new configuration, which in turn, is dependent on the process by which a *society ... identifies the young individual*, recognizing him as somebody who had to become the way he is, and who, being the way he is, is taken for granted (Erikson, 1959, p. 122).

Prior to the consolidation of identity, however, adolescence provides a 'psychosocial moratorium' during which the experimental pursuit of identity possibilities - sexual, ideological, moral, political, and religious - is acknowledged by society. The emotional turmoil, negativity, uncertainty, and self-consciousness of adolescence is implicitly sanctioned by society, and adolescents are given 'space' to evolve a coherent self-definition from the multiple psychosocial possibilities open to them. Ego identity is not simply an intrapsychic configuration of self-representations, however, but a composite sense of self, defined in terms of a particular relationship with the wider community or society. Identity formation assumes the consolidation of a set of personal values concerning moral, political, religious, and ideological beliefs. This provides a frame of reference for evaluating events, making choices, and regulating behaviour (Erikson, 1968).

The psychological hallmark of a stable identity is the capacity for 'fidelity' - commitment and loyalty to value systems, individuals, and social institutions, arising from the development of a personal life philosophy in a community which acknowledges and affirms the individual. Failure to attain a composite, coherent, and stable sense of self is termed identity confusion (Erikson, 1950, 1968, 1980). This is characterised by the

absence of intimacy and mutuality, leading to withdrawal and isolation, a painful sense of self-consciousness and self-doubt, role fixation, and authority and value confusion - profound mistrust of authorities and the absence of any personal ideological commitment. Such individuals are unable to assume the social roles prescribed for them and typically feel aimless, anxious, alienated, inadequate, and depersonalised. They experience a pervasive sense of futility and personal disorganisation, which they may attempt to manage through a number of maladaptive strategies. The most extreme of these strategies is the adoption of a "negative identity" (Erikson, 1968, 1980). The negative identity is an identity based on the adoption of values, roles and behaviours perceived by parents, or society in general, to be destructive, undesirable, and antisocial:

> We will call all self-images ... which are diametrically opposed to the dominant values of an individual's upbringing, parts of a *negative identity* - meaning an identity which he has been warned not to become, which he can become only with a divided heart, but which he nevertheless finds himself compelled to become, protesting his wholeheartedness (Erikson, cited in Roazen, 1976, p. 30).

Relief from anxiety follows the choice of a negative identity, and delinquent gangs or cliques are often adopted as a supportive subculture in which to enact the identity (Erikson, 1968, 1980). The negative identity counteracts identity confusion and prevents the emergence of guilt or shame. The delinquent group establishes clearly defined boundaries, separating it from wider society, and provides an alternative authority structure and set of norms with which adolescents can align themselves (Erikson, 1980). The negative identity is a totalistic one insofar as it involves "almost a *negative conversion*, by which erstwhile negative identity elements become totally dominant, making out of erstwhile positive elements a combination to be excluded totally" (Erikson, cited in Roazen, 1976, p. 102). To a large extent, the negative identity is a destiny, rather than a free choice, made compelling for some individuals by the fact that their upbringing makes the adoption of a normal identity difficult or impossible. In this case, it is easier to "derive a sense of identity out of a *total* identification with that which one is *least* supposed to be than to struggle for a feeling of reality in acceptable roles which are

unattainable with the patient's inner means" (Erikson, cited in Roazen, 1976, p. 102). Social rejection of the negative identity simply fixes and rigidifies it, as well as cements a sense of delinquent in-group belonging and identity. Satanism provides the ultimate negative identity in predominantly Christian societies, and the satanic cult is an exemplary counter-cultural delinquent group.

Senior (1993) attempted to establish the relationship between identity formation and adolescent involvement in Satanism by administering Hawley's (1988) *Measures of Psychosocial Development* (MPD) to 15 adolescents who had been involved in Satanism. The MPD, an instrument designed to objectively measure Erikson's constructs, revealed that the satanic sample scored significantly lower than matched comparison subjects on the measure of identity, and significantly higher than comparison subjects on identity confusion, thereby providing empirical confirmation of a link between adolescent Satanic involvement and identity confusion. She concludes that adolescent Satanism reflects an extreme form of identity confusion, viz. the adoption of a negative identity. These adolescents have:

> contemptuously rejected the roles offered to them by their families and communities as 'proper'. Instead, they have based their identities on the travesty and perversion of the religion held sacred by their families, worshipping, instead, what has been presented to them throughout their development as most undesirable, most dangerous - Satan. They have committed themselves to values that counter to those prescribed by orthodox religion, and act out their opposite: indulgence and instant gratification instead of abstinence, pride and egotism rather than humility, vengeance and open expression of hostility instead of restraint, 'evil' in lieu of 'good', black in place of white. They symbolically enact the desecration of their families' and communities' most sacrosanct traditions in the Satanic rituals and ceremonies that they practice" (Senior, 1993, p. 48).

The above quoted author's moralistic perspective, implicit in the use of such rhetorical terms as "contemptuously", "travesty", and "perversion", alerts one to an implicit assumption found in much of the psychological literature on Satanism - that Satanism is an inherently destructive phenomenon, and therefore the participants must be

psychologically disturbed deviants. Even if this *a priori* assumption is true, it does mean that social scientists are approaching the study of Satanism with the same moralistic bias as the general public. This has obvious implications for the objectivity of the researchers, who try to find - in the name of objective research - what they have already assumed all along. It is noteworthy that Moody's (1974) article is frequently cited in the psychological literature, and yet his conclusions, based on a two-year participant observation study of a Satanic cult group, are usually omitted. Moody concluded that Satanic cult involvement had a beneficial psychological effect on its members, and that the cult provided an informal - yet successful - form of behavioural psychotherapy. Given that this contradicts most researchers' negative assumptions about Satanism, their omissions in this regard are telling.

Notwithstanding the problem of implicit research assumptions, the social-psychological factors identified above as making adolescents vulnerable to Satanic involvement explain, to a certain extent, why adolescents who feel lonely, alienated from their families and communities, and powerless to control their lives would be attracted to Satanism. Integrating these posited predisposing factors allows us to see what attractions Satanism might have for certain individuals. At one level, the attraction of Satanism is similar to that of any fundamentalist religion, insofar as it provides the following:

1. Absolutely unambiguous and simple answers to the meaning of life. For those people troubled by self-doubt, existential uncertainty and the desire for a totalistic belief structure, religious fundamentalism is very attractive.

2. Instant community identity, and sense of communally derived self-worth provides relief from alienation and loneliness. People who feel themselves to be outsiders in their community of origin find the ready acceptance of a cult emotionally gratifying.

3. The emotional energy and excitement of cult religions induces euphoria, and gives members a feeling of power and vitality that counteracts tendencies to self-doubt and depression.

The question that remains is why some people should be particularly attracted to Satanism rather than another religious cult? One answer is that Satanism meets some psychological needs that cannot be met by other religious cults. These are as follows:

1. Satanism provides religious sanction for the gratification of desires normally considered taboo in other religions. The two most important are sexuality and aggression. Ritual sexual indulgence and the open expression of hostility towards those disliked, often in the form of destructive spells and prayers, is encouraged in Satanism. Whereas Christianity is structured around renunciation of earthly desire, Satanism encourages the hedonistic gratification of all desires.

2. Satanism legitimates rebellion against traditional orthodox authority figures and moral systems. It thus provides an avenue for acting out, without fear of retribution, impulses to revolt against frustrating social constraints and symbols of authority. Satanic involvement is thus often the conscious, or unconscious, attempt to take revenge against those perceived to have wronged or treated the Satanist unjustly, particularly parental figures. The rejection of God the Father, and worship of Satan, is the ultimate rebellion against parental authority. Satan, because of his mythical rejection by God, is perceived to be the comforter and helper of people who experience themselves as alienated, oppressed and rejected by Christian society.

3. Because Satanism vindicates and encourages destructive acting out, it alleviates the guilt that often follows the expression of hostility and transgression of internalised values. Satanism is not based on the worship of evil, but on the belief that what Christianity calls evil is actually good (Cavendish, 1975). Thus

Satanism offers all the advantages of religion, without the negative spectre of guilt that is a constant feature of Christianity.

4. The declining social influence of Christianity, and the escalation of social problems make the Christian God seem weak and out of control of the social chaos evident around us. Those who worship God seem impotent and unable to control their destiny. This makes Satanism appear to be a viable and more powerful alternative ideology, which offers the possibility of more self-control and fulfilment than does Christianity.

As noted above, most of the psychological literature portrays Satanism in a destructive light, as the vehicle for the enactment of disturbed individuals' identity conflicts and psychopathology. Moody (1974), using a behavioural framework, sympathetically argues that Satanism, in fact, provides an alternative form of psychotherapy, whereby socially impotent and marginalised individuals discover a sense of personal efficacy and a new repertoire of adaptive behavioural responses. Pre-Satanists, contends Moody, exhibit behaviour which is at variance with cultural norms, and which elicits aversive responses from others. They consequently become marginalised, poorly socialised, and denied positive feedback in response to their actions. To alleviate their resulting anxiety and low self-esteem, they turn to Satanism, where they are praised and rewarded for the deviant perceptions and actions which are punished in the larger community. Satanic rituals serve a reconditioning function whereby anxiety and guilt are extinguished and replaced by assertive behaviour and a new sense of power deriving from the manipulation of black magic toward desired personal ends. They become less anxious, more socially adept, and more successful in many spheres of activity, thus reinforcing their Satanic involvement. In Moody's judgement, many cult participants become more socially well-adjusted as a consequence. In the case of those whose deviant behaviour remains unmodified, the cult still performs an adaptive social function as the deviant behaviour is "confined to a specific social context, a special time and space, and not allowed to spread into the wider environment" (Moody, 1974, p.381). Moody's positive depiction of the satanic cult's

therapeutic function distinguishes him from most psychological authors who portray Satanism and satanic involvement as inherently maladaptive and destructive.

Summary

This chapter presents the argument that the perceived current increase in satanic cult involvement is a real reflection of pathogenic processes within individuals and/or their societies. At a sociological level, rapid economic, technological, and ideological change in the last four decades of Western society's history has produced generations of alienated youths, profoundly disaffected with traditional Christian religion and morality. Contemporary Christian societies embody contradictory elements of rational-scientific and patriarchal religious ideologies. Countercultures based on occult magic, hedonism, individualism and Dionysian spirituality have consequently flourished in opposition to Christianity. Satanism's attraction lies in its integration and packaging of these components into a radically oppositional Dionysian spiritual path which appears to promise participants the recovery of a mythical pre-Christian beatitude. At an institutional level, dysfunctional family dynamics, characterised by parental violence, neglect, abuse, double standards, separation and divorce, undermine parental authority, prevent the formation of adaptive moral values in children, and incline them toward Satanism. Certain authors contend that there is a pre-Satanist personality profile which predisposes individuals to satanic cult involvement. These vulnerable individuals tend to be socially isolated, self-estranged, have low self-esteem, feel powerless, abuse substances, have negative attitudes toward education and religion, are emotionally disconnected from their families, and experience little peer recognition. Erikson's concept of negative identity was employed to describe the process whereby alienated individuals adopt values, roles and behaviours perceived as undesirable by parental figures. Satanism provides a perfect negative identity in Christian cultures and serves to resolve identity confusion by providing an alternative set of values, roles, and in-group acceptance. General and specific attractions of Satanism were discussed, and the *a priori* bias toward pathologising satanic involvement in the professional literature was mentioned as an obstacle to objective social scientific research.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONSTRUCTIONIST EXPLANATIONS OF SATANIC PHENOMENA

Introduction

Knowledge is always discursively constructed rather than discovered, and so, the question of whether or not Satanism objectively exists and is on the increase, is of no real concern to the constructionist (Richardson, Best & Bromley, 1991). Constructionists note, however, that public *claims* about the existence and growth of Satanism are increasingly being made, and therefore the social dynamics responsible for these claims is the appropriate focus of interpretative inquiry. Constructionists do not provide any explanation for why Satanist cults originate, or why the appeal of these cults may be growing in contemporary society. Indeed, from this perspective, there is no objective increase in Satanist activity, merely an increase in the attention focused on alleged satanic activity.

Constructionists address the issue of the 'satanic scare' or 'moral panic' by locating it in the context of adverse socio-economic conditions arising at particular historical junctures. When certain negative social conditions prevail, the origins may not be rationally and scientifically established. Instead of scientific theories, a demonology may emerge. Stevens (1990) defines the term *demonology* as:

> an elaborate body of belief about an evil force that is inexorably undermining the society's most cherished values and institutions. The evil it describes may be embodied in and perpetrated by a specific group, a minority that becomes the scapegoat for ... pent-up frustration (p. 28).

5.1 Subversion myths and counter-subversion ideologies

Bromley (cited in Hicks, 1991) uses the term *subversion myth* to describe this ideological phenomenon. The subversion myth is a cultural narrative form that emerges in response to extreme social conflict or the perceived breakdown of the social order. The subversion myth represents the attempt to understand and symbolically contain social disorder. Subversion myths comprise the following:

> description of a danger, identification of a group of conspirators and of their pernicious motives, processes by which conspirators manipulate the unwary to do their bidding, the actual threat to society, and the remedy that citizens must pursue (p. 335).

The danger is typically identified as the attitudes or activities of a group of collaborating deviants, whose clandestine and nefarious attempts to undermine a community require drastic countermeasures. Unlike urban legends, which are frequently met with sceptical amusement, subversion myths appear more plausible, and have a powerful social impact for the following reasons:

> cultural tension conditions audiences to accept the reality of the tales; the target subversive group or individual is identified; self-professed victims or participants arise to offer testimony, thus reducing the audience's distance from the event(s); unlike urban legends, which are spread orally, subversion myths filter through many media, particularly family magazines, and the tale's construction evokes such outrage and indignation that the audience is roused to propose drastic actions (Hicks, 1991, p. 336).

What emerges in response to subversion fears are "countersubversion ideologies" (Bromley, 1991a), in which subversives are typically characterised on three dimensions:

1. Firstly, in terms of their objective existence and social status, subversives are "aliens, residents of a separate domain, proximate to and interconnected with the endangered social domain" (p. 51). Subversives are thus identified as "outsiders", whose contact and familiarity with the target society enables them to pass as "insiders" in order to pursue their goals of destroying that society.

2. Secondly, on the moral/normative dimension, subversives are not merely portrayed as morally inferior, but quintessentially evil. This evil is symbolised through "representations of subversive beliefs and practices as inversions of the sacred in the endangered society's moral order and/or by attributing the subversives' evil acts to their essentially evil character and purpose" (p. 51).

3. Thirdly, on the "cathectic/subjective" dimension, subversives are attributed the power of corrupting innocent individuals and manipulating them into embracing the subversive ideology. The subversives' corrupting influence is portrayed as irresistible, irreversible, and inexorable.

5.2 The Antisatanism Movement

The social impact of the anti-Satanist ideology has been considerable. Coalitions of law enforcement officers, politicians, religious organisations and mental health professionals have identified Satanism as a growing social evil, and expended enormous resources in combating it. In America, an Antisatanism Movement comprising a coalition of conservative religious interest groups, mental health professionals and police officers exists. Law enforcement officials investigated day-care centres, scrutinised unsolved crime files for evidence of satanic connections, and launched ritual child abuse investigations in more than 100 communities between 1983 and 1988 (Bromley, 1991). Legislation expediting prosecution of ritual crime and controlling the activities of religions related to Satanism or witchcraft has been introduced in some American states (Bromley, 1991). Mental health professionals are reporting incidents of satanic ritual abuse, holding professional conferences and running workshops on the detection and treatment of ritual abuse psychological trauma. Similar antisatanic activities are occurring in Britain, where organisations such as the *Ritual Abuse Information and Network Support* (RAINS) are active.

Richardson, *et al* (1991) contextualise contemporary interest in Satanism with reference to the social phenomenon of anti-Satanism, an organised movement of laypersons, law enforcement officers and mental health professionals, aimed at addressing the perceived social threat of an alleged widespread satanic infiltration and destruction of Western society. Of interest to constructionist enquirers are the processes involved in the creation of Satanism as a social problem, despite the apparent lack of objective evidence supporting the claim that Satanism is a growing social threat. Richardson, *et al* (1991) relate the construction of Satanism as a social problem to a number of mutually

reinforcing agencies and influences which began to emerge in America during the 1970's. These influences, discussed below, include the resurgence of Christian fundamentalism, the emergence of the anticult movement, the formal establishment of legally operating satanic organisations, growing public awareness of child abuse, increased professional focus on psychological trauma and trauma survivors, and social anxiety about the fate of children in an era characterised by the erosion of parental control.

5.2.1 Fundamentalist Christianity

In the past two decades, Christian fundamentalism has become a significant political and economic force in America and other first-world countries. Belief in Satan is essential to Christian fundamentalist ideology, and hence, Satan has been resurrected as a significant social threat. From this religious worldview, a range of social ills are attributable to Satan's malign influence and the growth of an organised subversive movement devoted to realising his evil designs. Furthermore, aspects of contemporary popular culture (fantasy games, television, rock music, new-age mysticism, etc.) are interpreted from a fundamentalist perspective as being saturated with anti-Christian occult symbols which erode resistance to more explicit satanic thought and involvement (Best, 1991).

5.2.2 The Anticult Movement

In the early 1970's, an organisation called The Anticult Movement (ACM) emerged in America in order to combat a range of new religious cults which were perceived as seducing, "brainwashing", and enslaving vulnerable youths and young adults. Although the ACM emerged in response to the self-perceived benevolent spiritual cults, Satanism quickly attracted the ACM's attention.

5.2.3 Satanic churches

The reality of self-professed Satanist organisations such as The Church of Satan and Temple of Set provided an objective nucleus for claims concerning an organised satanic movement. Although these organisations function legally, and are vehemently opposed to criminal activity among their members, it is claimed that many satanic organisations

are underground structures, secretly engaging in criminal ritual activity. It is sometimes claimed that the former functions as a front for the latter, presenting a benevolent public face, while hiding the malevolent reality of underground Satanism.

5.2.4 Child abuse awareness

Although there is a strong religious influence present in the anti-Satanism movement, the appeal of the movement's ideology for secular society stems from a posited link between Satanism and crime: "A society that believes it is bedevilled by crime may entertain claims that the Devil lurks behind criminals, or at least that some criminals see themselves as doing the Devil's work" (Best, 1991, p. 104). The crimes allegedly perpetrated by Satanists include drug abuse, abduction, rape, grave desecration, animal cruelty, bestiality, murder, and cannibalism. Frequently, innocent children are alleged to be the victims of satanic crime. In this regard, Stevens (1990), Best (1991), and Nathan (1991) attribute the fear of Satanism to collective anxiety and guilt about the welfare of children. In the past two decades, this anxiety has been clearly defined in terms of deviant adults menacing child victims (Best, 1991). The recent historical identification of child abuse in its various forms led to the eventual positing of a ritual sub-variety of this phenomenon. This has been defined as "the involvement of children in physical, psychological or sexual abuse associated with repeated activities (ritual) which purport to relate the abuse to contexts of a religious, magical, supernatural kind" (McFadyen *et al* cited in Bentovim and Tranter, 1994, p. 100). In the 1980's, an American organisation, the Missing Children Movement, claimed that strangers abducted 50,000 children a year, and antisatanists suggested that many of these were victims of satanic cult sacrifices (Best, 1991). By displacing the cause of the problems characteristic of today's youth onto a sinister organised cult, the threat can be externalised. Furthermore, collective guilt about society's contribution to child abuse and neglect can be transformed into righteous anger and suspicion of the occult underground (Bromley, 1991; Carlson and Larue, 1990; Nathan, 1991; Stevens, 1990)

5.2.5 The Survivor/recovery movement

Theoretical shifts in the field of clinical psychology have seen the psychoanalytic intrapsychic conflict theory of psychopathology increasingly challenged by revived interest in the traumatic theory of psychic disorder (Mulhern, 1991). The gist of this theory is that individuals exposed to realistically traumatic life events resort to the defence mechanism of dissociation to protect themselves from being emotionally overwhelmed by the trauma. Dissociation refers to a process whereby memories and feelings associated with the traumatic situation are split off from the rest of the psyche by an amnestic barrier. This split-off experience may manifest in a fragmentary or disguised form in a wide range of psychological and somatic symptoms. The renaissance of the trauma theory of psychopathology initiated the formulation of Post-traumatic Stress Disorder as a formal psychiatric/psychological diagnosis, and focused attention on groups of "trauma survivors" - war veterans, rape and incest victims, etc. Soon the term *occult abuse survivor* was coined to describe the allegedly psychologically scarred victims of occult ritual activities, typically portrayed as expressly satanic in nature.

One of the symptoms of traumatic abuse was the sometimes complete repression of memories relating to the abusive experience, thus requiring the allegedly repressed events to be reconstructed in a therapeutic setting. Mental health professionals began to identify abuse survivors among their patients, even though these patients often denied any recall of the experiences attributed to them. The 1980 publication of Smith and Pazder's book *Michelle Remembers*, detailing a psychiatrist's reconstruction of a patient's alleged satanic abuse experience, was soon followed by similar claims from other "occult survivors" (Bromley, 1991; Jenkins & Maier-Katkin, 1991; Nathan, 1991). In the absence of real evidence for antisatanist allegations, the first-hand testimony of alleged ritual survivors has become an increasingly important source of information about cult activities and their psychological consequences. Elaborate published accounts, rich in detail and sharing a number of common features, seem to substantially confirm the Satanist subversion narrative. These accounts are given greater credibility by the fact that many have emerged in the professional context of the psychiatric/psychotherapeutic

treatment relationship. Instead of eliciting a critical public response, Satanist survivor testimony is frequently accepted without being subjected to normal evidentiary criteria (Jenkins & Maier-Katkin, 1991; Mulhern, 1991). Mulhern (1991) notes that at the 1986 International Conference on Multiple Personality/Dissociative States, nine papers addressed the issue of satanic ritual abuse. All of these treated alleged satanic cult memories as if they were literally true, and no alternative explanations were entertained. These accounts, widely publicised by the mass media, provide narrative templates for other similar survivor tales. Striking similarities in survivor narratives, instead of arousing suspicion as to their validity, are cited as confirmation of the alleged victims' experiences.

Scepticism toward the survivor narratives is strengthened by criticism concerning the methods used to elicit them. Mulhern (1991) criticises the validity of widely-used hypnotic techniques in the clinical recovery of dissociated ritual abuse memories. She begins with the observation that certain individuals display a conspicuous "hypnotic profile" insofar as they tend to be extremely suggestible, naively embracing socially authorised explanations for their experiences. Under hypnotic trance, these individuals display detailed memory confabulation and make strong efforts to "fit the imagined material logically into the ongoing narrative of their recovered and reexperienced memories" (p. 148). In addition, they "recover" detailed memories of apparently impossible events, and display "trance logic", a phenomenon in which contradictory and mutually exclusive statements are accepted as being equally true (p. 148). Many alleged victims of satanic ritual abuse have diagnoses of multiple personality disorder, a clinical condition that frequently co-exists with the above hypnotic profile. These individuals are highly sensitive to therapeutic expectations, and attempts by therapists to foster introspective recovery of memories may result in patients picking up clues and intuitively responding with information that they believe their therapists are looking for.

The creation of a new variety of trauma survivor has resulted in a new field of clinical expertise devoted to treating the alleged satanic abuse survivors. Because the symptoms

supporting a history of alleged satanic ritual abuse are elusive, hidden, and dissociated from conscious memory, many mental health professionals attend workshops run by "experts", who instruct them in the art of eliciting and interpreting relevant information. The implicit demand is that clinicians accept the reality of satanic cults and their practices before they can begin to hear what their patients are communicating. Those mental health professionals who successfully complete accredited Satanic Ritual Abuse training workshops are taught that the absence of satanic-related memories does not invalidate the theory of ritual abuse in any case. In fact, by invoking the phenomenon of dissociation, the absence of memory in this regard may be considered a positive sign of a satanic abuse history. The above factors, combined with the mass media's eagerness to disseminate Satanist-related stories, as well as popular demand for educational workshops by credible social-service Satanism "experts", created and sustained the belief that Satanism was a vast underground movement (Richardson, Best & Bromley, 1991; Stevens, 1990).

Implicit in the constructionist account of subversive and countersubversive ideologies is the assumption that the antisatanist ideology is either a delusional construct or necessarily disproportionate to the opinions and actions of self-professed Satanists (Bromley, 1991; Carlson & Larue, 1990; Stevens, 1990). Indeed, the perceived threat of Satanism is given exaggerated credence by those deviants attracted to it (Stevens, 1990). The satanic subversion myth has proved remarkably resilient in technologically sophisticated societies which pride themselves on their scientific knowledge and rational worldview. In fact, the sceptical voice of scientific reason does not seem to have impacted on popular belief in the posited reality of the satanic threat. In America, the Committee for Scientific Investigation of Religion (CSER) spent three years investigating allegations of satanic activity in America. Carlson and Larue (1990), commenting on the findings of the committee, conclude that:

> After three years of investigating allegations of the existence of large-scale Devil-worship and satanic activities presently underway in America, the CSER has concluded that these allegations are tall pillars of nonsense built on the slippery sands of unreason. It doesn't take too hard a shove to topple them (p. 26).

Why has the satanic subversion myth persisted and flourished in the face of disconfirming evidence? One answer lies in the myth's portrayal of Satanists as extremely cunning, devious, and well-disguised behind a facade of social respectability: "Like communists, papists, and other conspiratorial villains targeted by social movements during earlier periods in American history, Satanists are described as wide-spread, powerful, insidious, secretive, and virtually impossible to detect" (Best, 1991, p. 98). Thus, failure to objectively prove the subversion myth is interpreted as supporting rather than disconfirming the theory of an invisible underground satanic network.

5.3 Satanism as a scape-goat for declining parental influence

Another constructionist explanation is that certain social conditions generate belief systems which, although irrational, serve some useful social function. It has been argued (Bromley, 1991; Nathan, 1991) that the destabilisation of social traditions and institutions fosters collective anxiety about the fate of that society's children:

> Historically, when Western societies suffer economic difficulties and rapid change, moral panics develop about their children being in imminent danger. Currently, the United States and other industrialized countries seem to be experiencing cultural unease about structural shifts in the family and concomitant changes in sex roles and sexual behaviour - particularly of women and teenagers (Nathan, 1991, p. 78).

Bromley (1991) locates both the origin and persistence of the satanic subversion ideology in an "institutional crisis" resulting from the erosion of the family's role and influence in child-rearing. Traditional family functions related to socialisation are increasingly being entrusted to external service-providers as both male and female parents enter the labour market. The tension between familial and working commitments has eroded parental control and, consequently, increased parental vulnerability and anxiety. Rather than identifying these social tensions as the cause of child and family problems, a "symbolic" source, i.e. Satanism, is identified outside of the family. This performs an adaptive function insofar as

the social construction of Satanism reasserts control by naming the problem, giving it human shape, and locating its source outside of the matrix of social relations to which the social actors are committed. The problems confronting families thereby become the product, not of inappropriate parental conduct but rather of irresponsible or malevolent others. The appropriate response is intensified alertness, surveillance, and social control (Bromley, 1991, p. 68).

Thus, for example, the increasing demand for day-care facilities which accompanies the increase in the number of working mothers, has coincided with allegations of satanic cults infiltrating these facilities and ritually molesting children (Bromley, 1991).

To summarise Bromley's analysis, Satanism serves as a useful external scape-goat for inter-institutional tensions which create parental insecurity about their children's welfare and their own parental provision. Anxiety about the erosion of traditional parental control, together with the reality of increasing extrafamilial contractual childcare, creates the predisposition to blame external agents for family-related dysfunction. The satanic subversion narrative, which emphasises the ritual abuse of children, provides a culturally plausible context for familial problems, given the fact that child-care services are of necessity being entrusted with functions traditionally exercised by parents. The absence of objective evidence in favour of the satanic subversion narrative does not diminish its influence because a coalition of respected professionals, including police officers and mental health professionals, lend credibility to 'occult ritual abuse survivor' testimony by detecting and treating the alleged signs and symptoms of satanic abuse. In this way, folklore becomes authoritative knowledge, which in turn is amplified and sensationalised by a mass media requiring increasingly dramatic news stories to survive in an increasingly competitive media market.

Constructionist accounts of the satanic scare are obliged to, firstly, prove that the incidence of satanic involvement has not changed over time; secondly, explain why Satanism has only recently assumed such a high public profile; and thirdly, provide satisfactory alternative explanations for the eye-witness testimony of alleged satanic cult survivors. Constructionists are critical of the belief that Satanism is growing, because

those advocating this have no statistical proof. The fact that statistical proof is impossible to obtain, given the secrecy of the movement, makes it equally impossible for the constructionists to prove that the incidence of Satanism has not changed over time. However, the sociological theories advanced to explain the recent social anxiety about the 'satanic threat' are compelling, and certainly account for the discrepancy between the apparent low incidence of satanic criminal activity, and the paranoid claims that an insidious, international satanic movement, with tentacles in all social institutions, is secretly working toward the aim of world-domination. The strongest evidence supporting the existence of underground satanic organisations has been the recent revelations of individuals who claim to have participated, either voluntarily or involuntarily, in organised satanic activity. If these claims are valid, then the constructionist argument is obviously undermined. Constructionists, typically social theorists, appeal to psychological discourses of the unconscious in order to discredit alleged eye-witness testimony.

5.4 Accounting for survivor narratives

Constructionist accounts attempt to explain how the extraordinary impact of satanic narratives is in no way related to the reality of satanic phenomena but, rather, to a society's suspension of critical reason in response to an ideologically constructed threat which serves as a scape-goat for that society's collective anxiety. The success of the satanic subversion myth derives from the fact that it is not simply promoted by fringe religious figures, but by a broad coalition of law enforcement officials, mental health professionals, mass media, and alleged satanic cult survivors. It is the highly detailed, personal, and heart-felt survivor accounts, narrated in the context of psychotherapeutic disclosure, that have convinced many mental health professionals of their authenticity. If, as the constructionists believe, most of these accounts are fictitious, what plausible alternative interpretations of these accounts are available?

The first is the 'incorporation hypothesis' (Greaves, 1992). Incorporation is defined here as "the unconscious internalisation of information (knowledge, material) that one later

falsely 'remembers' as one's own" (Greaves, 1992, p. 58). This phenomenon, typically manifest by hypnotic subjects, is termed 'source amnesia' because the origin of the material is forgotten, and is instead falsely attributed to personal experience. This explanation is supported by the fact that many alleged satanic cult survivors have been diagnosed as suffering from multiple personality disorder (MPD). Given that MPDs are "highly prone to spontaneous, autohypnotic trance states, ... it is a cogent hypothesis that the clinical content of satanic cult survivor productions may be attributable to source amnesia" (Greaves, 1992, p. 59-60). In this instance, the material source may be one or more publicised survivor narratives, thus explaining the impressive commonalties between different cult survivor reports. However, the detailed knowledge of cult ritual practices revealed by alleged cult survivors, together with the fact that no single source corresponds to the material disclosed by these survivors, weakens the source amnesia theory.

A second theory is that of inadvertent therapeutic induction. In the same way that a hypnotist can elicit pseudomemories from a hypnotised subject by means of leading questions, suggestible patients may pick up therapists' assumptions relating to Satanism, particularly when these assumptions are thinly veiled by leading questions. Many mental health 'specialists' in the field of satanic ritual abuse believe implicitly that patients' 'amnesia' is an unconscious defence against the emotional horror of the recollection of real events. In attempting to retrieve the 'repressed memories', patients may experience questions about their experience as suggestions about what they *must have* experienced, and may then comply by imagining what they are asked to merely recall.

A third theory, related to the induction hypothesis, is that of *contamination*, "a form of incorporation in which a person unconsciously forms images from the utterances of others, then assimilates them as his or her own" (Greaves, 1992, p. 62). It is well-known that certain individuals who suffer from identity diffusion or 'weak ego boundaries' are highly susceptible to identifying with the emotional states of others. Such individuals

may identify with the alleged cult experiences of others, reproducing them as their own, without any conscious intent of deceit.

A fifth alternative explanation is the 'screen memory' hypothesis. The problem with this hypothesis is that the purpose of the screen memory is to protect the individual from a more painful or anxiety-provoking memory/fantasy. However, the pre-cult family lives of many cult survivors are filled with clearly-recalled parental abuse and/or neglect. The 'screen memories' of cult abuse would thus serve no conceivable defensive purpose (Greaves, 1992).

A sixth alternative explanation draws on Jung's concept of the archetypes of the collective unconscious (Greaves, 1992). Archetypes are unconscious, transpersonal, experiential templates which structure or shape experience in predetermined ways. Because abuse, ritual, and the supernatural are archetypal possibilities, it is possible that some individuals may unconsciously fuse these archetypal images and feelings into composite occult abuse scenarios, which in fact never occurred. In psychotic states, the 'swamping' of consciousness by the archetypes of the collective unconscious may well occur, but delusions of the proportion attributed to alleged cult survivors suggests that they must all be psychotic. While this diagnostic status may hold true for some alleged cult survivors, it certainly does not characterise all of them, thereby weakening the archetypal hypothesis.

The seventh, and last alternative explanation to be discussed, is that of the 'personal myth' hypothesis (Greaves, 1992). If myths are collective allegorical or metaphorical depictions of profound personal truths, then certain individuals may attempt to cope with traumatic events by creating personal myths - satanic abuse narratives in this case - which have a compelling subjective reality. However, belief in a personal myth to the extent that this ceases to be a metaphor implies severely impaired reality testing, and hence psychotic thinking. Once again, this theory could arguably pertain only to those alleged cult survivors who are demonstrably psychotic.

Each of the above alternative explanations may, individually or in combination with others, account for the delusion of satanic cult abuse in individuals whose reality testing is severely compromised. There is no doubt that certain alleged cult survivors suffer from dissociative or psychotic disorders, and the attendant compromised reality testing that these conditions imply. However, not all alleged cult survivors are this disturbed, and their experiential accounts should, in the absence of plausible alternative explanations, be considered as potentially reliable indicators of satanic cult practices.

Summary

Constructionist explanations, in contrast to realist explanations, do not begin with the assumption that secret satanic organisations exist, and that the practices attributed to them actually occur. Their emphasis is on Satanism as a discursive phenomenon, and the ideological functions this serves in displacing the blame for collective anxiety from its real origins in social institutions and practices, to mythical secret organisations intent on destroying the foundations of society. A combination of historically coexistent factors: the rise of fundamentalist Christianity, the growth of anticult organisations, heightened awareness of child abuse, loss of parental authority, renewed emphasis on traumatic origins of psychological disorders, and the literal emergence of satanic organisations, has resulted in a coherent satanic subversion myth, and a powerful countersubversion ideology. The mobilisation of an organised, multi-institutional antisatanist movement around the countersubversion ideology, has entrenched belief in the satanic threat and created a new variety of victim - the 'satanic ritual abuse survivor'. The alleged eye-witness accounts of these 'survivors' have little validity, as there is seldom any hard empirical evidence of the ritual crimes allegedly witnessed, and the accounts can often be attributed to these individuals' delusional states of mind. A number of alternative psychological theories explaining survivor narratives have been advanced by sceptics. All of these theories assume that individuals' recollections of real events may be fantastically distorted by unconscious processes, to the extent where they actually believe their confabulatory narratives.

PART THREE

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF DEMONIC POSSESSION AND INVOCATION IN THE CONTEXT OF SATANIC PACTS

Introduction to Part Three

In Part Three (Chapters Four and Five), various social and psychological theories of alleged satanic phenomena were discussed. The realist theories attempted to account for the psychological predisposition of individuals to satanic cult involvement, whereas the constructionist theories sought to understand why contemporary Western culture is susceptible to the non-existent or exaggerated threat of satanic epidemics. The realist theories explain why individuals may be attracted to Satanism, and the constructionist theories explain the ideological construction of Satanism as a social threat. What none of these theories consider, however, is the experiential aspects of satanic cult involvement. In this regard, perhaps the most important aspect of Satanism is demonic invocation and voluntary demonic possession. The aim of Part Four is thus to discuss the phenomenon of demonic possession and the psychological processes underlying it. Part Four comprises five chapters. Chapter Six is devoted to a general discussion of demonic possession in its various manifestations, and the various psychological theories that have been advanced to account for it. Chapter Seven deals exclusively with Freud's psychology of religion and the classical psychoanalytic interpretation of possession and satanic pacts. Chapters Eight, Nine and Ten focus on object relations theory and the elaboration of an alternative comprehensive psychoanalytic theory based on the work of Klein, Fairbairn and other object relations theorists. Chapter Eleven is devoted to Jung's psychology of religion which, although sharing the psychoanalytic focus on the unconscious, provides a different depth psychological framework for understanding satanic phenomena. Chapter Twelve will dialogue the object relations and Jungian perspectives, and propose a theory that draws together commonalties of these two approaches into an archetypal object relations account of satanic phenomena.

CHAPTER SIX
THE PSYCHOLOGY OF DEMONIC POSSESSION

Introduction

The phenomenon of 'demonic possession' is of central importance to the study of Satanism for two reasons: firstly, because diabolic magic is performed by means of demonic invocation or voluntary possession and, secondly, because one of the most common symptom clusters in those individuals who choose to leave satanic cults, corresponds closely to age-old descriptions of involuntary demonic possession. Of all the satanic phenomena discussed in the psychological literature, possession is the least considered and understood. For this reason, the experience of possession warrants a separate chapter in this dissertation. This chapter comprises six sections. The first will discuss the broad nature and definition of possession; the second will briefly consider the theological history of possession in Christian society; the third will describe the symptomatic manifestations of possession; the fourth will look at the concept of voluntary invocation and possession; the fifth will consider the diagnostic status of possessive states; and the last section will be devoted to the psychological theories of possessive states phenomena. Depth psychological interpretations, possibly the most illuminating in the psychological literature, will be briefly considered under the rubric of psychodynamic theory, along with alternative theories. However, a more comprehensive discussion of depth psychological theories (psychoanalytic and Jungian) will be reserved for later chapters.

6.1 Definition and nature of demonic possession

The concept of demonic possession, defined as the "mental and motor take-over of a human personality" (Rogo, 1974, p. 18), is almost universal, and the possession syndrome assumes much the same form in otherwise divergent cultures. Archaeological and historical evidence suggests that nearly all cultures have entertained the idea that alien presences or spirits may enter and forcibly take control of animals and human beings (Cavendish, 1967; Prins, 1992). Although only the Christian religion subscribes to belief

in possession by an absolutely evil demonic adversary, other major religious traditions acknowledge the phenomenon of demonic possession. In the Islamic faith, there are *djinns* (genies) and *zar spirits* which possess their typically female victims, causing sickness, rebelliousness, and marital discord (Guiley, 1992). In Hindu India, belief in spirit possession is common, with women attributing a range of personal problems - menstrual pain, infertility or miscarriage, spouse abuse and infidelity - to evil spirit intervention (Guiley, 1992). Perhaps the earliest form of primitive treatment for psychological disturbance was 'trephining', i.e., making holes in victims' skulls in order to liberate evil spirits (Cavendish, 1975; Prins, 1992).

In Europe, the phenomenon of possession accompanied the rise of Christianity (Spanos & Gottlieb, 1979). Up until the 19th Century, those with various forms of psychological dysfunction were considered to be possessed by demons, even though the alternative diagnosis of hysteria, as a natural condition, was widely accepted in medical circles (Spanos & Gottlieb, 1979). Demonic influence on human beings assumes two forms: lucid possession/obsession, and somnambulistic or trance possession (Ellenberger, 1970; Crabtree, 1985). Obsession, or *lucid possession* refers to a form of demonic influence whereby an individual's thoughts and fantasies are manipulated into involuntary preoccupation with 'unclean', sinful, or evil phenomena. The experience of psychic infiltration, in these instances, co-exists with self-awareness. Trance/somnambulistic possession, however, is a more severe form of demonic influence, in that it is characterised by the malevolent spiritual occupation of an individual's body and mind, to the point where the demonic entity assumes total control of the human host (Cavendish, 1975; Ellenberger, 1970; Prins, 1992; Robins, 1959). In trance possession, the individual loses consciousness of self, and speaks with the identity of the supposed intruder. It is obviously of great consequence whether demons influence one from without, resulting in obsessions, or manage to invade one's corporeal existence, and so possess one from within. In the tradition of Catholic theology, the status of true possession is reserved for the trance variety. In both forms, however, possession is experienced as "a kind of psychic parasitism: just as a tapeworm can live in the body, so can a parasitic spirit live in

the soul" (Ellenberger, 1970, p. 13). Crabtree (1985) distinguishes three forms of possessing entities: (1) supernatural personal entities, which have an independent existence in their own right; (2) non-personal entities, e.g., thought energy, which do not have independent 'minds', and are the creations of other minds; and (3) intrapsychic entities, i.e., unconscious aspects of the human personality which take possession of the conscious self.

6.2 Theological history of possession

Prior to the Enlightenment, sickness was often considered to be caused by evil spirits, and psychological symptoms were attributed to possession by demons (O' Grady, 1989). In the Christian tradition, the theory of possession arose from the New Testament, where there are numerous references to Christ or the apostles casting out devils or unclean spirits (Mathew 4:24; Mark 1:23-6, 5:1-15, 9:17-27), and exorcism was recognised as a vocation (O'Grady, 1989). Isaacs (1987) notes that many early civilisations made a distinction between mental illness and possession, thus suggesting a fairly sophisticated appreciation of possession as an autonomous entity. Early Christian theologians documented numerous cases of possession and formulated detailed classification systems to diagnose involuntary possession (Robbins, 1959). Possession, however, is contingent on belief in evil spirits, and so had virtually disappeared by the end of the 18th Century. Today, however, mainstream Christian churches still accept that possession, although rare, is still possible (O'Grady, 1989). [1]

6.3 Possession symptoms

The Catholic Church naturally became the first authority to decide which unusual behaviours should be considered indicative of demonic possession. The following criteria were compiled separately by two French Catholic theologians in 1644, following the possession of eighteen nuns in Louviers. Rouen (cited in Robbins, 1959) proposed

---

[1] The Roman Catholic exorcism rite of 1614 is still employed today (O'Grady, 1989), although the Catholic Church exercises extreme caution in differentiating rare possession cases from the more common incidents of psychological disturbance (Whitwell and Barker, 1980). The Baptismal rite remains, to this day, a form of common exorcism, but only selected priests may practise the 'Solemn Exorcism' of symptomatic supernatural possession.

the following *sure* signs of possession: revealing secret and hidden information; speaking or comprehending strange languages; displaying phenomenal strength and extraordinary body movements; and reacting to sacred objects. He added eleven *indications* of true possession:

1. To think oneself possessed
2. To lead a wicked life
3. To live outside the rules of society
4. To be persistently ill, falling into heavy sleep and vomiting unusual objects
5. To blaspheme
6. To make a pact with the Devil
7. To be troubled with spirits ("an absolute and inner possession and residence in the body of the person")
8. To show a frightening and horrible countenance
9. To be tired of living
10. To be uncontrollable and violent
11. To make sounds and movements like an animal

De Bosroger (Cited in Robbins, 1959) submitted this list of sure signs of possession:

1. Denial of knowledge of fits (convulsions) after the paroxysm has ended
2. Incessant obscenities and blasphemies
3. Circumstantial descriptions of the sabbat
4. Fear of sacred relics and sacraments
5. Violent cursing at any prayer
6. Lewd exposure and acts of abnormal strength

The Protestants also developed their own systems of ascertaining demonic possession. Dalton's (1627) *Guide to Jurymen* (cited in Robins, 1959, p. 397) listed the following signs:

1. When a healthy body is 'taken' in strange fits (convulsions) without probable reason or natural cause
2. When two or more people are 'taken' in this way
3. When the afflicted party "in his fits doth tell truly many things, what the witch or other persons absent are doing or saying"
4. When the parties behave and speak strangely during fits, not recalling any of this afterwards
5. When the person manifests supernatural strength

6. When the party vomits up strange objects (pins, needles, nails, coal, lead, straw, hair, etc.)

7. When the party "shall see visibly some apparition, and shortly after some mischief shall befall him"

While the Catholic Church originally listed detailed possession symptoms and performed regular exorcisms, today it is the members of evangelical Protestant churches who promote belief in possession, providing a "folk theory of psychopathology within a Protestant religious framework" (Pfeifer, 1994, p. 249). Although belief in demonic possession within Western societies had long been extinguished by Enlightenment rationality, recent years have seen a strong renaissance of this belief. In America, a 1990 Gallup Poll found that 49% of adult Americans believe in the reality of demonic possession (George, 1995). Moreover, the criteria of demonic possession employed in contemporary evangelical Christianity are far more liberal than those indicated in the New Testament.[2]

The frequency with which psychological disturbances were attributed to demonic influence appears to have been greatly exaggerated by psychiatric historians (Spanos & Gottlieb, 1979). However, the alarming psycho-somatic transmutation of individuals in cases of trance possession provides compelling evidence for the theory of demonic infiltration of the victims. Cavendish (1975) identifies a victim's striking voice and personality transformation as the most impressive indications of an alien internal inhabitant:

> The blasphemy, raving, swearing and filth, the convulsions and contortions ... were bad enough, but cases in which a different voice with a different personality spoke through the victim's mouth gave a peculiarly frightening impression of the presence of an alien entity and have probably been the most effective single factor stimulating belief in spirit possession since the remote past (p. 202).

---

[2] Bufford (1989), in the *Journal of Psychology and Christianity* (cited in Pfeifer, 1994), provides a list of behavioural indicators suggestive of demonic influence, including, *inter alia*, involvement in Eastern religions, a history of living in areas without strong Judaeo-Christian cultural influence, systematic patterns of personal sinfulness, personal preoccupation with power, position, wealth and fame, and personal use of Tarot cards, Ouija boards, horoscopes, palmistry, or fortune tellers.

6.4 Voluntary possession (demonic invocation)

An important distinction needs to be made between victims of spontaneous, involuntary possession, and those individuals who consciously invite it. Involuntary or spontaneous demonic possession is characterised by the malevolent infiltration of a consciously unwilling host. However, certain individuals employ rituals whereby spirits are invited to possess them for some higher purpose. Spiritual 'mediums', for example, invite themselves to be controlled by spiritual entities - usually spirits of the dead, or 'disincarnate' humans - in order to function as intermediaries between the mortal and 'spirit' worlds (Crabtree, 1985). Deliberate spiritual possession is not confined to occult magic; 52% of the world's societies maintain some form of institutionalised practice of deliberate spiritual possession (George, 1995). A form of benevolent voluntary possession occurs in the Christian tradition when worshippers invite possession by the Holy Spirit.[3]

A third form of voluntary possession, *magical invocation*, is of particular relevance to Satanism. Magical invocation is the ritual summoning of spiritual or demonic entities, their manifestation occurring within the individual's being, rather than externally (evocation). By deliberately identifying with the spiritual entities, possessed individuals take on the qualities of the invoked entities, thereby gaining knowledge and power, and strengthening the 'god-related' qualities in themselves (Crabtree, 1985).

6.5 Demonic possession and its diagnostic status

The chief symptomatic complication reported by those Satanists who leave or attempt to leave the cult is the experience of demonic possession. Demonic possession may, however, occur in individuals who have had no experience of satanic involvement. Consequently, it is important to distinguish between involuntary demonic possession that

---

[3] Following the death and resurrection of Jesus, His disciples would experience possession by the Holy Spirit and, while possessed, could perform miracles, 'speak in tongues' (glossolalia), and were endowed with extraordinary courage, faith and wisdom (Crabtree, 1985). A number of Pentecostal-type churches, including the Shakers, Mormons, and contemporary 'charismatic' Christians, evidence the same possession phenomena as those observed in the early Christian church (Guiley, 1992).

occurs without any cult participation, and demonic possession that coincides with voluntary satanic involvement (Ivey, 1992c). In both cases, the symptomatic status of demonic possession in the view of mental health professionals is unclear. Although 'Possession state' was suggested as an addition to the dissociative disorder section of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders IV* (DSM-4) (Saxena and Prasad, 1989), demonic possession is not recognised as an official diagnostic category. It is typically regarded as a form of dissociative disorder, e.g., *dissociative identity disorder* (previously known as multiple personality disorder), in which multiple defensive cleavages in the personality result in each personality fragment assuming an apparently independent existence, with its own relatively enduring pattern of perceiving, relating to, and thinking about the environment and self. Many authors would argue that possessive states are misdiagnosed dissociative disorders in individuals whose developmental context provides little clue to the 'possession' symptoms. Those who believe in the existence of satanic cult activity endorse the diagnosis of dissociative disorder, but attribute this to the actual trauma of satanic ritual abuse (Bloom, 1994; Coleman, 1994; Mollon, 1994). The prevailing psychiatric/psychological perspective is that, prior to the 18th Century, a variety of psychological disorders, particularly epilepsy, Tourette's syndrome, hysteria, and schizophrenia, were misdiagnosed as demonic possession (George, 1995; Spanos and Gottlieb, 1979).

Whitwell & Barker (1980) conducted a retrospective study of 16 hospitalised psychiatric patients, all of whom reported the belief that they were possessed. Despite their subjective experience of possession, few of them displayed traditional possession symptoms or features of Yap's (1960) 'possession syndrome', i.e., clouding of consciousness, anaesthesias, changed demeanour and tone of voice, impossibility of recalling patient to reality, and subsequent amnesia (Whitwell & Barker, 1980). Whitwell & Barker (1980) draw four research conclusions: (1) these patients show few of the features associated in the literature with possession states; (2) where it was attempted, exorcism was ineffective; (3) in most cases, the belief in possession disappeared without

spiritual intervention; (4) psychological explanations are available, and serious psychological disturbances are apparent in most 'possession' cases.

The absence of traditionally defined possession syndromes in current psychiatric patients has been noted by other authors. Pfeifer (1994) conducted an investigation of demonic attribution in 343 Swiss Protestant psychiatric out-patients, all claiming to be religious. Of these, 38% identified the possible cause of their dysfunction as the influence of evil spirits, either through 'occult bondage' or 'possession'. A diagnostic breakdown of these patients revealed the following statistics: 25% psychotic/schizophrenia, 22% mood disorders, 21% anxiety disorders, 19% personality disorders, and 13% adjustment disorders. 53% of the schizophrenics expressed possession beliefs, attributing their delusions or hallucinations to the work of demonic forces. The author was surprised by the high percentage (48%) of anxiety disorders who held demonic influence beliefs. He attributes this to the high frequency of ego-dystonic features in anxiety disorders:

> It is understandable that ego-dystonic, even blasphemous obsessional thoughts are very distressing to the afflicted individual and are thus interpreted as demonic attacks. The same holds true for panic attacks with intense somatic symptoms, experienced by the individual as foreign, uncontrollable and life threatening (Pfeifer, 1994, p. 253).

The depressive patients frequently reported loss of religious faith and, especially among those belonging to charismatic churches, the dissonance between the patients' emotional condition and the church's expectations led to patients attributing their dysphoria to 'spiritual warfare' or demonic influence.

Among patients with personality disorders, demonic attributions were especially common in those patients with cluster B disorders (antisocial, borderline, narcissistic, and histrionic personality disorders) (56%). Pfeifer, employing a psychodynamic explanation, relates this to the high incidence of sexual conflict present in these disorders, resulting in sexual impulses being disowned, and subsequently experienced as an alien influence.

Pfeifer interprets the relatively high degree of occult causal attributions in adjustment disorders (23%) to a combination of axis II personality traits, and the tendency of many charismatic Christian groups to explain all forms of adversity as the work of Satan and demons. None of the patients in Pfeifer's sample appear to have displayed traditional signs of demonic possession.

The conclusions that may be drawn from these studies are: (1) a large percentage of religiously inclined psychiatric patients attribute their psychological dysfunction to demonic possession; (2) in spite of this, the traditional possession syndrome is extremely rare; (3) belief in demonic possession among psychologically disturbed individuals is not confined to psychotic/schizophrenic diagnostic categories, but is common to a number of psychological syndromes which typically display a high degree of ego-dystonic symptomatology; (4) despite the personal belief that they are possessed, most of these cases can be explained satisfactorily in terms of secular psychological theory; (5) a history of parental psychological disturbance, and Christian religious upbringing, correlates positively with the self-attribution of demonic possession. Clearly, the symptoms attributed to demonic possession are real, whether one accepts or rejects the notion of a supernatural cause, but these studies suggest that the traditional possession syndrome no longer exists, and that most of the symptoms related to possession self-attribution can be readily ascribed to clearly established psychological disorders.

However, there are a few authors who argue for retaining the notion of a possession syndrome. Isaacs (1987) has proposed the term *possessive states disorder* as a discrete diagnostic category, thus differentiating demonic possession from other diagnostic syndromes to which possessive states are usually attributed. After studying fourteen cases of 'possession', submitted by four exorcists, Isaacs isolated a cluster of seven symptoms which, he argues, warrants a separate diagnostic category, distinct from traditional psychological syndromes. After developing a diagnostic profile for his possessive states disorder, five "experienced diagnosticians" (four psychologists and one psychiatrist) assessed the applicability of DSM-III diagnostic categories to each of the 14

cases, as well as the applicability of the newly created possessive states diagnosis. The diagnostic panel, "not only found the present diagnostic categories to be lacking in their ability to describe the events present in each case, but found the Possessive States description to be a more accurate and useful diagnosis" (Isaacs, 1987, p. 266). He confidently asserts that "possessions do exist" (p. 267). The symptoms of Isaacs' possessive states disorder are as follows:

1. An experienced loss of self-control in any of four areas:

    a. Thought: Individuals may experience their thought as determined or controlled by an alien influence. Loss of thought control may manifest as obsessions, ruminations, negative apprehensions, etc.

    b. Emotion: Spontaneous outbursts of destructive anger and/or profanity, often directed at religious targets.

    c. Impulsivity, typically manifest in areas such as sex, substance abuse, overeating, etc.

    d. Uncontrollable physical reactions, including facial or bodily contortions, and loss of certain physical functions.

2. A sense of self which fluctuates between "feelings of despair, depletion or an experience of inner emptiness, and the feeling of inflation and grandiosity" (p. 267). The emptiness may be experienced as an "inner darkness, as a feeling of being depleted or drained by the one controlling them, or as a void within" (p. 268). The inflated periods, in contrast, are marked by a grandiose sense of self-importance and preoccupation with fantasies of power, brilliance etc.

3. Visions of dark figures or apparitions and/or hearing voices which are audible and external, without the loss of reality testing.

4. Dissociative states: trance states, or the experience of having more than one personality. This may be accompanied by voice variations or the ability to speak a previously unknown language.

5. Revulsive religious reactions, such as extreme negative reactions to prayer, or to religious objects.

6. Some form of paranormal phenomena, including poltergeist phenomena, telepathy, strength out of proportion to age or situation, and levitation.

7. Unusual impact on others: other people in the presence of the person may report the feeling of an alien presence, an acrid smell in the vicinity, or a feeling of lowered temperature in the proximity of the person.

Isaacs concludes from his study that there is a strong argument for beginning to view demonic possessions as "phenomena with an individual integrity, different from any of the present diagnostic categories, and so worthy of serious consideration" (p. 271). Isaacs's detailed presentation of possessive symptoms is useful, although it is questionable whether he succeeds in arguing that the above symptom profile constitutes a unique syndrome. Firstly, his methodology is badly flawed. Five diagnosticians of unknown origin, selected using unknown criteria, hardly constitutes a representative sample of professional diagnostic opinion. Furthermore, it may well be argued that certain established psychological syndromes, e.g., multiple personality and borderline conditions, do not differ sufficiently from Isaacs's diagnostic profile to warrant the differential diagnosis of possessive states disorder. Isaacs, however, is not alone in his belief. Prins (1990) argues that it "would appear to be a tenable view that theological (Divine) explanations are necessary, because, in some cases, when all the facts are examined, other explanations seem insufficient" (p. 34). Whether or not one accepts Isaacs's claims, the phenomenological reality of demonic possession needs to be acknowledged and respected: "Whether demons are seen as metaphysical beings or as a mythological interpretation of insanity, in both cases they are experienced by the patient as an invader who has gained possession" (McCasland cited in O'Grady, 1989, p. 122).

6.6 Psychological theories of possession states

6.6.1 Hypnotism, hysteria and the perception of demons as 'subconscious ideas'

Dynamic psychotherapy had its origins in Franz Anton Mesmer's rejection of exorcism, and his invention of 'magnetism' as a viable alternative form of treating nervous disorders (Ellenberger, 1970). Mesmer (1734-1815), a physician, deliberately set out to prove in 1775 that he could replicate the cures effected by a famous European exorcist, Johann Gassner. Mesmer's method was to physically manipulate the 'magnetic energy' that, he contended, caused possession-type nervous symptoms. Nervous disease, he

argued, arose from the unequal distribution of a fluid-borne energy in the human body. It could therefore be cured by restoring magnetic equilibrium by channelling, storing and conveying this energy using the 'magnetiser's various physical interventions. His success in treating so-called possession symptoms convinced him that he had found a rational, scientific explanation for what had been misperceived as demonic possession, and a medical alternative to exorcism. Experimentation with 'Mesmerism' revealed that an altered state of consciousness, 'magnetic sleep', could be induced in subjects by making 'magnetic passes' of the hands over their bodies. This magnetic sleep, today referred to as the hypnotic trance, displayed a number of extraordinary characteristics (Crabtree, 1985): (1) a somnambulist state of 'sleepwaking' in which subjects appeared to be asleep, but would respond to the mesmerist's questions and instructions; (2) dual consciousness and memory, i.e., the waking state and mesmeric state were independent states of consciousness, with separate and independent memory chains; (3) loss of identity, manifest in mesmerised subjects' uncertainty about who they are; (4) heightened long-term memory (hypermnesia); (5) sensory blunting or deadening; (5) insensitivity to pain; (6) extreme suggestibility and suspension of reality testing; (7) sensorial rapport, whereby the mesmeric subject feels the physical sensations experienced by the mesmerist; (8) mental rapport, whereby the subject can intuit the thoughts of the mesmerist; (9) clairvoyance - some subjects would display extrasensory knowledge of events and could 'view' things occurring elsewhere at the time of the mesmeric trance; and 'retrocognition' - being able to perceive historical events of which they had no waking knowledge; and (10) a transcendental awareness of spiritual entities.

Although Mesmer's notion of 'animal magnetism' was thoroughly discredited, the trance state he had discovered, and the implications that human beings had a dual-consciousness, provided the foundation for a psychological understanding of demons and so-called demonic possession. Jean-Martin Charcot (1838-1893), the eminent French neurologist and hypnotist, has been credited with finding a scientific explanation for demonic possession (Ellenberger, 1970). Charcot, who demonstrated conclusively that hysteria could be both induced and relieved by hypnosis, argued that possession was

simply a form of hysteria. He appears never to have developed this notion, but it suggests itself as an extension of his 1885 statement that, through suggestion,

> an idea, a coherent group of associated ideas settle themselves in the mind in the fashion of parasites, remaining isolated from the rest of the mind and expressing themselves outwardly through corresponding motor phenomena .... The group of suggested ideas finds itself isolated and cut off from the control of that larger collection of personal ideas ... which constitutes consciousness proper, that is the Ego (Cited in Ellenberger, 1970, p. 149).

He linked this conception to psychopathology by claiming that symptoms relate to the exclusion of ideas from personal consciousness: "The idea, like a virus, develops in a corner of the personality inaccessible to the subject, works subconsciously, and brings about all disorders of hysteria and mental disease" (Charcot cited in Ellenberger, 1970, p. 149). The Devil was somehow an expression of such isolated 'ideas', experienced as a separate entity by virtue of its alienation from the central ego.

It was Pierre Janet (1859-1947), one of Charcot's neurological successors, who documented his own 1890 hypnotic cure of a man possessed by the Devil,[4] and provided a more specific psychogenic explanation for possession. Janet's conclusion anticipates Freud's later formulations of the unconscious:

> Man, all too proud, figures that he is the master of his movements, his words, his ideas and himself. It is perhaps of ourselves that we have the least command. There are crowds of things which operate within ourselves without our will (Cited in Ellenberger, 1970, p. 370).

---

[4] The patient in question was extremely agitated, self-destructive, and blasphemous, and the Devil's voice, alternating with his own, spoke through him (Ellenberger, 1970, p. 369). After hypnotising him, Janet discovered that the patient had been unfaithful to his wife on a business trip and, after dreaming of the Devil, found himself possessed. Janet was convinced that guilt, rather than possession was the cause of the symptoms, and that the Devil was simply a superstitious manifestation of his own self-disgust. After Janet assured the hypnotised patient that his wife had forgiven him the delusion of possession disappeared.

Janet termed these things "subconscious fixed ideas", and argued that they arose from traumatic or frightening events which became subconscious, the memories replaced by psychological symptoms.

By the 19th Century, although isolated incidents of demonic possession still occurred, they had been largely replaced by cases of hysteria and/or multiple personality. Mesmerists began to notice that, in addition to the waking and mesmerised 'personalities', a third distinct personality sometimes appeared, suggesting that the mind was "rather like a matrix from which whole sets of subpersonalities could emerge and differentiate themselves" (Ellenberger, 1970). *Dipsychism*, the mesmerists early discovery that individuals display a dual consciousness or 'double ego', provided a new model of the mind whereby ego-alien psychic manifestations - including demonic possession - could begin to be understood within a psychological framework. With more hypnotic research, dipsychism yielded to the more radical discovery of *polypsychism*, the notion that the personality is a "multiplicity in a unity" (Tyrrell cited in Ellenberger, 1970, p. 147). In other words, the ego in fact comprised multiple sub-egos, each with its own consciousness, perceptions, and memories.

6.6.2 Organic psychiatric interpretations

The fact that delusions and bizarre behaviour may sometimes have an organic aetiology has led a number of psychiatric historians to interpret historical accounts of demonic possession as some form of organic syndrome. The obvious candidates in this regard are those organic conditions characterised by convulsions and altered states of consciousness. Of course, possession states in those individuals who do not evidence organic pathology undermines organicity as a general explanation for possession symptoms.

6.6.3 Cultural influence theories of possession

Of all the psychological theories proposed to explain demonic possession, the organic disease model appears to be the most discredited. Most authors (Henderson, 1982; Spanos & Gottlieb, 1979; Whitwell & Barker, 1980) emphasise the importance of cultural

belief systems, and the impact of such belief systems on the individual. Underlying what this author terms the *cultural influence model of possession,* is the hypothesis, related to the evidence of hypnotic suggestion, that individuals - whether psychologically sound or dysfunctional - are highly suggestible and susceptible to internalising cultural attributions concerning socially deviant thought and behaviour. The fact that exorcism is often effective in removing possession symptoms supports this hypothesis. The important underlying determinant in all possession cases is belief in a demonic reality: "The appearance of possession ... is always in point of fact associated with belief in the devil. It is this belief which by means of autosuggestion nourishes possession and maintains it" (Oesterreich cited in Whitwell & Barker, 1980, p. 293). In other words, the manifestation of possession symptoms is contingent upon belief in the reality of possession. The presence of three interacting factors is sufficient to establish and account for possession: (1) the universal predisposition to experience internal psychic division; (2) belief in the reality of demons and their malign influence; (3) the suggestion by others that distress or deviance may result from possession.

A more detailed version of the cultural influence model is Spanos & Gottlieb's (1979) social role enactment theory of demonic possession. Spanos & Gottlieb dismiss the conventional notion that possession was a label mistakenly assigned to an identifiable psychological syndrome, whether of unconscious or organic origin. Instead, they locate demonic possession in a social psychological discourse, interpreting it as a particular form of role enactment - "patterns of activity that are linked to and identified with a particular social status, an informally defined social position, or a particular social value" (p. 528). They begin by showing the close correspondence between the phenomena occurring in both 'demonic possession' and hypnotic trance states:

In both cases patients convulsed on cue, appeared to be more intelligent and sometimes clairvoyant, reported spontaneous amnesia, engaged in behaviors that were thought to transcend normal capacities, specified the time course of their own disorder, and experienced their role enactments as an involuntary occurrence. Furthermore, during both exorcism and magnetism, symptoms tended to increase in severity as the treatment proceeded, reach a peak characterised by dramatic displays of convulsions, and end with alleviation or diminution of symptoms (p. 533-534).

Furthermore, the first mesmeric patients were considered to be hysterics, and both demoniacs and hysterics shared an identical gendered social status - they were typically single, marginalised women whose appearance or behaviour contradicted historical social expectations associated with the female role. Their behaviour was frequently socially disruptive, annoyingly idiosyncratic, and not readily explicable within a patriarchal frame of reference regarding normal feminine conduct. Both demoniacs and hysterics experienced themselves as "weak and passive, dissatisfied with their lives, socially and economically powerless, and without access to means of voicing their dissatisfactions or improving their lot" (Spanos & Gottlieb, 1979, p. 542). By adopting a 'sick role' - either as demoniac or hysteric - they were assigned an extraordinary social status and identity, given professional care and attention, and encouraged within an institutional structure to enact the relevant symptoms expected of them by exorcists or psychiatrists. The roles of exorcist and demoniac evolved, respectively, into those of mesmerist and hysteric, as behavioural deviance became medicalised in accordance with the secular discourse of science.

The role of demoniac conformed to prevailing theological conceptions of demons and demonic activity, and served a number of important social functions: (1) it provided a culturally consistent explanation for various illnesses or norm violations; (2) combined with exorcism procedures, it provided a ritual means of reintegrating deviant individuals into society; (3) exorcising demoniacs served to reinforce the religious and moral values of the community; (4) the role provided a safety valve whereby social dissatisfaction could be simultaneously expressed and regulated; (5) from the 15th to the 18th Centuries, the role was exploited "as a means for controlling personal, political, or ideological

enemies by having the demoniac label them as witches" (Spanos & Gottlieb, 1979, p. 541). Detailed information concerning demoniac role expectations was conveyed to these individuals by means of the exorcism procedure, in which only the possessing demons were addressed, and only demons expected to answer. Subsidiary information concerning the appropriate role enactment was conveyed through explicit coaching by parties with vested interests; conversations in the demoniacs' presence about manifestation, timing, and termination of the expected symptoms; and by means of opportunities for public observation of other demoniacs. In this way, demoniacs were inducted into demonic role enactments that provided both them, the exorcists, and the wider community with certain rewards, thereby reinforcing the very behaviour which appeared to cause so much social anxiety.

With the declining influence of the Catholic Church, and the medical interpretation of behavioural deviance, those role aspects least compatible with naturalistic conceptions of disease began to disappear (e.g., blasphemy, speaking in demonic voices, professing to be possessed, etc.). Those symptoms consistent with the disease model (convulsions, analgesia, sensory-motor disturbances, and assorted physical complaints) became and remained prominent symptoms of the 'disease', hysteria (Spanos & Gottlieb, 1979). The authors' social role theory thus rejects both the functional psychoanalytic and organic disease interpretations of these demonic and hysterical cases. Instead, both demonic possession and hysteria are conceived to be historically specific, "learned, interpersonal strategies designed to communicate dissatisfactions and/or obtain various types of social reinforcement" (Spanos & Gottlieb, 1979, p. 541).

The argument that possession is essentially an 'external' phenomenon, deriving from the suggestive influence of authority figures on suggestible individuals, within a shared cultural setting and belief system, is a compelling one. It not only explains the historical origins and demise of possession symptoms, but also the therapeutic success of exorcism ceremonies. If possession can be induced by human suggestion, then it is reasonable to

assume that it can be removed by suggestion, particularly within the cultural context of specific ritual ceremonies.

The problem with the social role enactment theory is that it 'depathologises' possession, and overlooks the role of psychological disturbance in possession self-attribution. It is argued that 'internal' psychodynamic factors need to be considered together with the 'external' context of a culture's spiritual beliefs and practices.

6.6.4 Psychodynamic theories

The mesmerists may have discovered divided consciousness and the presence of 'subconscious ideas', but it was the early psychoanalysts who developed a coherent explanation for these phenomena, and the role they played in the experience of possession. Freud (1923) and Jung (1953, 1954, 1958) were the first psychoanalytic authors to argue that possession was essentially the invasive return of repressed unconscious impulses. Today, theories which emphasise intrapsychic conflict and unconscious defences against this are, implicitly at least, accepted by a number of authors (Pfeifer, 1994; Whitwell & Barker, 1980). Csordas (cited in Pfeifer, 1994) found that demonic attributions linked with personal behaviours are organised into a sexuality cluster (e.g. lust, perversion, masturbation, adultery) or a falsehood cluster (e.g. falsehood, lying, deceit, exaggeration). Pfeifer (1994) provides a broadly psychodynamic interpretation of this:

> Attributions of demonic influence can be interpreted as unconscious ways to disown drives and behaviours that are not acceptable in the religious culture and in contrast to personal religious ideals. An added sense of externalized influence is the addictive quality sexual desires can develop, seemingly outside of the control of the patient (p. 253).

Further support for the psychodynamic theory emerges from statistical correlations of demonic possession and hysteria. Rogo (1974) noted that there is the same approximate ratio of women to men (10:1) in both possession and hysterical cases. Secondly, hysterical disorders are more frequent among adolescents and young adults, as are incidents of possession. Thirdly, there has been a noticeable decrease in incidents of both

possession and hysteria. A hypothesis that may be drawn from these correlations is that demonic possession is in fact a form of hysterical disorder, characterised by the same, or similar, psychodynamics that Freud discovered at the beginning of this century. A detailed discussion of psychoanalytic approaches to the phenomenon of demonic possession will be pursued in later chapters.

6.6.5 Parapsychological theory

Rogo (1974) is critical of both the suggestion and psychodynamic theories of demonic possession. He argues that, despite the superficial parallels between hysteria and demonic possession, the dissimilarities are more striking. He identifies these as follows: (1) psychodiagnostic evaluations of possessed individuals usually show few hysterical traits; (2) while hysterical individuals are frequently indifferent to their symptoms, demoniacs are typically horrified at their possession symptoms; (3) hysteria is characterised by guilt, rather than aggression. Many possession cases, however, are "vicious, even murderous ... This is strikingly different from the neurotic self-afflicting plight of the hysteric" (Rogo, 1974, p. 22-23); (4) demoniacs display extraordinary psychic abilities (extrasensory perception and psychokinesis), whereas hysterical personalities display only average psychic ability. Therefore, argues Rogo, the hysteria-possession identity theory has "no support other than a few statistical inferences based on frequency analysis" (p. 22).

Furthermore, he argues, psychodynamic theory cannot explain the two most frequent paranormal phenomena displayed by demoniacs: understanding or using unlearned languages (xenoglossy), and levitation. These phenomena are only explicable if one assumes the reality of demonic entities which are not part of the demoniac's own personality. Rogo's conclusion is that "the possessed person is being invaded by a foreign intelligence and this intelligence is intrinsically evil" (p. 23). This is the occultic perspective whereby "the malleable 'substance' of the host's subconscious is used by an alien self to mould a new personality which becomes the vehicle for the presence of that alien self" (Crabtree, 1985, p. 354). However well this explanation fits the

phenomenology of the victim's experience, it is a supernatural discourse and hence has no place within a strictly psychological frame of reference.

Summary

In this chapter, demonic possession was defined, and the characteristics of voluntary and involuntary possession discriminated. The symptoms of demonic possession were outlined in detail, and its diagnostic status discussed. Most researchers are of the opinion that possession is not a valid psychological syndrome, and that it can be satisfactorily explained in terms of psychological processes related to other recognised psychological disorders. The dissenting opinion that the possession state is indeed a distinct nosological entity was critically discussed. The remainder of the chapter was devoted to a consideration of the various psychological theories of so-called possession states. The pioneering work of the early 'mesmerists', Franz Mesmer, Jean-Martin Charcot, and Pierre Janet, was outlined to demonstrate the origin of the theory that possession states were altered states of consciousness induced by psychic splits associated with unconscious ideas. The theory that possession states are symptomatic of organic neurological disturbances was mentioned, and the rival cultural influence model discussed in detail. According to this model, demonic possession is not symptomatic of any psychological syndrome, but is rather a form of social role enactment whereby the deviant behaviour of certain socially marginalised individuals is understood and regulated. The cessation of possession symptoms through exorcism procedures provides a reversal of the demonic induction process, and allows the 'cured' individuals to be integrated back into society. The psychodynamic theory that possession symptoms may be understood as the invasive return of repressed unconscious impulses was briefly presented, and empirical studies supporting this thesis included. The chapter concluded with the parapsychological critique of those intrapsychic theories which attempt to explain possession in terms of unconscious dynamics. The alternative occultic or supernatural model presented concerns the notion that possession results from the psychic infiltration of some malevolent external intelligence. It was concluded that this theory

has little relevance to the discipline of psychology, which seeks explanations within the realm of natural, rather than supernatural, discourse.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CLASSICAL PSYCHOANALYSIS AND DEMONIC POSSESSION

Introduction

While other psychological models may provide useful theories for explaining the attraction of Satanism, it is the perspective of depth psychology, which assumes that much of our conscious psychic functioning is influenced by deep unconscious meaning, that is most suggestive in understanding the Devil and his influence (Russell, 1977). This is largely because the human experience of the supernatural is closely bound up with unconscious processes which populate the world with mythical figures. Consequently, only depth psychology can satisfactorily explain the power that spirituality, in its constructive and destructive manifestations, commands in our lives. The first comprehensive depth psychology was Freud's classical psychoanalysis, and it is interesting to note that the puzzle of demonic possession is closely tied to the early history of psychoanalysis. Historically, the psychodynamic model derives from primitive medicine, which embraced the idea of spirit possession as a source of illness, and exorcism as a cure (Ellenberger, 1970). However, the discovery of magnetism and hypnotism, the intellectual precursors of psychoanalysis, led to the formulation of new models of the mind. First was the notion of mental duality (dipsychism) and, subsequently, polypsychism, the idea that the human mind comprised a cluster of subpersonalities (Ellenberger, 1970). Magnetism and hypnosis were the tools for accessing and researching the mind's multiplicity. An obvious focus in this regard was the various manifestations of mental dissociation, with multiple personality and demonic possession being perhaps the most dramatic. In 1890, as noted in the previous chapter, Pierre Janet used hypnosis to cure a man of 'demonic possession', and Charcot devised a "scientific" explanation for possession, which he considered to be a form of hysteria (Ellenberger, 1970). Both Janet and Charcot had a profound influence on Freud's intellectual development, and his 1895 visit to Charcot inspired Freud to unravel the nature and origin of the subconscious. Demonic possession, loosely reconceptualised by Janet and Charcot as a manifestation of mental dissociation, was thus one of the forms of

psychic disturbance which captured the interest of an evolving dynamic psychiatry. In this context, it is not surprising that Freud displayed a long-standing interest in witchcraft, possession and other occult phenomena (Strachey, 1961, p. 69). In spite of this interest, however, Freud wrote very little on the topic, and his few relevant publications on possession constitute a perfunctory outline of his thoughts, rather than a comprehensive theory. Nonetheless, a number of psychoanalytic articles on demonic possession which have recently emerged (Field, 1990; Henderson, 1982; Ivey, 1993c; Olsson, 1981; Taylor, 1978), all assume the essential validity of much of Freud's briefly stated thoughts on the topic. In order to understand Freud's ideas on demonic possession, it is first necessary to discuss his broader psychology of religion. This chapter thus comprises three parts. The first will discuss Freud's views on the nature of religion, its ontogenetic and phylogenetic origins, and the specific psychological and social functions he understood religion to serve. Freud's general psychology of religion establishes the context for his cursory, but important, observations on demonic pacts and possession. His (1923) article, *A Seventeenth-Century Demonological Neurosis*, provides the foundation for the discussion in the second part. The chapter concludes with a brief examination of how historians have employed Freudian theory in their interpretation of Devil worship in Western history.

7.1 Freud's psychoanalytic model of religion

Freud's model of psychic life is both secular and naturalistic insofar as it explicitly rejects the idea that there may spiritual or supernatural entities or forces exerting a psychological influence on humankind. However, although Freud lived and died a "militant atheist" (Gay, 1988, p. 525), religious belief, as a social and psychological phenomenon, occupied much of his work (1907, 1913, 1927, 1939). The reason for this lies in the close relationship that Freud perceived between all religious belief systems, from primitive totemism to Christianity, and psychological disorder. The two analogies that inform Freud's theory of religion are those between religious belief and neurosis, and between the child and the primitive individual (Preus, 1987). Both analogies are based on the developmental premise that religious experience represents and expresses the regressive

ontogenetic and phylogenetic residues of early human development. At this point, a brief outline of Freud's general assertions about religion will be presented. Pertinent issues arising from this will be discussed more comprehensively in later sections.

Freud begins with the assumption that deities are psychological, rather than supernatural realities. Religious beliefs and practices, therefore, may be completely understood in terms of secular psychological theory: "I believe that a large part of the mythological view of the world, which extends a long way into the most modern religions, is nothing but psychology projected into the external world" (Freud, 1901, p. 258).

A second assumption is that the psychological processes which initiate and sustain religious belief are not consciously evident to the believers, however much they may rationalise their faith. In other words, whatever conscious religious beliefs people might hold, the origin of these beliefs is essentially unconscious: "In all believers ... the motives which impel them to religious practices are unknown to them" (Freud, 1907, p. 122-3).

Freud's third assumption is that religion provides the link between individual psychology and institutional beliefs and practices. Religious myths and rituals are purported to be the cultural or collective expression of the same unconscious dynamics found in the dreams and neurotic symptoms of individuals (Preus, 1987).

The fourth assumption begins with Freud's developmental premise that adult psychic life can be understood only in the context of childhood emotional conflict and maturation. The dynamics common to adult psychology, individual religious belief, and organised religion derive originally from the complex unconscious interactions between childhood impulses, conflicts, anxieties, and psychological defences.

7.1.1 Infantile helplessness as the unconscious source of religious belief

The elements common to adult psychology, individual religious belief, and religious ritual stem from the universal phenomenon of infantile helplessness. According to Freud,

the ambivalent impulses arising from the interaction of this protracted infantile dependency and universal instinctual wishes, both gratified and frustrated by parental figures, provides the key to religious experience. The human infant, unlike other mammals, is totally dependent on parental physical and emotional nurturance for a protracted period. Every child thus experiences a prolonged period of helpless vulnerability and total dependency on parental figures, which exert a profound formative influence on subsequent psychological development. In line with Freud's emphasis on the oedipal stage of development and the primacy of the father in psychosexual maturation, childhood dependence on the paternal figure is emphasised:

> The derivation of religious needs from the infant's helplessness and the longing for the father aroused by it seems to me incontrovertible, especially since the feeling is not simply prolonged from childhood days, but is permanently sustained by fear of the superior power of fate. I cannot think of any need in childhood as strong as the need for a father's protection .... The origin of the religious attitude can be traced back in clear outlines as far as the feeling of infantile helplessness (Freud, 1930, p. 23-24).

Psychological vulnerability and dependency does not end in childhood, but persists throughout the course of life. The anxiety associated with childhood helplessness provides the original motivation for religious belief and ritual (Freud, 1927). The initial experience of parental power is subsequently experienced as the capricious power of fate, and individuals feel the need for divine protection from fate in much the same way as children feel the need for adult protection: "In religion we are all children, related in our trusting infantile dependence on a powerful god who replaced the oedipal parents" (Meissner, 1984, p. 14). The power differential between child and adult, particularly between son and father, contends Freud, provides the developmental foundation for the adult's experience of God.

7.1.2 The human father as the prototype of the supernatural god

According to Ernest Jones (1951a), religious life "represents a dramatisation on a cosmic plain of the emotions, fears and longings which arose in the child's relation to his parents" (p. 195). Children compare their own smallness, helplessness, vulnerability, and dependence with the perceived bigness, independence, and competence of adults. They then attribute qualities of omnipotence and omniscience to adult figures, the same qualities that adults attribute to their gods. These parallels are not mere coincidence, claims Freud. Gods originate in, and are unconsciously modelled upon, children's impressions of their parents:

> Thus we recognize that the roots of the need for religion are in the parental complex; the almighty and just God, and kindly Nature, appear to us as grand sublimations of father and mother, or rather as revivals and restorations of the young child's ideas of them (Freud, 1910, p. 123).

Freud does not consider the possible role of the mother in the child's formation of God, nor does he discuss the origin of female religious experience. For Freud, the developmental prototype of the religious individual is the oedipal male child, and he was unconcerned with female religion or female conceptions of God (Rizzuto, 1979). God is created by the human psyche, made in the image of man and, more specifically, modelled on the child's experience of his father. Psychoanalysis, argues Freud:

> teaches us with quite special insistence that the god of each of them is formed in the likeness of his father, that his personal relation to God depends on his relation to his father in the flesh and oscillates and changes along with that relation, and that at bottom God is nothing other than an exalted father (Freud, 1913, p. 147).

Children's helplessness and dependence on their parents is reflected more generally in humankind's universal helplessness before fate and nature, and the desire for protection from their power. The reality of infantile helplessness is complicated by instinctual wishes, both sexual and aggressive, directed toward parental figures. For Freud, the specifically oedipal constellation of drives, anxieties and defences is the crucible in which

both neurosis and religion have their origins. The oedipal son's love for his god-like father is counterbalanced by his unconscious patricidal wishes, accompanying guilt, and anxiety concerning paternal retribution. Society demands the renunciation of these oedipal wishes, and the child's dependency on the father in the context of these oedipal wishes induces a powerful ambivalence toward the latter. The loved benevolent paternal protector becomes a rival for the mother's love, and threatens - in the child's fantasies[1] - retribution for the child's parricidal and incestuous wishes. The question now arises as to how an invisible deity comes to represent the mortal father. The answer, provided in the following section, lies in the mental processes whereby the child attempts to resolve the conflict thrust upon him by his ambivalent emotional attitude towards his father.

7.1.3 The superego as intrapsychic nucleus for the image of God

The oedipal conflict becomes partially resolved when the child, out of fear, renounces his incestuous longing for his mother and identifies with the father. Out of this identification emerges the structure of the superego, representing the internalised prohibitions of the father:

> A portion of the external world has, at least partially, been abandoned as an object and has instead, by identification, been taken into the ego and thus become an integral part of the internal world. This new psychical agency continues to carry on the functions which have hitherto been performed by the people (the abandoned objects) in the external world: it observes the ego, gives it orders, judges it and threatens it with punishments, exactly like the parents whose place it has taken. We call this agency the super-ego and are aware of it and its judicial functions as our conscience (Freud, 1938, p. 205)

The superego, in both its supportive and punitive aspects, results from identification with parents experienced ambivalently as both loving and threatening. The process of identification re-establishes these parental qualities as an intrapsychic structure. Obedient

---

[1] In psychoanalytic discourse the term fantasy is typically spelt *phantasy* to distinguish its unconscious nature from conscious fantasy or day-dreaming. Jung and his followers, however, use the term fantasy to embrace both conscious and unconscious imaginative mental activity. For the sake of consistency the term fantasy will be used in this dissertation to describe both conscious fantasy *and* the unconscious mental processes from which it is believed to derive.

submission to the omnipotent father of childhood, internalised in the form of the ego ideal[2] and projected in the figure of God, restores the paternal connection and assuages the anxiety and guilt associated with oedipal dynamics. The ego ideal is thus "the germ from which all religions have evolved" (Freud, 1923, p. 37). This goes some way toward explaining the ambivalent perceptions and attitudes that adherents to monotheistic religions have toward their respective gods. The correspondence between the child's earthly father and the adult's supernatural god are striking, and provide evidence for Freud's theory about the provenance of deities: God is male and referred to as "heavenly father"; He is all-knowing and all-powerful; He is loving if obeyed, but vengeful if challenged; He prohibits or restricts the gratification of sexual and aggressive impulses, etc.

7.1.4 Religion as a social form of obsessional neurosis

In *Totem and Taboo* (1912-13), Freud argued that the thought processes of obsessional neurotics resembled those of primitive people. The link in this analogy is totemism, whereby some animal is invested with particular supernatural significance, and is typically identified with a male ancestral figure. Freud noted that a number of taboos were associated with the totem animal. It was not to be killed, except on special sacramental occasions, and the men were not permitted to have sex with women from the same totem clan. From these three observations - that sexual relations with women associated with the totem animal were prohibited, that the totem animal was regarded with superstitious awe, and that it was only permitted to be killed under special ritual circumstances - Freud concluded that the totem animal symbolised the oedipal father. Incestuous and patricidal wishes were displaced from the actual clan fathers onto an animal substitute, which was both revered and ritually slaughtered, thereby symbolically enacting every male child's ambivalent fantasies concerning a loved and hated father figure.

---

[2] Freud's use of the terms 'super-ego' and 'ego-ideal' was inconsistent. At this point (1923) Freud appeared to regard the two conepts as synonomous, whereas he had earlier considered the ego-ideal to be a distinct agency or substructure of the super-ego (Laplanche & Pontalis, 1973).

Freud noted similar totemic aspects in young children's animal phobias, where an animal is irrationally feared for no apparent reason. The animal, argued Freud, is feared because it has become the displaced object of the child's patricidal fantasies, and the child unconsciously fears the animal-father's retaliation (1909, 1918). Thus oedipal fantasies regarding incestuous and parricidal wishes find their anthropological equivalent in totemic taboos and ritual practices. Freud, however, was not content with the analogy between childhood phobias and primitive religion, he sought to extend this argument to include the monotheistic religions as well. This he did by claiming that the totemic ancestor undergoes further displacement and evolution, with the hero as an intermediate figure, until it eventually becomes God (1913, 1921). The Eucharist thus functions as the Christian equivalent of the totem meal, and the crucifixion myth depicts the Christian equivalent of the sacramental slaying of the totemic father. The guilt associated with patricidal wishes and totem sacrifice is neurotic insofar as the human father does not literally die as a consequence of the son's fantasies. However, using an argument discredited by anthropologists, Freud (1913, 1925) suggested that an actual patricidal act did occur in humankind's primitive history, and that this is the source of collective guilt. In other words, not only personal history (ontogeny), but also the history of the human species (phylogeny), is implicated in religious belief: "There probably exists in the life of the individual, not only what he has experienced himself, but also what he brought with him at birth, fragments of phylogenetic origin, an archaic heritage" (Freud, 1939, p.125).

Freud's ideas on religious phylogeny derive from adopting Darwin's thesis that the original social organisation of humankind was the primal horde, in which one patriarch ruled strictly over the other males, and reserved access to the females for himself (Freud, 1912-13). Exogamy was so instituted, and sexual relations prohibited within the clan. The patriarchal primal horde ended with an uprising by the younger males who killed and devoured the leader, an act wherein they "accomplished their identification with him ... and acquired a portion of his strength" (Freud, 1912-13, p. 141-2). Collective memories or some form of ideational content thus constitute in the human race a universal predisposition to guilt, and relief from this through the worship of a sovereign deity: "The

primal crime of mankind must have been a parricide, the killing of the primal father of the primitive human horde, whose mnemic image was later transfigured into a deity" (Freud, 1915, p. 293). He explains the transmission of this image by positing the existence of a collective mind in which "mental processes occur as they do in the mind of an individual" (1913, p. 157). He suggests, furthermore, that psychical dispositions may be inherited, but that these "need to be given some sort of impetus in the life of the individual before they can be roused into actual operation" (1913, p. 158). The father image or *imago*, as Freud termed the unconscious representation of the object, derives from the combination of personal and collective experiences of fathering: "The ideational image belonging to his childhood is preserved and becomes merged with the inherited memory-traces of the primal father to form the individual's idea of God" (Freud, 1923, p. 22).

The parallel that Freud drew between psychopathology and religious ritual was not confined to the similarities between totemic superstition and childhood animal phobias. Struck by the impression that ordinary people's religious observances had an obsessive and compulsive quality, Freud began to speculate on the relationship between religion and adult obsessional neurosis (1912). He had observed similarities between the obsessive's ceremonies and rituals, and those common to religious practices, and believed that both indirectly express anxiety-provoking unconscious wishes:

> In view of these correspondences and analogies one might venture to regard obsessional neurosis as a pathological counterpart to religious formation, neurosis as an individual religion, religion as a universal obsessional neurosis (Freud, 1907, p. 126-127).

The parallels that Freud observed between neurotic ceremonials and religious rituals are as follows: (1) both are concerned with fastidious attention to detail, (2) they are isolated from other activities and cannot be interrupted, (3) their neglect is typically followed by anxiety and guilt; and (4) both are "prepared to avoid a feared calamity" (Jones, 1951b, p. 199). In the obsessional, this calamity is consciously undefined, but in a religious context, it assumes the form of punishment by God. The unconscious meaning of the

ritual element in both obsessional neurosis and religious worship, however, is transparent to classical psychoanalysis. With reference to the obsessional neurotic, Jones (1951b) notes: "His psychology is based on repressed hatred of his father, with a consequent fear of retaliatory punishment, and his rituals symbolise acts of appeasement or restitution only" (p. 199). In the religious individual, this retaliation is not simply loss of God's love, but damnation and torture in the province of hell. What sin, asks Jones, could ever be commensurate with such cruel treatment: "The tortures and damnation emanate from the infant's lively and unrestrained sadistic phantasies and are of the same nature as his own hostile wishes against his father for which the punishments are (projected) retaliations" (p.204).

Religion thus provides a stylised way of dealing with perennial neurotic conflicts. As Meissner (1984) notes, Freud distorts the analogy between religion and neurosis into an identity. That religion may be anything other than a defensive strategy for managing neurotic anxiety is automatically ruled out by Freud (Meissner 1984; Pruyser, 1973). Freud has been criticised for proposing a pathological model of spirituality, in which all religion is construed as the regressive attempt to meet infantile needs. However, Meissner (1984) notes that the strict analogy between religion and obsessional neurosis which Freud pursued is not uncommon in religious people, "in whom blind adherence to ritual and scrupulous conscientiousness, as well as conscience, dominate religious life. In fact ... the great mass of believers lend credence to Freud's formulations" (p. 15).

At this point, we may summarise Freud's general psychological theory of religion. God is a mental creation, and therefore has a solely psychological - as opposed to supernatural - existence. Freud thereby effectively reduces religion to psychology, a psychology which embraces both the history of the individual and of collective humanity. Religious belief is rooted in the protracted reality of infantile vulnerability and the unconscious defensive strategies adopted to avoid the anxiety associated with this vulnerability. God is thus an intrapsychic entity, unconsciously evoked to ameliorate the uncomfortable reality of a necessary suffering intrinsic to the human condition. Individuals' experience of God

derives from their childhood experience of paternal figures, overlaid by inherited phylogenetic memory traces of a primal father. Whatever the real nature of children's relationships with their fathers, they are complicated by oedipal impulses and fantasies, and these characteristic ambivalent feelings and attitudes find displaced expression in the individual's perception of God. A strong impetus to religious belief is the human species' collective memory of the parricidal slaying of the primal father, which reinforces humankind's need for social taboos and religious ritual atonement. The superego is the psychic structure which serves as a template for God. The internalised image of the father, which forms the nucleus of the superego, is externalised via the mechanism of projection to create the perception of a deity independent of our own psychic life. The spectre of Oedipus hangs over humankind's spiritual quests, and the inherent sinfulness which Christianity attributes to man takes on a new and poignant significance in the light of our incestuous and parricidal wishes, and the accompanying eternal remorse. For these ontogenetic and phylogenetic reasons, religion is necessarily bound up with moral taboos, sin, guilt and the desire for reconciliation with a deity injured and angered by the actions of 'His children'. For the same reason, the incest taboo and the law of exogamy are strictly observed in all known cultures. Religious belief and practice, because it serves the unconscious function of controlling unconscious impulses and assuaging the anxiety and guilt associated with prohibited fantasies, has the same status as neurotic symptoms and other compromise formations.

7.2 Satan, demonic pacts, and demonic possession in classical psychoanalysis

Freud was heir to the psychogenic interpretations of possession postulated by his intellectual forebears, Janet and Charcot. It is thus not surprising to find Breuer, Freud's co-author of *Studies on Hysteria* (1893-95), asserting:

> The split-off mind is the devil with which the unsophisticated observation of early superstitious times believed that these patients were possessed. It is true that a spirit alien to the patient's waking consciousness holds sway in him; but the spirit is not in fact an alien one, but a part of his own (p. 250).

Despite this suggestion that demons are, in fact, aspects of the victim's own personality, hysterical patients, whom Freud at first believed had been sexually abused, led him to posit that the abusing adults were the disguised figures in the hysterics occult imagery. Early in Freud's psychoanalytic career, a patient, Emma Eckstein, presented him with 'memories' of abuse and mutilation by the Devil. In 1897, intrigued by these bizarre images, Freud researched the history of diabolic witchcraft and wrote to Wilhelm Fliess: "Do you remember that I always said that the medieval theory of possession held by the ecclesiastical courts was identical with our theory of a foreign body and the splitting of consciousness?" (1954, p. 187). After Freud reached the momentous conclusion that his patients' memories were very often symbolic expressions of unconscious wishes, rather than recollections of actual events, he gave up this occult line of enquiry. He retained his fascination with demons, however, and pondered the relationship between unconscious contents and demonic myths. In another letter to Fliess, he wrote: "I am beginning to dream, therefore, of an extremely primitive Devil religion the rites of which continue to be performed secretly" (1954, p. 189).

Freud's early work clearly shows evidence of him oscillating between two different interpretations of demonic entities: (1) demons are distorted manifestations of some aspect of one's own personality: "The devil is certainly nothing else than the personification of the repressed unconscious instinctual life" (1908, p. 174); and (2) demons are distorted manifestations of parental figures, who hysterical individuals unconsciously perceive as having sexually abused them when the victims were children. In other words, demons are either unconscious self representations, or unconscious object representations. These alternative interpretations co-exist in Freud's work, without ever being directly addressed or reconciled. This ambiguity may be attributed to the fact that Freud had not yet devised his structural model of personality, and so did not yet have the conceptual means to understand the intrapsychic linking of self and object components. This problem will be addressed later on in the chapter.

Freud appears never to have encountered a case of demonic possession and, despite his fascination with religious and occult phenomena, published only a single paper on the topic. The paper, titled *A Seventeenth-Century Demonological Neurosis* (1923), is a psychoanalytic interpretation of an historical manuscript detailing a 17th-Century artist's pact with the Devil, and its symptomatic consequences. The importance of this case study lies in the general psychodynamic hypotheses that Freud advances as the intrapsychic genesis of demonic possession.

The specific case concerns a Bavarian painter, Christoph Haizmann, who in 1677 was "seized with frightful convulsions" (Freud, 1923, p. 74). He confessed to the priest that, having felt despondent about his artistic future, and having been tempted nine times by the Devil, he had promised in writing to give himself to the Devil after a period of nine years. He had made himself "a bondslave to the Evil One and had undertaken to lead a sinful life and to deny God and the Holy Trinity" (1923, p. 83). This nine-year period had expired and the distressed painter, having repented, was convinced that only the grace of the Mother of God could deliver him from his pact. After a prolonged penance and period of prayer, the Devil appeared to him in the Chapel at midnight on the day of the Nativity of the Virgin, and gave him back the pact which he had written in his own blood. The painter's symptoms disappeared, but returned a few months later in the form of visions, convulsive seizures, painful sensations and paralysis. This time, however, he was persecuted, not by the Devil, but by Christ and the Virgin Mary. Having once again been delivered from the Devil's clutches, he joined a religious order and, despite repeated attempts by the Devil to seduce him into signing a new pact, managed to resist the temptation.

Freud begins his psychodynamic reconstruction of this case by establishing Haizmann's motive for entering into the pact. Since he had rejected magical power, money and sensual pleasure when the Devil had first tempted him, his motive was not immediately clear. Freud provides the context for the pact by noting that Haizmann's father had died shortly before the Devil had first appeared. Haizmann had "fallen into a state of

melancholia" and the Devil had promised to help him and give him support. Freud's interpretation of the motive for the pact is that Haizmann, mourning the loss of his father, wished to have the Devil as a paternal surrogate for nine years, after which time he would become the Devil's property, "body and soul". This, however, does not explain why the Devil, rather than God, should suggest himself as the substitute father. Freud addresses this by arguing that the idealised father of early childhood is the origin of the adult's experience of God: "The ideational image belonging to his childhood is preserved and becomes merged with the inherited memory-traces of the primal father to form the individual's idea of God" (Freud, 1923, p. 85). However, the ambivalence that every child feels toward his father, manifest in the coexistence of affectionate and submissive impulses, on the one hand, and hostile and defiant ones on the other, is consequently also experienced in relation to God. The Devil, too, has his psychological origin in this childhood ambivalence, manifest as the incarnate expression of the hated and feared paternal imago. Since God is modelled on the father, the Old Testament God is endowed with both good and evil qualities. Like ordinary humans, theologians struggled to reconcile God's contradictory aspects, and so separated good from bad in order to create an evil counterpart to God:

> The contradictions in the original nature of God are, however, a reflection of the ambivalence which governs the relation of the individual to his personal father. If the benevolent and righteous God is a substitute for his father, it is not to be wondered at that his hostile attitude to his father, too, which is one of hating and fearing him ... should have come to expression in the creation of Satan (Freud, 1923, p. 21).

Originally, in terms of Christian mythology as well as in individual development, the loved and hated father, expressed symbolically as God and the Devil, were one and the same. By splitting an ambivalent paternal figure into two contradictory deities, humans are spared the anxiety of loving a cruel and vengeful father, and hating a father who is at times a benevolent protector:

> The Devil of the Middle Ages was, according to Christian mythology, himself a fallen angel and of godlike nature. It does not need much analytic perspicacity to guess that God and the Devil were originally identical - were a single figure which was later split into two figures with opposite attributes. In the earliest ages of religion god himself still possessed all the terrifying features which were afterwards combined to form a counterpart of him .... The contradictions in the original nature of God are, however, a reflection of the ambivalence which governs the relation of the individual to his personal father (Freud, 1923, p. 86).

Of course, Freud, at this point, has not yet demonstrated any evidence of Haizmann's ambivalence toward his father. He proceeds to argue his case by examining the possible significance of the number nine in the case study, as well as the startling transformations in the Devil's appearance to Haizmann over time, evident in a series of illustrations he drew.

The number nine, says Freud, is common in neurotic fantasies as the human gestation period is nine months. He thus contends that fantasies concerning pregnancy underlie Haizmann's preoccupation with the number nine. The significance of this he derives from the Devil's bisexual appearance. The Devil first appeared to Haizmann as:

> an honest elderly citizen with a brown beard, dressed in a red cloak and leaning with his right hand on a stick, with a black dog beside him. Later on his appearance grows more and more terrifying - more mythological, one might say. He is equipped with horns, eagle's claws and bat's wings. Finally he appears ... as a flying dragon (1923, p. 85).

By his second visit, the Devil was "naked and misshapen, and had two pairs of female breasts. In none of his subsequent apparitions are the breasts absent ... Only in one of them does the Devil exhibit, in addition to the breasts, a large penis ending in a snake" (1923, p. 89). Why should this powerful masculine symbol have a woman's breasts? Freud links this to the number nine by arguing that the father's death has reactivated in Haizmann his childhood "feminine" fantasy of becoming pregnant by his father:

What he is rebelling against is his feminine attitude to him which culminates in a phantasy of bearing him a child (the nine years) .... With the painter's mourning for his lost father, and the heightening of his longing for him, there also comes about in him the re-activation of his long-since repressed phantasy of pregnancy, and he is obliged to defend himself against it by a neurosis and by debasing his father (1923, p. 90).

Because bearing his father's child implies the necessity of becoming a woman, this in turn awakens his castration anxiety, which he unconsciously seeks to allay by castrating his father, thereby turning him into a woman, manifest symbolically by the puzzling detail of the Devil's breasts. The Devil's breasts thus correspond to a "projection of the subject's own femininity on to the father-substitute" (1923, p. 90). Freud then goes on to propose an alternative explanation for the Devil's breasts, the displacement of Haizmann's affectionate feelings for his mother on to his father:

This suggests that there has previously been a strong fixation on the mother, which, in its turn, is responsible for part of the child's hostility towards his father. Large breasts are the positive sexual characteristics of the mother even at a time when the negative characteristic of the female - her lack of a penis - is as yet unknown to the child (1923, p. 91).

Haizmann's neurotic fear of castration meant that it was impossible for him to satisfy his longing for his father, and so he turned for help and salvation to the image of his mother. For this reason, only the Holy Mother of God could release him from his pact with the Devil.

Freud concedes that it is difficult to find proof, outside of this case study, for his contention that the Devil is a "duplicate of the father and can act as a substitute for him" (1923, p. 87). That Freud had to base his analysis on an obscure 17th Century document, rather than on case material from his own patients, reveals that his speculations about demonic possession are not supported by his own empirical data. He does not see this, however, as a weakness in psychoanalytic theory. In a footnote, he accounts for the lack

of additional evidence by appealing to the historical decline of the Devil's importance in Christian mythology and, hence, in the individual psyche:

> The fact that in our analyses we so seldom succeed in finding the Devil as a father-substitute may be an indication that for those who come to us for analysis this figure from mediaeval mythology has long since played out its part. For the pious Christian of earlier centuries belief in the Devil was no less a duty than belief in God. In point of fact, he needed the Devil in order to keep hold of God. The later decrease in faith has, for various reasons, first and foremost affected the figure of the Devil (Freud, 1923, p. 87).

What Freud does not adequately address in his paper is the problem raised at the beginning of this section - is the Devil originally a split-off aspect of self, or a split-off aspect of other, i.e. the paternal object? And, if both these aspects are somehow embodied in the person of the Devil, how exactly is this accomplished psychologically? Freud states in his introduction to the (1923) paper that demons, in general, derive from the projection of repressed impulses, i.e. self components:

> In our eyes, the demons are bad and reprehensible wishes, derivatives of instinctual impulses that have been repudiated and repressed. We merely eliminate the projection of these mental entities into the external world which the middle ages carried out; instead, we regard them as having arisen in the patient's internal life, where they have their abode (1923, p. 72).

Freud does not argue this point, but we find support for his theory in the history of demonic iconography, and the qualities attributed to Satan over the centuries. Most obviously, he is associated with destructiveness, lust, and sexual perversity, as indicated by his horns and other goat-like features. Aggression and sexuality are the instinctual foundations of the unconscious, and it is not surprising that Satan has come to represent rampant instinctual drives. Satanists, like witches before them, meet to celebrate "the Devil, the flesh, and the human animal" (Cavendish, 1975, p. 215).

Another important characteristic is Satan's ability to change his appearance and present himself as something other. This accurately describes the human unconscious, which

hides behind a civilised veneer and periodically transforms us into beings alien to our conscious self-experience:

> The Evil One mingles human and animal forms because he is supernatural, because he is a bestial angel, because his deepest appeal is to the animal in man, but his shape-changing is also a reflection of the evil that lies in ambush behind the most innocent of appearances (Cavendish, 1975, p. 210).

Satan is not only associated with rampant genital sexuality, but also with anal themes. He is sometimes depicted with a second face on his hindquarters, and in demonic folklore, worshippers allegedly kissed his anus. Satan is "the lord of excrement and filth, which he and his worshippers delight in, and his presence is marked by disgusting stenches" (Cavendish, 1975, p. 209). Satan thus exemplifies bodiliness, dirt, and the reversal of conventional values.

Lust, perversity, filth, destructiveness, and the presence of evil behind innocent appearances are all hallmarks of the unconscious. The theory that Satan is the personification of our own unconscious wishes is consequently plausible. However, as we have seen, Freud also identifies the object component, i.e. the hostile paternal figure, as the source of the Devil: "Thus, the father, it seems, is the individual prototype of both God and the Devil" (1923, p. 86). Although Freud never explicitly clarifies the issue, this dilemma may be partly resolved by means of the structural theory and, more specifically, the agency of the superego. The formulation of the superego was a crucial step in psychoanalytic theory because it enabled Freud to explain how the intrapsychic and external realities are mediated, how externally imposed morality comes to be embraced as a personal value system, and how parental figures continue to exist as internal figures when they are physically absent or deceased. As many authors have pointed out (Greenberg and Mitchell, 1983; Guntrip, 1971; Perlow, 1995), the theory of the superego also implies an embryonic object relations theory, which heralds an important departure from Freud's original insistence that instinctual gratification or frustration, rather than the relational context in which this occurs, is the focus of psychoanalytic explanation.

The superego, which is part of the self, is based on identification with external others, i.e. parental figures. In this way, parental aspects are taken into the developing personality and become an integral part of the self. The external voice of parental authority thereby becomes the internal voice of conscience. The superego embodies parental prohibitions and ideals, and is the intrapsychic intermediary between father and God. The two-phase process whereby the father is transmuted into God is as follows. Firstly, the child internalises the image of the father, which becomes manifest experientially as part of the self (the superego structure). Then the superego is externalised and amalgamated with memory traces of the primal father to manifest as the independent presence of God.

Freud noticed, however, that the superegos of many of his patients were sadistically cruel and punishing. Furthermore, these superego figures were harsher than the attitudes and behaviours of the actual parents would have predicted. In other words, the superego is not based on the actual person identified with, but on an imago coloured by the individual's own aggressive impulses, defensively redirected from the object onto the self:

> The original severity of the super-ego does not - or does not so much - represent the severity which one has experienced from it [the object], or which one attributes to it; it represents rather one's own aggressiveness towards it" (Freud, 1930, p. 129-130).

This accounts, not only for the harshness of the superego, but also for the 'wrath of God'. The destructive and vengeful aspects of God derive from believers' projection of their own hostility onto the divinity. It is this clinical insight that suggests an answer to the question of the Devil's identity in classical psychoanalysis. Satan is a composite figure, comprising both the split-off destructive paternal object, with whom the individual is partially identified in the structure of the superego, *and* the repressed instinctual id aspects, displaced onto an external mythical entity. The Devil therefore embodies all the negative qualities of the self, the paternal object, and the collective memory traces of the primal father. Although Freud did not present this argument, it is consistent with his

theory of the superego, and resolves the ambiguity of his rather sketchy theory of the Devil.

The Haizmann case study allows us to draw a number of conclusions about Freud's understanding of demonic possession:

1. Firstly, demonic possession is a form of neurosis, and hence has a psychogenic, rather than a supernatural, origin: "Whereas the neuroses of our modern days take on a hypochondriacal aspect and appear disguised as organic illnesses, the neuroses of those early times appear in demonological trappings" (Freud, 1923, p. 72). Nowhere in the case study does Freud entertain the notion that Haizmann's Devil, despite its phenomenological reality for him, may be anything other than aspects of his own unconscious. Projection is the central psychic mechanism responsible for the perception of demons as tangible external figures.

2. Secondly, all deities are projected imagos of object representations, derived from early childhood experiences of powerful parental figures in the personal history of the individual, as well as the collective history of the human species. The father is the ambivalently perceived parental figure on whom both God and the Devil are modelled. God represents the benevolent father, whereas the Devil represents the destructive, vengeful father, split off and personified as an independent entity.

3. The superego is the intrapsychic mediator between the actual father and the divinity. The superego originates from the internalisation of the father figure, and God originates from the externalisation of this imago, coloured by the influence of collectively inherited memory traces of the primal father.

4. Demonic possession is a neurotic solution to the loss of a father figure. By "allowing" himself to be possessed, Haizmann has obtained a paternal surrogate who will perform the absent father's paternal role, and rescue him from depression. The Devil, rather than

God, is invoked because contradictory impulses toward, and experiences of, the actual father are ambivalently fused. In this instance, Haizmann's affectionate-submissive longing for his dead father is fused with his hostile, rebellious and fearful attitude towards him. The demonic parental surrogate who appears to him is thus both longed-for and consoling, while at the same time persecutory and truly terrifying.

5. Freedom from demonic possession assumes the form of exorcism, in which the Devil is vanquished by a higher power. In Haizmann's case, it is the projected maternal imago, the Mother of God, who, together with the figure of Christ, frees Haizmann from his pact. Interestingly, this implies that the first solution to Haizmann's neurotic depression (the pact with the Devil) is supplanted by another neurotic strategy, his commitment to serving God and the Holy Virgin. That this solution is also neurotic is evident from the fact that Haizmann, after renouncing the Devil, was also persecuted by God, who "led him into Hell so that he might be terrified by the fate of the damned" (Freud, 1923, p. 101). Christ, too, appeared to him, and "upbraided him soundly with threats and promises" (1923, p. 101). Thus God has replaced the Devil as a substitute father, but is still an ambivalent figure. Only by submitting himself totally to God's calling did Haizmann find symptomatic relief.

6. The ambiguity concerning the Devil's unconscious origins may be resolved if we accept Freud's argument that the superego comprises images of parental figures transmuted by the individual's own repressed instinctual impulses. The Devil is thus a composite figure, comprising unconscious aspects of both self and other.

7. The modern-day absence of the Devil as a father-substitute in psychologically disturbed people may be attributed to the declining influence of religion, and therefore the declining importance of the associated mythical figures, particularly Satan.

7.3 Freudian interpretation in historical analyses of diabolic witchcraft and Satanism

It is interesting to note that many of the historians interested in the origin of witchcraft and Satanic beliefs have adopted a psychoanalytic approach to history (Cavendish, 1977, 1980; Cohn, 1975; Russell, 1977; Zacharias, 1980). By and large, they do not accept the widespread historical existence of either diabolic witchcraft or Satanism, but rather interpret these phenomena as collective fantasies or social myths. The three phenomena which Cohn (1975) believes lend themselves most to psychoanalytic interpretation are precisely those attributes central to both witchcraft and Satanic 'myths': cannibalistic infanticide, sexual orgies, and worship of God's adversary. Cannibalistic infanticide has a long history in European mythology and folklore. Cohn attributes this fantasy to the fact of generational conflict between adults, who hold power, and children who will inherit it. Cannibalistic infanticide, a fantasised means of retaining generational power, stems from primitive oral aggressive impulses which have their origin in early childhood. We might add to this the fact of oedipal rivalry, whereby same sex children and parents compete for the other parent's love, and harbour primitive fantasies about disposing of their rivals through oral aggressive means. These socially reprehensible fantasies, which lend themselves more to a Kleinian than Freudian reading, are not consciously acknowledged, but are instead projected onto vilified real or imaginary outgroups such as witches and Satanists.

With regard to the alleged indiscriminate sexual orgies, Cohn notes:

> No great psychological sophistication is required to see that the monotonous, rigidly stereotyped tales of totally, indiscriminately promiscuous orgies do not refer to real happenings but reflect repressed desires or, if one prefers, feared temptations (1975, p. 261).

Although Cohn does not make the point, the belief that some groups deliberately flout sexual taboos may be interpreted as the projection of the unconscious desire to break the primary sexual taboo, i.e. incest. Anxiety concerning one's own homosexual and

heterosexual oedipal longings may be alleviated if all manner of perverse sexual practices are attributed to an evil cult that enacts our own displaced fantasies.

The third alleged activity of diabolic witches and Satanists is the sacrilegious parody of Christian worship, whereby God is debased and His adversary, Satan, is exalted. Apostasy, notes Cohn, goes hand in hand with eroticism. Because Christianity has emphasised the repression of instinctual life, it is meaningful that "the notion of unbridled sexuality could so easily be combined with that of a cult in which Christianity was systematically repudiated and burlesqued" (Cohn, 1975, p. 262). In these terms, the attraction of Satan, the personification of unbridled instinctual expression, is obvious. This attraction is defensively transformed into abhorrence, and those individuals alleged to follow Satan are regarded as social pariahs.

Cohn, however, fails to note the obvious oedipal significance of Satan in Christian mythology. Satan was originally the angel Lucifer, a son of God who rebelled against the divine father's authority, and was subsequently banished from heaven. Lucifer may thus be seen as a prototypal oedipal son, punished for challenging his father's authority. Satan provides a heroic figure of identification for every son who has chafed under his father's 'castrating' authority, and who has entertained, albeit unconsciously, fantasies of overthrowing the family 'god'.

Zacharias (1980), too, approaches the history of the Satanic cult from a Freudian perspective. Like Cohn, he notes the inversion of social values and the forbidden attraction this represents. Unlike Cohn, however, he acknowledges Satanism as a reality, and employs a closer reading of Freud to interpret the unconscious motives of cult members. He begins with Freud's observation that Satan is the negative image of the father, and proceeds to argue that the Satanist uses the defence mechanism of reaction formation to transform oedipal hatred into love, employing the "reinforcing effect of ritual" (p. 19) to this end. Not only are the Satanist's own hostile impulses transformed into their opposite, but the hated father-image is also "transformed into its opposite, and

the hostile castrating father becomes the universal source of strength" (p. 19). He goes on to suggest that another defence mechanism, 'identification with the aggressor', is employed. He understands this to mean "the introjection of the object of fear, which helps the transformation of fear to security" (p. 19). In the case of female Satan worshippers, Zacharias suggests that the Devil "becomes by projection the oedipal love-object, once utterly unattainable, and now at last within their grasp" (p. 20). For both male and female participants, Satanism provides the opportunity for the regressive fulfilment of aggressive and/or incestuous wishes. The psychological merit of these historians' sketchy and crude applications of Freudian theory to Satanic phenomena is less important than their conviction that the history of diabolic witchcraft and Satanism can be rendered intelligible within a psychoanalytic framework.

Summary

This chapter constructed a comprehensive classical psychoanalytic interpretation of satanic worship from Freud's few references to demonic possession. This required a review of Freud's general psychology of religion and the origin of the idea of God in humankind. God, argues Freud, is a psychological construct modelled on the young child's individual and collective experience of the father figure. The father's ideals and moral prohibitions are internalised as the superego and projected in the form of a mythical deity who embodies both nurturing and punitive qualities. Freud believed that the Devil originates in the oedipal child's repressed experience of his father as hated and feared, projected in the form of a deity who is separate from, and antagonistic to, God. At the same time, the Devil comprises split-off and projected sexual and aggressive impulses, which are in conflict with the superego. The close correspondence between the qualities of the unconscious and qualities attributed to the Devil - sexuality, destructiveness, filth, and deception - were cited in support of this interpretation. Satan is thus a composite figure based on projected negative self and object characteristics. Demonic possession in Freud's case study represents a neurotic solution to the loss of an ambivalently loved and hated father figure, who is the object of unresolved oedipal conflict. The modern-day absence of classical possession symptoms, argues Freud,

results from the declining influence of religion, and hence the declining influence of the figure of the Devil. The chapter concluded with an examination of the way in which two contemporary historians have used Freudian theory in their historical analyses of alleged black witchcraft and satanic practices.

PART FOUR

OBJECT RELATIONS, ANALYTICAL PSYCHOLOGY AND SATANISM

Introduction to Part Four

The classical psychoanalytic account of demons and demonic possession is less a theory than it is a blue-print for a theory that Freud failed to formulate in any systematic way. However, Freud's whole developmental model has been subject to rigorous critique by a number of psychoanalytic authors, collectively referred to as the object relations school, and this critique has significant implications for a psychoanalytic interpretation of demonic phenomena. Despite considerable theoretical differences between various object relations authors, a number of common criticisms of classical psychoanalytic theory provide the foundation for a reasonably coherent object relations perspective. These criticisms focus upon Freud's failure to acknowledge the role played by interpersonal relationships, and the structural intrapsychic residues of these relationships in psychological development. For object relations theorists, the content and quality of relations with objects, "both real people in the outside world and fantasised images of others imagined as internal presences, are *the* crucial determinant of most important psychical processes, both normal and pathological" (Mitchell, 1989, p. 69). The two analysts widely regarded as pioneering object relations theory are Melanie Klein (1882-1960) and Ronald Fairbairn (1889-1964). The following two chapters will be devoted to discussing the nature, origins and importance of the internal object world in the work of Klein and Fairbairn, before addressing their respective thoughts on Satan and satanic pacts. Chapter Eight will focus on traditional Kleinian object relations theory, while Chapter Nine will compare and contrast Fairbairn with Klein, before defining key concepts related to intrapsychic structure formation in order to develop an integrated object relations theory of satanic involvement.

Like Freud, neither Klein nor Fairbairn appears to have ever seen or treated a patient manifesting possession symptoms. Again, like Freud, neither of these two theorists

outlined a systematic theory of possessive states. Their brief respective thoughts on demonic phenomena were simply vehicles for addressing broader theoretical topics concerning internal objects and identification processes. However, it will be demonstrated that an integrated object relations model based on their respective theories provides a powerful interpretive framework for understanding the motives and meanings of satanic cult involvement.

CHAPTER 8

KLEINIAN PSYCHOANALYSIS: DEMONS AS BAD INTERNAL OBJECTS

The concept of an experientially real internal world populated by animated objects is Klein's most significant contribution to psychoanalysis. Although an object relations perspective was more or less implicit in the classical structural model (Greenberg and Mitchell, 1983; Meissner, 1984), Freud never employed the term 'internal object'. He had, however, described numerous clinical phenomena involving internal parental voices and images, as well as the individual's adoption of parental values and attitudes. In 1923 he formulated the concept of the superego to integrate these various psychic manifestations of parental presence. Freud's theory of the superego was the conceptual precursor of object relations theory, which extended Freud's model of mind and charted the complex intrapsychic structural formations and transformations emerging from infant-parent relating.

8.1 The Kleinian world of internal objects

Freud's structural model of the psyche presents us with an anthropomorphic conception of a divided mind comprising personified intrapsychic agencies: "The intrasubjective field tends to be conceived of after the fashion of intersubjective relations, and the systems are pictured as relatively autonomous persons-within-the-person" (Laplanche & Pontalis, 1967, p. 452). This conception of the internal world and its contents was extended by the work of Melanie Klein and her followers. Klein originally sought to retain Freud's classical notion of the internal agencies, id, ego, and superego (Hinshelwood, 1991). This proved limiting however, and she subsequently proposed a model of the human subject constituted by "a multiplicity of fantasised internal object relationships", in which "none of the multiplicity of components of the ego and internal objects is coextensive with the subject" (Ogden, 1994, p. 40).

The Kleinian subject is thus constituted by a dialectic of dispersal and unity, in which the integrative trend of the ego to unify the split internal world of object relations is

counterpoised by a de-integrative tendency to fragment experience. As a consequence, many thoughts and feelings are experienced, not as creations of the ego, but as forces and alien internal entities (Ogden, 1994). This conception of an internal world populated by multiple personified, semi-autonomous objects, interacting with the ego in complex patterns of association and dissociation, provides a valuable perspective from which to understand satanic cult experience.

8.2 Internal objects and their origin

The concept of the internal object refers to an unconscious experience or fantasy of "a concrete object physically located internal to the ego (body) which has its own motives and intentions towards the ego and to other objects. It exists within the ego, and in a greater or lesser extent of identification with the ego" (Hinshelwood, 1991, p. 68). In her psychoanalysis of young children, Klein observed that they not only fantasised about the inside of their mothers' bodies, but also about the contents of their own insides. The symbolic play of her young patients indicated that they perceived the inside of their bodies to be populated in an animistic fashion by body parts (breasts, penises), substances (urine, faeces, food), and animal or human figures. Klein argued that these fantasies derived from the interplay between *a priori* images of the external world, inherent in the instinctual drives (libidinal and destructive) themselves, and the actual objects encountered by the infant. Klein based this notion of *a priori* images on Freud's contention, discussed previously in relation to the paternal imago, that all human beings are endowed at birth with a phylogenetic inheritance of specific memory traces and images. Klein's use of this notion was more extensive and systematic, and she suggests a set of universal mental mechanisms comprising images and fantasised activities relating to bodily contents and processes which mediate the infant's interactions with the object world. Fantasy, the psychic expression of instincts and the primary content of unconscious mental processes, refers, in Kleinian thought, to imaginary interactions between individuals and their objects, involving both instinctual wish-fulfilment and defences against anxiety elicited by these interactions (Isaacs, 1952). The central thesis

of Klein's object relations theory is that the infant fantasises about orally incorporating his parents and, having done so:

> feels them to be live people inside his body in the concrete way in which deep unconscious phantasies are experienced - they are, in his mind, 'internal' or 'inner' objects ... Thus an inner world is being built up in the child's unconscious mind, corresponding to his actual experiences and the impressions he gains from people and the external world, and yet altered by his own phantasies and impulses" (Klein, 1940, p. 345).

Oral incorporation or introjection of the mother's breast is the means by which an external object becomes internalised. Introjection is the mental representation of the oral instinctual impulse, a process which both facilitates ego development and functions as a defence whereby the good object is internally secured to combat anxiety concerning persecutory bad objects. The developmental importance of the internalised good object is that it "comes to form the core of the ego around which it expands and develops" (Klein, 1958, p. 239). Introjection locates good objects inside and this process promotes the ensuing experience of an "internal sense of goodness, or self-confidence and mental stability" (Hinshelwood, 1991, p. 333).

8.3 Types of internal objects

The nature and characteristics of internal objects in no way corresponds directly to the actual characteristics and attitudes of the external objects. This is largely because the nature of internal objects is dictated by the vicissitudes of libidinal and destructive instincts, and the defence mechanisms which arise to manage anxiety associated with instinctually-based fantasies. Klein assumes the reality of Freud's dual instinct model and contends that, from birth, the death instinct is partly deflected outwards onto the infant's first external object, the maternal breast, in the form of oral-sadistic aggression in order to protect the infant against the primal anxiety of annihilation from within (Klein, 1946). This defensive strategy, however, turns the external object into a persecutory figure in the infant's fantasies. Introjection of the persecutory or bad objects means that the infant experiences paranoid anxiety in response to the fantasy of being attacked internally by the persecutory introject.

Simultaneously, however, the life instinct finds expression in the projection of libidinal impulses onto the first object, thereby creating a good breast which too is internalised as a defence against persecutory anxiety (Klein, 1946). Although it is the same object which is simultaneously loved and hated, this reality cannot be acknowledged by the infant for fear that if good and bad internal objects are integrated, the bad will destroy the good object upon which the infantile ego depends for its existence and development. The early developmental solution to this dilemma is to employ the defensive fantasy of splitting the object into two, thereby creating polarised and dissociated good and bad objects. Because the original object is split, the infant then relates in a dualistic fashion to two antagonistic part-objects, which are respectively loved and hated. These good and bad internal figures form the nucleus of the infantile superego (Klein, 1952a).

In addition to the primary defences of splitting and introjection of the good object a number of associated defences protect the infant from persecutory anxiety. The most important of these are idealisation and denial. Idealisation is a fantasy in which the positive attributes of the good part-object are defensively exaggerated:

> as a safeguard against the fear of the persecuting breast. While idealization is thus the corollary of persecutory fear, it also springs from the power of instinctual desires which aim at unlimited gratification and therefore create the picture of an inexhaustible and always bountiful breast - an ideal breast" (Klein, 1946, p. 7).

Klein emphasises the distinction between a good object and an idealised one, based on the extent of the aggression, and accompanying intensity of splitting defences:

> A very deep split between the two aspects of the object indicates that it is not the good and bad objects that are being kept apart but an idealized and extremely bad one. So deep and sharp a division reveals that the destructive impulses, envy, and persecutory anxiety are very strong and that idealization serves mainly as a defence against these emotions (Klein, 1957, p. 192)

Importantly, idealisation promotes further splitting because "parts of the ego attempt to unite with the ideal object" (Klein, 1946, p. 10). At the same time, the psychic existence

of the bad object and the infant's associated anxiety-provoking experiences of it are omnipotently denied (Klein, 1946; 1952b). Because it is not just an object, but an object relation that is denied, parts of the ego associated with the bad object are also denied and annihilated in fantasy. The implication of this is that it is not merely the object that is split into good and bad parts, but the ego as well. The extent of this splitting is determined by the relative strength of aggressive feelings toward the object:

> The more sadism prevails in the process of incorporating the object, and the more the object is felt to be in pieces, the more the ego is in danger of being split in relation to the internalized object fragments (Klein, 1946, p. 6).

Parts of the ego identified as bad are thus projected into the bad object, intensifying the object's persecutory qualities. Although it serves a defensive function, excessive splitting and expulsion of destructive parts of the self weakens the ego because the aggressive aspects of the personality are intimately associated with strength and potency (Klein, 1946). Moreover, an ego weakened by excessive splitting and projective identification becomes incapable of assimilating its internal objects, and this results in the experience of being controlled by them.

Although mother's breast is the infant's earliest object, Klein contended that an innately determined part-object representation of the father, the penis, also forms part of the infant's internal world, establishing primitive oedipal fantasies of a predominantly oral nature (Klein, 1952a). The experience of frustration in relation to the breast leads to the transfer of oral desire from the breast to the penis. Because it is internalised, "the father's penis, both desired and hated, exists not only as a part of the father's body, but is also simultaneously felt by the infant to be inside himself and inside mother's body" (Klein, 1952a, p. 79). If the infant is unable to secure mother as a good internal object, premature rivalry involving fantasies of the penis inside mother result in the penis being experienced as a hostile intruder. When internalised, this bad paternal part-object is experienced by the infant as a persecutory figure (Klein, 1957). The idealised internal penis, in contrast, is the source of fantasies concerning limitless strength and potency.

Although the infant's earliest object relationships are part-object relationships, characterised by splitting defences and paranoid anxiety, the ego's growing capacity for synthesis and integration draws good and bad aspects of the internal objects together. This results in the infant relating to whole, rather than part-objects, and introduces a second form of anxiety, called depressive anxiety, characterised by the infant's fear that his/her destructive impulses have injured, killed, or driven away the loved internal and external objects, resulting in guilty and depressive feeling states (Klein, 1948;1952). This leads to the "over-riding urge to preserve, repair or revive the loved objects: the tendency to make reparation" (Klein, 1948, p. 35).

In cases where hate and sadism predominate over loving feelings, the infant's reparative fantasies are not sufficient to revive the good object, resulting in the employment of the manic defence in which a combination of denial, contempt, idealisation, splitting, and omnipotent control of internal and external objects is mobilised to counter depressive (and persecutory) anxiety (Klein, 1952a). The result is an inflated manic/hypomanic state characterised by feelings of "*triumph,* closely bound up with contempt and omnipotence .... The triumph over his internal objects which the young child's ego controls, humiliates, and tortures is a part of the destructive aspect of the manic position" (Klein, 1940, p. 351-352). The positive aspect of the manic defence focuses on the omnipotent repair and resurrection of the damaged object.

Persecutory anxieties may also be mobilised by the integrative trends of the depressive position. Consequently, "the loved, injured object may very swiftly change into a persecutor, and the urge to revive or repair the loved object may turn into the need to pacify and propitiate a persecutor" (Klein, 1948, p. 37). Under normal circumstances, the diminution of splitting and the gradual integration of good and bad self and object aspects modulates the severity of the primitive superego figures, allowing their assimilation into the self. At the same time, the more-or-less secure presence of good internal objects creates a sense of relative well-being, trust, self-worth, and faith in one's ability to establish loving relationships with both internal and external objects. Where aggressive

fantasies and splitting defences predominate, however, the developmental task of ego integration will be disrupted, resulting in the persistent experience of fantastically distorted internal and - via projective mechanisms - external objects:

> The fear of phantastically 'bad' persecutors and the belief in 'phantastically' good objects are bound up with each other. Idealization is an essential process in the young child's mind, since he cannot yet cope in any other way with his fears of persecution (a result of his own hatred). Not until early anxieties have been sufficiently relieved owing to experiences which increase love and trust, is it possible to establish the all-important process of bringing together more closely the various aspects of objects (external, internal, 'good' and 'bad', loved and hated), and thus for hatred to become actually mitigated by love - which means a decrease of ambivalence. While the separation of these contrasting aspects - felt in the unconscious as contrasting objects - operates strongly, feelings of hatred and love are also so much divorced from each other that love cannot mitigate hatred (Klein, 1940, p. 349).

The last general point to be made about internal objects concerns their relationship with the actual external parental figures. In Klein's work, the external parental figures and internal objects exert a mutual influence on each other (Klein, 1952a,b). Klein thus acknowledges that the actual attitudes and behaviour of the parents can influence the child's internal object world, while nonetheless emphasising how instinctual fantasy distorts the child's realistic perception of his/her parents:

> At every step, persecutory and depressive anxieties may be reduced, or, for that matter, increased, by the mother's attitude; and the extent to which helpful or persecutory figures will prevail in the infant's unconscious is strongly influenced by his actual experiences, primarily with his mother, but also soon with the father and other members of the family (Klein, 1952b, p. 98).

8.4 The relationship between the ego and internal objects

The fluid and ambiguous relationship between internal objects and the ego (or self) is important in Kleinian theory. On the one hand, the ego relates to the internal object as distinct and separate from itself but, on the other, this differentiation dissolves, and the internal object is perceived to combine aspects of both self and object. This is

particularly apparent in Klein's (1946) concept of projective identification as the prototype of an aggressive object relation, in which the infant has the anal-sadistic fantasy of evacuating excrements and parts of itself into the mother:

> Together with these harmful excrements, expelled in hatred, split-off parts of the ego are also projected ... *into* the mother. These excrements and bad parts of the self are meant not only to injure but also to control and take possession of the object. In so far as the mother comes to contain the bad parts of the self, she is not felt to be a separate individual but is felt to be *the* bad self (Klein, 1946, p. 8).

In this way, the differentiation between the ego and its objects becomes blurred as the objects are unconsciously identified with parts of the self. More specifically, although not in every instance, the fantasy of projective identification involves bad (destructive, envious, greedy, etc.) parts of the self. This rids the ego of an internal danger at the expense of generating persecutory anxiety in relation to the external object, now perceived as containing the bad self aspects. Klein (1952) later considered projective identification to be the foundation of all object relations, involving projection of both good and bad parts of the self into the object.

Not just projective, but also introjective fantasies give rise to identification between the ego and its objects. Fantasies of incorporating or introjecting an object may result in an alteration of the ego so that the ego takes on or assimilates the qualities of the object (Hinshelwood, 1991). Projective identification, therefore, refers to fantasies in which aspects of the self are attributed to the object, whereas introjective identification occurs when aspects of the internal object are attributed to the self. A number of important points need to be noted regarding these identification processes. Firstly, introjective and projective identification are not mutually exclusive, but occur together in the construction and development of the internal world. Secondly, these identification processes may involve both good and bad objects/part-objects, and good/bad self aspects. Thirdly, the identity of the subject is not static, but rather fluid, and may alter dramatically according to shifting patterns of introjective and projective identification. Fourthly, the degree to

which the self is identified with its objects may vary. Some objects may be assimilated into the ego, while others may not be assimilated at all, existing as "alien objects or foreign bodies" (Hinshelwood, 1991, p. 194).

8.5 Satan and satanic pacts in the theory of Melanie Klein

Psychoanalysis' early acquaintance with demonic phenomena has been through textual interpretation only; in Freud's case, a historical case study; and in Klein's, a work of fiction. The opus of Klein's work contains only one mention of demonic phenomena, and that is in her detailed (1955) interpretation of a satanic pact in a literary work, *If I were you*, by Julian Green. Klein had no explicit intention of illuminating the issue of the Devil and demonic possession, but instead, uses the literary work to demonstrate the related phenomena of introjection and projective identification - the processes whereby the infant, using parental figures, constructs and consolidates a personal identity. Klein's article does, however, provide a rich source of material upon which to construct an object relations theory of Satanism.

The hero of the above-mentioned novel, Fabian, is seduced by the Devil into accepting a magic formula which allows him to transform himself into those individuals he perceives as more powerful and attractive than himself. Motivated by envy and greed, he magically transforms himself into a number of other people perceived to be more fortunate than him, only to find himself discontent with each transformation. These transformations are metaphoric depictions, argues Klein, of projective identification - fantasies of splitting off parts of the self, projecting them into external objects, and thereby unconsciously identifying with and controlling the recipient of the split-off aspects (Klein, 1946).

The Devil first appears after Fabian's mother forbids him from going out to meet a new lover, and Fabian, having defied her, discovers that the girl has not arrived. The Devil's appearance in this context of instinctual frustration suggests, says Klein, that he represents "the dangerous impulses which are stirred up in the young infant when his mother frustrates him. In this sense the Devil is the personification of the infant's

destructive impulses" (Klein, 1955, p. 159). Klein takes this further by noting that the Devil in the novel is greedy, ruthless, and unconcerned about Fabian's victims. This personification is accomplished through the unconscious strategy of projective identification. The Devil thus appears as "the prototype of hostile and evil projective identifications which in the novel are described as violent intrusions into people" (1955, p. 170). The figure of the Devil thus personifies the qualities of omnipotence, greed, envy, and sadism, all characteristic of early infantile life. When Fabian identifies with the Devil, he "fully succumbs to the greedy, omnipotent, and destructive part of himself" (1955, p. 171).

However, Klein also states that the Devil represents aspects of the object; in this case, Fabian's father, who died when Fabian was still a child. Fabian both hates and idealises his dead father, contradictory feelings typically dealt with by splitting defences. On one occasion, Fabian transforms himself into a man torn between his love for God and his attraction to the Devil. God and the Devil "clearly represent the ideal and the wholly bad father" (1955, p. 163). For Klein, the bad part-object, represented by the Devil, is a product of the child's destructive projections, which make the object evil. The bad object, in Kleinian theory, is thus largely a product of the child's fantasy. Young children employ the defence mechanism of splitting to actively dissociate good from bad object experience, and consequently the bad objects are present in the child's fantasies as grossly distorted persecutory parental imagos - ogres, witches, evil magicians, monsters, demons, etc. (Klein 1929, 1930, 1933, 1935). Klein (1933) notes that:

> From my own analytic observations ... the real objects behind those imaginary, terrifying figures are the child's own parents, and that those dreadful shapes in some way or other reflect the features of its father and mother, however distorted and phantastic the resemblance may be (p. 249).

However, the relationship between father and child is complex. On the one hand, oedipal rivalry results in the child entertaining death-wishes towards him. This oedipal jealousy is complicated by envy towards the father, "who is adult and potent and who, in the child's phantasy, possesses everything because he possesses the mother" (1955, p. 162).

This combination of negative feelings towards the father is projected onto him and experienced by the child as persecutory anxiety in relation to a threatening object. At the same time, however, the child experiences contradictory feelings of love and compassion for the father. This results in depressive anxiety and guilt, together with reparative fantasies of reviving the father, injured or killed in the child's mind by his destructive wishes.

Primitive identification is not based solely on projective mechanisms, but on a complex and interrelated pattern of introjection, projective identification, and re-introjection of the object containing the projected aspects:

> The process of reintrojecting a projected part of the self includes internalizing a part of the object into whom the projection has taken place, a part which the patient may feel to be hostile, dangerous, and most undesirable to reintroject (Klein, 1955, p. 171).

Fabian consequently re-introjected a bad paternal object which threatened to "suck out" his life", thereby exacerbating the need to escape from himself through projective identification. At the same time, his identification with his actual greedy and self-indulgent father manifested in his desire to "rob other people of their lives" (p. 162).

This scenario is complicated further by the child's homosexual impulses towards his father. In the novel, the Devil's underling, a "young and handsome man", persuades Fabian to accept the Devil's 'gift' in a highly seductive fashion. In a manner reminiscent of Freud's Haizmann case, Klein interprets this as a projection of Fabian's "early feminine and passive-homosexual impulses", i.e. the desire to be his father's lover. The Devil is portrayed as seductive precisely because he is the bearer of the 'victim's' sexual, as well as destructive, projected impulses.

Although Klein largely attributes the qualities of the bad father (the Devil) to the child's destructive projective identifications, she is not blind to the role played by external reality and the object's actual characteristics. She acknowledges the importance of Fabian's

father's premature death (abandonment of the child), and the dissolute life that he led, as being important influences on Fabian's identifications. Fabian, Klein concludes, was in fact looking for a good father, but was unable to find him "because envy and greed, increased by grievance and hatred, determined his choice of father-figures" (1955, p. 173).

Not only destructive impulses, but also loving feelings are projected onto external objects, and these become the nucleus of good object internalisation and identification: "Since Fabian had lost ... his good self, he did not feel that there was enough goodness within him for identification with a very good object" (1955, p. 173). In other words, objects rendered bad by destructive projective identifications are re-introjected and identified with, thereby further depriving individuals of any sense of internal goodness. This, in turn, prevents the projection of loving impulses onto external objects, and further mitigates against the possibility of securing good objects. Fabian, having identified with bad objects, was filled with self-hatred. This was a further stimulus to projective identification, by means of which he unconsciously sought to locate the split-off ideal counterpart to his bad self aspects: "The search for the lost ideal self, which is an important feature of mental life, inevitably includes the search for lost ideal objects; for the good self is that part of the personality which is felt to be in loving relation to its good objects" (1955, p. 173).

To the already complex origin of the Devil in the child's greedy, envious, jealous, and homosexual impulses, projected onto a split-off bad paternal object, and subsequently re-introjected, is added the role of the mother. In Freud's Haizmann case study, we saw that Freud attributed no role at all to the mother in explaining the origin of Haizmann's affliction. However, in Kleinian theory, the mother - the child's first object and introject - has a decisive role to play in pathogenesis. Greed and envy, the root of Fabian's depression and association with the Devil, have their origin in the infant's relationship with the maternal object. Fabian's mother, although dutiful, was incapable of affection and tenderness. Klein concludes from this that: "Fabian's whole character and his strong

feelings of resentment and deprivation support the assumption that he had felt frustrated in the earliest feeding relation" (1955, p. 159). Greed, envy, and hatred are thus aggravated by oral frustration arising in the infant-mother relationship. Klein locates the origin of Fabian's pathology in his inability to "establish securely the good breast, the good mother, in his inner world - an initial failure which, in turn, prevented him from developing an identification with a good father" (1955, p. 165).

Whereas Freud identified the father as the original and only source of the Devil, Klein sees the father as a secondary object onto whom the infant displaces feelings originating in the maternal relationship. In Fabian's case, feelings of deprivation and frustration extended to his father, for, in the young infant's fantasies, "the father is the second object from whom oral gratifications are expected" (1955, p. 164). Klein traces another specific maternal aspect to the Devil's contradictory asceticism and contempt for the "lusts of the flesh". Klein therefore identifies both maternal and paternal identifications in the figure of the Devil: "This aspect was influenced by Fabian's identification with the moral and ascetic mother, the Devil thus representing simultaneously both parents" (1955, p. 153).

The last manifestation of the Devil is the opposite of that associated with a persecutory internal object, namely a benign superego component which helps Fabian leave a particularly destructive transformation, and warns him "to beware entering a person in whom he would submerge to such an extent that he could never escape again" (1955, p. 168). Klein thus presents an interpretation of the Devil and Satanic pacts which, although having aspects in common with Freud's interpretation, is far more complex. A close reading of Klein's article shows the Devil to represent (1) the fusion of destructive (sadistic, envious, and greedy) projective identifications, (2) projected homosexual love, (3) the negative aspects of an internalised father who is split into good (God) and bad (Satan) personifications, (4) a benign, helpful superego component associated with a good paternal introject, and (5) superego manifestations of maternal identifications. Klein does not explain the relationships between these aspects, but we are left in no doubt that the

Devil is a composite figure, constructed in unconscious fantasy from introjective and projective processes associated with both maternal and paternal objects.

Klein associates demonic phenomena with paranoid-schizoid dynamics, i.e. infantile persecutory anxiety arising from the defensive splitting of the ego and its objects into polarised good and bad aspects, and the fantasised location of the bad aspects in external objects which then constitute a perceived external threat to the person. Splitting is associated with a number of primitive defences, particularly projective identification, which makes the recipient of the projections appear to be the incarnation of the projector's split-off destructiveness.

While Freud identifies an ambivalent paternal relationship and genital oedipal impulses as the source of the Devil, Klein identifies oral frustration in the context of the infantile mother-child relationship as the original source of the demonic projections. Oral frustration intensifies the destructive impulses at the expense of libidinal ones, thereby increasing reliance on projective identification to rid the self of internal badness (evil) in order to protect the good internal objects. Father is a secondary object in the sense that destructive introjective identifications originating in relation to the bad maternal object, are projected onto the bad paternal object, which is subsequently personified in fantasy as the Devil.

While constitutional destructiveness, the psychic expression of the death instinct, is the origin of negative projective identifications, internal and external factors interact to either strengthen the destructive impulses or strengthen the reparative impulses, thereby promoting psychic integration and consolidation of good introjective identification. Parental loss, absence, or emotional unavailability are particularly important negative environmental factors which aggravate the tendency to employ primitive defences, thereby increasing the tendency to perceive one's own destructiveness in personified demonic form.

Summary

Although Freud portrayed intrapsychic life in terms of personified, autonomous agencies, Klein extended this psychodynamic understanding by proposing a model of mind characterised by detailed fantasised interactions between the ego and multiple representations of internalised object relationships. By proposing a universal set of introjective and projective mental processes, Klein was able to demonstrate how significant others come to be experienced as concretely located in us, and how aspects of ourselves, identified with these internal objects, may be defensively split off and located in others. Those objects experienced as bad by virtue of the subject's hostile projections, or because they frustrate the subject's developmental needs, are perceived as personified internal persecutors, which cannot be assimilated into the subject's ego. This framework, in which malevolent, personified internal objects exert control over the ego, provides the foundation for understanding the experience of demonic possession. Klein, interpreting a satanic pact in a work of fiction, argues that the Devil is the personification of infantile destructive impulses, arising from oral frustration in the context of the infant's relationship with his mother. Greed, envy, and hatred prevent the secure internalisation of a good maternal object. These destructive impulses, in turn, are projected onto the paternal object, thereby preventing identification with a good internal father figure. At the same time, the individual desperately seeks contact with an idealised counterpart of the bad paternal part-object, but is prevented from succeeding by internal destructiveness. As a result of splitting and projective identification, the destructive aspects of self are located in a paternal part-object (the Devil), experienced as wholly bad or evil. Although the motive for the demonic pact is the search for a good father, re-integration of the destructive projections results in the ego identifying with the bad object, thereby becoming one with the Devil. Projected homosexual love and benign superego components, arising from maternal and paternal interaction, strengthens attachment to the demonic 'father' figure. Although not directly relevant to satanic cult involvement, Klein's complex interpretation of a fictional satanic pact does provide a useful theoretical framework for understanding the unconscious origin of the Devil as an internal object, and suggests plausible motives for the ego's identification with this evil internal figure.

CHAPTER 9

FROM FAIRBAIRN TO AN INTEGRATED OBJECT RELATIONS MODEL OF INTRAPSYCHIC STRUCTURE FORMATION

Introduction

Fairbairn has been described as a "Kleinian revisionist" (Grotstein & Rinsley, 1994), but his object relations theory has contributed so significantly to our understanding of intrapsychic structure that it warrants separate discussion. A second reason for a closer examination of Fairbairn's work is his occasional reference to demonic possession as a metaphor for the self's relationship with bad internal objects. This may be extended beyond Fairbairn's original metaphorical intention to understand the intrapsychic life of those who understand themselves to be literally possessed, and who invite demonic possession by means of satanic worship. This section will firstly examine Fairbairn's seminal contribution to understanding the power of bad internal objects and their internal status as psychic structures, rather than simply fantasies. Secondly, the implications of this theory for understanding demonic possession will be discussed. Following this, key concepts relating to the internalisation of objects and formation of psychic structures will be outlined before an integrated object relations model of satanic cult involvement and demonic possession is presented in the following chapter.

9.1 Object relations as endopsychic structures

For both Klein and Fairbairn, disturbances in psychological life arise from defensive cleavages in the ego as the young child struggles intrapsychically with bad internal objects. However, the origin, nature, function, and intrapsychic status of these objects differs considerably. The conceptual similarities and differences between Klein and Fairbairn will be discussed below, with a view to using Fairbairn's insights to build upon certain deficiencies in Klein's theory of internal objects and their origin.

To begin with, the intrapsychic status of internal objects is unclear in Klein's work (Ogden, 1994; Perlow, 1995). Kleinians have traditionally understood them to be

fantasies, i.e. mental representations of instincts, but Klein sometimes describes them as active agencies, rather than just fantasies. (Ogden, 1994). Furthermore, Kleinian thought failed to differentiate between fantasised internal objects, memories, images, representations and perceptions (Perlow, 1995). For Fairbairn, however, the internal world does not comprise fantasies or ideational representations, but endopsychic structures:

> Klein has never satisfactorily explained how phantasies of incorporating objects orally can give rise to the establishment of internal objects as endopsychic structures - and, unless they are such structures, they cannot be properly spoken of as internal objects at all, since otherwise they will remain mere figments of phantasy (Fairbairn, 1949, p. 154).

Endopsychic structures are dynamic structures that arise from the splitting of the ego in association with split internal objects (Fairbairn, 1949). They are dynamic in the sense of carrying instinctual energy. However, Fairbairn distanced himself from the classical Freudian emphasis on instincts and impulses, which he regarded as "misleading hypostatizations" (1946, p. 150). Although acknowledging the importance of sexuality and aggression in human affairs, Fairbairn contended that these 'instinctual impulses' "must accordingly be regarded as representing simply the dynamic aspect of ego-structures; and there consequently arises a necessity for the replacement of old impulse-psychology by a new *psychology of dynamic structure*" (Fairbairn, 1951, p. 167). Endopsychic structures may be more specifically described as split-off and repressed subsystems of the self, associated with the defensive internalisation of painfully frustrating object experience:

> A particular aspect of the self, defined by its particular affective and purposive relationship with a particularized object, and reflecting a fundamental aspect of self-definition within the psyche, too intrinsic and powerful to be abandoned and too intolerable and unacceptable to be integrated into the whole - this fully functional, albeit crystallized, subsystem of the self is what becomes an endopsychic structure by virtue of the act of its repression (Rubens, 1994, p. 161).

The nature of the endopsychic structures arising from internalisation of bad objects requires some elaboration. The undivided original ego is constituted in relation to the undivided original object (the mother). Frustration of the child's dependency needs results in the original object being ambivalently experienced as simultaneously exciting and rejecting, and thus both desired and hated. The child's helpless reliance on an object experienced as frustrating, is intolerable. The whole object is internalised in order to banish the ambivalent quality of the relationship and to minimise the risk of rejection and disappointment. This strategy displaces the painfully conflictual relationship with the object from the external world to the internal world. This allows the child a more tolerable conscious perception of the external object, while resurrecting its overly-exciting and rejecting features intrapsychically.

The next defensive step is to cope with this threatening whole internalised object, which is then split into exciting and rejecting part-object components. The exciting object is the alluring, seductive component of the bad internalised object, whereas the rejecting object is the withholding or persecutory component. In order to protect him/herself against the internal badness that arises from identification with the bad object, the young child splits off portions of its ego associated with the frustrating aspects (exciting and rejecting) of the internalised bad object. What ensues is an intrapsychic situation characterised by two part-object relationships, comprising split-off portions of ego in relation with the exciting and rejecting objects. Dreams, fantasies, and behaviour are thus essentially "dramatizations of endopsychic situations involving both (a) relationships between ego-structures and internalized objects, and (b) inter-relationships between ego structures themselves" (Fairbairn, 1951, p. 170). The part of the ego associated with the exciting object is termed the libidinal ego, while the part associated with the rejecting object is termed the antilibidinal ego. Fairbairn (1944; 1951) refers to this aggressive, persecutory structure as the "internal saboteur", since it aggressively attacks the exciting object and the libidinal ego associated with it. These two subsidiary egos with their associated objects are repressed in order to defend against the distressing emotions accompanying them. The agent of this repression is the central ego, the residue of the undivided ego.

The positive aspects of the original object, internalised as a defence against the bad object, Fairbairn called the idealised object or ego ideal. The idealised object constitutes the nucleus of the superego, and its counterpart is the central ego. Although the maternal figure is the first object to be internalised, Fairbairn considers the internalised paternal object to be subject to the same defensive operations of splitting and repression, resulting in the formation of exciting and rejecting paternal part-objects, "partly super-imposed upon, and partly fused with the corresponding figures of mother" (Fairbairn, 1951, p. 174).

The contents of the unconscious do not comprise instinctual impulses (as in Freud's theory), but split internal objects identified with their respective split egos. Like Klein, Fairbairn believed that these internal objects were manifest in personified form in dreams and fantasies. In a 1931 case study, Fairbairn observed the operation of personified psychic structures arising from identifications with internal objects in his patient's dreams. He argued that multiple personality is simply a more extreme form of the dynamic structural personification that occurs in neurotic disorders:

> As a whole, the personifications seem best interpreted as functioning structural units which ... have attained a certain independence within the total personality; and it seems reasonable to suppose that the mental processes which give rise to multiple personality only represent a more extreme form of those ... Although in her particular case these personifications were confined, in large measure, to the realm of the unconscious as revealed in dreams, there is no reason why in more extreme cases similar personifications should not invade the conscious field in waking life (Fairbairn, 1931, p. 219)

As Ogden (1994) notes, the significance of Fairbairn's model of endopsychic structures is that it "fully establishes the concept of internal object relations between active semi-autonomous agencies within a single personality" (p. 94).

The nature and degree of psychological disturbance, according to Fairbairn, depends on the operation of three factors: "(1) the extent to which bad objects have been installed in the unconscious and the degree of badness by which they are characterized, (2) the extent

to which the ego is identified with internalized bad objects, and (3) the nature and strength of the defences which protect the ego from these objects" (1943, p. 65). As does Klein, Fairbairn recognises that de-differentiation or identification of the self with its internalised objects may often result, and that this is the origin of narcissism (Fairbairn, 1944, p. 83). The superiority or omnipotence of schizoid individuals, notes Fairbairn, derives from a "narcissistic inflation of the ego arising out of secret possession of, and considerable identification with, internalized libidinal objects (e.g. the maternal breast and the paternal penis) (1940, p. 22). Fairbairn (1943) extends this thesis to argue that in early childhood, all object relationships are based on identification and, consequently, the experience of badness - or the acting out of this in delinquent behaviour - results from identification with bad objects. This allows Fairbairn to dispense with the Freudian (and Kleinian) idea of the death instinct as the origin of sadistic or masochistic behaviour:

> Now a relationship with a bad object can hardly escape the alternative of being either of a sadistic or masochistic nature. What Freud describes under the category of 'death instincts' would thus appear to represent for the most part masochistic relationships with internalized bad objects. A sadistic relationship with a bad object which is internalized would also present the appearance of the death instinct. (Fairbairn, 1943, p. 78-79).

It is important to note that, in contrast to Klein's object theory, it is initially only the "bad" objects - parental figures who frustrate the child's primary need for emotional relatedness and dependency - that are internalised to form the nucleus of endopsychic structures.[1] External objects become internalised as compensatory substitutes for painfully depriving or traumatic relationships with external objects, over which the child has no control (Fairbairn, 1951). Internalisation is an adaptive mechanism whereby the child, by introjecting objects experienced as bad, attempts to gain psychic control over them through the transformative process of omnipotent fantasy. This defensive process allows the child to preserve the illusion that the real external parents are good, while struggling psychologically to control their bad internalised aspects.

---

[1] Whereas in Klein's view, fantasised relations with internal objects constitute the bedrock of all experience, For Fairbairn, such relations represent a secondary retreat from disturbances in relations with real people (Mitchell, 1994).

However, through a process of primary identification, whereby the ego inevitably identifies with its internal objects, the undesirable qualities of the parents are now experienced to be part of the child's self. S/he thus becomes bad as a consequence of internalising bad objects. Subsequent secondary internalisation of parents' positive qualities results in the defensive establishment of a good/ideal object, with which the child identifies in order to counteract the original experience of badness. The hope is that one's primary badness may be ameliorated by identifying with, and living up to, the ideals of the internalised good object, thereby making one loveable in the parents' eyes. However, good internal objects do not offer the real emotional gratification which the child craves, but only defensive refuge from bad internal objects (Mitchell, 1994).

Whereas the first distinction between Klein's and Fairbairn's conceptualisation of objects lies in the primary versus compensatory function performed by internal objects, the second concerns the nature and origin of the internal objects' qualities. For Klein, who embraced Freud's dual instinct theory, internal objects have universal features based primarily on their *a priori* origin in infants' phylogenetic projection of libidinal or destructive impulses onto them. Klein thus underplays the actual features of the external parental objects and emphasises the child's relative constitutional endowment of love and hate as the origin of the internal objects' qualities.

Fairbairn, who rejected the death instinct theory and its accompanying emphasis on constitutional aggression, attributes the qualities of internal objects to the child's realistic experience of the external objects' *actual* attitudes and behaviours. Although the categories into which internal object relations are organised are uniform, the specific content of the child's experience of these objects derives from the contextual specificity of the parents' personal qualities as these are expressed in the parent-child interaction. For Klein, the source of psychopathology is thus the infant's own inherent aggression, greed, and envy; but for Fairbairn, psychic disorder is located squarely in the deficient parenting, which creates bad internal objects (Mitchell, 1994).

9.2 Demonic possession in the work of Ronald Fairbairn

Fairbairn makes few observations on the psychology of religion. However, while he explicitly states that spiritual values cannot be explained wholly in psychological terms, he does accept the validity of interpreting religious phenomena with specific reference to two factors in the dynamic unconscious. These are:

> (1) persistence of the original attitude towards parents prevailing during early childhood, and displacement of this attitude towards supernatural beings from its attachment to human parents under the influence of disillusionment regarding their powers and their capacity to provide unlimited support; and (2) the persistent influence of a repressed Oedipus situation accompanied by conflict, and an inner need to obtain relief from attendant guilt (Fairbairn, 1927, p. 188-189).

More specifically, for the purposes of this dissertation, Fairbairn's thoughts on demonic possession are largely cursory criticisms of Freud's (1923) interpretation of the Haizmann case. Fairbairn does not explicitly discuss the psychodynamics of possession, at one point explicitly stating, "I must resist the temptation to embark upon a study of the mysteries of demoniacal possession and exorcism" (1943, p. 70). The necessity for Fairbairn's distance in this regard goes unexplained. However, what distinguishes him from both Freud and Klein is that he employs the metaphors of demonic possession and exorcism to explain his revised models of psychopathology and psychoanalytic treatment.

The child, says Fairbairn with regard to bad introjects, is possessed by these internal objects, "as if by evil spirits" (1943, p. 67). This is significant, given the historical impact of psychoanalysis on the late 19th Century-understanding of psychopathology. The medical model of psychopathology represented a scientific triumph over the demonological model by defining psychological problems as mental *illness*, thereby explaining the latter in terms of physiological processes. Freud, however, reclaimed psychology from both the medical domain, by demonstrating the psychogenic foundation of neurosis, and from ecclesiastical discourse, by showing demons to be psychic, rather than supernatural emanations.

Fairbairn, by deliberately employing the metaphor of possession to describe the phenomenology of psychopathology, re-establishes a respectful attitude to the experiential reality of demonic possession and exorcism, while not naively accepting the literal reality of any ecclesiastical worldview:

> It is to the realm of these bad objects, I feel convinced, rather than to the realm of the super-ego that the ultimate origin of all psychopathological developments is to be traced; for it may be said of all psychoneurotic and psychotic patients that, if a True Mass is being celebrated in the chancel, a Black Mass is being celebrated in the crypt. It becomes evident, accordingly, that the psychotherapist is the true successor to the exorcist, and that he is concerned, not only with the 'forgiveness of sins', but also with the 'casting out of devils' (Fairbairn, 1943, p. 70).

Fairbairn (1943) comments briefly and critically on Freud's interpretation of the Haizmann case, using his contrasting perspective on the latter to demonstrate his point of departure from Freudian metapsychology. His main quarrel is with the drive discharge theory and its inability to illuminate the role played by internalised object relations in the genesis and maintenance of psychopathology: "There could be no better evidence of the misleading influence of the libido theory that even Freud should fail to appreciate the real significance of demoniacal possession after coming so near to doing so" [2] (1986, p. 114). For Freud, as was noted earlier, demons are sexual or aggressive impulse derivatives, melded in an unexplained fashion with paternal images, repressed and projected onto the external world where they are then perceived as external forces and entities. Fairbairn's central criticism of this formulation is that possession - and any form of functional psychopathology - involves the internalisation of *bad object relationships*, rather than the vicissitudes of instinctual derivatives:

---

[2] This observation was not included in the original 1943 version of this paper.

> Freud's commentary fails to do justice to the significance of the cure no less than to the significance of the disease (which lay in the fact that the poor painter was 'possessed' by internalized bad objects) .... The whole point of a pact with the Devil lies in the fact it involves a relationship with a bad object (Fairbairn, 1943, p. 71).

Fairbairn does not develop an alternative model of demonic possession, but contents himself with using possession as a metaphor for any psychologically disturbed person's experience of persecution by bad internal objects. Even then, it is a metaphor towards which he appears to have felt some ambivalence. Noting that it is difficult to differentiate between internalised objects and their associated ego structures, Fairbairn (1944) adds, "with a view to avoiding any appearance of demonology, it seems wise to err ... on the side of overweighting the activity of the ego structures" (p. 132). Whatever Fairbairn's ambivalence, it is clear, says Grotstein (1994, p. 129), that Fairbairn "had demoniacal possession in mind when he thought of the split-off egos' trance-like subservience to and worship of their intimidating bad objects".

Under normal circumstances, most people fear the release of bad objects from the unconscious. Writing of the psychotherapy patient, Fairbairn notes that, "when such bad objects are released, the world around the patient becomes peopled with devils which are too terrifying for him to face" (1943, p. 69). In these situations, individuals frequently employ what Fairbairn (1943) refers to as the "moral defence" or "defence of the super-ego", in which the good and ideal aspects of the parents are internalised and identified with, in order to combat the experience of badness arising from the original internalisation of the bad object. However, in an earlier paper, Fairbairn (1940) suggests, using the metaphor of the demonic pact, that in the absence of good object relating people will rather bind themselves to bad objects, with the accompanying destructiveness, substitution of hatred for love, and reversal of values, than withdraw from object relating altogether:

Since the joy of loving seems hopelessly barred to him, he may as well deliver himself over to the joy of hating and obtain what satisfaction he can out of that. He thus makes a pact with the Devil and says, "Evil be thou my good" .... It becomes a case, not only of "Evil be thou my good", but also of "Good be thou my evil". This is a reversal of values, it must be added, which is rarely consciously accepted; but is ... the third great tragedy to which individuals with a schizoid tendency are liable (Fairbairn, 1940, p. 27).

This defensive strategy is a reversal of the moral defence, in which identification with the ideal object allows the ego to take on the object's ideal qualities, thereby winning the object's love.

9.3 An integrated object relations model of psychic structure formation

Object relations theorists are principally concerned with how the internal world is structured in terms of the ego's relation with internal objects, and the degree to which these objects are assimilated into the self. The degree of assimilation, and the defensive strategies that the ego employs to manage unassimilated objects has vital significance for personality structure and integration. Before applying object relations theory to satanic worship, the relationship between internal objects and the subject which contains them needs to be adequately conceptualised in terms of identity formation. Although foreign to classical psychoanalysis, the concept of the self-system or self organisation has gained theoretical and clinical support. Meissner (1980) defines the self as an "epiphenomenal or intersystemic organisation which would include all of the psychic agencies in a superordinate integration" (p. 241). In speaking of the self, we are thus referring to the foundation and formation of identity. Kernberg (1986) defines identity formation as:

the more general intrapsychic process of integration of libidinally and aggressively invested self representations into a cohesive self, in parallel to the simultaneous integration of libidinally and aggressively invested object representations into broader representations of significant objects (p. 147).

The processes leading to identity formation (incorporation, introjection, internalisation, splitting, assimilation and identification) are central to understanding the developmental histories of Satanists, and will thus be defined and briefly discussed.

9.3.1 Introjection and incorporation

The fantasy accompanying the physical act of ingestion is called incorporation (Meissner, 1981; Tyson & Tyson, 1990). Hinshelwood (1991) defines incorporation as the fantasy of "bodily taking in of an object which is subsequently felt to be physically present inside the body, taking up space and being active there" (p. 321). Incorporation thus involves the (initially) oral fantasy of assimilating something into one's body in order to appropriate aspects or qualities of the object.

A mental process closely related to incorporation is introjection. A number of authors use the terms incorporation and introjection synonomously and interchangeably (Knight, 1940; Schafer, 1968). In this sense, introjection denotes an unconscious psychological process whereby an external object, or aspect of that object, is transposed by means of oral fantasy (incorporation) from outside to inside the ego. The objected, once introjected in this manner, is referred to as an *introject*. Schafer (1968) provides a comprehensive definition of the term introject:

> An introject is an inner presence with which one feels in a continuous or intermittent dynamic relationship. The subject conceives of this presence as a person, a physical or psychological part of a person (e.g., a breast, a voice, a look, an affect), or a personlike thing or creature. He experiences it as existing within the confines of his body or mind or both, but not as an aspect or expression of his subjective (p. 72).

Meissner (1981) insists on making a distinction between incorporation and introjection, based on the extent to which subject and object representations are fused or differentiated. Incorporation, as the earliest and most primitive internalising modality, refers to a state of primary symbiotic union with the object, prior to any subject-object differentiation. Introjection, however, is a developmentally more advanced process which assumes the

differentiation of experience into self and object components: "Introjects are structural components of the psychic system which enjoy a certain autonomy that allows them to be distinguished from ego components" (Meissner, 1981, p. 25).

Following Klein (1948), one needs to distinguish between primitive and mature introjection, based on the extent to which negative and positive aspects of the introject are either integrated or actively separated into dualistic qualities of absolute good and bad. Integrated introjects, realistic composites of negative and positive qualities, are referred to as whole objects. Split introjects, resulting from the subject's defensive dissociation of objects' perceived good and bad qualities, are termed part-objects, since the object is separated in fantasy into polarised attributes, each of which is related to as a separate object rather than different aspects of the same composite object.

9.3.2 Splitting

Splitting describes a defensive process involving "an unconscious phantasy by which the ego can split itself off from the perception of an unwanted aspect of itself, or can split an object into two or more objects in order to locate polarised, immiscible qualities separately" (Grotstein, 1981, p. 3). Defensive splitting, as defined by Klein (1921), originally involves a cleavage in the experience of the primary object, into contradictory good and bad aspects. However, every split in object experience is accompanied by a split in the individual's self experience as well. Consequently split objects, embodying opposite qualities, are related to by the split selves, "which correspond to identifications with relative perceptions of the objects" (Grotstein, 1981, p. 10). Splitting may be microscopic, and relatively subtle in its manifestation, or macroscopic, as may be seen in extreme dissociative phenomena. The significance of splitting is that the individual, having separated global self-experience into stark dualities, perceives the negative aspect to be an alien entity which, when re-introjected, is experienced as a foreign presence inside the self.

It is now recognised that the phenomenon of dissociation of personalities is more widespread and universal than had earlier been thought: "It is a universal experience of

man and originates from the experience of existing in separate subselves or separate personalities which have never been totally unified into a single oneness" (Grotstein, 1981, p. 18).

9.3.3 Internalisation

The process whereby introjects become part of the developing psyche is termed internalisation. Once the introject has become, to a lesser or greater degree, assimilated into the subject's self structure, we may speak of internalisation having taken place. Loewald (in Meissner, 1981, p.7) defines internalisation as a general term for "certain processes of transformation by which relationships and interactions between the individual psychic apparatus and its environment are changed into inner relationships and interactions within the psychic apparatus".[3]

The internalisation process has crucial developmental significance insofar as the internalisation of aspects of object relations provides the foundation for the development of intrapsychic structures (Behrends & Blatt, 1985). By this process, negative and positive object representations deriving from relationships with external others are transformed into internal relationships (object relations), which organise the individual's personality structure. Kernberg (1986) extends this understanding by indicating the instinctual, and dyadic aspects of internalisation:

> I use *internalization* as an umbrella concept to refer to the building up of intrapsychic structures that reflect both actual and fantasied interactions with significant objects under the impact of drive derivatives represented by specific affect states. The basic unit of internalization ... is a dyadic one, that is, it consists of a self and object representation in the context of a specific affect representing libidinal and/or aggressive drives (Kernberg, 1986, p. 147).

---

[3] The question of internalisation refers to the psychological processes by means of which real or imagined "interactions with the environment or real or imagined characteristics of objects in the environment are transformed into functional and integrated aspects of internal psychic systems" (Meissner, 1980, p. 240).

Implicit in Kernberg's emphasis on self and object representations is the important assumption that it is not simply objects that are internalized, but object *relationships*. The process of internalisation is initiated by infants' felt sense of disruption in their relationships with primary care-givers, thereby prompting the infants to preserve significant aspects of the relationship through internalisation (Behrend & Blatt, 1985).

9.3.4 Introjective identification, projective identification, and assimilation

Identification is a "psychological process whereby the subject assimilates an aspect, property or attribute of the other and is transformed, wholly or partially, after the model the other provides" (Laplanche & Pontalis, 1973, p. 205). Internalisation is the consequence of introjective identification, whereby the ego identifies with the object and in so doing, is altered by becoming like the object (Hinshelwood, 1991). Normally the personality has a fluid structure in which the self (ego) exists in dynamic relation to its internal objects, "identifying with them for shorter or longer periods as may be realistic in the circumstances of the external world at the time" (Hinshelwood, 1991, p. 436).

Heimann's (1942) use of the term assimilation describes the positive manifestation of internalisation, whereby the ego identifies with the introject (introjective identification), and is enhanced by this identification as a result of now having the benign object's qualities. She contrasts this with unassimilated objects, felt to be alien parts of the personality, which "act as foreign bodies embedded in the self" (Cited in Hinshelwood, 1991, p. 222). It could be said that it is precisely the subject's experience of introjects as "foreign bodies" which defines their essence. Introjects are felt to be autonomous alien presences which substantially influence individuals' emotional states and behaviour from inside their bodies and/or minds. Schafer (1972) is critical of the concept of introjects, arguing that the term is an unnecessary anthropomorphism, and a reification of a fantasised process:

The custom is to speak of introjects as if they were angels and demons with minds and powers of their own ... In these instances we forget that an introject can only be a fantasy ... We forget then that the introject can have no powers or motives of its own, and no perceptual and judgmental functions, except as, like a dream figure, it has these properties archaically ascribed to it by the imagining subject (p. 422).

However, what is lost in Schafer's critique is the phenomenological reality of people's subjective experience of their objects as precisely personified, autonomous foreign inhabitants of their internal world, acting upon them irrespective of their conscious will and intentions. In contrast to Schafer, Ogden (1990) privileges the experiential realm when he defines internal objects as:

dynamically unconscious suborganizations of the ego capable of generating meaning and experience, i.e., capable of thought, feeling, and perception. These suborganizations stand in unconscious relationships to one another and include (1) self-suborganizations of ego, i.e., aspects ... in which the person more fully experiences his ideas and feelings as his own, and (2) object suborganizations of ego, through which meanings are generated on a mode based upon an identification ... with the object. This identification with the object is so thorough that one's original sense of self is almost entirely lost (p. 132).

As noted earlier, in Fairbairn's critique of Klein introjects are not simply fantasies, but structures, i.e. enduring and functional internal organisation of the self. The extent of the introject's independence in relation to the self, however, is variable. Introjects may be integrated into the self structure in different degrees, i.e., on a continuum ranging from unintegration, where they are experienced as alien entities, to relative integration, where they lose their independent quality and become merged with the subject's sense of self. In the case of the former, the introjective organisation may be experienced as "another force or focus of influence in our experience of ourselves, which may stand as separate and even in opposition to our own experience of personal intention or will" (Meissner 1981, p. 49).[4]

---

[4] Meissner considers introjective configurations to have an intermediate status between objective representations deriving from perceptions of the external object realm, and the subjective internal core of

Identification also occurs through a projective modality known as projective identification. This relates firstly to a:

> splitting process of the early ego, where either good or bad parts of the self are split off from the ego and are as a further step projected in love or hatred into external objects which leads to fusion and identification of the projected parts of the self with the external objects. There are important paranoid anxieties related to these processes as the objects filled with aggressive parts of the self become persecuting and are experienced by the patient as threatening to retaliate by forcing themselves and the bad parts of the self which they contain back into the ego (Rosenfeld, 1988a, p. 117).

What is important is that identification refers to both a "process and structural transformation leading to a change in the self-representation based upon identification with features of an object" (Blum, 1986, p. 269). All identifications are compromise formations which combine drive derivatives, defences, and superego (punishing or expiatory) motives:

> Identifications express the unconscious wish to be, or become like, another person, in order to satisfy instinctual, defensive, and superego goals, in combination and simultaneously, according to the principles of compromise formation which govern psychic life (Abend & Porder, 1986, p. 207).

Mature identifications promote stable, enduring, and essentially non-conflictual character traits (Abend & Porder, 1986). However, primitive identifications, which include destructive drive, immature defensive, and persecutory superego components, result in pathological psychic organisations which undermine mental stability. A specific form of identification which will prove to have significance in later discussion is identification with idealised objects, where idealisation refers to a "mental process by means of which the object's qualities and value are elevated to the point of perfection" (Laplanche & Pontalis, 1973, p. 202).

---

selfhood. Aspects of introjective configurations may be relatively indistinguishable from the subject's experience of self, but at the same time be externalised and differentiated from the core of personal subjectivity.

The above fantasy operations upon objects, which lead to psychic structures and identity formations, will form the foundation for the subsequent object relations account of how certain individuals become attracted to Satanism, and why they experience cult phenomena in the way that they do. The following chapter will propose an integrated object relations model of satanic cult involvement based on the concepts oulined above.

CHAPTER 10

AN INTEGRATED OBJECT RELATIONS MODEL OF SATANIC INVOLVEMENT

Introduction

In this chapter, a number of general hypotheses concerning human psychological development are distilled from the work of Klein and Fairbairn, and applied to explain the psychic status of the Devil, the phenomenon of demonic possession, as well as possible motives for satanic pacts. The chapter begins by examining the status of demonic figures as unassimilated and dissociated bad internal objects, whose intrusive return is manifest in possession states. Two related, but distinct phenomena, involuntary and voluntary demonic possession, will be discussed under separate headings in order to highlight the psychodynamics of satanic cult involvement. The contemporary Kleinian concept of destructive narcissism will be introduced to suggest why certain individuals are attracted to Satanism, rather than less malevolent occult groups. Chasseguet-Smirgel's work on the relationship between narcissism and perversion will be briefly discussed to highlight some of the dynamics prevalent in satanic worship, and Kernberg's profile of the malignant narcissist will be used to further illustrate the type of personalities attracted to Satanism. The chapter will conclude with some observations on the relationship between Satanism and fundamentalist Christianity.

10.1 The psychic status of demons as personified bad objects

From an object relations perspective, involuntary demonic possession may be understood to result from the young child's internalisation of parental objects experienced as bad, i.e. cruel, rejecting or emotionally depriving:

> The possessing forces of object relations psychology are of course not the possessing demons and witches of medieval times but the possessing good and bad objects of early intrapsychic life set up through processes of introjection and incorporation in response to frustration in the early infant-mother relationship (Henderson, 1982, p. 129).

While the perception of objects as bad may partly result from destructive projections, the realistic attitudes and behaviour of parental figures toward their children strongly influence the quality of the children's introjects. Introjection, as discussed in the previous chapter, refers to the fantasised process whereby significant external others are internalised and unconsciously experienced as residing within oneself as dynamic sub-personalities, significantly influencing thought, feeling and perception. These objects, which once wielded power over the child in the external world, now retain the capacity to do so as enduring structures in the child's internal world.

Young children employ the defence mechanism of splitting to actively dissociate good from bad object experience, and the bad objects are present in the child's fantasies as grossly distorted persecutory parental imagos - ogres, witches, evil magicians, monsters, demons etc. (Klein 1929, 1930, 1933, 1935). Klein (1933) notes that:

> from my own analytic observations ... the real objects behind those imaginary, terrifying figures are the child's own parents, and that those dreadful shapes in some way or other reflect the features of its father and mother, however distorted and phantastic the resemblance may be (p. 249).

Klein's and Fairbairn's contribution to psychoanalysis was to show how these split good and bad object relations are internalised, thereby becoming part of the individual's own psyche. It can thus be argued that the psychogenic origin of demons and the Devil lies in the defensive projection of bad parental introjects, subsequently experienced as personified malevolent entities. Although the Devil is typically identified as male, we need not necessarily conclude that the figure of Satan is automatically based solely on a paternal object. Object relations theory has traditionally focused on pathological aspects of the mother-child dyad. However, both Klein and Fairbairn accepted that experiences in relation to mother are frequently displaced onto father, and introjects thus frequently carry traces of both parental objects.

Splitting defences coincide with the integrative tendencies of the ego to draw together polarised self and object representations. As was noted in the previous chapter, the young

child is confronted with the realisation that the good and bad part-objects are one composite object; that the parent who is hated is simultaneously the parent who is loved. The realisation that hatred has been directed toward the loved object is of consequence because, at this stage, "the belief in the omnipotence of evil outweighs the belief in the power of love" (Heimann, 1955, p. 25).

If children feel that their reparative fantasies of healing and restoring the good objects, which are unwittingly harmed in fantasised attacks on the persecutory bad objects, are successful, then integration of the split good and bad components occurs, leading to integrated personality functioning. The sense that goodness (both internal and external) is stronger than evil means that supernatural personifications of destructiveness are no longer as powerful, although such good and bad supernatural entities may continue to exist for the child, particularly when reinforced by dualistic religious mythologies. If, however, children are excessively aggressive or the parental objects are in reality excessively punitive, then the integration of good and bad part-objects cannot occur for fear the bad is stronger than the good and will destroy it. Splitting, manifest as polarised experiences of self and other as absolutely good or bad, persists into adolescence and adulthood, with accompanying aggressive and paranoid fantasies structuring the individual's interaction with the world. Other primitive defences usually accompany splitting. Hence, notes Olsson (1983), "in adolescents with severe problems expressed in terms of the supernatural, we find preponderance of denial, projection, projective identification, paranoid-persecutory ideation and pervasive splitting mechanisms" (p. 248).

Good internal objects foster psychic integration and an internal sense of well-being, but bad internal objects elicit paranoid anxiety centred around fantasies of being harmed from within. Because internal object relations comprise both object representations and self representation, children who internalise bad objects experience themselves as bad. This experience of internal badness is extremely anxiety-provoking and they unconsciously manage the paranoid anxiety using two defensive strategies. Firstly, the bad self

representations are externalised using the defence mechanisms of projection and projective identification, whereby the bad, i.e. destructive parts of the self are split off in fantasy and located in another object (Klein, 1946). In this way, the badness or evil originally inside now becomes the evil outside of oneself. Excessive paranoid anxiety in relation to destructive projections is evident in many children as fear of darkness, intruders, monsters, evil spirits, etc.

A second defensive strategy is to identify with an idealised good part-object, thereby becoming extremely good in order to ward off the threatening bad self representation. One sees this defence operating in certain individuals who become fanatically devout converts to rigidly dualistic religious groups, identifying uncritically with a spiritual dogma and the god from which this dogma is believed to have emanated. These projective and introjective defensive manoeuvres involve splitting of both self and object experience, and may occur simultaneously. For example, evangelical Christian acolytes may identify with Christ while constantly seeing the Devil's evil influence on the minds of sinners around them.

10.2 Voluntary and involuntary demoniacs

We need, from the outset, to make a distinction between involuntary demon possession, and induced possession arising from voluntary participation in occult rituals (Isaacs, 1987; Robbins, 1959). Involuntary demoniacs typically experience themselves as being possessed against their will by alien forces which influence their thought and conduct, despite their conscious efforts to resist. The symptoms of possession are thus ego-dystonic, and the victims consequently experience acute anxiety. In satanic worship and other black magic ceremonies, however, demonic possession is ritually induced, and the participants consciously invite alien powers to enter and control them. The resulting symptoms are thus usually ego-syntonic, although they do not necessarily remain so.

The above distinction becomes blurred in those cases in which voluntary demoniacs, having initially invited possession, attempt to rid themselves of the possessing forces.

These individuals typically experience the continued presence of possession symptoms, now manifestly ego-dystonic. The question arises, however, as to whether voluntary and involuntary demonic possession states are typically characterised by different psychodynamics. The argument, presented here, is that different psychodynamic profiles are evident in cases of voluntary and involuntary possession, and that these different profiles reflect different defensive strategies in response to pathogenic internal object relations. Involuntary demoniacs tend to dissociate themselves from destructive internal objects, whereas voluntary demoniacs identify with these objects. However, these defensive strategies are not mutually exclusive, and may co-exist as oscillating patterns of identification with, and dissociation from, bad introjects.

Voluntary demon possession, however, as manifest in the Satanist's commitment to the Devil, represents a different dynamic, one in which evil is located both inside and out. Satanists delight in the destructive external manifestations of Satan's work and invoke, by ceremonial magic, the presence of evil within their own being. Moreover, and this is the most perplexing aspect of satanic worship, good and evil in the traditional sense are transposed, with evil now becoming the sacred quest. Why would anyone actively seek to infest their own internal world with evil? Klein has shown that individuals live in terror of their aggression destroying their good internal objects, as well as those external people on whom they depend. They manage their evil impulses by projecting them into other people, thereby externalising the destructive threat to their own internal objects, thus protecting the good within by keeping the bad outside, despite the psychic sacrifices of this paranoid defence. In Satanism, however, the bad is not simply projected; the individuals concerned deliberately seek to make their internal world an evil habitat. This is what distinguishes the Satanist from the non-Satanist who experiences the involuntary and traumatic intrusion of demonic forces. This section explores the intrapsychic dynamics of involuntary demonic possession, while the following section contrasts these with the dynamics of Satanic worship.

Those individuals who use primitive defences against their own destructiveness are more susceptible to belief in magic and supernatural evil, as their own omnipotent fantasies concerning their own destructiveness are externalised and unconsciously perceived to influence the world in concrete ways. This theory is corroborated by Wilson's (1972) observations, based on his work with patients who have strong beliefs in magic: "The more narcissism and unrepressed omnipotence, the more belief in magic; the more ego defect, the more the belief is conscious; and the more troubled the pre-Oedipal experience, the more likely the adult belief in magic" (p. 12). Under normal circumstances, the child's actual experience of parents as consistently caring ameliorates the paranoid fantasies, facilitating the emergence of whole object relating and the replacement of splitting by more mature defences. The fantasies of the parents as malevolent supernatural entities is replaced by images of flawed, but caring, human figures. However, given the abusive family background of many involuntary demoniacs, the young child's paranoid fantasies find traumatic confirmation in reality. The internalised bad object relation, with its component self and object representations, splits off from the embryonic self to function as an autonomous dynamic structure, a subpersonality within the self. The affective tone of this destructive internal object relation comprises polarised raw negative emotions. When identified with the self component of the object relation, individuals would feel fear, rage, hatred, and impotence, appropriate to the experience of feeling sadistically persecuted by an omnipotent parental figure. Because the childhood fantasies of these horrifying objects have not been modified by real experiences with benevolent parental figures, the object images might still be archaic ones of evil demonic figures possessing supernatural powers. To the realistic qualities of the bad objects are added fantasy distortions arising from instinctually-derived projective identifications, which go unmodified in the absence of effective parental containment.

As a defensive strategy against being persecuted by these internal objects, individuals may externalise them by means of projection or projective identification. They would thus be predisposed to experience an external occult world, inhabited by evil supernatural

forces. Certain individuals in the person's environment would become containers of these projective identifications, and consequently appear to personify evil. The intrusive return of these projections would give rise to the experience of being possessed by an evil supernatural force, as the self falls prey to the destructive subpersonality. This dynamic, it is proposed, offers one explanation for the phenomenon of involuntary demonic possession.

10.3 Psychodynamics of voluntary possession and Satanic worship

The phenomenon whereby certain individuals invite possession and actively worship Satan suggests a different dynamic. What appears to happen in these cases is that the individuals defensively reverse the above strategy. Rather than identifying with the fearful, impotent self component of the internal object relation, and projecting the bad internal object, they instead identify with the bad object representations and project the corresponding self representation. In this way, the person escapes the bad object's persecution, with the accompanying feelings of terror and helplessness, by becoming one with the bad object, giving oneself over to its influence and assimilating its destructive power. Certain personality styles would be more predisposed than others to bad object identification. The narcissistic spectrum of personality disorders, characterised by a grandiose facade of omnipotence, independence, and contempt for others is perhaps most likely to be attracted to Satanism. Behind this facade, lurks an empty, hungry, enraged, impotent and envious core self (Kernberg, 1975), which the satanic emphasis on magical power and control would help to counter. Thus, it may be argued, there is a 'goodness of fit' between the narcissistic personality structure and satanic cult ideology.

The notion of destructive narcissism may help to substantiate this claim and understand Satanists' need for identification with the ultimately bad object. A number of Kleinian authors (Meltzer, 1988; Rosenfeld, 1987, 1988; Steiner, 1993) have focused on a particularly malignant variety of narcissistic pathology that involves addiction to, and idealisation of, destructive parts of the personality. As will later be illustrated, the work of these authors is particularly relevant to understanding the internal world of certain

satanic ritual participants. As noted in Chapter Four, the typical history of many Satanists includes a disrupted family background, with a high prevalence of parental emotional withdrawal and, very often, parental verbal or physical abuse. Fairbairn's work, discussed in Chapter Nine, focused on the psychic consequences of internalising bad parental objects. It was noted that one of the defensive strategies that may be employed to manage bad internal objects, in the absence of good object experience, is to deliver oneself over to the bad object and unconsciously identify with it:

> Since the joy of loving seems hopelessly barred to him, he may as well deliver himself over to the joy of hating and obtain what satisfaction he can out of that. He thus makes a pact with the Devil and says, "Evil be thou my good" .... It becomes a case, not only of "Evil be thou my good", but also of "Good be thou my evil". This is a reversal of values, it must be added, which is rarely consciously accepted (Fairbairn, 1940, p. 27).

According to Fairbairn, enslavement to, and identification with bad objects, horrifying as it may be, is preferable to the sense of abandonment and desolation that would ensue if the individual lacking good object relations sacrificed the bad ones as well. The demonic pact to which Fairbairn refers is a metaphorical one, used to describe the schizoid individual's internal world. The metaphor, however, is directly relevant to the puzzling reality of satanic participants' identification with evil. The absence of internal goodness makes identification with bad objects - and the supreme evil object (Satan) - the only way of establishing object relatedness. By reversing the polarities of good and evil, this identification becomes easier to accept.

Addiction to bad objects has also attracted the attention of contemporary Kleinian authors. Meltzer (1988) describes a state of addiction to a bad part of the self which, although dreaded, cannot be given up:

> Where dependence on internal good objects is rendered infeasible ... and where dependence on a good external object is unavailable or unacknowledged, the addictive relationship to a bad part of the self, the submission to tyranny, takes place. An illusion of safety is promulgated by the omniscience of the destructive part and perpetuated by the sense of omnipotence generated by the perversion or addictive activity involved. The tyrannical, addictive bad part is dreaded. It is important to note that, while the tyrant may behave in a way that has a resemblance to a persecutor, especially if any sign of rebellion is at hand, the essential hold over the submissive part of the self is by way of the dread of loss of protection against the terror .... Where a dread of loss of an addictive relation to a tyrant is found in psychic structure, the problem of terror will be found at its core, as the force behind the dread and the submission (p. 237).

In another article, Meltzer (1979) elaborates on the tyrannical influence exercised by the narcissistic organisation on the rest of the personality, arguing that the destructive aspect "presents itself to the suffering good parts first as a protector from pain, second as a servant to sensuality and vanity, and only covertly - in the face of resistance to regression - as the brute, the torturer" (p. 97). This is precisely Satanists' experience of the Devil, who offers them power and protection as long as they do his bidding, but who persecutes and seeks to destroy them if they attempt to leave his service.

Rosenfeld (1987, 1988) notes that the dreams, fantasies, and object relations of some narcissistic individuals reveals the existence of a "deadly", "murderous" internal force - akin to Freud's death instinct - which tyrannises healthier parts of the personality, threatening both them and their objects with death. He distinguishes between libidinal and destructive aspects of narcissistic pathology, and identifies an internal narcissistic organisation based on idealisation of omnipotently destructive parts of the self, rather than the more typical self-inflation based on identification with idealised good objects. This condition, he argues, is caused by the activity of:

> destructive, envious parts of the self which become severely split off and defused from the libidinally caring self which seems to have disappeared. The whole self becomes temporarily identified with the destructive self, which aims to triumph over life and creativity ... by destroying the dependent libidinal self experienced as a child (1988, p. 247).

In these narcissistic conditions, destructive impulses have become unbound from libidinal impulses, sadistically dominating the personality and ruthlessly exterminating those parts of the self drawn to loving and dependent modes of relating. These destructive aspects of the self are "idealized and submitted to; they capture and trap the positive dependent aspects of the self" (Rosenfeld, 1987, p. 109). This destructive narcissistic organisation is likened to a powerful criminal gang, dominated by a leader:

> who controls all the members of the gang to see that they support one another in making the criminal destructive work more effective and powerful ... The main aim seems to be to prevent the weakening of the organization and to control members of the gang so that they will not desert the destructive organization and join the positive parts of the self or betray the secrets of the gang to the police (Rosenfeld, 1987, p. 111).

Rosenfeld's description of the internal 'gang' is remarkably similar to the actual organisation and operation of satanic cults. In this light, it is interesting to note that for many ex-Satanists, leaving the cult does not immediately alleviate the hold that Satan exercises over them. They frequently report being terrorised by demonic apparitions, nightmares, somatic symptoms, auditory hallucinations of Satan's voice threatening them with death, and possession states. This confirms the existence of a destructive internal organisation, an intrapsychic replica of the actual Satanic cult organisation.

Grotstein (1981) identifies a particular kind of dissociation between "disavowing" and "disavowed" aspects of the self. In this regard, he notes the psychotic development of a "diabolical self which is the active, retaliatory aspect of the disavowed self which then seeks to reenter or combine with the disavowing self in order to torment it and repossess it under its diabolical control" (p. 67). This diabolical personality establishes itself as a "mad jailer", which kidnaps and imprisons the disavowing self in order to assert omnipotent control over it. It is interesting to note Grotstein's demonic metaphor, which is the Satanists' literal experience of violent entrapment, possession, and persecution should they show weakness, betray cult secrets, or attempt to leave the cult (see Chapter Fifteen).

Meltzer (1979) employs the concept of sadistic perversity to describe an essentially manic state of mind in which the self has become identified with, or captured by, this destructive psychic component. This perversity, based on destructiveness rather than sensuality, combines two sadistic strategies. Firstly, as it is essentially envious, its wish is not to have what is contained in good objects (love, creativity, compassion, etc.), but to actively destroy these qualities. Secondly, because destruction does not alone suffice, perverse sadism must create and embrace that which is the essential antithesis of goodness:

> "Evil, be thou my good!" is its motto, and under this aegis it wills to create a world which is the negative of everything in nature, in the realm of good objects. The impulses are therefore fundamentally anti-nature and the world it seeks to build is the world of the life-less, for whom the great anxieties of the living ... cannot exist (p. 92).

Envy plays a central role in this regard. Klein (1957) defines envy as a destructive and self-destructive manifestation of the death instinct whereby individuals, experiencing themselves as deprived of good internal objects by their own destructiveness, attempt to spoil and destroy any goodness perceived in others. Interestingly, in the ancient Apocrypha, a link between the Devil and envy is made: "by the envy of the devil death entered into the world" (Cited in Davies, 1969, p. 102). Envy attempts to destroy that good which seems unattainable. By despising and devaluing traditional Christian manifestations of 'goodness', and reversing good and bad values, Satanists unconsciously defend themselves against acknowledging the painful reality of the absence of good objects, and consequently self-esteem, in themselves.

A similar line of thought is pursued by Brenman (1988) in his consideration of characterological cruelty. For Brenman, cruelty reflects a narcissistic organisation which arises in infancy as compensation for a sense of envy and inferiority, stemming from an awareness of separateness from the maternal object. The good internal object, and all awareness of the human mother, is attacked and obliterated, leaving the infant at the mercy of a cruel superego. He therefore lives in a "cruel, exacting, narrow world, which feeds his fear and hatred, and he is forced to worship this system, subordinate himself and

identify with it , partly out of fear, and partly because it contains his own vengeful omnipotence" (p. 267). In pathological narcissism, the cult of the bad object, an intrapsychic forerunner of the external satanic cult, may arise partly from an unusual degree of constitutional aggression, but more likely from the child's developmental milieu. Meltzer (1979) notes that "where a parent is seriously disturbed and a significant degree of collusion can be established by the bad part of the personality, the situation of fusion to form the sadistic super-ego is most likely" (p. 91). Brenman's analysis supports this point. The mother's rejection of the infant's needy, anxious, 'baby' parts of self results in the narcissistic sector of the individual's own personality exiling these aspects: "A home is therefore only given to gods and the godlike narcissistic part of the self, leading to a 'false self' and living a lie" (Brenman, 1988, p. 268). A highly moralistic superego disguises its essentially cruel identity, and goodness "is highjacked and perverted to the side of cruelty to give it strength and avoid catastrophe. This perversion is worshipped as a religion" (p. 269). Brenman's description of a psychic attitude based on a narcissistic organisation does not consider the situation in which evil itself is pursued, but he provides a useful pointer to the processes giving rise to the sadistic personality organisation which underlies evil. These processes include: "the worship of omnipotence which is felt to be superior to human love and forgiveness, the clinging to omnipotence as a defence against depression, and the sanctification of grievance and revenge" (p. 269).

Chasseguet-Smirgel's 1984 study of perversion, although largely Freudian in its approach, has much in common with Meltzer's work, and is particularly interesting insofar as she suggests Lucifer to be the model of perversion:

> The pervert attempts to take the Father-Creator's place in order to make a new universe from chaos and mixture, a universe where anything becomes possible, and towards which he tends to return. Differences have been abolished, the feelings of helplessness, smallness, inadequacy, as well as absence, castration and death - psychic pain itself -also disappear. The model of the demiurge character trying to dethrone the Father God-Creator is Lucifer (p. 13).

Chasseguet-Smirgel does not discuss Satanism, but uses it as a metaphor for perversion in general. However, her observations on perversion complement the psychoanalytic model of Satanism presented in this chapter, and warrant mention at this point. Chasseguet-Smirgel understands perversion to be a defensive regression to an omnipotent anal-sadistic mode of relating that stands in contrast to genital-libidinal reality in which the young child is forced to reconcile himself to the law of the oedipal father (God), with its attendant sense of narcissistic injury.

Castration anxiety encompasses much more than the fear of bodily injury; it is bound up with the recognition of loss, separation, generational and sexual difference, smallness, inadequacy, and limitation in general. Constructive resolution of the oedipal dilemma involves painful acceptance of this reality and mature identification with the father, resulting in creative sublimation and the internalisation of father in the form of a relatively benign superego figure, symbolised by God. The pervert, however, finds the narcissistic injury of the oedipal situation intolerable, and thus refuses to acknowledge it by fleeing instead to the seductive illusion of pre-oedipal omnipotent fantasy. Here Chasseguet-Smirgel's analogy between perversion and Satanism becomes clear as she contends that perversion is the "equivalent of Devil religion" in a number of respects. The pervert seeks to dethrone his father-creator and, by means of a destructive process, create an alternative "anal" universe based on sacrilege, chaos, the abolition of difference, subversion of law, the replacement of truth by falsity, and the substitution of knowledge by magic.

Perversion is premised on the replacement of procreativity/generativity by destructiveness, and hence on the replacement of genitality by anality: "This, in essence, is the universe of sacrilege. All that is taboo, forbidden or sacred is devoured by the digestive tract, an enormous grinding machine disintegrating the molecules of the mass thus obtained in order to reduce it to excrement" (Chasseguet-Smirgel, 1984, p. 4). Chaos and death are thus equated with faeces. Dethroning the father and subversion of his law - the incest taboo - are Luciferian acts:

> Here we are very close to the worshippers of Satan and religions of the Devil ... In every case there is a reversal of values leading to a return to primal chaos. In my opinion, this reversal of a system of values is only the first stage in an operation whose end is the destruction of values (p. 10).

Chasseguet-Smirgel makes a useful distinction between knowledge and magic, a distinction which has great significance for understanding satanic reliance on black magic. Magic "wants to circumvent reality and create a new one", whereas knowledge "enables man to probe the secrets of 'creation' without intending to deviate its order" (p. 22). Perversion is expressly magical and narcissistic insofar as it seeks to erase the reality of separateness between self and object, thereby reinstating a seamless world of infantile omnipotence.

Chasseguet-Smirgel distinguishes between the superego, which arises from the internalisation of the paternal law against incest, and the ego ideal, arising from magical identification with the idealised parent. In this reading, the emergence of a mature superego involves the recognition of reality, the relinquishing of omnipotent fantasy, and the internalisation of the object as something other than self. The pervert, however, clings to the illusion that ego and ego ideal are one; that all things are possible; and that the oedipal father has not come between the child and his maternal object. Freud thus noted that "what man projects before him as his ideal is the substitute for the lost narcissism of his childhood in which he was his own ideal" (Cited in Laplanche & Pontalis, 1973, p. 144).

Group psychology lends itself to perverse behaviour through the illusion that the group is the lost object. Chasseguet-Smirgel quotes Joseph Sandler in this regard:

> If narcissistic support is available in sufficient quantity from an identification with the ideals of a group or with the ideals of the leader, then the Superego may be completely disregarded, and its functions taken over by the group ideals, precepts and behaviour (p. 62).

The implication of this is that the group leader is not a father substitute, but rather the one who "implicitly promises the coming of a world without any father and a correlative union with the almighty mother" (p. 61). Groups consequently secrete fanatical ideology and promote hostility towards those who do not subscribe to the group ideal, which functions as a collective narcissistic ego ideal. The satanic coven is the perfect model in this regard. Non-Satanists, particularly Christians, are regarded with contempt, and the Satanists live out the absolute conviction that their ideology is the ultimate truth and meets their every need.

Kernberg's (1992) concept of *malignant narcissism* seems to aptly describe the personality profile of many Satanists. These individuals are characterised by "a typical narcissistic personality disorder, antisocial behaviour, ego-syntonic sadism or characterologically anchored aggression, and a paranoid orientation" (p. 77). The ego-syntonic sadism may be expressed as an "ideology of aggressive self-affirmation", and these individuals may join terrorist groups or sadistic gangs, where an "idealized self-image and an ego-syntonic sadistic, self-serving ideology rationalizes the antisocial behaviour and may coexist with the capacity of loyalty to their own comrades" (p. 78). Kernberg's psychodynamic account of malignant narcissistic dynamics closely matches Meltzer and Rosenfeld's profile of destructive narcissism, and these authors are undoubtedly describing the same individuals. Malignant narcissists are:

> so dominated by the earliest sadistic superego precursors that the subsequently idealized superego precursors cannot neutralize them; hence superego integration is blocked, and the more realistic superego introjects of the oedipal period are largely unavailable. Realistic expectations or prohibitions from the parental objects have been ... transformed into persecutory threats. These patients convey the impression that their world of object relations has experienced a malignant transformation, leading to the devaluation and sadistic enslavement of potentially good internalized object relations on the part of an integrated, yet cruel, omnipotent, and "mad" self. This pathological grandiose and sadistic self supplants the sadistic precursors of the superego, absorbs all aggression, and transforms what would otherwise be sadistic superego components into an abnormal self structure, which then militates against the internalization of later, more realistic superego components (Kernberg, 1992, p. 81-82).

Kernberg notes that these individuals frequently report childhood experiences of hostile or violent behaviour from parental figures. The pain of depending upon powerful and sadistic parental objects is transformed into rage which, when projected, "further exaggerates the sadistic image of powerful bad objects who become towering sadistic tyrants" (p. 82). Whereas true antisocial personalities are unable to idealise their objects, an individual with a malignant narcissistic personality structure has "at least found some possibility of condensing sadism and idealization by identifying himself with an idealized, cruel tyrant" (p. 83). It is because of this tendency to idealise bad objects that malignant narcissists, unlike antisocial personalities, resort to masochistic submission to their sadistic internal authorities. Kernberg does not mention the phenomenon of satanic worship, but his portrayal of malignant narcissism certainly suggests why individuals ruled by this form of sadistic self structure would gravitate to Satanism, an ideology which simultaneously encourages sadistic behaviour while demanding absolute obedience to a tyrannical idealised bad object in the figure of Satan.

The work of the above authors points to a personality structure, originating in the first years of life, which would predispose an individual to Satanic cult involvement. This structure is a pathological organisation (Steiner, 1993) - a malignant, sadistic part of the self, fused with a bad introject, which prevents the dependent and needy part of the self from gaining access to good objects. Strikingly, the hallmarks of Satanism - secrecy, tyrannical ruthlessness, perversion, magical omnipotence, hatred of weakness and conventional goodness - are organisational qualities which match the qualities of the destructive/malignant narcissistic intrapsychic structure identified by Rosenfeld, Meltzer, Grotstein, Steiner, Chasseguet-Smirgel and Kernberg. In the satanic cult, destructive narcissists encounter the organisational embodiment of their own internal pathological organisations. The Satanist's alliance with evil becomes readily comprehensible in these terms. It is better to become evil, sadistic and strong by bonding with the omnipotent bad object - personified by Satan - than to be an innocent, but vulnerable, and persecuted victim. This identification with the bad object finds collective expression in satanic meetings, where it is ceremonially formalised by means of elaborate black magic rituals

structured around mythological narratives. The weak and vulnerable self representations are projected into others, particularly Christians, where they are denigrated, scorned and ritually destroyed. Evil thus becomes good and good becomes evil.

One of the primary activities within satanic cults is the systematic pursuit and employment of black magic. The belief in magic and its conscious utilisation is readily comprehensible in terms of the omnipotent unconscious fantasy that typically accompanies normal splitting in early childhood, and pathological splitting in adolescence and adulthood. Omnipotent fantasy is characterised by the unconscious equation of thought and action, and so fantasy must have literal consequences for the object of the fantasy. Klein (1931) hints that belief in black magic arises from sadistic projective identification, whereby some external object falls under the projector's malevolent control through the fantasised location of a destructive part of the self in the object. This belief, at a conscious level, is precisely what defines sorcery and sympathetic magic. Occult 'sympathy' refers to a magical resonance between an object and its image/symbolic depiction. The implication of this sympathetic resonance is that action carried out on the image is magically transferred to the person represented (Kieckhefer, 1989). Ritually cursing or casting a spell on someone is thus the conscious manifestation of the primitive infantile fantasy of projective identification.

10.4 Satanism in relation to fundamentalist Christianity

The bond with Satan is maintained through prayer, ritual sacrifice, and complete obedience to the wishes of the idealised high priest. Because individuals escape persecution from their bad objects by giving themselves to Satan, any temptation to leave the cult activates the paranoid fear of being magically destroyed by the vengeful demonic god. This anxiety is reinforced by the ritual cursing of traitors and deserters during Satanic ceremonies. The fear of persecution by a bad introject, personified as Satan, explains why so many ex-Satanists undergo dramatic Christian conversions. Klein (1955) notes that "the struggle against an overwhelming identification - be it by introjection or projection - often drives people to identification with objects which show

the opposite characteristics" (p. 168). The only way to escape the supernatural wrath of Satan is to identify with, and invite possession by, an opposing supernatural entity more powerful than Satan, i.e. Jesus Christ. The polarised perception of the world in terms of good and evil absolutes, a legacy of the splitting defence, is retained; but now an idealised good internal object, personified by Christ, becomes the focus of identification. The bad object is split off and projected into an external world perceived to be inhabited by hostile satanic forces, waiting to possess the unwary.

From this analysis, it becomes evident that, in a structural sense, Satanism and fundamentalist Christianity are mirror reflections of each other, sharing the same psychodynamics, but employing opposing internal objects. However, if this argument is plausible, the question why individuals are attracted to Satanism, rather than to other benevolent religious cults remains. One answer lies in the destructive rage and hatred that pre-Satanists feel toward their internalised objects, projected outwards as hostility towards a world perceived as loathing them. Only in Satanism is this destructive hatred sanctioned, contained and given ritual expression. Furthermore, the satanic ideology of polarised dualities of God/Satan, white/black, good/evil etc. provides comforting external support and confirmation of the adherents' typically distorted perception of self and others, arising from paranoid-schizoid psychodynamics. The latter denotes that configuration of intrapsychic processes whereby negative and positive aspects of oneself, experienced in relation to internalised others, are defensively split, with the negative parts being projected into other people who are consequently eperienced as persecutory figures (Klein, 1946).

Summary

In this chapter the author, employing the work of Klein and Fairbairn, developed an object relations model of demonic possession and satanic worship. This model may be summarised as follows. The figure of Satan is the personification of a composite intrapsychic structure, comprising split-off destructive and aggressive projective identifications, fused with predominantly bad internal objects, internalised under the sway

of oral sadistic impulses. The integration and assimilation of this structure into the central self is made impossible by defences which seek to expel it. It consequently assumes a life of its own as a dynamic subpersonality, both dissociated and yet connected to the personality by the projective and introjective links whereby individuals maintain unconscious contact with bad objects. The resulting demonic introjective configuration, based on self suborganisations and object suborganisations, is defensively dissociated from the central self through splitting mechanisms, and externalised in fantasy as a malevolent personified entity. The intrusive re-introjection of this projected composite bad object results in the ego-dystonic phenomenon of involuntary demonic possession.

In Satanism, where demonic possession is deliberately invoked, we find an atypical defensive strategy based upon identification with the destructive subpersonality, mythologically identified as Satan and his demons. By means of perverse identification with this pathological organisation, the individual escapes persecution by the satanic subpersonality and assimilates its destructive power, thereby counteracting an underlying sense of emptiness, inferiority and worthlessness. Narcissistic personalities are more inclined to this perverse defensive identification with a sadistic and tyrannical personality suborganisation as it provides a sense of security and omnipotence. The resulting pathological organisation - personified as Satan - ruthlessly seeks to destroy those parts of the personality drawn to intimate, loving, compassionate or vulnerable contact with good internal or external objects. The satanic self is characterised by sadistic perversion and envy, giving rise to ritual destruction of anything identified with good, and the idealisation of all that is bad or evil. Satanic ceremonies are vehicles for the expression of sadistic destructiveness, and ritual renewals of identification with the satanic internal organisation. Any attempt to leave the cult or display emotion dissonant with the satanic subpersonality results in persecution by the satanic self, which threatens the individual with annihilation. The concrete manifestation of destructive projective identifications, in the form of persecutory demonic delusions and hallucinations, makes it difficult to establish any alliance with residually good parts of the self or others. This internal persecution, together with external persecution by loyal cult members, reinforces

subservience to the cult ideology and practices. The attraction of the satanic cult for individuals having a destructive narcissistic personality configuration lies in the fact that the cult is a mirror replica of their own internal pathological organisation, and provides both ideological sanction and collaborative support for the enactment of destructive impulses that would be punished in other religious groups.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

C.G. JUNG AND THE CONTRIBUTION OF ANALYTICAL PSYCHOLOGY TO A THEORY OF DEMONIC PHENOMENA

Introduction

C.G. Jung has arguably influenced contemporary psychological understanding of comparative religion more than any other author (Wulff, 1991). This may be ascribed to his conviction that religion is "incontestably one of the earliest and most universal expressions of the human mind" (1940a, p. 5), and hence cannot be disregarded in the pursuit of psychological understanding. If Freud was the self-professed "Godless Jew", intent on debunking religious superstition, Jung was the spiritual gentile who granted religious experience a privileged status in his psychology. Jung's interest in religion extended to include occult phenomena, and his medical school thesis was devoted to a case study of apparent spirit possession (1902). It is Jung's thoughts on possession that establishes his importance for this dissertation, and which justifies a separate chapter devoted to analytical psychology. As was the case with all the psychoanalytic theorists discussed in the previous four chapters, Jung did not write about demonic possession in any detail. A Jungian theory of voluntary and involuntary possession must therefore be constructed from the largely metaphorical use to which he puts the concept in his theory of psychopathology. Jung's extensive writing on general religious experience requires some discussion before his theory is applied to demonic phenomena. This chapter therefore begins by examining Jung's definition of religious experience, and then proceeds to chart the evolution of his psychology of religion, from the early period where there is little to distinguish it from Freud's formulations, to the later stages where individuation is inextricably linked to spirituality. The third section considers Jung's perception of the spiritual transformations that have occurred in Western history, and the psychological significance of these changes. Section four is devoted to a brief discussion of two central concepts in analytical psychology, archetypes and complexes, and the role that these play in both religious awareness and psychopathology. Section five will employ the Jungian theory of autonomous complexes to formulate an analytical theory of demonic possession states and satanic involvement. The last section will focus on

Jung's thoughts on Christianity and the archetypal significance of Satan in Western spirituality.

11.1 Jung's definition of religious experience

Despite his serious consideration of man's universal religious dimension, Jung was not concerned with the metaphysical issue of whether or not gods exist as transcendent external realities. Indeed, speaking of religious experiences, he says: "It will always remain doubtful whether what metaphysics and theology call God and the gods is the real ground of these experiences" (Jung, 1957a, p. 293). Jung's perspective is a phenomenological one insofar as subjective experience is regarded as primary, regardless of whether or not it corresponds with some objective reality. God, from this perspective, is thus "a psychic fact of immediate experience" (Jung, 1926, p. 328). Jung's definition of religious experience is vague, and he articulates it in terms of contact with a *numinous* dimension of existence. By numinous he means a compelling, enigmatic quality of experience, independent of one's will, which disrupts and transforms everyday waking consciousness:

> It seizes and controls the human subject, who is always rather its victim than its creator ..... The *numinosum* is either a quality belonging to a visible object or the influence of an invisible presence that causes a particular alteration of consciousness (Jung, 1940a, p. 7).

In terms of this definition, any object or presence which awes or moves us deeply, and over which we have no conscious control, may be termed numinous. Furthermore, one need not believe in any metaphysical entity called God, or subscribe to any type of religious dogma in order to experience this state of religious awareness. Jung is careful to distinguish between religion and creed, the latter which he defines as a "definite collective belief" (1957a, p. 257), and elsewhere as "codified and dogmatized forms of original religious experience" (1940, p. 9). His use of the word "victim" to denote the individual under sway of the numinosum indicates that religious experience need not necessarily be ecstatic or benign, it may be frightening, intrusive and unwelcome. The significance of this is that the experience of evil is not ruled out of this interpretation of numinosity. Another of Jung's definitions of religion supports this claim:

> Religion appears to me to be a peculiar attitude of mind which could be formulated in accordance with the original use of the word *religio*, which means a careful consideration and observation of certain dynamic factors that are conceived as 'powers': spirits, daemons, gods, laws, ideals, or whatever name man has given to such factors in his world as he has found powerful, dangerous, or helpful enough to be taken into careful consideration, or grand, beautiful, and meaningful enough to be devoutly worshipped and loved (1940a, p. 8).

Despite the deliberate vagueness and ambiguity of Jung's definition of religious experience, it is clear that for him the religious dimension is a product of psychic reality, and not the reverse. At one point he defines religion as a "conscientious regard for the irrational factors of the psyche" (1957a, p. 261). In other words, Jung is contending that religious experience stems from an unwilled encounter with the unconscious contents of the psyche. The unconscious, he argues, is:

> the only available source of religious experience. This is certainly not to say that what we call the unconscious is identical with God or is set up in his place. It is simply the medium from which religious experience seems to flow .... I put the word 'God' in quotes in order to indicate that we are dealing with an anthropomorphic idea whose dynamism and symbolism are filtered through the medium of the unconscious psyche (1957, p. 293).

Jung did not share Freud's anti-religious sentiment, but believed, contra Freud, that the idea of God was an "absolutely necessary psychological function of an irrational nature, which has nothing whatever to do with the question of God's existence" (1953a, p. 71). The shift in perspective from considering God to be a regressive manifestation of unresolved childhood conflicts, to an indispensable psychological phenomenon, will be traced in the following section.

11.2 The development of Jung's theory of religious mythology

Jung's ideas on the subject of religion were constantly revised and transformed in the course of his life-time. There are no fewer than three identifiable stages in the evolution of his thought on the matter (Heisig, 1979). Continuous throughout this evolution, however, was a conviction that Jung shared with Freud - religious experience and symbolism is the product of unconscious psychic processes: "The

symbolic concepts of all religions are recreations of unconscious processes in a typical, universally binding form" (Jung cited in Heisig, 1979, p. 36). The narrative form in which these unconscious processes find expression is myth. All religions comprised mythical accounts of divinities, and "every myth is a projection of unconscious processes" (Jung cited in Heisig, 1979, p. 35). Jung (1940b) provides a more comprehensive definition of myth:

> Myths are original revelations of the preconscious [i.e., collective] psyche, involuntary statements about unconscious psychic happenings .... Modern psychology treats the products of unconscious fantasy-activity as self-portraits of what is going on in the unconscious, or as statements of the unconscious psyche about itself" (p. 154-155).

The above interpretation of religious mythology is, of course, consonant with Freud's understanding of mythology as "psychology projected into the external world" (Freud, 1901b, p. 258). In the first stage of his work, Jung saw religious phenomena - as did Freud - as the pathological manifestation of infantile libidinal impulses, analogous in many respects to psychological symptoms. Unresolved childhood oedipal impulses become displaced via the process of sublimation onto a symbolic father-figure, God, to whose omnipotent authority individuals, as 'children of God', subject themselves. Children's ambivalent relationships with real fathers become 'spiritualised' into relationships with transcendent paternal figures, and formalised as religious dogmas. Religion is thus an elaborate fantasy system based on an illusory world of supernatural entities, which ultimately reflects a lack of self-insight into childhood conflicts on the part of its adherents. In short, Jung begins by upholding Freud's critique of religion, reducing it to an "ascetic response to uncontrolled instinctuality" (Jung cited in Heisig, 1979, p. 29).

Jung's attempt to understand the psychological significance of symbolism witnessed a changing attitude toward religious phenomena. His study of comparative mythology began to convince him that symbols refer beyond the personal drama of actual parent-child relationships, to a deeper and more mysterious layer of mind that cannot be reduced to Freudian interpretation. Symbols, because of their function of connecting us to deeper layers of psychic reality, are now seen as having a "life-promoting" and

"redeeming" quality, rather than simply being pathological projections. To reduce symbols to sexual or aggressive drive derivatives is both inaccurate and harmful to our psychic integrity: "The symbol wants to guard against Freudian interpretations, which are indeed ... pseudo-truths" (Jung cited in Heisig, 1979, p. 30). While "the gods are without doubt personifications of psychic forces" (Jung cited in Heisig, 1979, p. 47), religious phenomena are no longer equated with pathological disturbances. The transpersonal dimension of psychic life demonstrates a valuable "religious function" in connecting us to a vital, numinous dimension of existence. This religious function is now regarded as essential to psychic well-being. Before going on to define the key Jungian psychological concepts necessary to understand both normal and pathological variants of spiritual experience, we need to grasp the significance that Jung perceived in the broad cultural shifts that have characterised Western spirituality.

11.3 The significance of spiritual transformation in western society

In the preceding section it was argued that in Jung's mature thought religious awareness proceeds from a psychological imperative, which he calls "instinctive" (1957a, p. 259). Consequently, all cultures, at all times, perceive the influence of spirits and deities. Western Civilisation has witnessed a number of spiritual transformations, the two most important being the transition from polytheism to monotheism, and the usurpation of a theocentric worldview by scientific rationality. Primitive man dwells in a pre-psychological world of anthropomorphic projections - personified benign and destructive spirits which are feared, worshipped and propitiated. This animistic universe is pre-psychological insofar as supernatural entities are not recognised or claimed as aspects of self - the primitive gaze is directed outwards, rather than inwards. Psychological life requires the withdrawal of projections, as it is only when man locates the mysteries of the world within himself, rather than without, that he becomes the object of his own curiosity. At this historical point, psychology as a discipline, becomes a possibility, and the gods become explicable in psychological terms:

> But since the development of consciousness requires the withdrawal
> of all the projections we can lay our hands on, it is not possible to
> maintain any non-psychological doctrine about the gods. If the
> historical process of world despiritualization continues as hitherto,
> then everything of a divine or daemonic character outside us must
> return to the psyche, to the inside of the unknown man, whence it
> apparently originated (1940a, p. 85).

There was, however, a historically intermediate stage between polytheism and the psychology of religion in the West, namely Christian monotheism. The myth of the incarnation of God in the figure of Christ became the Western repository for divine projections. However, despite the continued existence of Christianity today, its mythology no longer has the cultural power it used to. The mythological vision has been supplanted, firstly by empirical science, and later by depth psychology, which relocated God from without to within humankind: "Why did the gods of antiquity lose their prestige and their effect on the human soul? Because the Olympians had served their time and a new mystery began: God became man" (Jung, 1940a, p. 81).

Jung's attitude to the "despiritualisation" of the world is an ambivalent one. On the one hand the withdrawal of anthropomorphic projections, manifest as gods and spirits, is a precondition for the growth of consciousness, individuality, and self-reflective awareness. On the other, the withdrawal of these selfsame projections strips the external world of its animistic vitality, and makes the modern human psyche the new habitat of the erstwhile gods' attributes. Of course, due to our Enlightenment heritage, the rational-scientific worldview largely supplanted the religious belief in supernatural entities. From Jung's perspective this secular consciousness has extensive social and psychic consequences, given the importance he attributes to the spiritual dimension. At one point he writes nostalgically of the despiritualisation of nature attendant on the growth of modern consciousness:

> Not only were the gods dragged down from their planetary spheres and transformed into cthonic demons, but, under the influence of scientific enlightenment, even this band of demons, which at the time of Paracelsus still frolicked happily in mountains and woods, in rivers and human dwelling-places, was reduced to a miserable remnant and finally vanished altogether. From time immemorial, nature was always filled with spirit. Now, for the first time, we are living in a lifeless nature bereft of gods (Jung, 1945, p. 211).

The despiritualisation of nature, however, is only one of the consequences of Enlightenment thinking. The ancient gods were not simply products of historically outmoded belief systems, but personified expressions of transhistorical psychic forces. Calling them projections certainly alters our perceptions of them, but does not diminish their psychological power:

> Only in the age of enlightenment did people discover that the gods did not really exist, but were simply projections. Thus the gods were disposed of. But the corresponding psychological function was by no means disposed of; it lapsed into the unconscious, and men were thereupon poisoned by the surplus of libido that had once been laid up in the cult of divine images (Jung cited in Byrnes, 1984, p. 80).

But if the self-reflective withdrawal of projections is the creative path to human individuation, why does Jung employ the destructive metaphor of poisoning to describe the psychic effect of their return? One answer lies in Jung's concept of *inflation*, defined as "identification with the collective psyche caused by the invasion of unconscious archetypal contents" (Samuels *et al*, 1986, p. 81). This is a dangerously regressed state since individuals, rather than simply being aware of spiritual forces, identify with them and lose any realistic appreciation of themselves. Identification with an archetype means that the archetype in question exerts a "possessive influence" (Jung, 1953a, p. 70), and invariably produces personality changes in the person so affected. Both religious conversions and schizophrenic reactions testify to the consequences of archetypal identification. Inflation is thus based on introjective rather than projective dynamics, and presents the opposite psychic danger of projection. What is common to both processes is attributing - to oneself (inflation) or another (projection) - the contents of the collective unconscious. In so doing the individual:

> makes either himself or his partner god or devil. Here we see the characteristic effect of the archetype: it seizes hold of the psyche with a kind of primeval force and compels it to transgress the bounds of humanity. It causes exaggeration, a puffed-up attitude (inflation), loss of free will, delusion, and enthusiasm in good and evil alike. This is the reason why men have always needed demons and cannot live without gods (Jung, 1953a, p. 70-71).

The phenomenon of inflation indicates that, although the Enlightenment destroyed our spiritual perception, it could not destroy the primordial substrate of the collective human psyche, of which spirits and demons are an expression. The withdrawal of projections consequently meant that externalised archetypal forces returned as central components of our collective psychological heritage:

> Even though nature is depsychized, the psychic conditions which breed demons are as actively at work as ever. The demons have not really disappeared but have merely taken on another form: they have become unconscious psychic forces (Jung, 1945, p. 211).

The withdrawal of projections means that for the first time, "since the dawn of human history we have succeeded in swallowing the whole of primitive animism into ourselves" (Jung, 1945, p. 211). The consequence is not only that the divine becomes part of the self, but so too does the demonic. In Jung's psychology, gods and demons are good and bad bipolar archetypal aspects. Recognition of the gods within thus necessarily means an internal confrontation with their demonic counterparts: "When man became the only psychic reality, the demons migrated into him" (Ribi, 1990, p. 125). Jung's psychology of religion acknowledges evil to be an integral part of human nature, a necessary complementary principle to divine goodness: "But if one can no longer avoid the realization that evil, without man's ever having chosen it, is lodged in human nature itself, then it bestrides the psychological stage as the equal and opposite partner of good" (Jung, 1957a, p. 297). The experiential manifestation of the principle of evil will be considered shortly.

This chapter has thus far been concerned with broadly describing Jung's psychology of religion, and the psychological significance of historical shifts in Western religious consciousness. Jung's theory makes accommodation for demonic aspects of

experience, and we turn now to a definition of the key concepts of Jungian psychology, before using these to formulate a theory of voluntary and involuntary demonic possession. A comprehensive overview of Jungian psychology is beyond the scope of this chapter. The two concepts central to Jung's understanding of psychopathology are those of the archetypes and complexes (Redfearn, 1985), and these will provide the focus of the discussion.

11.4 Archetypes of the collective unconscious

The collective unconscious, or objective psyche, refers to the human species' evolutionary psychic inheritance, thus establishing the transpersonal foundation for universally shared behavioural and experiential patterns. The contents of the collective unconscious include the instincts and archetypes. Jung uses the term instinct somewhat loosely to refer to "uniform and regularly recurring modes of action" (1948a, p. 135), which are not the result of conscious will. Their universal and transhistorical status identifies them as components of the collective unconscious. The ubiquity of certain psychic phenomena - despite the differing experience of individuals - convinced Jung of the existence of a phylogenetically shared, archaic psychic substrate, underlying the personal unconscious. Because the collective unconscious is pre-personal, its contents have never been repressed. It comprises the instinctual drives, complexes, and archetypes which identify all individuals as human, despite their cultural, historical, racial, and individual differences.

Jung referred to the archetypes as the structural "dominants" of the unconscious (1948, p. 148), and elsewhere as "the ruling powers, the gods" (1953a, p. 95). Archetypes typically manifest psychically as feelings, thoughts and images: "Archetypes are systems of readiness for action, and at the same time images and emotions" (Jung, 1927, p. 31). In essence, archetypes are phylogenetically inherited, transindividual predispositions to structure, perceive, and respond to the world in typical ways. They are thus the source of the typical actions and experiences that characterise the human species. As formative potentialities, archetypes cannot be apprehended directly, but only represented indirectly as archetypal images and motifs

(Jung 1947, p. 213). Archetypes gain actual representation through the process of projection, which Jung defines as:

> The expulsion of a subjective content into an object; it is the opposite of introjection. Accordingly, it is a process of dissimilation, by which a subjective content becomes alienated from the subject and is, so to speak, embodied in the object (1921b, p. 457).

Archetypal images are readily apparent in religions, mythologies, legends, dreams, hallucinations, fantasies and fairy tales. It is important to note that although archetypes are universal and invariant, archetypal images are not, and may thus manifest differently according to time and context. Archetypal contents, therefore, are represented by historical, culture-specific images (Samuels, 1985). Thus, the tendency to experience ourselves as influenced by supernatural forces beyond our control is an archetypal invariant, but the personified images assigned to these forces vary widely across time and culture, as manifest in our culturally divergent symbols and religious mythologies: "The metamorphosis of the Gods in our outward and inward worlds is inexhaustible, and never ceases" (Jacobi, 1959, p. 118).

11.5 The archetypal foundations of religion

Jung understands all deities to be personified representations of unconscious archetypal possibilities: "Because of its instinctual nature, the archetype underlies the feeling-toned complexes and shares their autonomy. It is also the psychic precondition of religious assertions and is responsible for the anthropomorphism of all God-images" (Jung, 1958, p. 449). The significance of the collective unconscious in differentiating Jung's model of mind from Freud's may be seen in comparing Jung's earlier and later thought on religion. As noted previously, Jung's earliest thoughts on religion do not differ significantly from Freud's. His original intention, notes Heisig (1979), "is not to divinize the libidinal substratum, but rather to psychologize that which men project as divine" (p. 26). God and the Devil are projected personal unconscious residues of polarised infantile experiences of parental figures:

> The child is guided by the power of the parents as by a higher
> destiny. But as he grows up, the struggle between his infantile
> attitude and his increasing consciousness begins. The parental
> influence ... is repressed and sinks into the unconscious, but it is not
> eliminated; by invisible threads it directs the apparently individual
> workings of the maturing mind. Like everything that has fallen into
> the unconscious, the infantile situation still sends up dim,
> premonitory feelings, feelings of being secretly guided by other
> worldly influences. These are the roots of the first religious
> sublimations. In the place of the father with his constellating virtues
> and faults there appears on the one hand an altogether sublime deity,
> and on the other hand the devil (Jung, 1949, p. 320-321).

In his later work, however, God and the Devil are not simply manifestations of the repressed personal unconscious, deriving from actual childhood experiences of omnipotent parental figures. Rather, they are transpersonal phenomena common to the entire human species:

> In so far as through our unconscious we have a share in the historical
> collective psyche, we live naturally and unconsciously in a world of
> werewolves, demons, magicians, etc., for these are things which all
> previous ages have invested with tremendous affectivity. Equally we
> have a share of gods and devils, saviours and criminals; but it would
> be absurd to attribute these potentialities of the unconscious to
> ourselves personally (Jung cited in Byrnes, 1984, p. 81).

Deities, whether benevolent or malevolent, are symbolic archetypal expressions of the collective unconscious, personified in the form of mythological figures to which we attribute supernatural agency and power. Gods, states Jung, "are personifications of the collective unconscious, for they reveal themselves to us through the unconscious activity of the psyche" (1948c, p. 163).

This chapter began with the assertion that Jung's basic approach to religion is a phenomenological one that privileges the psychic reality of personal experience. He departs from this descriptive stance, however, by identifying underlying causal processes at work in religious experience: "God is inside, because ... the God-image is a complex of ideas of an archetypal nature representing a certain sum of energy which appears in projection" (Moreno, 1970, p. 83). Demons, likewise, are archetypal formations that attain representation only by projection (von Franz, 1980).

11.6 Complexes

The contents of the personal unconscious, argued Jung, tend to constellate around common affect-laden thoughts, fantasies and memories, called complexes. The term complex therefore designates "a collection of images and ideas, clustered around a core derived from one or more archetypes, and characterised by a common emotional tone" (Samuels *et al*, 1986, p. 34). The importance of the complex theory in Jung's understanding of psychopathology cannot be underestimated: "The via regia to the unconscious, however, is not the dream, as he [Freud] thought, but the complex, which is the architect of dreams and of symptoms" (Jung, 1948b, p. 101).

Complexes perform an 'adhesive' function insofar as they combine discrete experiences and psychic contents, which agglutinate or cohere around the thematic core. The stronger a complex, the more it tends to assimilate other psychic contents into larger and stronger aggregates. Complexes comprise personal historical, and archetypal components, and so demonstrate the co-constitutive interaction of the personal and transpersonal. Archetypes typically provide the nuclear element of the complex, but archetypes only become manifest as images, emotional attitudes, and action patterns when actualised into complexes. Complexes derive from personal experience structured along archetypal lines, particularly childhood experiences that make an emotional impression. These experiences need not be negative, although, as Meier (1984) notes, complexes usually first arise when the individual "encounters difficulties in the process of adapting to, assimilating and digesting new experiences" (p. 205). The complex, however, is instrumental in connecting the personal unconscious with the collective unconscious because, as noted above, all complexes have an archetypal core. This accounts for the power and emotional intensity of certain complexes, which is often disproportionate to the actual personal experience underlying them. Many complexes are egodystonic, and hence unconscious, because they are precipitated by strong negative emotions that threaten one's conscious self representation. This means that our complexes initially present themselves to us as undesirable attributes of others: "Since unconscious contents are experienced only in projected form, the unconscious complex appears first in projection as an attribute of an outward object or person" (Jacobi, 1959, p. 16).

In Jung's model of mind, even more so than in Freud's, the psychic components are semi-autonomous, owing to Jung's incorporation of the impersonal collective unconscious (Frey-Rohn, 1974). The most independent, spontaneous components are consequently called *autonomous complexes*. The autonomy of these aspects is such that their influence is felt to be ego-alien, strange, and even endowed with magical power. Meier (1984) refers to the complex as:

> a relatively compact structure, which lives the life of a foreign body or *corpus alienum* in the psychic organism as a whole ... In this respect their nature is in no way different from that of living organisms, a peculiarity which undoubtedly invests them with an uncanny atmosphere (p. 204).

In addition, complexes have a personified quality, which makes them appear to be separate personalities. The complex, said Jung, "behaves like an animated foreign body in the sphere of consciousness" (1948, p. 96). Jung, struck by this quality referred to complexes as "fragmentary personalities" or "splinter psyches", which have their own consciousness (1954, p. 201-204). This convinced him that the psyche is not an indivisible unit, but rather a collection of split-off sub-personalities, which co-exist without normally destroying the continuity of the individual's existence:

> The tendency to split means that parts of the psyche detach themselves from consciousness to such an extent that they not only appear foreign but lead an autonomous life of their own. It need not be a question of hysterical multiple personality, or schizophrenic alterations of personality, but merely of so-called 'complexes' that come entirely within the scope of the normal (Jung, 1936, p. 121).

Jung adopted the term dissociation from Pierre Janet (1859-1947) to refer to this splitting process. Janet defined dissociation as an inherently pathological process, whereby parallel associative mental systems split off and function independently of normal consciousness as "secondary existences" (Noll, 1989). For Jung, however, dissociation was a fundamental, adaptive psychic process, leading to psychological differentiation and expansion. Normal psychic life is characterised by multiplicity, rather than unity, and complexes are the embodiment of our psychic plurality. But Jung also acknowledged that when dissociation is initiated by trauma or extreme psychic conflict, the resulting complex is neither benign nor readily assimilable into the

rest of the psyche. These complexes "behave like independent beings, a fact especially evident in abnormal states of mind ... An intensification of complexes leads to morbid states which are extensive multiple dissociations endowed with an indomitable life of their own" (Jung, 1936, p. 121). Jung saw the process of dissociation as extending along a continuum between normal and pathological. Multiple personality disorder, a condition of which Jung was well aware, is an extreme example of pathological dissociation. (Noll, 1989).

Two important conclusions follow from Jung's later emphasis on the dissociability of the psyche. Firstly, it challenged the supposed superiority and influence of the ego complex in psychic life; and secondly, it called into question the belief in an "a priori unity of the person" (Frey-Rohn, 1974, p. 33). In other words, dissociation is an inherent psychological tendency, and Jung notes that if tendencies towards dissociation were not inherent in the human psyche, fragmentary psychic systems would never have been split off, and "neither spirits nor gods would have ever come into existence" (Jung, 1958, p. 36). The central meaning of the self archetype is that psychic unity, rather than a given, is a developmental accomplishment that proceeds through a gradual process of integrating split-off unconscious aspects. The fact of our inherent psychic dissociability has been addressed by contemporary analytic psychologists (Noll, 1989; Redfearn, 1985, 1994), and the significance of their work will be discussed in the following section.

11.7 Subpersonalities

Jung's concept of complexes, and their implications for personal identity, has been developed by Redfearn (1985, 1994) in his work on "subpersonality theory". This elaboration of Jung's notion of autonomous complexes begins with the thesis that the individual must be seen "*both* as a singular self-organization *and* as having multiple self-concepts" (Redfearn, 1994, p. 292). The ego-self relationship is a fluid one between restricted conscious identity, and a broader identity represented by our psychic totality, with its assorted personal and collective unconscious components. How and where one draws the boundary between "I" and "not-I" determines the nature of personal identity at any time. What makes our identity a multiple one is the

fact that we may identify with a range of "internal figures", which are personifications of self contents. More specifically, these multiple self-concepts are manifestations of complexes, and have personal, archetypal and instinctual components. Their relative independence from the ego gives them the status of separate identity structures. The individual's identity or sense of "I-ness" is thus a dynamic phenomenon which changes with "the migratory nature of the I in relation to the various subpersonalities" (Redfearn, 1994, p. 295). Personal identity is thus typically a pluralistic phenomenon in both normal and pathological functioning.

This view is consistent with Noll's (1989) claim that "the human personality is a multiplicity within a unity, with multiple centres of co-consciousness that are organised hierarchically with varying levels of consciousness and autonomy" (p. 217). The flexibility or fluidity of the I/not-I boundary essentially determines the relationship between the ego and the subpersonalities. Redfearn (1994) believes that in psychological normality the relationship between the I and the various subpersonalities "is harmonious and integrative" (p. 296). Like Noll (1989), however, he recognises the pathological aspects of subpersonalities in cases of multiple personality disorder, when certain of the subpersonalities become virtually separate selves "by a process of traumatic dissociation followed by the successive accretions typical of the Jungian complex. If one subpersonality is in possession, the I has no access to the memories or attitudes of the others" (Redfearn, 1994, p. 297). Redfearn grounds or locates subpersonalities in bodily states, impulses and parts, as bodily experience is the original foundation of identity structures. Consequently, subpersonalities are associated with instinctual experience, and the body as a whole, or parts of the body, or certain sensations from the body, may be identified with certain subpersonalities.

Subpersonalities are built up from introjective-projective interactions between children and parents. Consequently, the relationship between introjective and projective dynamics determines where we locate subpersonalities in terms of the "me-not me" or self-object interface. For this reason, "much of the so-called archetypal figure and of the internal object consists basically of instinct and is an object-by-projection, as it were" (Redfearn, 1994, p. 306). This explains the fact that both Satanists and

fundamentalist Christians alike commonly refer to "the demon of lust" and "the demon of anger", etc. Here, instinctual impulses are clearly personified and identified as external agents, even though they arise from one's own projected bodily states. This indicates the lack of a "symbolic attitude" which permits the realisation that our personifications are metaphorical, rather than literal (Samuels, 1985). The symbolic attitude gives us the freedom to integrate - at least partially - our subpersonalities. The opposing "literal" attitude means that subpersonalities are concretely experienced as intrusive alien presences which require constant defensive externalisation: "When a subpersonality is experienced as concretely not-I, whether internally as sensation or externally as hallucination or deity, the ego-integrative, symbolic attitude is not yet present in mature form" (Redfearn, 1994, p. 302).

11.8 Complexes, subpersonalities, and psychopathology

Whereas Freud related psychological disorder to the mechanism of instinctual repression, Jung saw dissociation as the heart of psychopathology. Dissociation, in this sense, refers to the splitting apart of unresolved opposite psychic sub-personalities, based on complexes with contrasting tendencies. Jung writes with conviction that: "Today the hypothesis that complexes are fragmentary psyches that have been cut off from the whole can indeed be regarded as assured" (1948b, p. 98). Consequently, psychological diagnosis involves the diagnosis of complexes. Complexes comprise both impersonal (archetypal) and personal elements. The archetypal configuration of the complex is universal and transhistorical, while the personal aspect derives from the unique aspects of individual history, particularly early childhood. The aetiology of complexes is "frequently a so-called trauma, an emotional shock or some such thing, that splits off a bit of the psyche" (Jung, 1948b, p. 98). The degree of psychological disturbance is determined by two factors: firstly, the affective intensity of the complex and, secondly, the stance of the ego in relation to the complex, which in turn determines the extent to which the complex becomes dissociated from the rest of the psyche. The following subtypes of psychic disturbance, based on Jacobi (1959), may thus be differentiated:

1. In the first subtype, corresponding to psychological normality, the complex, although unconscious, is not too affectively charged and remains connected to the rest of the psyche. It thus manifests relatively harmlessly in parapraxes, dreams, normal mood fluctuations, etc.

2. In the second subtype, corresponding to neurotic conditions, the complex - owing to its high emotional charge - is relatively dissociated, and hence manifests as a relatively separate organisation in conflict with the conscious ego. The anxiety and internal tension characteristic of neurosis is symptomatic of this relative dissociation.

3. In the third subtype, the complex breaks away completely from the rest of the psychic organisation, thereby gaining a high degree of psychic autonomy. This radical division in the psyche manifests as dual or multiple subpersonalities corresponding to the nature and number of the unconscious complexes. This subtype has particular relevance to demonic possession phenomena and will be discussed shortly.

4. In the fourth subtype the dissonant complex is so highly charged that it overwhelms and engulfs aspects of ego functioning or, in severe cases, the entire ego complex. The result is either partial or total identification between ego and complex. If the identification is partial, the affected person will display extreme, one-sided behaviour and slightly compromised reality testing. If the identification is total, the individual will experience psychotic delusions of identity and more extensive impairment of reality testing. Psychotic disorders of a paranoid nature occur when the complex is so split off that it manifests as persecutory anxiety about being attacked by external people, spirits, or alien entities. The objects of anxiety, of course, appear so threatening because they function as containers for the projected hostile unconscious complex.

The stance of the ego toward the complex, as well as the nature of the complex, determines its psychological manifestation. Jacobi (1959, p. 17) identifies four such attitudes: "total unconsciousness of its existence, identification, projection, or confrontation". Only the latter approach may lead to the healthy integration of the complex and the diffusing of its influence. Whether a complex is integrated or not also

depends on the nature of the complex. Although every complex may be said to have an archetypal core, Jung (1948c) distinguishes two types of complex, which he calls personal and collective, respectively. Personal complexes arise "on account of painful or distressing experiences" (1948c, p. 313). Collective complexes, however, draw less on personal experience than they do on the contents of the collective unconscious. This, argues Jung, has implications for psychic integration:

> The reintegration of a personal complex has the effect of release and often of healing, whereas the invasion of a complex from the collective unconscious is a very disagreeable and even dangerous phenomenon. The parallel with the primitive belief in souls and spirits is obvious: souls correspond to the autonomous complexes of the personal unconscious, and spirits to those of the collective unconscious (1948c, p. 312).

11.9 Complexes and demonology

Jung acknowledged that his theory of complexes sounded like "a description of primitive demonology" (1948b, p. 104). What is more, Jung uses the metaphor of possession to describe the psychopathological manifestation of complexes:

> All these states are characterized by one and the same fact that an unknown "something" has taken possession of a smaller or greater portion of the psyche and asserts its hateful and harmful existence undeterred by all our insight, reason, and energy, thereby proclaiming the power of the unconscious over the conscious mind, the sovereign power of possession (Jung,1953b, p. 224).

Neuroses are thus symptomatic "possession" states which, today, we understand in terms of intrapsychic dynamics, rather than in religious terms of the malign intrusion of supernatural agencies. But modern man, says Jung,

> has entirely failed to notice that he is as much possessed by his pathological states as any witch or witch-hunter in the darkest Middle Ages. It is merely a difference of name. In those days they spoke of the devil, today we call it neurosis. But it comes to the same thing, to the same age-old experience: something objectively psychic and strange to us, not under our control, is fixedly opposed to the sovereignty of our will (1934b, p. 146).

Possession, in this sense, is a feature of all functional psychopathology (Ribi, 1990). Jung states that every constellation of a complex results in a disruption of the experienced unity of consciousness, thereby impeding or paralysing conscious intentions (1948b). The key, therefore, to the phenomenology of complex possession is the mechanism of dissociation, which simultaneously disrupts the continuity of consciousness, and deprives us of some degree of voluntary control over our actions:

> The real toxin is to be sought in the complex, and this is a more or less autonomous psychic quantity. It proves its autonomous nature by not fitting into the hierarchy of the conscious mind, or by the resistance it successfully puts up against the will. This fact ... is the reason why psychoneuroses and psychoses have from time immemorial been regarded as states of possession, since the impression forces itself upon the naive observer that the complex forms something like a shadow-government of the ego (Jung, 1954a, p. 87).

Whereas other psychiatrists - including Freud - sought to replace the pre-scientific discourse of possession with more acceptable scientific terms, Jung deliberately clung to the possession metaphor because of its descriptive power to capture the phenomenological reality of psychic disturbance. The experience of complex "invasion" is profound: "It lacks the true human note, it is out of proportion, irrational, a phenomenon of nature that breaks through the human order" (Jung, 1921, p.155). This is why people experience their symptoms as alien forces which cripple their conscious freedom, and to which they find themselves helplessly enslaved. Ironically, therefore, while the Catholic Church sought to restrict the use of the term possession by appealing to secular psychopathology, Jung attempted to broaden the term's application to include all functional psychopathology:

> The Church's idea of possession, therefore, is limited to extremely rare cases, whereas I would use it in a much wider sense as designating a frequently occurring psychic phenomenon: any autonomous complex not subject to the conscious will exerts a possessive effect on consciousness proportional to its strength and limits the latter's freedom (Jung, 1958, p. 163).

The autonomous complexes, split-off portions of the psyche, therefore function as subpersonalities, and may appear in supernatural or mythological form, especially when a culture has formalised myths to render them intelligible in spiritual terms. The fact that spirits represent the undiluted power of the collective unconscious makes them far more threatening than personal complexes, particularly when adaptive psychological defences break down and cannot contain them. Jung notes in this regard, that spirits "are complexes of the collective unconscious which appear when an individual loses his adaptation to reality" (Cited in Singer, 1972, p. 40).

The experience of evil as an archetypal possibility, personified by the terrifying image of Satan in Christian iconography, is not easily assimilated by the individual, and hence returns as the intrusive experience of demonic possession:

> But the more the unconscious is split off, the more formidable the shape in which it appears to the conscious mind - if not in divine form, then in the more unfavourable form of obsessions and outbursts of affect. Gods are personifications of unconscious contents, for they reveal themselves to us through the unconscious activity of the psyche (Jung, 1958, p. 163).

11.10 The demonic complex

The shadow archetype is undoubtedly implicated in possessive states. In multiple personality disorders alternate personalities, representing aspects of the shadow, sometimes claim to be demons or the Devil himself (Noll, 1989). However, understanding demonic possession and its variants requires consideration of the interplay between various archetypes and complex systems. Given the influence of childhood experience on complex formation, one would expect the parents - both as real individuals and archetypal imagos - to play a significant etiological role. The parental imago, says Jung, exercises a powerful influence over the child's psychic life. Children's encounters with their mortal parents are anticipated by the archetypal parental figures which, owing to their origin in the collective unconscious, are disproportionately powerful to their human embodiments. In his 1909 paper, *The significance of the father in the destiny of the individual*, Jung, relating the influence of the father imago in psychopathology, makes the poignant observation:

If ever we are disposed to see some demonic power at work controlling mortal destiny, surely we see it here in these melancholy, silent tragedies working themselves out, slowly and agonizingly, in the sick souls of our neurotics. Some, step by step, continually struggling against the unseen powers, do free themselves from the clutches of the demon who drives his unsuspecting victims from one cruel fatality to another; others rise up and win to freedom, only to be dragged back later to the old paths, caught in the noose of neurosis .... If we normal people examine our lives, we too perceive how a mighty hand guides us without fail to our destiny, and not always is this hand a kindly one. Often we call it the hand of God or of the devil, thereby expressing, unconsciously but correctly, a highly important psychological fact: that the power which shapes the life of the psyche has the character of an autonomous personality" (p. 314).

Parental archetypes, however, cannot be encountered in abstract, but are only concretised in the child's experience of the actual parents. Naturally, children's projection of their shadow aspects colours their experience of their real parents: "The more restricted a person's field of consciousness is, the more psychic contents [imagos] appear quasi-externally as spirits or magical potencies projected on living persons (sorcerers, witches)" (Jung, 1935, p. 186-187). The demonic dimensions of the shadow archetype, when projected, distort and dehumanise the actual parents, so that they appear as evil demons.

Two related questions emerge at this point. Firstly, how does the parental imago acquire its personalised human form; and, secondly, what factors would hinder this personalisation process? The answers to both questions lie in the extent to which the real parents, in both attitude and behaviour, moderate the superhuman attributes of their respective archetypes. In the case of the paternal archetype:

The degree of humanness in the image of the father and the ease with which the image can be related to by a child depends upon the success of the personal father in humanizing the archetypal images .... Extreme positions cause the child to be faced with a father image that is too exaggerated and one-sided for a satisfactory relationship with the real father to become possible .... Given an excess or a serious lack of simple emotional qualities in the personal father, the individual can only relate to a heavily archetypal image of father (Samuels, 1985, p. 24)

11.11 Psychopathology of possessive states

Within this conceptual framework, demonic possession may be regarded as the dispossession of consciousness by an unconscious autonomous complex, experienced as archetypally evil, and manifest consciously as an invasion by a personified diabolical image:

> Psychologically speaking, an evil spirit or demon is a split-off complex with an autonomous dynamism which can possess the ego. Its existence is perpetuated by a repressive ego-attitude which will not accept the split-off content and integrate it into the personality as a whole (Edinger, 1972, p. 287).

The archetype that form the nucleus of the resulting demonic complex is, of course, the shadow. The Devil, notes Jung, "is a variant of the shadow archetype, i.e., of the dangerous aspect of the unrecognized dark half of the personality" (1953b, p. 96). The shadow is a dominant aspect of the personal unconscious, and typically consists of those 'uncivilised' desires and emotions considered incompatible with social standards and with the persona (Singer, 1972). The shadow is projected in two forms: individually, as persons to whom we ascribe malevolent intentions; and collectively, as the principle and personification of evil, represented by the mythical figure of the Devil. The more the shadow is isolated and repressed, the more alien, powerful, destructive and violent it appears to the person who has disowned it. It is impossible, under these circumstances, to convince somebody that the possessing forces are projected aspects of their own psychic world. The sense of being invaded and controlled by a hostile alien force cannot be underestimated. As Jung (1953c) notes, "Mephistopheles is the diabolical aspect of every psychic function that has broken loose from the hierarchy of the total psyche and now enjoys independence and absolute power" (p. 69).

Although Jung never discusses Satanism, or an actual case of demonic possession, a useful model of satanic possession can be constructed on the basis of his theory. Satanic possession occurs when egodystonic experience is split off to form a complex, arising within the personal unconscious. This complex has the shadow as its archetypal core and, within a Christian cultural context, finds expression in the personified image of Satan. How and why this personal complex manifests as a demonic possession state

depends on the strategies that the individual uses to manage the anxiety elicited by the complex. There are a number of possible strategies that people might use to deal with a complex. Firstly, they might project it onto other individuals or groups of people. This is often evident in the paranoid tendency of religious fundamentalists to sniff out satanic influences in the lives of other people who do not share their religious ideology. A second strategy, the one that is most psychologically adaptive, is for the individual to acknowledge, confront, and assimilate the complex, thereby leading to insight, psychic growth and increased emotional flexibility. In this instance, individuals begin to courageously explore the possibility that the demonic complex is not of supernatural origin, but has its genesis in all too human feelings arising from their personal history. A third strategy is to remain completely unconscious of the complex, which would then forcibly find indirect expression in symbolic dreams, fantasies, and psychological or somatic symptoms.

11.12 Involuntary and voluntary demonic possession

None of the above strategies would result in the experience of demonic possession states. If, however, all these defensive strategies broke down, and proved too weak to prevent the ego being overwhelmed by the complex, this complex might become violently manifest as the experience of possession - the forceful intrusion of a malign, alien force into the person of the victim. Our inherent human tendency toward dissociation, both as a natural developmental function and as a defensive strategy against egodystonic psychic contents, makes us susceptible to the experience of possession. In all cases possession is possession by a part of the *self*, rather than by a supernatural intelligence. The possessing agent, i.e., a demon or the Devil, is an autonomous complex, split off from the rest of the psyche, where it leads a dissociated and personified existence as a malevolent subpersonality. The defence strategy of dissociation has the consequence of making a part of the self appear to be alien, and of granting this alien part a disproportionate amount of psychic power and influence. The demonic identity and power of the autonomous complex is determined by three factors: (1) the character of the complex, including its affective intensity; (2) the degree of resistance the ego displays toward integrating it, and (3) a mythical context to give it an eidetic and narrative form. Complexes structured around destructive themes, and a

brittle ego highly resistant to the integration of destructive psychic elements, are personality prerequisites for demonic possession. A third, cultural prerequisite, is the existence of a mythical-religious framework in which certain attitudes and behaviours are ascribed to supernatural influence.

The demonic complex comprises both personal and collective components. The personal component derives from the individual's history of parental relating, and an associated characteristic style of self-relating. The collective component stems from the archetypal predisposition to structure personal experience of self and other in terms of universal forms. Children's personal experience of their parents is structured along archetypal lines. Emotionally charged, negative interactions with parental figures, will therefore be compounded by an archetypal tendency to attribute supernatural meaning to parental images. The resulting parental complex may assume a supernatural form when a hated and feared parental figure comes to embody the archetype of evil in the young child's experience. The supernatural quality of this experience is deepened by children's projection of their own destructive impulses onto the parental imago. The resulting complex, structured around a combination of parental and shadow archetypes, becomes defensively split off and dissociated from both a good supernatural parental imago (God), and the ego.

If parents relate to their children in a positive way that dilutes the archetypal intensity of the complex, and children's egos are strong enough to reincorporate the dissociated shadow aspects, then possession symptoms will not result, and the destructive subpersonality will be gradually humanised. If, however, parental attitudes and behaviours are consistent with the archetypal flavour of the complex, and the ego is highly resistant to integrating the destructive subpersonality, the autonomy of the subpersonality will be entrenched and it will become a frightening, personified supernatural presence. The exact nature of this presence will be determined by culturally specific mythical or folklore images of evil, e.g. Satan in Judaeo-Christian spiritual traditions. The autonomous complex will appear regularly or episodically in the form of the intrusive return of the demonic subpersonality. Under the temporary control of the demonic subpersonality, the affected individual will display traditional

possessive symptoms, such as personality transformation, voice changes, verbal and physical aggression, blasphemous tirades against God, and phobic reactions toward religious symbols associated with God's archetypal goodness.

In Chapter Six it was noted that a criticism of psychological interpretations of demonic possession was the problem of explaining associated paranormal phenomena. Within a Jungian framework, it is quite possible that split-off complexes impact, not only on the subject, but also the external world onto which they are projected. This could give rise to certain paranormal events, in which inanimate objects become animated or vivified (Meier, 1984; Redfearn, 1985). Redfearn (1985, p. 99) suggests that "parts of the self can be split off to the point of taking on material existence". This would provide a psychological explanation for the alleged supernatural influences that occur around demonically possessed individuals.

Of course, as in the preceding chapter on object relation theory, we need to account for the crucial distinction between involuntary satanic possession, discussed above, and induced possession through participation in satanic ritual invocation. Far from defending themselves against the demonic complex, these individuals actively invoke the demonic forces and invite evil spirits to possess them in the same way as Christians invite possession by God's divine presence. This represents the ego's identification with the demonic subpersonality, a strategy which reverses the defensive strategy of dissociation. Jung called the state produced by the identification with an archetype *inflation,* and noted that this identification with an archetype may produce a Dionysian frenzy in which the victim feels omnipotent and godlike. Rather than attempting to keep Satan at bay with the defences discussed above, these individuals invite evil archetypal forces to possess them, thereby assuming control of the autonomous complex through deliberate *association* (demonic invocation), rather than dissociation.

The intuitive realisation that the tyrannical power which the demonic complex wields over the individual can be diffused by yielding and identifying with it, rather than fighting it, soon loses its purely defensive quality, as the addictive experience of archetypal inflation induces a sense of grandiosity. The radical behavioural and

personality changes accompanying voluntary possession come to be welcomed rather than feared, as the ego becomes charged with the raw power of the evil archetype's undiluted energy, and the individual experiences the accompanying thrill of omnipotence. All depression and inferiority associated with the negative parental complex is banished by the mania associated with archetypal inflation.

In the case of satanic worship, inflation produced by identification with the dark archetypal forces makes one the incarnation and instrument of evil, so omnipotently powerful that God himself may be blasphemed, denigrated, and symbolically destroyed without the normal human fear of divine retribution. Satanic rituals would thus serve to evoke and invoke demonic subpersonalities, which may assume the form of paranormal reality, and reinforce individuals' identification with the demonic subpersonalities. The particular form assumed by the subpersonalities is determined by cult mythology, and would be some variant of the cultural shadow in Christian society, i.e. the personification of aggression, lust, perversion, deceit, etc. Inflation makes the subpersonality ego-syntonic; however, should the ego try to distance itself from the subpersonality, the latter would become a persecuting entity, and the resulting possession state would assume the form of traditional involuntary demonic possession.

It is important to remember that Satanism is founded upon a negation, and that its identity is thus inherently negative. Satanism thus exists as the mirror inversion of Christianity, and is consequently dependent upon Christianity for its existence. Jung identifies a spiritual dissociation in the Christian tradition that matches the psychological dissociation of complex possession, and which has important implications for the social context of Satanism's existence. This is discussed in the following section.

11.13 Jung's attitude toward Christianity

Jung's study of dreams, alchemy and comparative religion revealed that the self is more accurately represented by the archetypal quaternity as the true *complexio oppositorum* (unity of opposites), than by the Christian Trinity. Every archetype - and the psyche in general - has a bipolar structure. The energic tension between the opposites is what

gives psychological life its dynamic character. The Trinity is therefore an imperfect symbol of the self because the fourth element is missing. Jung suggests that the missing fourth is Satan, and that he has been excluded in order to preserve God's moral perfection as the *summum bonum*:

> The self is a union of opposites par excellence, and this is where it differs essentially from the Christ-symbol .... The opposition between light and good on the one hand and darkness and evil on the other is left in a state of open conflict, since Christ simply represents good, and his counterpart the devil, evil" (1953a, p.19).

The shadow side of God, however, is clearly evident in Yahweh's Old Testament attributes, which Christianity found distasteful. Christian dogma sought to exclude the dark side of God in order to make him an exemplar of love and virtue. This dark side was split off and excluded from the symbol of the Holy Trinity and, like all dissociated archetypal experience, assumed a personified life of its own in the figure of God's adversary, Satan (Jung, 1940). Satan thus emerges as a historical manifestation of an archetypal possibility only because Christian dogma sought a neurotic solution to its ambivalent experience of God, by splitting off His destructive qualities, which then assumed the form of an evil adversary:

> If we disregard the specifically Persian system of dualism, it appears that no real devil is to be found anywhere in the early period of man's spiritual development. In the Old Testament, he is vaguely foreshadowed in the figure of Satan. But the real devil first appears in the adversary of Christ, and with him we gaze for the first time into the luminous realm of divinity on the one hand and into the abyss of hell on the other" (Jung, 1948c, p. 173).

Jung further notes that Satan, like Christ, is a son of God, and that these two opposites, prefigured in the Old Testament by Cain and Abel, represent the archetype of the hostile brothers (1948c). Evil is an ineradicable part of the self and, although Jung does not go so far, implicit in his argument is the suggestion that the Christian Trinity is a symptom of neurotic religious dogma, arising from the pathological dissociation of good and evil, and the latter's projection into the figure of Satan. If psychological health is characterised by the integration of dissociated polarities, and the withdrawal of projections, then Christianity may be seen as a form of cultural

neurosis in which a vital part of the collective self is dogmatically excluded. This shadow side of Christianity leads an independent existence as fearsome, demonic projections, located in individuals and groups who do not adhere to Christian religious orthodoxy. Implicit in Jung's argument is the call to integrate Satan and thereby reconstruct the archetypal religious symbol of wholeness.

Since Jung's death in 1961, however, the Western world has witnessed a spiritual backlash against the Enlightenment rational-scientific worldview and its technocratic expression. This has become manifest as alternative spiritual orientations, assorted cults, and the popular emergence of fundamentalist Christianity. The latter embraces a worldview in which social and psychological events are interpreted in terms of a supernatural conflict between the forces of good, represented by Christ, and the armies of darkness, represented by Satan. This interpretation is fuelled by the existence of Satanic cults which adopt the same fundamentalist ideology, albeit inverted, and pledge allegiance to the overthrow of Christianity. This has created the cultural conditions for complexes, which for some time have been secularised in terms of psychological discourses, to once again be re-incorporated into a supernatural hermeneutics. The innate dissociability of psychological life creates autonomous complexes, but the equally innate tendency to individuation strives to reconcile opposing psychic tendencies and integrate shadow elements. Contemporary fundamentalist Christianity, by rigidly splitting off and dissociating the destructive aspect of numinous experience, creates and perpetuates the cultural conditions for Satanism to flourish as an autonomous spiritual complex.

Chapter summary
Analytical psychology has made an important three-fold theoretical contribution to an understanding of possessive states: (1) Jung's emphasis on psychic dissociability and the related conception of autonomous complexes provides a plausible depth psychological foundation for the psychogenesis of destructive subpersonalities; (2) the notion of archetypes and their mythological depiction provides an explanation for the demonic personification of these subpersonalities, and their origin in dissociated experiences of both self and parental figures; (3) Jung's insight into the exclusion of the

demonic spiritual aspect in Christianity suggests a cultural context for Satan's mythological status as a powerful and implacable spiritual foe, who can only be defeated - or in the case of Satanism - identified with. From a Jungian perspective Satan, and all demonic entities, are dissociated shadow aspects of the personality which, once split off from the ego, become autonomous complexes with the psychological status of subpersonalities. The universal tendency to personify shadow aspects in terms of evil archetypes, informed by the culture-specific images and mythological narratives of the Judaeo-Christian tradition, transforms these subpersonalities into demonic entities. The intrusive return of these dissociated subpersonalities gives rise to the experience of involuntary demonic possession. Deliberate voluntary possession, the hallmark of Satanic cults, provides a way of managing demonic subpersonalities through defensive association rather than dissociation. The ego, by thus identifying with the demonic subpersonality, rather than alienating it, creates an ego-syntonic state of inflation, whereby all the archetypal possibilities of supernatural evil become the dominant part of the conscious personality, creating a manic state of god-like omnipotence. Satanic rituals constitute hypnotic procedures for facilitating this inflation and creating the delusional reality of the demonic realm's literal existence. The addictive satisfaction associated with the inflated state, together with the persecutory quality assumed by the subpersonality - should the ego attempt to dis-identify with it - reinforces demonic identification and participation in satanic rituals. The implacable opposition of Christianity to the figure of Satan, and the former's rigid splitting of good and evil spiritual archetypal polarities, makes Satanism both a cultural possibility and a subcultural temptation.

CHAPTER TWELVE

AN ARCHETYPAL OBJECT RELATIONS THEORY OF SATANIC CULT PHENOMENA

Introduction

Each of the previous four chapters has presented an alternative depth psychological discourse of demonic phenomena. At a general level, what they all have in common is the basic assumption that demonic phenomena are unconscious symbolic representations of intrapsychic contents that are personified, defensively disavowed, and externalised through projective mechanisms. These projected aspects then wield an uncanny influence over the rest of the personality in the form of obsessions, or invade and take over the personality, resulting in the symptoms of possession. In the past, however, it has been the incompatibilities that determined the relationship between psychoanalysis and analytical psychology. The acrimonius termination of the personal relationship between Jung and Freud accentuated and deepened their theoretical differences, giving rise to the school of analytical psychology. The enmity between Jung and Freud, and the emphasis on their theoretical divergences, has meant that these two depth psychological models have traditionally been defined by their differences rather than their commonalties. The emergence of object relations theory, however, has introduced the possibility of a new theoretical exchange between psychoanalytical and analytical psychology. 'Exchange' is perhaps inaccurate, as it implies mutual interaction or dialogue, whereas the relationship between object relations theory and analytical psychology has been rather one-sided, characterised by analytical psychology's appropriation of object relations concepts. There is no reference to Jung in Klein's work, and most Kleinians would reject any conceptual affinity with analytical psychology (Solomon, 1991). Fairbairn (1955, p. 144) was more explicit when he stated that he chose a Freudian rather than a Jungian starting point for his work, because, on comparing Freud's basic conceptions with those of Jung, "I found the former incomparably more illuminating and convincing, and felt them to offer an infinitely better prospect of solving the problems with which psychopathology is concerned".

When attempting to relate object relations theory to analytical psychology, one is faced with three possibilities: (1) to approach these as fundamentally divergent and essentially incompatible discourses; (2) to argue that, although they employ different lexicons, the central concepts are equivalent, describing the same psychic reality, and can thus be harmoniously incorporated into a single perspective; (3) to emphasise the latent commonalties between these depth psychologies, while preserving their distinct identities as participants in a dialogue perpetuated by their respective differences. The first two options, based on mutual exclusion or forced identity, respectively, are not intellectually viable. The contention that these perspectives are mutually exclusive has been historically proven to be both intellectually unproductive and professionally divisive. But the opposite argument, that these two approaches are describing the identical reality using equivalent languages, is both naive and undesirable. It diffuses the creative tension and dialogical possibility that depends on preserving the conceptual and metaphorical distance between these perspectives. This author, therefore, subscribes to the third possibility, which promotes the search for common ground between analytical and object relations perspectives without, however, attempting to negate their differences or force an integration that violates the integrity of the respective approaches. The argument of this chapter is that the discourses of analytical psychology and object relations theory are, despite their differences, analogous in many respects, and that these analogies have been nurtured into commonalties by Jungians from the developmental school. Charlton (1997) clearly articulates the starting point of this perspective:

> Though Jung's vision of the organization and workings of the psyche includes the interaction of autonomous dynamisms that inhabit an inner world, he is not considered an object relations theorist. However, if we think of an object relations theory as an explanation of the ways in which relations with the people in our lives are taken into an inner world where they affect the nature and development of the personality, then Jungian theory can be viewed from an object relations vantage point (p. 86).

The first part of this chapter will explore the Jungian dialogue with object relations theory,[1] while the second will attempt to formulate an 'archetypal object relations' approach to understanding demonic possession and satanic cult involvement.

12.1 Analytical psychology's dialogue with object relations theory

In recent years, a number of Jungian theorists have begun to explore ways of integrating object relations theory into analytical psychology (Astor, 1990; Lambert, 1981; Samuels, 1985; Solomon, 1991; Zinkin, 1991). Undoubtedly, the impetus for the Jungian dialogue with object relations theory came from Michael Fordham's clinical work as a child analyst, and his attempts to understand both normal and abnormal child development from a Jungian perspective. This task was hampered by the classical analytical emphasis on the second half of life, together with the professional animosity between analytical and psychoanalytical thought. Fordham's work in London with children, however, brought him into contact with the theory and technique of Klein. His analysis of children confronted him with classical analytical theory's failure to conceptualise child development and, to this end, he adopted the Kleinian notion of internalised object relations. Fordham also participated in a regular London forum with British object relations psychoanalysts (Astor, 1990). The result was a productive interaction with psychoanalysis, in particular the Kleinian school, with its emphasis on unconscious fantasy and countertransference (Samuels, 1985). Speaking of the Kleinians, Fordham noted that although the idiom was different the two discourses were closely analogous (Fordham, 1993). Fordham's attention to these aspects of Kleinian thought led to conflict with the classical Zurich school of analytic thought, and the emergence of what he termed the London school. In Samuels' (1985) typology of post-Jungian analytic thought, this second grouping of analysts, with its specific theoretical and technical emphases, is referred to as the developmental school. This term is more descriptive and is the one that will be employed here.

---

[1] It should also be kept in mind that the dialogue in this dissertation is between three, and not two parties, because Klein and Fairbairn had significantly divergent perspectives on the nature, origin, and function of internal object relations. Owing to Fordham's influence, however, the focus of the developmental school has been on Klein rather than Fairbairn.

12.2 The role of fantasy in psychological life

The nature and function of unconscious fantasy in psychological life is an obvious point to begin exploring the parallels between Jungian and object relations theory. Jung considered fantasy to be the psyche's most characteristic activity (Samuels, *et al,* 1986). Klein and Fairbairn, too, considered fantasy to be the foundational activity and content of psychic life. All three theorists accepted the importance of the related fantasies of introjection and projection as serving normal, pathological, and defensive functions. All identified projective processes as the means by which an aspect of the self is unconsciously externalised and personified. Furthermore, Jung's concept of *participation mystique,* which he used to describe a relationship in which a subject is partially and unconsciously identified with an object, and hence has influence over it (and vice versa), is little different from Klein's concept of projective identification. This is particularly evident in his 1957 description of participation mystique:

> When there is no consciousness of the difference between subject and object, an unconscious identity prevails. The unconscious is then projected into the object, and the object is introjected into the subject, becoming part of his psychology. Then plants and animals behave like human beings, human beings are at the same time animals, and everything is alive with ghosts and gods (p. 45).

The shared emphasis on the role of fantasy can be taken much further. Certain analytic authors (Gordon, 1985; Lambert, 1981; Samuels, 1985; Solomon, 1991) have acknowledged a striking similarity between the Kleinian concept of fantasy and Jung's concept of archetypes. This will be explored in the following section.

12.3 Fantasy and/as archetype

Fordham recognised that Jung's description of archetypes as "a psychic expression of the physiological and anatomical disposition" (cited in Astor, 1990, p. 266) was close to the Kleinian definition of fantasy as the mental corollary of instinctual impulses and activities (Isaacs, 1952; Klein, 1952). Samuels (1985) states that "it is Klein's notion of unconscious fantasy ... that is the psychoanalytic idea most closely aligned with

archetypal theory" (p. 42). Although Samuels never developed this parallel in any systematic way, a number of contemporary analysts have. According to Lambert (1981), internal objects are archetypally organised. He postulates an "archetypal predisposition to release a tendency to relate to that object and to organise it and selectively shape it in accordance with the archetypal theme in question" (p. 92). The infant's developmental task in this respect is to marry archetypal predispositions in relation to parental figures, with actual experiences of the real parents. If this process is successful the infant attains:

> a basis for real relationships with objects that are not distorted by delusional
> fantasy arising from archetypal sources. These relationships may be good
> enough, or too bad, or good and bad, but they are real rather than idealized
> and may be designated *archetypal objects* (Lambert, 1981, p. 95).

Internal archetypal objects are thus the structural consequence of a process whereby an archetypal predisposition (unconscious fantasy) meets a corresponding external object, which is then introjected, resulting in the object becoming part of the individual's internal world. This internal archetypal object may then be externalised or projected on to external objects, thereby imbuing them with the qualities of the internal object.

Solomon (1991) provides a more elaborate model for a dialectical interplay between archetypal and object relations theory. Like Lambert, she understands archetypes to be "substantially similar to the notion of unconscious fantasy which is the basis of object relations theory" (p. 314). She notes the following parallels between the concepts of archetype and fantasy:

> Both reside at a universal deep level structure within the mind. Both have an
> instinctual base, and both are expressed imaginally by more or less
> unconscious mental representations. These images are experienced on a
> spectrum, or through a series of bipolar opposites (p. 320).

Using Chomsky's (1968) concept of innate linguistic "deep structures", Solomon argues that both the Jungian concept of archetypes and the Kleinian concept of unconscious fantasy may be understood as "psychological deep structures against which the infant's

experience of their real parents builds up dialectically, over time, into an amalgam of fantasy and reality experiences" (p. 308-309). These structures mediate infants' experiences of their parents by predisposing them to experience parental figures in terms of bipolar archetypal images, expressed through extreme positive and negative attributes. This bipolar structuration of experience is expressed in the Kleinian process of splitting, and in the Jungian notion of archetypal opposites. Real experiences with actual parental figures, in turn, mediates the affective/imaginal influence of archetypal polarities, thereby humanising and personalising infants' perceptions of their parents.

Archetypal polarity is not equivalent to splitting, however. Bipolarity implies that archetypal units intrinsically comprise two poles, i.e. it is a normal state of affairs, rather than the consequence of an active defensive process. But Jung does accept that one aspect of the bipolar unit may be split off, whence it manifests in a pathological form (Zinkin, 1991). Fordham (1985), attempting to reconceptualise infant development, distinguishes between splitting and what he calls deintegration. The original infant self is an undifferentiated integrate, which then deintegrates and reintegrates in a dynamic rhythm that connects archetypal potentials with environmental experience. The deintegrative 'mating' of archetypal potential with parental responsiveness results in the formation of internal objects by means of a reintegrative process (Samuels, *et al*, 1986). Part-selves reflect the essentially normal presence of these *deintegrates,* and testify to the pluralistic character of human identity. Both Jung and Klein, therefore, overemphasised psychic unity and the integrative function of mental processes, at the expense of acknowledging the adaptive function of deintegration. Importantly, however, Fordham does not reject the theory of pathological splitting:

> He reserves the term splitting for structural (that is, splitting of the ego) and pathological changes ... which occur within the personality, whereas he considers deintegration and reintegration to be the dynamic processes of normal development. Splitting therefore in his language refers to a response to violence, which because of its omnipotent nature leads to structural changes in the ego (Astor, 1990, p. 270).

For both contemporary Jungians and Kleinians, the experiential quality of the developing inner world depends on actual experiences of external reality, as they are filtered through and interact with the innate structures that precede the experience. Psychic development thus proceeds from the dialectical interplay between internal influences (innate archetypal images/fantasies) and external environmental influences (the actual quality of parental provision). This is ably formulated in Solomon's dialectical model of development, which suggests that the infant's personality is established through interaction between:

> (1) the unique real individual baby (primal self); (2) the common innate predisposition to perceive the world through certain fixed categories, i.e., through the archetypal patterns, or the images of the instincts, with which each of us is invested by virtue of being human; (3) the real parents, both as individuals and as a couple and how their care for the baby with its variations and vicissitudes moderates the experience of I-ness of the infant and the shape of the archetypal structures (Solomon, 1991, p. 327-328).

12.4 Autonomous complexes and internal objects

From the above discussion it is clear that the concepts of archetype and unconscious fantasy are closely analogous. Both explain the universal predisposition of humans to unconsciously structure experience in terms of instinctually-based, emotionally toned bipolar attributes, with corresponding imagery shaped by the life context of the individual. Another important conceptual parallel is that between internal objects and autonomous complexes. Jung, Klein, and Fairbairn begin from the assumption that human identity is polypsychic, comprising a multiplicity of psychic subformations only hinted at in Freud's structural model of mind.

The relationship between complexes and internal objects is the key to understanding human multiplicity. Abenheimer (1955) noted that "Fairbairn's 'dynamic structures' are exactly what Jung has described as complexes, although Fairbairn nowhere mentions this parallelism" (p. 30). Fairbairn (1955) bluntly rejected Abenheimer's contention, claiming that:

Even if the meaning conferred upon the term 'complex' when it is used by Jung in the sense of 'part-personality' is considered in isolation from the other meanings conferred upon it in his writings at other times, it is still very different from the meaning attached to my concept of 'dynamic structure'; and ... the part played by dynamic structures in my theoretical system as a whole is quite different from that played by complexes in Jung's general theory of mental life (p. 146).

Fairbairn's criticisms of the posited parallels between his concept of internal objects and dynamic structures, and Jung's concept of complexes, may be summarised as follows: (1) dynamic structures are specific and limited in number, whereas complexes are not; (2) complexes are not classifiable into the two classes that characterise dynamic structures, viz. ego-structures and internal objects; (3) complexes are unconscious, whereas one of Fairbairn's ego-structures (the "central ego") is conscious [2]; (4) objects associated with complexes are manifest as images, whereas internal objects are structures, not images; (5) internal objects derive only from special introjective processes, rather than being part of the internal world from the start; (6) defensive splitting is necessary to account for the multiplicity of internal structures, whereas this is not the case with complexes.

Another objection that Fairbairn has to Jung deserves mention - the failure to properly acknowledge the role of aggression in the structuring of the internal world. Fairbairn (1955) addresses this by criticising Jung's incorporation of aggression into libido:

This term (libido) is employed by Jung in a comprehensive sense which covers all psychical dynamic, and thus includes aggression. By contrast, I agree with Freud in regarding aggression as incapable of being resolved into libido; and, although I no longer feel free to accept Freud's dualistic instinct theory ... I continue to accept Freud's view that libido and aggression constitute the two primary dynamics in mental life (p. 145).

---

[2] As the Jungian ego is also a complex, and "never more and never less than consciousness as a whole" (Jung, 1959, p. 5), this criticism clearly reveals Fairbairn's misunderstanding of analytical psychology.

As will be seen in Chapter Fifteen, Jung's theoretical failure to properly conceptualise aggression does make any attempt to understand the phenomenon of "evil" rather difficult.

Lastly, Guntrip (1961), Fairbairn's chief proselyte, criticises Jung for ignoring the childhood origins of individuation, and for not acknowledging "how integration is necessarily bound up with good object-relationships" (p. 191). While this was certainly true of Jung, it is definitely not true of contemporary analytical psychology. It is understandable how, for historical, ideological, and personal reasons Fairbairn would not have wanted any theoretical association with analytical psychology. However, the creative appropriation of object relations theory by the developmental Jungians has largely nullified Fairbairn's original theoretical objections to a focus on convergent aspects of object relations and Jungian thought.

In Chapter Eight, internal objects were defined as "dynamically unconscious suborganizations of the ego capable of generating meaning and experience, i.e., capable of thought, feeling, and perception" (Ogden, 1990, p. 132). Fairbairn's protestations notwithstanding, it may be argued that there is little difference between this conception and Jung's description of complexes as "fragmentary personalities" or "splinter psyches". These, owing to the mind's splitting or deintegrative mechanisms, means that "parts of the psyche detach themselves from consciousness to such an extent that they not only appear foreign but lead an autonomous life of their own" (Jung, 1942, p. 121). In both Jungian theory and the integrated object relations model proposed in Chapter Ten, the dissociability of the psyche, manifest in complexes or internal objects, is a normal part of psychic development. It only becomes pathological when reintegration of the split-off aspects is made untenable by the excessive and persistent use of splitting as a defence. In both traditions, psychic disorder is defined in terms of individuals' relative inability to integrate split-off aspects of self, i.e. subpersonalities, and the related experience of being controlled from within by the subpersonalities, subjectively perceived as invasive alien entities.

12.5 The ego and the self in object relations theory and analytical psychology

One last conceptual difficulty needs to be confronted before discussing the application of an archetypal object relations model to satanic cult phenomena, i.e., the notion of the ego and its relationship to defence mechanisms. Whereas object relations theorists tend to use the term ego to refer to the personality as a whole, and use the concepts of ego and self interchangeably, Jung clearly differentiated between ego and self. Jung equated the ego with consciousness, while perceiving the self to be the executive archetype and supraordinate unifying principle of the total psyche (Samuels, *et al*, 1986). Because Jung uses 'ego' and 'consciousness' interchangeably, the ego must be completely conscious and totally within consciousness. As Samuels (1985) notes, this is problematic because "Jung then has no equivalent to the psychoanalytic metapsychological construct of a super-ego. Nor can he say much about ego defences, which are also unconscious in operation" (p. 60). A further difficulty arises from the emphasis on the defensive splitting of the ego in object relations theory, for, as Charlton (1997) observes, the Jungian ego cannot split.

All of these conceptual discrepancies are potentially resolvable, however, when one realises that the object relations 'ego' is largely equivalent to the Jungian 'self', which does employ unconscious defences against internal and external threats (Samuels, *et al*, 1986). Thus, although the Jungian ego does not split, the Jungian psyche as a whole is inevitably split,

> because of the nature of the relationship between the ego and the affect-images of the 'archetypal internal objects' which make up the deepest layers of the unconscious. The internal objects of the Jungian unconscious are experienced by the ego as non-self - that is, they appear as unwanted thoughts, numinous emotions and strange desires (Charlton, 1997, p. 87).

The absence of a Jungian superego is not very problematic for object relations theory because, in Klein's view at least, "the superego is analysable into a number of internal figures, known as internal objects, which are themselves in relation to each other as well as to the ego" (Hinshelwood, 1989, p. 94). The related question of the origin of morality,

conscience and guilt in the respective models, also does not present too great a difficulty. Jung, contra Freud, believed that humans have an innate moral sense or conscience (Samuels, 1985). Klein (1935), too, in her theory of the reparative impulse, believed that inherent destructive tendencies are countered by equally innate tendencies to experience guilt for harming one's good objects, and the desire to repair the damage effected by one's destructive fantasies.

The question of ego defences against anxiety, crucial to object relations theory, was ignored by Jung, largely because he failed to appreciate the importance of anxiety in psychic life. Contemporary Jungians, however, appear to have no qualms about drawing on object relations theory in this regard: "Analytical psychology benefits from psychoanalytic classifications of anxiety; for example, persecutory and depressive anxiety, or anxiety resulting from super-ego activity" (Samuels, 1985, p. 67).

It may be thus argued that many key Jungian and object relations concepts are analogous. compatible or, at times, even equivalent: archetype and unconscious fantasy, autonomous complex and internal object, participation mystique and projective identification, dissociation and splitting, self and ego. Furthermore, both Jungians and object relations theorists consider normal psychic development to be a dialectical process involving dissociation and integration, with the relative reconciliation and integration of polarised psychic aspects being a criterion of mental health. In addition, both schools consider psychopathology to be a consequence of excessive dissociation and projection of those negatively perceived self aspects onto the external world, where they assume a malevolent independent existence, and threaten the ego from without. Both schools understand the Devil to be a manifestation of these violently dissociated and projected self aspects, and both see this process of pathogenesis arising from the interplay of universal innate predisposition and individual history. The remainder of the chapter will be devoted to the formulation of a concise archetypal object relations model of voluntary and involuntary demonic possession.

12.6 An archetypal object relations theory of demonic possession states

Although analytical psychology and object relations theory represent alternative traditions, a striking degree of conceptual concordance invites the formulation of a theory of possessive states that integrates key aspects of these traditions, without ignoring their significant differences. All deities, whether good or evil, are personifications of the unconscious, formed by an interaction between innate (transpersonal) structures and the influence of personal childhood experience. The universal experience of spirit possession stems from the archetypal predisposition to assign supernatural significance, and associated imagery, to aspects of our experience of self and other. The supernatural or numinous quality of this experience derives from a number of related factors: (1) its instinctually-based emotional intensity, (2) the innate tendency to split conflictual experience into dissociated self and object suborganisations, (3) to personify these psychic structures or organisations as subpersonalities, (4) to externalise these subpersonalities through unconscious projective mechanisms, and (5) to make sense of the resulting personified entities or forces through mythological narratives. Demons are thus unconscious, projectively disowned, intrapsychic configurations, comprising split-off and personified shadow parts of self, invariably identified with internalised parental objects, which exert an obsessive or possessive influence on the ego by virtue of their destructive instinctual energy and impunity to conscious will.

Developmentally, demon possession is made possible by the failure of real parental figures to 'humanise' the child's negative introjects (bad objects), fantastically amplified by archetypal polarities, splitting defences, and destructive projective identifications. Internal objects are archetypally organised, i.e. there is an archetypal predisposition to relate to parental objects, organising and selectively shaping them in accordance with the archetypal themes in question. The infant's developmental task, in this respect, is to marry archetypal predispositions in relation to parental figures, with actual experiences of the real parents. If this process is successful the infant attains a basis for real relationships with objects that are not distorted by delusional fantasy arising from archetypal sources. Extremely negative parental experiences at an early age, however,

reinforce one extreme of the bipolar archetypal structure, resulting in the child internalising an archetypal object experienced as bad and persecutory. Destructive aspects of the self become identified and fused with archetypal parental imagos, and the resulting composite psychic organisation is defensively split-off or dissociated from the ego, where it exists as a relatively independent subpersonality. The alien (egodystonic) quality of this subpersonality and its unneutralised destructive energy makes it too threatening to be assimilated. Instead, it is projected in fantasy and assumes an external existence as a malevolent, alien, supernatural entity. The projected demonic subpersonality will take its imagery and meaning from culturally specific mythological motifs. In Western culture, the subpersonality will be identified with the Judeo-Christian mythological figures of Satan and his demons.

Human development or individuation proceeds through a dialectical process of dissociation and integration, and it is when the ego is too rigid and brittle to accommodate its projective identifications, manifest as demonic subpersonalities, that possession becomes an imminent possibility. When this developmental scenario occurs in a religious culture that polarises good and bad into theological absolutes, and attributes all that is bad to the malevolent intentions of an unambiguously evil deity (Satan), the psychological and cultural prerequisites for satanic possession conjoin. What we witness in both Christian fundamentalism and involuntary demonic possession is a defensive strategy whereby good and bad are split and, in fantasy, located outside the individual in the figures of God and Satan. Good is fanatically clung to, while all that is bad (the destructive subpersonality) is projected onto Satan, an ever-threatening figure who contaminates, corrupts, and destroys good wherever he finds it. All activities and impulses symbolically associated with Satan - decadence, indulgence, instinctual gratification, etc. - are avoided, and the world is anxiously scanned for signs of Satan's influence (rock music, drugs, 'deviant' sexuality, fantasy games, mass media, etc.). The more the bad aspects are extruded, the more threatening the ever-present possibility of their intrusion becomes. Involuntary possession represents the subjective experience of a violent intrusion by the demonic subpersonality, and its temporary usurpation of

consciousness, before it is once again defensively extruded, usually with the aid of exorcism rituals.

However, if dis-identification or dissociation is a defence against the demonic subpersonality in religious individuals, those involved in Satanism employ the counter-phobic defence of identification with the destructive subpersonality. From this perspective, a dissociated autonomous complex, consolidated around an archetypal object, constitutes a destructive subpersonality, which finds an external 'home' in satanic cult activity. The subpersonality is no less terrifying in these cases, but there is the unconscious realisation that by allying oneself with the destructive psychic organisation it will prove less persecutory, and provide a source of extraordinary power. This strategy is the defence of choice in those individuals whose pre-satanic personalities are based on addiction to bad objects, and who find in satanic cults a formalised ritual expression of their own internal subservience to these bad objects. This identification, which Jung aptly terms inflation, results in state of manic omnipotence and idealisation of destructiveness, ceremonially formalised in satanic rituals.

Any attempts by the individuals concerned to escape from the cult, or distance themselves from the diabolical subpersonality, confronts them with the tyrannical vengefulness of Satan and his forces, which attempt to destroy the soft, vulnerable, needy, feeling and compassionate parts of the personality. This is organisationally reinforced by the ritual cursing and physical punishment of individuals who try to leave the cult. For those who stay, the good parts of the personality become increasingly more occluded and tyrannised, until they cease to have any effective influence at all. The power of the magical satanic rituals inheres in the fact that these rituals enact the same primitive fantasies, based on splitting and dissociation, that have ruled the pre-Satanists' interactions with their internal objects since their dysfunctional origin in childhood.

Summary

This chapter began by establishing a theoretical foundation for the formulation of an archetypal object relations model of demonic possession and satanic cult involvement. This theoretical hybrid is based on the appropriation and incorporation of object relations theory by the developmental school of analytic psychology. It was argued that the diferences between object relations and Jungian theory prevent any seamless unification into one internally consistent metapsychology, but that there are sufficient latent commonalties to justify a model that draws together central features of both schools. This model begins with the premise that fantasy is the foundational activity and content of psychic life, and that fantasised introjective-projective processes lead to the formation of internal objects, manifest as bipolar archetypal images. Psychic development proceeds from the dialectical interplay between internal/archetypal and external influences, particularly child-parent interactions. Archetypal internal objects are experienced as ego-alien, autonomous subpersonalities or splinter psyches. In the course of normal development, these are partly assimilated into the individuating psyche, but if their archetypal qualities are not 'humanised' by adequate parental provision they are split off and exert a powerful influence on psychic life. Destructive subpersonalities derive, not only from archetypally structured object experience, but also from shadow aspects of the self, forming a frightening amalgam that may be personified and perceived in the form of archetypal evil entities such as demons. Persecutory anxiety arising from the activity of these ego-dystonic, split-off parts of the internal world mobilise defence mechanisms such as projection, projective identification, and denial.

In the second part of the chapter, this model was employed to explain the interpersonal and intrapsychic formation of demonic figures, based on the internalisation of 'bad' parental figures, whose archetypal destructiveness is aggravated by attribution of the child's own aggressive impulses. The resulting subpersonality causes extreme persecutory anxiety, and cannot be integrated into the psyche. Instead, it is projected and experienced as a malevolent supernatural agency. In Western society, dominated by Christian mythology, the 'evil' subpersonalities appear as Satan and/or his demons. While dissociation of the destructive subpersonalities is the typical defence mechanism in

most individuals, those drawn to Satanism employ the opposite defence of identification with the destructive subpersonalities. The cult then becomes an organisational setting for, and expression of, the ego's identification with 'demonic' self aspects. The resulting psychological state of inflation produces a sense of manic omnipotence and ego-syntonic destructiveness, while simultaneously enacting an idealised relationship with a longed-for parental figure in the form of Satan. As long as the ego's alliance with the destructive subpersonality persists, ritually induced demonic possession will be experienced as gratifying. However, the emergence of moral or libidinal parts of the self threaten the 'demonic alliance', and lead to the experience of internal persecution by the destructive subpersonality.

PART FIVE

CHAPTER THIRTEEN: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

13.1 The hermeneutic approach to psychological inquiry

The contemporary, or post-modern, period of social scientific research is perhaps best characterised by pervasive doubt that "any discourse has a privileged place, any method or theory a universal and general claim to authoritative knowledge" (Richardson cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 2). One important consequence of this is that the research questions posed are not predetermined by established research practices. Rather, research methods are adapted or created to satisfy the demands of the research questions. The broad research objective of this dissertation is to investigate the psychological meaning of satanic cult involvement, thereby requiring a form of qualitative methodology. Qualitative research involves the "exploration, elaboration and systematization of the significance of an identified phenomenon; [and] the illuminative representation of the meaning of a delimited issue or problem" (Banister, *et al*, 1994). The focus on meaning in qualitative research involves the researcher in interpretive activity. Interpretation, when employed as a self-reflexive methodology for disclosing the meaning of human events, is generally termed hermeneutics. Before discussing the particular hermeneutic methodology employed, a brief definition of hermeneutic research, and justification of its employment is necessary.

Hermeneutics is an umbrella term referring to a wide range of theories and practices united by a common concern with the interpretive understanding of the meaning of human symbolic productions. The narrower area of hermeneutic inquiry most germane to this research is methodological hermeneutics, which is concerned with the epistemological issue of extending knowledge production within the human sciences beyond the narrow confines of traditional scientific method (Woolfolk *et al.*, 1988). The discipline of psychology, traditionally wedded to natural scientific philosophies and methodologies, has gradually become interested in devising alternative qualitative methods relevant to the

objective of exploring the meaning of human experience and behaviour. A burgeoning range of literature on the application of methodical interpretive inquiry in the field of psychology has thus recently emerged (Honey, 1987; Packer, 1985; Packer & Addison, 1989; Messer, Sass & Woolfolk., 1988).

Psychological understanding is typically grounded in the accessible, taken-for-granted lived meanings that behaviour and experience have for us. This experience and behaviour, in other words, has a pre-reflective intelligibility, which is always historically situated in a socio-historical matrix of cultural significance. This intelligibility, the backdrop for all interpretation, has been referred to as practical understanding, one's "everyday participatory understanding of people and events" (Packer & Addison, 1989, p.23). Thus, in a predominantly Christian culture, it does not occur to us to question the meaning of Sunday morning church attendance, as this activity is smoothly, and unproblematically assimilated into the traditional, collectively shared substrate of Western spirituality. However, a newspaper report about Satanic worship disrupts this tissue of pre-reflective or practical understanding, because its meaning is not immediately intelligible. It does not make immediate sense because it resists our everyday comprehension, thereby prompting us to ask: "What is this all about? Why do people worship Satan"?, etc. Because the meaning of satanic worship is problematic within the spiritual tradition of Christian culture, it requires interpretation. Interpretation, a fundamental condition of all human understanding, becomes foregrounded as a reflective, sense-making form of engagement only when there is a break-down of ordinary pre-reflective understanding, when some aspect of experience is rendered problematic by its resistance to common-sense assimilation. The rigorous and systematic employment of interpretive strategies to make meaningful sense of problematic experience is the province of hermeneutic research.

This research is not concerned with accessing *the* meaning of satanic experience. Meaning is derived from interpretive acts which are always located in historically contingent "fore-structures of understanding", ie. interpretive conventions and dispositions which constitute a set of shared and projected pre-understandings (Packer & Addison, 1989). These pre-

understandings, to the extent that they are shared by a community of interpreters, establishes the discursive common ground for agreement as to what a phenomenon might mean. Thus, although Satanism resists most people's practical understanding, the Judaeo-Christian spiritual heritage in the West, with its dualistic personification of supernatural good and evil, provides a set of pre-understandings which makes satanic worship at least vaguely comprehensible. Interpretation, therefore, consists of a hermeneutic circle whereby our pre-understandings are challenged, refined, and modified into transformed understandings. Interpretation, in other words, is not simply the restatement of our preconceptions (Packer, 1989). The circle consists of forward and backward arcs, where the forward arc comprises the projected pre-understandings of a phenomenon, and the backward arc comprises new, modified understandings, which challenge the original pre-understandings (Packer & Addison, 1989).

There are, of course, multiple discourses and multiple interpretive communities, and hence any interpretation may be contested by someone located within another 'sense-making' discursive vantage point. Within a fundamentalist Christian discourse, Satan is a real supernatural intelligence who possesses the unwary; from a constructionist perspective, Satan is an ideological construct whose imaginary existence serves a cohesive sociological function in times of secular social change; and, within a psychoanalytic discourse, Satan is a split-off part of the individual's own instinctual life or internal world. One cannot ask which of these interpretations is the correct one, because each proceeds from a fundamentally different discursive fore-structure of interpretive assumptions: "To understand another depends on knowing what is *meant* by certain actions, and the determination of meaning depends on one's interpretive strategy" (Gergen, 1989, p. 256).

13.2 Object relations and hermeneutic inquiry

The interpretive framework for this research is that of object relations theory, i.e. a psychoanalytic developmental account of how early interpersonal relations with significant others are internalised in fantasy, and transformed by unconscious mental processes into dynamic personality structures, which influence experience and behaviour. The literature

review suggests that a theoretical framework addressing the issue of unconscious meanings, motives and structures is appropriate for answering the research questions posed by this dissertation. It was argued that object relations theory is well-suited suited to understanding the psychological reality of demonic possession, and the historical interpersonal contexts predisposing individuals to satanic involvement. The usefulness of object relations theory in understanding satanic involvement has been demonstrated by a number of authors (Henderson, 1982; Ivey, 1993c; Olsson, 1983). However, none of these authors have employed a rigorous and systematic method for investigating object relations in satanic cult members, although some researchers have devised empirical methods for researching object relations in various clinical populations (Blatt & Lerner, 1983). The most prolific of these authors is Westen (1991a, 1991b; 1991c) who, drawing on an integration of object relations and social cognition theory, has developed an instrument for measuring developmental aspects of object relations and social cognition (Westen, 1985). However, this instrument, which essentially measures the maturity of object relations functioning is not particularly relevant to the nature and aims of this research. An original interpretive method was thus devised to grasp the internal object relations derivatives implicit in subjects' descriptive accounts of their satanic involvement.

Although this research aims to establish a dialogue between object relations and Jungian hermeneutics, as proposed in Chapter Twelve, it was not considered feasible to do so in the data analysis stage. Rather, the object relations interpretations derived from the data analysis are articulated with a Jungian discourse in Chapter Fifteen.

13.3 Research design and method

Research design refers to "a flexible set of guidelines that connects theoretical paradigms to strategies of inquiry and methods for collecting empirical material" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 14). For the purposes of this research, a method was devised which comprised both phenomenological-descriptive and hermeneutic moments, where the former was used

to structure the interview protocols into natural meaning units and central themes, and the latter to interpret the themes in terms of object relations theory. The research comprised three phases: (1) a preparatory theoretical phase, (2) an interview phase, and (3) a data analysis phase.

13.3.1 Preparatory theoretical phase

A. Identifying cultural pre-understandings

The starting point for this research was identifying the cultural pre-understandings of Satanism within Western culture and, more specifically, that sector of South African society which subscribes to Western belief systems. It soon became clear that there are two contradictory sets of pre-understandings, identified by their frequent manifestation in mass media reports on Satanism. Those allied with the cause of fundamentalist Christianity propose a supernatural perspective, understanding Satanism to be a very real, organised expression of Satan's attempt to subvert and overthrow Christian culture, through the activity of demons and human satanic worship. Opposing this religious-supernatural understanding is a secular-sceptical viewpoint, which scathingly dismisses reports of organised Satanism. Reports of satanic organisations are viewed, from this perspective, either as fictional, or grossly exaggerated accounts of rebellious teenagers dabbling in "new-age" mysticism and harmless occult activities.

B. Critical review of relevant academic literature

The second step was a comprehensive critical review of existing academic literature on the general phenomenon of Satanism within a number of disciplines, including anthropology, history, sociology, and psychology. Denzin (1989) refers to this as deconstructive reading of a phenomenon because it involves "a critical analysis of how it has been presented, studied, and analysed in the existing research and theoretical literature" (p. 51). This deconstructive reading, presented in the first twelve chapters, was guided by Denzin's four criteria for deconstructive reading:

1. It lays bare prior conceptions of the phenomenon in question, including how the phenomenon has been defined, observed, and analysed.

2. A critical perspective on previous definitions, observations, and analysis is offered.

3. The underlying theoretical models of human behaviour/experience used in prior studies are critically examined.

4. The preconceptions, prejudices, and biases surrounding existing understanding are articulated.

C. Research question formulation

After critically considering the available literature on Satanism, important psychological issues that were omitted or inadequately researched were identified as potential research questions. The overarching question was: "What is the meaning of individuals' involvement in organised satanic activity"? This question was then broken down into five more specific questions, each identified as central to a comprehensive psychological understanding of satanic cult participation. These questions are as follows:

(1) What psychological factors predispose certain individuals to satanic involvement?

(2) What is the process involved in becoming a Satanist, and how do initiates experience this process?

(3) How do individuals experience their cult involvement?

(4) Given the significance of Satan and demons in satanic mythology, how are these mythical entities experienced by satanic members?

(5) What factors influence Satanists to terminate their cult involvement, and how do they experience the process of leaving Satanism?

13.3.2 Interview phase

1. Procurement of research subjects

Procuring research subjects was difficult for a number of reasons. Firstly, because cult members are sworn to secrecy, they were understandably reluctant to volunteer their services as research subjects. Secondly, many individuals claiming satanic involvement

have not been members of organised satanic cults. It was thus necessary to screen potential subjects in order to establish their satanic 'credentials'. Only those individuals who could provide detailed and convincing personal accounts of their activities within satanic cults were identified as potential subjects. Over a period of three years links were established with police officers and clergy who, during the course of their work, maintained contact with current and former Satanists in a number of South African cities. These individuals approached current and former Satanists with my request to interview them for research purposes.

This researcher originally interviewed fifteen self-professed, recusant Satanists. Instead of simply assuming the truthfulness of their satanic claims, selection criteria were imposed to screen out unreliable interviewees. Firstly, self-styled Satanists and occult dabblers were excluded as they did not meet the requirement of having been *bona fide* members of satanic covens. Three of the original interviewees were excluded for this reason. Secondly, as it is possible that accounts of satanic involvement may be fabricated or confabulated, only those interviewees who provided detailed accounts of their alleged satanic cult activities were considered suitable as subjects. While detail alone does not guarantee the authenticity of subjects' accounts, it does make them more plausible. Another three interviews were thus excluded on the grounds of being insufficiently detailed. Thirdly, in addition to providing sufficient detail of their cult experience, interviewees were required to give a coherent account of how their commitment to pursuing a satanic "career" emerged from the context of their lives as a whole. It was assumed, in other words, that people do not simply become Satanists, but that this life choice is the culmination of some or other specific existential trajectory or context. One interviewee was reluctant to discuss the life events preceding her alleged cult involvement, and was therefore excluded from the study.

Of the remaining eight interviews, the seven most detailed, articulate, and historically contextualised interviews were selected for analysis. Seven subjects, it was believed, would provide a reasonable range of experiences on which to base general observations,

without generating an unmanageable quantity of data. These seven subjects came from five South African cities, in four different provinces, thereby minimising the possibility of any collaboration or contamination influencing their respective interview disclosures. Six of the subjects were ex-Satanists who, at the time of the interviews, had severed all contact with the satanic movement. The seventh had not completely left Satanism, and claimed that he returned periodically. Only one of the subjects selected was female. The age of the subjects ranged from 19 to 45 years. To the best of the researcher's knowledge, none of the subjects were acquainted with the others. Considerable care was thus taken in ensuring the "authenticity" and veracity of research subjects' accounts.

2. Data collection

The data was obtained using a qualitative interview method, i.e., an interview aimed at gathering "descriptions of the life-world of the interviewee with respect to interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena" (Kvale, 1990, p.174). The semi-structured interview format was guided by the five research questions. The interview began in an open-ended manner, with the request: "Please tell me in as much detail as possible about your involvement in Satanism, how you came to be involved, and how you experienced it". When information apposite to one or more of the research questions was not spontaneously forthcoming, questions relevant to the specific research foci were put to the subjects. The interviews were recorded and transcribed.

13.3.3 Analysis and interpretation phase

The interview transcriptions were analysed to identify both individual and general characteristics of object relations derivatives in the research subjects' protocols, and to address the five research questions in the light of these object relations phenomena. In other words, the researcher was concerned with understanding the object relations significance of satanic involvement, both in terms of the subjects' unique individual experiences, and the common features that identify individual variations as manifestations of a more general experience of satanic involvement. It needs to be emphasised that no claims of universality are made in this regard, the objective being to

attain a level of interpretation that is "neither universal nor particular but general" (Svensson, 1986, p. 32). The, aim therefore, was to formulate a level of psychological interpretation that offers a plausible account of the meanings of satanic involvement for all of the subjects. This process involved two subphases:

a. Descriptive-phenomenological phase

After repeatedly reading through the transcribed protocols in order to get a holistic sense of each subject's experience of satanic involvement, natural meaning units were discriminated in the order that they arose in the interview protocols. Natural meaning units may be defined as statements expressing single, delimited aspects of the subjects' experiences in the subjects' wording (Stones, 1988). These were numbered, reduced and transformed in a column alongside the original text into descriptive psychological statements expressing the essential implicit or explicit meaning of the delimited aspects of experience. The transcribed interviews appear in italics in the left hand column (See appendix). The purpose of this subphase was to organise the raw interview data into a more manageable form, prior to analysing it from the chosen interpretive perspective.

b. Hermeneutic phase

Until this point, the data analysis was explicitly descriptive, i.e., the researcher consciously bracketed presuppositions and hypotheses, adhered to the subjects' consciously intended meanings, and articulated their experience in language that deliberately avoided theoretical terminology. The second phase, however, was explicitly hermeneutic, in that the essential meanings identified were interpreted, where possible, in terms of an object relations theoretical framework. The theoretical framework employed derived from the work of Kernberg (1976) and Ogden (1990). Kernberg's object relations model was selected for two reasons: (1) It goes beyond the Kleinian conception of objects as free floating object images in the psychic apparatus, by clarifying their status as complex internal structures, or "psychic precipitates", manifest in primitive form as alternating contradictory "ego states" involving affect, ideational content, subjective and behavioural manifestations; (2) It provides a clear and systematic outline of the structural

components of internal object relations. This outline lends itself, more so than other less rigorous formulations, to a coherent methodological investigation of internal object relations, by providing guidelines for identifying the psychic precipitates of these posited internalised object relations. According to Kernberg, the psychic precipitates comprise three basic components: (a) object images or object representations, (b) self images or self representations, and (c) drive derivatives or dispositions to the specific affective states. Kernberg's understanding of primitive internal object relations as non-metabolised, psychic structures, which form the basis for contradictory identification systems, lends itself to a psychoanalytic understanding of the seemingly bizarre experiential and behavioural satanic phenomena. Furthermore, his tripartite schema of internal object relations as comprising self representations, object representations, and drive derivative affect links, can be extended beyond the clinical setting and developed into a hermeneutic methodology for identifying object relations derivatives in research narratives.

Kernberg's formulation of internal object relations as ego states was extended by adopting Ogden's (1990) definition of internal object relations as:

> Dynamically unconscious suborganizations of the ego capable of generating meaning and experience, i.e., capable of thought, feeling, and perception. These suborganizations stand in unconscious relation to one another and include (1) self-suborganizations of ego, i.e., aspects of the ego in which the person more fully experiences his ideas and feelings as his own, and (2) object suborganizations of ego, through which meanings are generated in a mode based upon an identification of an aspect of the ego with the object (p. 132).

Ogden's formulation provides a radical and coherent interpretation of object relations as multiple, semi-autonomous personality suborganisations, a notion that best explains the personality transformation and possessive states phenomena reported by Satanists. As internal object relations are predominantly unconscious, they are not accessible to subjects' self-reflection and experiential description. However, they manifest indirectly in subjective perceptions of self and others. These emotionally coloured perceptions of

self and others are assumed to be, in object relations theory, fluid interactional manifestations of introjected and projected psychic structures, comprising dynamic fantasy representations of internal configurations of child-parent interactions. It thus becomes possible, using Kernberg's tripartite schema, to methodically and systematically interpret interview narratives for the purpose of identifying the nature and structure of subjects' internal object relations.

The interpretive phase comprised three stages. In the first stage the self and object representations in the subjects' narratives were identified, along with their associated affective links, interpersonal contexts, and the subjects' fantasies about these contexts. The term fantasy is used here in its broadest psychoanalytic sense to describe people's emotionally charged, subjective perceptions of their internal and external object interactions, together with the unconscious imaginative activity whereby they seek to influence these interactions This information is presented in tabulated form (See appendix). In the second stage, the underlying personality suborganisations which structure the self and object representations were identified and used to formulate a comprehensive interpretation of each subject's internal object world in a manner which illuminated the influence of this object world on the subjects' satanic involvement (See Chapter Fourteen). These interpretations are presented as individual historical narratives, providing an explanation of subjects' cult involvement and experience. This amounts to the formulation of a causal chain of events between historical experience, posited intrapsychic structures, and behaviour. Qualitative studies, argue Huberman & Miles (1994), are especially well suited to establishing causal relationships:

> They can look directly and longitudinally at the local processes underlying a temporal series of events and states, showing how these led to specific outcomes ... In effect ... we can understand not just that a particular thing happened, but how and why it happened (p. 434).

The third stage involved identifying features common to all the research protocols, and integrating them into a general narrative account of the subjects' satanic cult experience (See Chapter Fourteen). A detailed exposition of these two interpretive phases follows.

1. Identification of significant interpersonal contexts, fantasies, and corresponding object relations derivatives

A table was created to provide a schematic organisation of six aspects of the subjects' narratives. Each aspect was assigned a column in the table. Three aspects, namely self representations, object representations, and the affect link between these representations, derived from Kernberg's schema. These aspects were obtained by identifying and labelling constellations of self-other references in the subjects' narratives, and the affective tone of these constellations. These constellations, it is inferred, signify manifest derivatives of underlying internal object relations structures. The fourth aspect concerned the interpersonal context in which the self and object representations were situated and mobilised. Identifying the interpersonal context serves to establish both the historical-developmental transactions from which self and object representations arise, as well as the current transactional settings which elicit the experiential and behavioural manifestation of internal object relations.

The fifth column was devoted to the subjects' fantasies relating to the identified interactional contexts. This column includes, where relevant, two levels of interpretation. The first level, which stays close to the conscious experience of the subjects, expresses the subjects' explicit or implicit perceptions of the related interpersonal context. These fantasies are expressed as statements in the first person, to convey more vividly the experiential quality of the subjective perceptions. The second level (printed in italics between square brackets) provides a psychoanalytic interpretation of the unconscious mental processes inferred to underlie the more conscious level of fantasy. These mental processes involve introjective and projective mechanisms in relation to objects, instinctual drive derivatives, anxieties, and defence mechanisms. These metapsychologically explicit psychoanalytic interpretations are omitted on those occasions when they either do not add to the first level understanding, or cannot be readily inferred from first level statements.

The final column contains the number of the central theme/s identified in the descriptive phase from which this information derived, thereby allowing the reader to trace the interpretations back to the original natural meaning units. The tabulation of this information into six columns provides a schematic historical overview of each subject's representational world in relation to pre-satanic and satanic experiences, together with the interpersonal contexts and fantasy-based perception of these experiences.

2. Interpretation of subjects' satanic involvement in terms of internal object relations structures

In this stage, the tabulated information from the previous stage was integrated and used to formulate a comprehensive object relations interpretation of each subject's satanic involvement in terms of the inferred personality suborganisations structuring the identified self and object representations. This was done by identifying the behavioural and experiential indications that the self and object representations identified in the previous stage were components of broader, dissociated, "subdivisions of the ego that are heavily identified with an object representation while maintaining the capacities of the whole ego for thought, perception, and feeling" (Ogden, 1990, p. 150). Identifying these personality suborganisations and their specific qualities, together with the developmental life events constituting the interactional foundation for these personality structures, should demonstrate that satanic behaviour and its associated "supernatural" experiences can readily be understood in terms of internal object relations, deriving from pathogenic early childhood experiences with parental figures. The comprehensive interpretation generated for each research subject is organised under subheadings addressing the five research questions indicated earlier. For reference purposes, the numbers of the essential themes emerging from the descriptive-phenomenological phase are included in brackets after each important interpretive observation. This allows readers to check the researcher's interpretations by tracing them back to the original (pre-interpretive) natural meaning units.

3. <u>General interpretation of satanic involvement in terms of internal object relations</u>
<u>phenomena</u>

In the final stage, the life events, object relations structures, and fantasies common to all
the subjects, were identified in order to formulate a general psychoanalytic explanation of
satanic involvement in terms of object relations theory. The risk at this point is that
"multiple cases will be analyzed at high levels of inference, aggregating out the local
webs of causality and ending with a smoothed set of generalizations that may not apply to
any single case" (Huberman & Miles, 1994, p. 435). Cross-case analyses are necessary,
however, if commonalties across multiple instances of the same phenomena are to be
identified, and generalisations made on the basis of these common features. The
commonalties emerging from cross-case comparisons were abstracted and integrated into
a general profile of a satanic cult participant. Finally, the individual interpretive analyses
were re-read in the light of the general profile in order to ensure that the general profile
was broadly consistent with the individual cases.

13.4 Criteria for evaluating interpretive research findings

From the hermeneutic perspective, researchers, because they actively participate in the
production of meaning via interpretation, have no "transcendental ground from which to
contemplate the process of which [they are] irretrievably a part" (Bauman cited in
Schwandt, 1994, p. 121). This does not imply, however, that all interpretations are
equally appropriate or valid. There are multiple criteria for evaluating qualitative
research, and adjudicating between contesting interpretations, without appealing to some
essential truth (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Packer & Addison, 1989). The following
criteria appear relevant to this particular study:

(1) <u>Coherence</u>

Coherence refers to a sense of internal consistency and comprehensiveness in terms of
how elements of the interpreted phenomenon are linked and cohere, or 'hang together'
(Stiles, 1993). An interpretive account is coherent if it is both plausible and intelligible in

terms of its own conceptual frame of reference (Packer & Addison, 1989). In this regard, the term *resonance* has been suggested to describe "the fit of a study's observations with the investigator's theory and belief system" (Stiles, 1993, p. 609). This does not imply that the theory is self-confirming, because coherence is not inevitable; "good interpretive inquiry will scrutinize and check an interpretation that appears coherent by searching out and focusing on material that doesn't make sense" (Packer & Addison, 1989, p. 281).

(2) Uncovering

Interpretation arises in the context of the disruption of one's common understanding of the world. A good interpretation is one that restores understanding by 'uncovering' the problematic phenomenon (Stiles, 1993). What is uncovered is "a solution to the problem, the confusion, the question, the concern, and the breakdown in understanding that motivated our inquiry in the first place" (Packer & Addison, 1989, p. 279). Good interpretation, in other words, renders the previously incomprehensible comprehensible.

3. Testability

Reliability, ascertained by whether other researchers independently draw the same interpretive conclusions from the same data, is not an appropriate criterion, given the hermeneutic assumption that a given phenomenon admits a plurality of possible interpretations. Giorgi's (1992) definition of interpretation expresses this as follows:

> By interpretation I mean the development of a plausible but contingent line of meaning attribution to account for a phenomenon. The key here is the term *contingent*, for with interpretation one can argue only for the plausibility of an account, not for its exclusivity (p. 122).

A Freudian researcher, for example, will probably not assign the same meaning to a subject's satanic involvement as an object relations, or a Jungian researcher, would. What is important in this case is not that other readers agree with the researchers conclusions, but that they can follow and test the interpretive logic of the argument. Good interpretation thus formulates, "as explicitly as possible the evidence and arguments which have been applied in an interpretation, in order that the interpretation

should be testable by other readers" (Kvale, 1990, p. 192). In this regard Giorgi (cited in Kvale, 1990), argues that the cardinal criterion of qualitative research is "whether a reader, adopting the same viewpoint as articulated by the researcher, can also see what the researcher saw, whether or not he agrees with it" (p. 192). The data analysis thus concluded with a critical appraisal of whether the individual and general stages of interpretation satisfied the three criteria listed above.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

RESULTS

Introduction

The results of the data analysis are reported in two sections below. In the first section, individual object relations interpretations of each subject's satanic involvement will be presented. This material is structured in terms of the five research questions detailed in Chapter Thirteen, and the numbers of the corresponding essential themes (see appendix) appear in brackets for reference purposes. The second section comprises a general interpretation of satanic involvement, formulated by extracting essential themes common to all the research subjects' experiences of satanic involvement, and condensing these commonalties into an object relations interpretive narrative. This general interpretation, like the individual interpretations in the first section, will conform to the structure imposed by the five research questions. Where relevant, idiosyncratic themes and meanings emerging from the individual analyses will be mentioned to indicate heterogeneous aspects of the common experience of satanic involvement. Relevant verbatim quotations from individual interview transcripts will be used to illustrate significant common themes.

14.1 Interpretation of individual subjects' satanic involvement in terms of object relations theory

Subject One

14.1.1. Predisposing factors

The developmental context predisposing S to satanic involvement centred on the absence of any nurturing relationship with either parent (6,11). Her indifferent mother was internalised as an unloving/rejecting maternal object, and her corresponding self-representation was of an unworthy and inadequate child. S's childhood was consequently devoted to transforming herself, through scholastic and sporting achievements, into a perfect child, who would win parental love and recognition (2,3). The inadequate self representation, angry and frustrated, along with the rejecting maternal representation, was

thus defensively split off from a morally good and accomplished self representation, linked in hope and needy anticipation, to a not-yet actualised loving and affirming mother.

This split was both aggravated and complicated by the internalisation of a hostile and abusive paternal object, linked in hate and fear to the negative self representation. Thus, in addition to feeling inadequate and unloved in relation to a rejecting internal mother, the destructive interaction with a violent father intensified S's negative self experience, making this self suborganisation vulnerable, threatened, and abused (8). S's painful attachment to an abusive father was further pathologised, firstly by his refusal to acknowledge her female body (9), thereby devaluing her feminine sexuality and, secondly, by subjecting her to the prophecy, based on his own projective identifications, that her life would be a disaster (10). The final factor aggravating S's negative internal object world was her perception that her male siblings received parental love, recognition, and material support denied to her (5,12,15). This contributed feelings of jealousy to her sense of rejection, and instilled in her an embattled competitiveness (12,13,15).

S's only good object experience seems to have been the internalised presence of a loving grandmother (14), who partially alleviated the strength of her hostile parental introjects. The benign influence of this good object and, its associated self representation, was powerfully undercut by two factors: firstly, the growing realisation that nothing S could possibly do would elicit parental love (16) and, secondly, the dramatic discovery, during a parental altercation, of her adoptive status (1). The shock of this discovery tipped her psychic balance into a new state of profound identification with the negative self representation, now unambiguously experienced as an abandoned orphan, unloved and abused (5).

This total identification with one personality suborganisation meant the obliteration of the "good" self suborganisation. The full instinctual charge of hatred was unleashed, mobilising fantasies of taking revenge on her stepfather, now identified as a cruel tyrant (17). This destabilisation of S's personality, in favour of the negative self suborganisation,

led to a dramatic reversal of her striving to win parental approval by becoming the perfect child. Instead, S attempted to become the worst child she could be, thereby adopting a negative identity in defensive reaction to an overwhelming sense of hurt and rejection.

The role enactment of this negative identity meant the immediate cessation of her scholastic efforts, and the active embrace of the deviant behaviour of an older female peer clique (18). S's parents' decision to send her to boarding school intensified her experience of rejection, and her desire for revenge (20). S was initially relieved to be away from her parents, who she associated with abuse and exploitation (21), but also felt the need for parental support, and was hurt by their failure to contact her (22). S's initial loneliness and desire to return home ceased once she became accepted into a school peer group (23). S enjoyed the company of older peers, and experienced a sense of belonging (25). On the instructions of prefects, S willingly physically aggressed other helpless junior students (26). This signifies another significant shift in S's identification processes, namely identification with the abusive paternal object, rather than with the abused self component of this object relation. She treated other children in the same aggressive manner that she felt her father had treated her, thereby allowing a defensive distancing from her vulnerable self representation. This allowed her to feel powerful and controlling, as well as providing gratification from the respect and fear her aggressive behaviour elicited (27). The recognition of others, which S had never received from her parents, now derived from her aggressive arrogance (28). Having been the victim of domination, S now relished the ability to dominate others (29).

14.1.2. Process of satanic involvement and initiation

S's adoption of a negative identity, based on her identification with an abusive paternal object, set the stage for the satanic elaboration of her destructive personality suborganisation. Satanic involvement, for S, clearly represented the acquisition of additional power (30,38). The gradual process of her full satanic involvement began with her introduction to occult games, an activity which impressed her with a perception of supernatural forces (32). These forces may be understood as projective manifestations of

S's split-off and dissociated psychic aspects, consequently perceived as independent of her self. Further occult exploration convinced S that she could enlist personified supernatural entities for practical purposes (34).

The leader of this occult exploration, allegedly a Satanist, impressed S with her power (35,45). Under the influence of this group, S was incited to kill her pet bird, an action considered amusing by the group (36). The cruel and pointless destruction of a helpless pet symbolically depicts her own cruel and pointless treatment at the hands of her father, now evidently the internal object with whom she was identified. This unconsciously symbolic destruction of her own vulnerable childhood self further entrenched her negative identity, and won her further peer approval.

S continued her occult game involvement, while waiting for an invitation to become involved in Satanism (37). The next step involved S undergoing a trial period of satanic involvement, to assess her suitability and motivation (39). In the trial period S was not permitted to participate in satanic ceremonies, but was assigned menial errands (40). A further prerequisite for S's satanic initiation was her successful recruitment of other potential members (41). S, awed by tangible evidence that Satanists could magically influence objects and people, was strongly motivated to prove her worth, as she wanted to participate in this occult power (45). Unconsciously, however, this "testing" period represented a repetition of her childhood efforts to win parental recognition and become an accepted member of her family. This time, however, there were clearly defined criteria as to what S would have to in order to succeed in her striving for affirmation and acceptance; criteria that, for the first time, S felt competent to meet. This indicates the re-emergence of the "good" self suborganisation, ironically moulded to the inverted norms of a deviant subculture. Satanists were idealised as omnipotent objects, with whom S strongly wished to identify, in order to compensate for her underlying sense of vulnerability and impotence.

S was the youngest in a heterogeneous satanic coven, comprising individuals from diverse occupations (42). The ritual renaming of initiates signified secrecy, the masking of identities, and a sense of knowing little about fellow participants (43). S's initiation involved the following - violation of Christian symbols (47), prostrating herself, while praying to Satan to take control of her (48), and the spontaneous combustion of desecrated bibles, indicating that Satan had heard her prayers and accepted them (49).

Having thus been accepted, S removed her clothes and received her ritual satanic garments (50). She was thereby made to feel special by 'higher beings', an experience denied her in childhood by her indifferent parents. S was further required to kneel before the altar and drink the blood of a slaughtered goat identified with Satan, thereby rejecting the blood of Christ and imbibing the blood of Satan (51). Further ritual rejection of Christianity assumed the form of chewing and spitting out bread, symbolising the body of Christ, and blasphemously reciting the Lord's Prayer backwards (52). In the final initiation rite, S cut her wrist and, by signing her name in her own blood, pledged herself to Satan (53). She felt excited at having accomplished her goal of becoming a Satanist (54) and, unconsciously, had won over the love of her tyrannical paternal introject, symbolised by Satan.

14.1.3. Experience of satanic involvement

S's life was dramatically changed by her acquisition of magical power, and the sense of potency deriving from the new respect that others showed her as a Satanist (62). She was acutely aware of the power hierarchy within Satanism, and used her perceived aptitude for mind control to exercise power over others (63). Among S's many powers was her self-perceived ability to project her disembodied spirit into places where she could observe people without them knowing (64). By concertedly harnessing more power through coven rituals, sex orgies, and incorporating demons through blood drinking, S believed she had acquired the ability to move physical objects through force of will (65).

Her status as a "Bride of Satan" meant special ceremonial sexual attention from the high priest (58), for whom she felt a combination of terror and respect (82). Sex with this powerful male satanic authority unconsciously signified the realisation of incestuous contact with her feared, yet longed-for father, and an oedipal triumph over her rejecting mother. Emphasis on the animalistic nature of humankind was concretely expressed by encouraging the hedonistic gratification of deviant sexual desire (59). S experienced routine ritual sex orgies in a dissociated state of self-alienation (57).

S's initial positive response to the satanic cult, and her growing power, was eventually outweighed by fear, and the traumatic impact of the cult practices. She was negatively affected by human sacrifice, but her retrospective horror at witnessing the alleged ritual murder and cannibalisation of a human infant was dulled at the time by the dissociative impact of her cult involvement (83). S avers that sacrificial human infants, belonging to cult members, were delivered by a medically qualified coven member (84), and claims to have endured the induced abortion and cannibalisation of her own foetus by coven members (90).

Having witnessed ceremonial torture of individuals (87), and the ritual murder of an adult coven member by the high priest (86), S lived in apprehension that she too might be selected as a human sacrifice (85). The anxiety that S felt concerning her uncertain fate in the coven (55) was initially dulled by the intoxicating effects of available drugs and alcohol (56). Clearly, however, she became progressively re-identified with the fearful and abused self representation, and her uncertain fate in the cult mirrored her childhood anxiety as to her fate at the hands of an unpredictable and destructive father.

14.1.4. Demonic possession

The desire to be infiltrated by demons was prompted by the search for more strength and power (46), suggesting the desire to escape her underlying impotent and vulnerable self representation. S, angered by a man's taunting, discovered a demonically-induced abnormal physical strength and aggression in her, and retaliated by physically assaulting

him (66). Through blood drinking and ritual invocation, S believed she had internalised demonic spirits, and actively exploited their physical and spiritual powers (67). Some demons appeared to S as huge, shadowy masculine figures with red eyes (73), while others assumed detailed animalistic forms (74, 75). S's controlling demon was a "strong man", who commandeered other lesser demons, and exercised a strong hold over her (76). These demonic entities may be understood to be unassimilated, bad parental objects, fused with destructive self aspects to form components of a dissociated and personified subpersonality. The destructive nature of this subpersonality is evident in the aggressive assault on a man while "demonically possessed". Her experience of the controlling demon as a "strong man", suggests that her destructive paternal introject constituted the object nucleus for this aggressive subpersonality.

While these possession states would ordinarily be anxiety-provoking, the cult emphasis on inviting possession, and freely expressing aggressive instinctual impulses, created an atmosphere where identification with destructive ego suborganisation was encouraged, thereby rendering the possession states ego-syntonic. Demons would be destructively employed to harm other people (77) and, unless protected by their Christian faith, victims of demonic magic would meet with accidents or illness (78). S attributed the ill fortune of a number of individuals to her destructive magical powers (79). Clearly, identification with a destructive subpersonality gave rise to omnipotent fantasies, whereby thought and action were equated for S, thereby creating the conviction that her destructive intentions were magically realised in concrete events.

However, despite the desired result of increased strength, S experienced demonic possession as unpleasant because she felt a division within her, and could not act in opposition to the controlling wishes of internalised demonic entities (68). Her thoughts felt controlled by demons (69), who spoke to her from within or outside of herself (71), commanding her to do their bidding (70). Thus, despite S's initial belief that she could control her "demons", the theory that these were malevolent, split-off, and unassimilated suborganisations of her self, explains why they did not fall under the control of her ego.

S once witnessed Satan's materialisation as a perfectly attractive, white, male, human figure (80). Satan may be considered to be a hallucinatory manifestation of a projected ideal paternal object, and his attractiveness suggests oedipal wishes coexisting alongside S's feelings of hatred toward the destructive paternal part-object. She felt afraid, and experienced Satan's domineering presence as a physical force pressing down on her (81), confirming Satan's identity as the oedipal father who she simultaneously feared and longed to be loved by.

14.1.5. Process of leaving Satanism

For S, Satanism involved the persistent striving for accomplishments which, when attained, would no longer be adequate in her own eyes (95). She still lived under the critical scrutiny of rejecting internal objects, displaced from her childhood pursuits, onto her satanic activities. She also experienced inter-coven relationships to be based on conflictual quests to conquer those perceived as having power (96), an unconscious re-enactment of her childhood sibling rivalry. S began to feel afraid, and wished to leave the coven (89); wanting to lead a normal life, free of nightmares and drug abuse (90). She understands her indiscriminate drug abuse to have been an attempt to evade the unremitting stress of striving for more power, and fighting others for contested satanic status (97). In the absence of injectable substances S would derive emotional gratification from drawing her own blood, squirting and drinking it (98), an activity which S's mother refused to acknowledge, despite witnessing the evidence (99). The traumatic event that eventually forced S to leave Satanism was the alleged induced abortion and cannibalisation of her foetus by coven members. This event continued to affect her work as a student nurse, and she felt unable to witness routine medical pregnancy terminations, as these vividly recalled the horror of having foetal life torn from her (92).

S, fearing for her life, was blocked in her attempts to leave the coven by disbelieving clergy who labelled her claims as attention-seeking fabrications (93). Other people's refusal to acknowledge Satan's reality intensified S's fear and uncertainty about where to seek help (100). She eventually found a religious minister who believed her (94), and S

began to entertain the hope that God might be able to free her from Satanism (101). Upon being prayed for by Christians, S invited Jesus into her, thereby displacing the erstwhile controlling demon, and ceremonially preventing his re-entry (102). Although relieved by the extrusion of her demon, S was frightened by the realisation that she stood in solitary opposition to the Satanists' spiritual power (103). S perceived herself to be surrounded by individuals who did not believe her satanic experiences (105). Although immune to Satan's retribution, by virtue of Jesus' protection, S did not know how to manage the Satanists' attempts to contact her (104). S was assisted by her trust in God (106) and, although still threatened with retribution by Satanists (107), now experiences herself as invincible from satanic influence, and as having the power to combat Satan (108). Since leaving Satanism, S has experienced a dramatic change, becoming calm, relaxed, spontaneous, open to others, and willing to serve them (109). S attributes her personality transformation to a God-given metaphorical heart graft, and now attempts to emulate Jesus Christ (110). This was made possible by S's internalisation and identification with an ideal part-object, symbolised by God, who gave her magical protection from the split-off and externalised destructive subpersonality (Satan). Becoming a Christian activated a "good" personality suborganisation, based on the fantasy of being the loved and cherished daughter of a doting father, i.e., the idealised Christian God. The incorporative identification with the idealised paternal part-object made S feel omnipotently good, and immune from Satan, who she now fights, secure in her Christian belief that badness has been permanently banished from her life.

Subject Two

14.2.1. Predisposing factors

S's predisposition to satanic involvement arose from his recollected familial context of persistent physical abuse by a drunken father, who allegedly also beat S's mother, and raped his younger sister. (1,2,3,4,6,7). A number of split internal object relations resulted from this abusive paternal relationship. S hated and feared his father, who he perceived to

be a crazed, perverse, and unjust tyrant (4,5,68,70). S experienced himself as an introverted, helpless, fearful, rejected and persecuted child in relation to a senselessly cruel father. The internalisation of this father figure created a destructive and persecutory paternal part-object, linked to an impotent, abused and rejected self representation. Defensive introjective identification with the bad paternal object created an omnipotently destructive subpersonality. The malevolence of this was aggravated by the father's projection of his own murderousness, originating in the latter's violent relationship with his own father, into his son (51,52). Anxiety occasioned by this destructive intrapsychic configuration resulted in it being split off and dissociated from S's central self, where it manifested projectively in the form of fearful supernatural entities attempting to make contact with him (57).

A second internal object relationship, arising from the original splitting of the paternal figure, comprised a fantasised ideal part-object in the form of an omnipotent, loving, and protecting father figure. This idealised part-object representation could not be mobilised to counteract the bad internal object, as the persistent reality of S's abusive environment reinforced the power of the destructive part-object. The corresponding self representation of this second part object relation was the loved and special child of a devoted father, far removed from the reality of S's paternal relationship.

S's mother afforded him no protection from his father, and refused to counteract her husband's abuse of her and her children. Thus, although S loved her, the parent-child roles were reversed, with S being forced to protect his mother and sister from his father's brutality (5,6,7,9,10,71). S resented his mother's failure to protect him (71), and she was perceived by him to be passively complicit in her son's abuse. He consequently internalised an ambivalent maternal figure, who he experienced as loving, but also as weak, neglectful, uncaring, and untrustworthy. The defensive splitting of the maternal object resulted in a loved, vulnerable maternal figure, who needed to be defended against his father's abuse, and a co-existing neglectful, passive and uncaring maternal part-object (71). The qualities of the bad maternal part-object were projected into S's abusive father,

thereby intensifying S's negative feeling toward him, while preserving S's relationship with a good maternal object. The later adult merging of these split maternal objects created hurt and confusion for B, as he no longer knew who his mother "really was" (71).

The destructive subpersonality remained dissociated from S's experience of himself as a weak, helpless, and fearful child, despite his conscious fantasies of killing his father (5). However, on the night that his mother called out to him, fearing that her husband was going to stab her, the activation and intrusive return of the dissociated destructive subpersonality created the experience of being possessed and controlled by an alien personality. (10,53). Under control of the destructive subpersonality, S attacked and stabbed his father. At this point, he experienced an internal transformation, which may be attributed to a new state of introjective identification with the destructive subpersonality. The reason for this continued identification lay in the gratifying experience of omnipotent power, invulnerability, and control over life and death associated with the subpersonality. Now it was S's original experience of being an impotent, abused child that was split off and dissociated.

S's experience of being threatened and detained by police officers, following the stabbing of his father, identified them as sadistic paternal allies, who abused their legal power to hurt and humiliate others (19,20,21,22,66). These transference projections resulted in S's hatred toward his father being generalised to all male authority figures, as well as all men who threatened him verbally or physically. Furthermore, S's reference to his wounded father as "God manifest in the flesh" (13), reveals a negative association between his hated father and the Christian God, the ultimate symbol of Western patriarchal authority.

S's stabbing his father, and the subsequent divorce of his parents, reinforced his sense of omnipotence and contempt for authority, by virtue of the oedipal triumph symbolised by these events. S actualised the oedipal fantasy of deposing his father, thereby winning his mother's love and admiration (17,25,26), a fantasy which most male children relinquish by means of mature identification with the good father. Despite the conscious experience of

triumph, S's oedipal victory caused him significant anxiety. This manifested in poor concentration, school failure, and stomach pains (27,48,49), indicative of the fantasy of being attacked from within by the vengeful paternal introject.

Because establishment norms, institutions, and authorities represented hated paternal power, S adopted a negative identity and embraced the 1960s counter-culture rebellion (29). The main expression of this, for S, was the illegal consumption and sale of drugs (30,31,127). The campus drug subculture provided strong support for S's negative identity as a defiant, hostile enemy of paternal authority. The emergence of organised Satanism at this time presented further negative identity possibilities. The Church of Satan, representing the ultimate rejection of Christian values, was powerfully attractive to S for a number of related reasons. Firstly, it gave organisational expression to S's rejection of conventional values, and God as a transcendent symbol of patriarchal authority; secondly, it provided a magical framework for S to interpret his "supernatural" experiences (57,62); thirdly, it emphasised the development and use of personal power for instinctual gratification, and revenge against those perceived to have harmed him (43,67); and, fourthly, S identified with Satan as the rejected and wronged son of a cruel supernatural father (41,42).

14.2.2. Process of satanic involvement and initiation

Satanic ideology provided S with the perfect framework to reinterpret his personal history, and transform his internal object world. The satanic belief in the literal existence of spiritual beings allowed S to interpret his childhood experience of destructive projective identification (57,58) as spiritual visitations, which confirmed his specialness and status as the chosen, favoured child (35,39,164). This demonstrates the activation of the corresponding self representation of the idealised paternal part-object, symbolised by the figure of Satan. Satan represented an omnipotent, trustworthy, protective father, who would care, and provide for, all of S's emotional and material needs (46,142). S retrospectively identified the possessing spirit, which caused him to stab his father, as Satan (61,62). The moment when Satan gave the adolescent S omnipotent power to kill

others or let them live (52), was later re-enacted in Satan's literal manifestation before S at the age of twenty (37,38). The clear visual hallucinatory manifestation of Satan - the projected, idealised paternal imago - as a tall, black-robed figure (37), was made possible, and shaped by, S's recent encounter with satanic mythology and iconography.

Importantly, although Satan was a surrogate father, S's projective identifications imbued him with the personality characteristics of fear and hypersensitivity to rejection (41,42,119,134,135,136), qualities central to S's own childhood self representation. Satan was thus a composite figure, comprising an idealised paternal part-object, S's own projected childhood self representations (the frightened, maltreated and rejected son), and aspects of his destructive subpersonality, based upon identification with the bad paternal part-object (omnipotent, murderous, and paranoid).

S's experience of joining the satanic cult was strongly gratifying. In addition to acquiring a father (Satan), and developing his "supernatural" powers, S also experienced a sense of in-group solidarity against the threat of hostile outsiders, which provided a sense of familial belonging, notably absent in his childhood (44,45). Despite his self-perceived charismatic influence on others, S avoided close relationships (119), anxious that interpersonal intimacy would re-enact his childhood past, leaving him vulnerable to abuse and rejection. S's satanic charisma contrasted with his childhood introversion, and others' admiration thus afforded him the compensatory affirmation absent from his childhood interactions with others.

14.2.3. Experience of satanic involvement

S allegedly became an assassin within the cult, and consciously identified with a mythical avenging angel of death (78). This grandiose self-perception served two purposes, it compensated him for the dissociated original experience of being a weak, abused child, and it allowed him to assign a noble motive to his murderous actions. S derived sadistic pleasure from killing those perceived as enemies. His sadism and lack of remorse derived

from his identification with the destructive subpersonality, and the gratifying fantasy of murdering his hated father with each victim he killed (69,79,120,121).

In addition to being an assassin, S described himself as a "watcher", based upon his conscious identification with the mythical watching angels, who accompanied Satan on his expulsion from heaven (80,81). He would watch to see that cult members, including the powerful high priest, did not transgress their roles, or threaten the life of the coven. This function gave him the belief that he had power over the high priest, whose authority and actions he viewed with suspicion. This represented an unconscious transference enaction of his childhood role of being the one who had to watch his father, and attack him to avenge the paternal abuse and save his family(7,9). S's self-perception of having power over the high priest suggests a compensatory fantasy related to his own childhood experience of being a helpless victim and observer of his father's violent power.

S's violent attacks on others was not confined to his satanic activities, but extended to all situations in which he perceived himself, or female companions, to be threatened or humiliated. These attacks were unconscious acts of retribution for his father's abuse of him and the female members of his family (85,90,101). S's destructiveness was not only physically enacted, but assumed the form of omnipotent conscious fantasies, in which he believed that he could kill others by merely willing them dead (124,125,126). The conviction that he possessed magical destructive power over others' lives, represented the triumphant gratification of the childhood wish to kill his father, thereby further inflating his destructive grandiosity.

Every conceivable perverse sexual activity, from incest to bestiality, was practised in the cult (118). S's description of the cult activities focused on the Black Mass (108,109,110,111,117), and human sacrificial rituals (107,114,115,116). The communion ritual was a perverse travesty of the sacred Christian ceremony, in which the figure of Christ and the Eucharist were symbolically debased through acts of blood drinking, sodomy, spitting, and ejaculation. S recalls experiencing a state of mounting frenzied

excitement during human sacrificial rituals (115), which would culminate in the victim's throat being cut and the blood ceremoniously drunk in a blasphemous parody of Christian communion (116). The ingestion of human blood was associated with the cannibalistic fantasy of increasing his own power and vitality through the oral incorporation of another's life force (107). The perverse extremity of the cult's activities is indicated by S's claims that pregnant Satanists would give birth, and be the first to drink their infants' blood after the new-borns were ceremonially murdered upon the alter of their mothers' bodies (114). S's identification with his destructive subpersonality allowed him to observe and participate in these rituals without experiencing the normal reactions of revulsion or horror. The ritual exaltation of Satan, and the moral inversion of good and bad, illustrated by reference to the Christian church as a "rotting corpse", served to strengthen S's identification with his destructive psychic organisation (110,111).

14.2.4. Experience of demonic possession

S believes his first involuntary experience of possession to have been the intrusion of Satan into him on the night he stabbed his father (10). As a Satanist, however, he consciously invited possession, but only by powerful, high-ranking spiritual entities, unlike less discriminating Satanists who allowed possession by lowly, "childish" spirits (91,92,93). S's perception of himself as having been specially chosen for possession by Satan, indicates a fantasy of narcissistic entitlement related to the internal object relationship between the ideal father and the perfect child. This fantasy provided unconscious defensive compensation for his actual childhood experience of being hated and rejected by an abusive father.

S's experience of voluntarily entertaining Satan as a possessing force thus suggests a fusion of the destructive subpersonality, based on introjective identification of the bad paternal part-object, and the idealised paternal part-object. The unconscious fantasy of combining the abusive father's power and destructiveness, and the idealised paternal figure's love, negated any anxiety that S might have felt about the possession experience.

S's grandiose belief that he had been chosen by Satan to receive special power and status, was accompanied by a disparaging attitude to his satanic "siblings", who were perceived as inferior to him (93). By allowing possession by only powerful spirits, S was compensating for his dissociated self representation of being weak, inadequate, and insecure (88). Through the defence mechanism of projective identification Christians became the containers for these dissociated self representations, and were consequently hated, disparaged, and attacked by S (162,165,166,173).

S, who considered himself to be quiet and reserved, would feel possessed by Asmodeus, a spirit of rage. This possessing force would be activated by situations in which S, or a female companion of his, was threatened or embarrassed by men perceived to be vulgar or aggressive (85,89,90). S's experience of these incidents, clearly structured by negative paternal transference projections, would trigger a violent reaction in him, and he would physically attack his antagonists with what seemed to be superhuman strength (90). Although S experienced this as possession by an alien entity, his identification with the destructive subpersonality allowed him to feel that his identity was not lost in the possession experience (91,100).

S also attributed his self-perceived, superhuman sexual endurance to possession by a spirit of sexual vitality (86). S associated erectile potency with power, and attempted to destroy others' marriages by seducing married women away from their husbands (87). S's sexuality was clearly dominated by a fantasy of phallic potency, which compensated for his childhood experience of emotional castration by his father. Moreover, his unresolved oedipal preoccupation with seducing his mother, and destroying his parents' marriage, was enacted in his adult concern with using his phallic potency to attack others' marriages. S's attribution of his destructive sexual potency to a possessing spirit indicates unconscious guilt concerning his actualised childhood patricidal attack on his father, and the resultant oedipal victory in which his hated father was driven away. S also believed that a prophetic spirit gave him supernatural knowledge of the past, present, and future (102). This perceived magical access to supernatural knowledge reflects S's fantasy of omniscience,

the epistomophilic expression of narcissistic omnipotence, resulting from projective identification.

Becoming the child of Satan created a state of ambivalence in S, as his violent rejection of paternal authority meant that any paternal relationship, although desired in an idealised form, carried the implicit threat of becoming abusive and exploitative. Therefore, unlike other Satanists, S came to resent the self-sacrifice he perceived Satan to demand of him (94,95,96) S's solution to this dilemma was to completely incorporate and introjectively identify with Satan, thereby avoiding the perceived threat of a dangerous child-father dependency relationship (97). By becoming Satan, in fantasy, he could therefore dispense with his reliance on Satan as a perceived external figure. This ultimately narcissistic solution to a threatening dependency relationship led S to believe that he had practically become the god which other Satanists worshipped. Consequently, even the powerful high priest - another untrustworthy paternal figure - became subject to S in fantasy (97,98,99).

14.2.5. Motives for leaving Satanism and experience of this process

S's decision to leave Satanism, after eight years, was prompted by a sense of loss arising from the disintegration of two successive marriages, following his partners discovery of his satanic involvement (133,134,135). This double loss was a narcissistic injury which punctured S's omnipotence and called his life-style into question. The possibility of leaving the cult impacted dramatically upon S's relationship with Satan, who S believed intuited this imminent rejection, and retaliated by attempting to destroy him (136, 138). S's experience of Satan's destructive intentions toward him reflects a paranoid fantasy of being attacked by the personified destructive subpersonality, should the ego's alliance with this intrapsychic structure be threatened. S's leaving Satanism implied rupturing his close identification with the destructive subpersonality, thereby exposing him to the wrath of the bad paternal object which constituted the nucleus of this subpersonality. Satan, who had once rescued him from the punitive paternal object, now became this destructive father figure. This is evident in S's realisation that Satan had caused B's childhood abuse in order to create the deceitful illusion that only he, Satan, could be depended on (54,55,56).

S, now identified with the previously dissociated abused child self representation, once again became the abused victim of a malevolent and untrustworthy paternal part object, personified in the figure of Satan. S's paranoid fantasies concerning the projected bad paternal part-object were reinforced by an actual physical assault on him by Satanists punishing him for attempting to leave the cult (130).

S's rejection of Satanism resulted in an emotional state characterised by emptiness, despair, persecutory and suicidal thoughts (146,147,148). This psychic state resulted from the persistent internal attacks by the malevolent paternal object. All remnants of S's former narcissistic omnipotence, grandiosity, and entitlement, diffused as he again identified with the impotent child victim of a supernaturally powerful, paternal aggressor. His despair and persecutory anxiety created a fantasy of being saved by an omnipotently good object, and S consequently challenged God to rescue him from Satan (148). The defensive mobilisation and projection of an omnipotently good paternal part-object created the hallucinatory experience of a divine visitation by God (149,150). This idealised God figure not only vanquished Satan, but expunged S's own experience of internal evil with His omnipotent love (155,157,158). S's description of God, and the atmosphere evoked, suggests that God was a composite figure, representing the fusion of an idealised paternal imago and S's infantile experience of a good maternal object. The references to softness, gentleness, and the impression of being enveloped in soft clouds of cottonwool, suggest an infant's experience of maternal holding (151,152,154). S's experience of God as the "tenderness" inside of him further indicates that a good maternal object, internalised prior to his experience of paternal abuse, persisted as a perceptible psychic presence, even though it was dominated by the destructive subpersonality (168). This internal goodness, manifest as tenderness, was ambivalently perceived, however, as it was associated with dependence and vulnerability. Thus, after mentioning a tender part of himself, S made defiant assertions of his invulnerability and will to survive in the face of potential attackers, thereby suggesting paranoid anxiety, and the mobilisation of omnipotent fantasy as a defence against vulnerability (170,171).

The continued existence of paranoid-schizoid dynamics in S is indicated by persistent signs of splitting and projective identification. Despite his apparent Christian identity, tenderness and hatred co-existed, and S oscillated between these affects without any awareness of internal contradiction. Prior to referring to God as the tenderness inside of him, S experienced God as a hypermasculine figure who shared S's negative perceptions of other Christians (165,166,167). God was thus attributed aspects of S's own grandiose self representations (manliness, courage, and a contempt for weakness), while Christians became the receptacles for S's split-off and dissociated negative self representations of weakness and inferiority (170,172,173). However, a consequence of projective identification was that, because both bad and idealised parts of him were dispersed in fantasy, S became confused as to whether the spiritual forces he was aware of were evil or divine, aspects of God or of Satan (59). Furthermore, perceived rejection by his fellow Christians, and encouragement by Satanists, made him uncertain about where he belonged (159,160,161). His Christian conversion was not able to sufficiently ameliorate his internal destructiveness or his splitting defences.

Subject Three

14.3.1. Predisposing factors

S's childhood discovery of his adopted status, and his older siblings' failure to relate to him as their brother, made him feel alienated and rejected (1,2,8). S received frequent beatings from his stepfather (5,6), was often left with a relative while his parents socialised at night, and felt that his stepmother did not protect him or show him any affection (4,7). S's early relationships thus comprised an abandoning biological mother and father, an unloving stepmother, a physically violent stepfather, and older siblings who refused to acknowledge him as part of the family. With little early good object experience to counteract S's own aggressive fantasies, together with the cruel and rejecting quality of his earliest relationships, S's internal world was populated by internal objects reflecting the destructive projections stemming from his unmet oral dependency needs, aggravated by

the reported actual qualities of his depriving and punitive parental figures. S's earliest internal object relationships thus comprised self representations of being rejected, inferior, bad, unlovable, envious, and greedy. This would have been aggravated by his poor physical health, and the explanation that his blood was diseased, i.e., contaminated by badness. (3)

S attempted to defend against this self representation by means of compensatory fantasies, in which he became a hero with supernatural powers (11). His earliest corresponding object representations, however, would have been of a depriving, unloving mother, and an aggressive, sadistic father. These figures would, in fantasy, have contaminated his internal world, and could not have been metabolised in service of building a strong ego and benign superego structures. S's psychic life was thus structured upon primitive sadistic superego precursors, unmodulated by realistic good object experience.

Defensive introjective identification with these bad internal objects consequently produced a savagely cruel and destructive subpersonality, which must have threatened what little internalised goodness S was able to extract from his one caring female relative (4,5). S's defence against this subpersonality was to split off any good self/object experience, and identify with this destructive psychic organisation, thereby becoming cruel, destructive, and rebellious (9,10,45). This was evident in his cruelty to animals, which became the containers for his projected vulnerable self representations, as well as his fascination with gruesome horror films (13,45).

The underlying experience of being a powerless child, with no control over his external environment, made the occult world of magical force and influence appear very appealing to S (12,14,15). His perception that he too could exert magical control over his external world understandably fuelled his interest in further occult exploration. Driven by the desire for more power, S became frustrated with the limitations of the seances he had been attending (17,18). S is revealed here as an infant, whose frustrated oral needs were manifest in greedy fantasies of incorporating an occult breast containing an unlimited

supply of power/nourishment. He thus began reading literature on Satanism, and eagerly accepted friends' invitation to attend a satanic meeting (19,20).

14.3.2. Process of satanic involvement and initiation

Three months after attending his first meeting, S was ceremonially welcomed into a Satanist coven, after undergoing a ritual initiation in which he violated Christian symbols and signed a pact with Satan in his own blood. S felt elated and omnipotent as, for the first time, he was able to enact the fantasy of being a loved and accepted child, surrounded by a surrogate family of idealised satanic parents and siblings (28,36). During his initiation, he saw a demon materialise, and felt physical pain as he experienced the demon enter him (23). This suggests that S, drawing on his reading and cult instruction, began to interpret his hallucinated destructive projections as demonic intrusions. The initiation ceremony, in which conventional notions of good and evil were reversed, and the traditionally evil figure of Satan was worshipped, facilitated the re-introjection of previously projected bad objects as demons. However, the pain associated with this re-introjection suggests that S experienced some anxiety in relation to the demonic entity, as it was unconsciously identified with primitive, sadistic superego aspects, based on destructive parental part-objects.

14.3.3. Experience of satanic involvement

Satanic ritual activities centred upon using malevolent magic to harm others, thereby encouraging S's pre-existing, magical sadistic fantasies of hurting family members he had experienced as cruel and rejecting. Persecutory parental objects were thus killed and tortured in fantasy, providing sadistic gratification, while strengthening S's self representation of an omnipotently destructive, avenging child (29,47). The cult emphasis on reversing conventional notions of good and bad, and on discrediting Christianity, bolstered S's splitting defences, minimised guilt, and promoted identification with his destructive subpersonality (30,38). S's splitting defences, together with the didactic and hierarchical character of the coven, allowed S to feel like the good child, receiving loving attention from idealised parental figures, an experience strongly contrasting with his

original family interactions (30,38). The collective satanic identity, fostered by means of rituals, dogmatic polarisation of reversed positive and negative values, and denigration of non-Satanists, reinforced S's paranoid anxiety, making him suspicious of, and alienated from, people outside the coven (33,34,35).

S's omnipotent fantasies were confirmed and strengthened by the cult belief that members could exert supernatural control over others' actions by merely willing them to obey unspoken instructions. This provided S with narcissistic gratification, confirmed his omnipotence, and made both internal and external objects slaves to his "magical" powers (60,61). S obtained further power, and the respect of other Satanists, by appropriating the demons of those Satanists he considered unworthy (62,63). This narcissistic fantasy of power and recognition compensated S for the underlying feeling of being a weak, unloved child.

S participated enthusiastically in animal sacrificial rituals, characterised by blood drinking, and the blasphemous reversal of the Holy Communion liturgy (39,40,41,45,47). At sacrificial rituals, S witnessed Satan materialise as a tall, dark, powerful, silent figure (49,50,51,52). This hallucinatory projection of an omnipotent paternal part-object, filled S with fear and awe. Satan was evidently the projected imago of the idealised paternal part-object, the good surrogate father who gave S protection and power (53,54).

By participating in rituals, S felt that he was attacking the Christian enemy, while incorporating more power by drinking sacrificial blood. These rituals gratified S's primitive oral-sadistic fantasies of vanquishing his persecutory internal objects by murdering them and sucking them dry. Blood assumed an important meaning for S, evident in his collecting and drinking his own blood, in the belief that he could increase his power by feeding on himself (66). This narcissistic fantasy of self-incorporation could have served the need to be autonomous and self-sufficient, in order to avoid anxiety-provoking object dependence.

S's initial experience of the cult as a loving family, under the benevolent patriarchal authority of an idealised father, began to change when he realised that satanic relationships were based on conflict and competition for power (37). S thus became a child, fighting his rivalrous siblings for parental recognition, status, and power. A second factor which impacted negatively on S's experience of Satanism, was his alleged participation in the sacrifice of a human infant, an event which mobilised depressive anxiety and guilt (42,43,44,55,56). This reaction suggests that S unconsciously identified the murdered infant with his own vulnerable good internal object - the internalised female relative (5) - which his destructive subpersonality had sadistically destroyed. S's avoidance of participating in subsequent human sacrifices created the belief that he had incurred the wrath of Satan, who was inflicting physical symptoms (headaches and boils) on him as punishment (55,56,57). S's idealised relationship with Satan was thus dramatically reversed, with S becoming the disobedient son, persecuted by a vengeful paternal part object.

14.3.4. Experience of demonic possession

S's experience of demonic possession was associated with the persecutory fantasy that Satan was punishing S for being disloyal, by sending demons to attack him (57,58,69,71). He experienced these internal attacks in the form of headaches, boils, and suicidal urges that he struggled to resist. On a number of occasions, he experienced himself being physically thrown about his room by demonic forces (69). These experiences may be understood as persecutory attacks by the destructive paternal part-object, now identified with the previously idealised figure of Satan. S began to cut himself in order to appease Satan, thereby becoming the bad child who must inflict physical suffering on himself in order to placate his angry father (64,65). S would sometimes experience masochistic pleasure from this self-mutilation, thereby re-enacting his childhood experience of being connected to his stepfather by virtue of the pain he suffered from the latter's beatings. In the absence of loving ties to this father figure, S's only means of preserving a relationship with his internalised father was to derive perverse gratification from making himself suffer, thereby attempting to obtain the sadistic paternal object's love and approval.

S's hallucinatory perception of demons assumed the form of animalistic, and humanoid figures, images associated with the horror films that he avidly watched (68). These films provided him with ready-made images to superimpose upon his pre-existing fantasies of destructive internal part-objects. S likened demonic possession to a fire inside of him, and to oral sadistic murderous attacks on his insides (70,72). This delusional experience of being eaten within by demons, indicates the paranoid fantasy of oral-aggressive attacks by destructive internal objects.

14.3.5. Motives for leaving Satanism and experience of this process

S's guilt regarding human sacrifice, his realisation that cult relationships were based on hostile conflict and competition, and his belief that Satan wished to punish him for his disloyalty, were motivating factors that prompted him to leave the cult. Prior to this, S's mental health had steadily declined with his delusional conviction that demons sent by Satan were possessing and attacking him. Such was the extent of S's psychotic disturbance that he was dismissed from his job on psychiatric grounds (72). This culminated, one day, in his spontaneous urge to rush into a church and shout for help against the demonic forces he feared would kill him (73).

S underwent repeated Christian exorcism rituals, during which he lost control of his actions, exhibited hostile and bizarre behaviour, and saw a murderous Satan materialise before him (75,76,77). At this point S felt himself to be the helpless victim of the personified, destructive subpersonality, from which he had now dis-identified, and which now appeared as a malevolent supernatural persecutor, against which he had no protection. S's defences disintegrated, and the attempted exorcisms induced a psychotic decompensation, necessitating his hospitalisation in a psychiatric ward (78,79,80,81). After his release from hospital, S's visual and auditory persecutory hallucinations persisted, despite antipsychotic medication, and the temporary relief provided by the prayers of Christian acquaintances (89,90,91). Despite his persecutory fantasies, however, S could not resist the compelling urge to return to Satanism, an urge he likened to a powerful addictive craving (85,86,87,92). In the absence of significant good internal and

external object relationships, masochistic enslavement to the bad object, and the associated subpersonality, was the only form of attachment he knew. S's addictive dependence on his destructive internal father was better than no relationship at all, and this accounts for its addictive power over him. Despite the fact that S is treated with suspicion, and must prove himself anew each time he returns to the cult, his experience of loneliness and social isolation keeps drawing him back (95). Although S acknowledges that he may well be psychologically disordered, he strongly disputes the psychiatrists' claims that his satanic experiences were simply all psychotic delusions (93,94).

Subject Four

14.4.1. Predisposing factors

S's earliest childhood recollections were of feeling unwanted, disliked, and criticised by people around him (1). This early experience of childhood rejection was reinforced by his belief that his sister was the parents' favourite child (11), and that his peers insulted, teased, and fought with him. His earliest object relationships comprised a self representation of an unlovable, inadequate, rejected child in relation to critical, rejecting, and cruel parental figures. S attempted to win his parents' love by becoming a perfectly obedient child, while simultaneously entertaining destructive fantasies of attacks on his uncaring parents and adored rival sibling (9,11). He unconsciously dealt with this anxiety-provoking contradiction by means of splitting defences. In this way, an internal object relationship of an obedient child in loving relation to an idealised maternal part-object coexisted with that of an angry, rejected, jealous child in relation to a hypocritical, deceitful, rejecting paternal part-object (6,7,8)

S felt devastated by his parents' divorce, and his hostile internal world would have been further aggravated by the internalisation of a warring, damaged parental couple, whose relationship he could not repair internally because of his fantasised attacks on them (3).

This situation perpetuated S's splitting defences, exacerbated by his father's apparent failure to maintain regular contact, and keep his promises to his son (6,7). The extent of the paternal part-object's badness was thus intensified by the father's neglectful behaviour, and S's protection of the idealised maternal object, by projecting his negative maternal experience onto the bad paternal object. Therefore, although his mother forced Christian religious instruction on him (16), S's childhood hostility toward Christianity appeared to be associated only with his deceitful father's self-professed Christian faith (7). God, the projected bad paternal part-object imago, was subsequently perceived by S to be an absent and uncaring figure (19).

S thus entered adolescence with an internal world structured by critical and rejecting internal objects, and splitting defences erected to protect an idealised maternal part-object from his unconscious anger. As a consequence, his internal reality was dominated by a rejecting paternal part-object, onto which he projected his hatred, thereby establishing a punitive superego whose retaliatory attacks were experientially manifest as a sense of inferiority and self-hatred. S's paranoid orientation was strengthened by his social alienation, and belief that his peers rejected, ridiculed, and persecuted him (2,3). Having been an obedient child, S's world changed when, as an adolescent, he adopted a negative identity in order to win peer group acceptance (9,10). This strategy, however, aggravated his negative relationships with teachers, who were projectively identified with bad parental part-objects, and thus perceived as hated, abusive authority figures (13,14,15). His refusal to conform to their expectations of him resulted in him being regularly punished, and failing academically, which in turn fuelled his paranoia and underlying self-hatred.

A hostile superego, a paranoid orientation, and the absence of a secure good internal object were conspicuous when S, as a young adult, felt lonely, rejected, friendless, directionless, and perceived life as meaningless. These factors, together with his rebellious behaviour, hatred of authority, and anger toward God - the supernatural projection of his bad paternal part-object - predisposed S to satanic involvement.

14.4.2. Process of satanic involvement and initiation

The gradual process of S's satanic involvement began when a new male social acquaintance displayed an enviable enigmatic power that attracted people to him (17,21). This man befriended S, observing his confusion, and empathically listening to S's distressed self-disclosures, thereby mobilising a transference based on S's unconscious search for an idealised paternal part-object (22,23). S's friend disclosed his satanic involvement, and assured S that by following the spiritual path that brought him success and gratification, S too could acquire power and influence over others (23,24). The friend presented himself as living proof that Satan, unlike God, cared for his worshippers, and forcefully argued that S would cease being lonely and unhappy if he became a Satanist (25,26). Given S's experience of being unloved, inferior, and rejected, the friend's offer evoked the exciting fantasy of being the loved and happy son of a loving, caring, supernatural father figure. Desiring the power that his friend had spoken of, and drawn unconsciously by the possibility of an idealised paternal part-object relationship, S indicated his willingness to commit himself to Satanism, and had no reservations in swearing to the cult's code of secrecy (35,36).

S's initiation involved cutting himself, and signing a satanic covenant in his own blood. This was followed by him drinking the blood of a sacrificial goat, denoting ritual acceptance of Satan's blood, and the rejection of the blood of Christ (37,38). The symbolic incorporation of Satan, via the ingestion of blood from an animal identified with him, was a powerful ritual that facilitated S's introjective identification with Satan, thereby transforming a mythical figure into an animated internal presence. S also received a new name to indicate his new identity as a child of Satan (39). He then had to destroy a crucifix, denigrate the Christian God, and read aloud a corrupted Christian prayer. These rituals reinforced S's splitting defences, and the identification of God with the denigrated, bad paternal part-object.

S was then obliged to have sex with women in the coven, thereby enacting his sexual fantasies, and defining himself in terms of previously forbidden instincts (42). Having felt

rejected by women until now, this sexual ritual would have evoked an exciting phallic self representation, in relation to receptive female objects. A ritual followed, in which spirits were invoked and invited to possess the participants (43). During this ritual, S consented to possession by a male spiritual entity, a hallucinatory manifestation of a personified paternal part-object, who promised him power and the gratification of his every wish, should S allow him inside his body. The initiation culminated in a celebration in which all participants became intoxicated through the use of drugs and alcohol (44). S, excited by the initiation ritual, experienced himself to be the chosen son of a powerful father, thereby actualising an idealised paternal part-object relationship with Satan, and entrenching the pre-existing bad paternal part-object relationship with God (45,47).

14.4.3. Experience of satanic cult involvement

S's satanic membership initially gave him a novel sense of importance, belonging, and of being cared for by others (46), a rewarding experience which contrasted with his own family upbringing. He felt gratified to participate in satanic rituals, as these allowed him to enact the fantasy of being the devoted son of an exalted paternal part-object (63). S, introjectively identified with this ideal paternal part-object, experienced a manic sense of omnipotence and control, and felt that his life was just beginning (48,49). His excitement and self-confidence was further boosted by the belief that he had learned how to influence his environment through magical means (50,53).

The dramatic change in S's self-image won him friends, and made him attractive to others (54), thereby reinforcing his cult involvement. Now indifferent to the opinions of others, S consciously hated his family, and was prepared to attack them with the "supernatural" power at his disposal (51). This melding of hatred and invulnerability indicates S's identification with a narcissistic psychic organisation, having the idealised paternal part-object as it's nucleus. This narcissistic structure functioned as an independent subpersonality, where sadism and aggression, rather than being ego-dystonic aspects of the bad object, were perversely incorporated as good and desirable in the context of the satanic celebration of destructiveness.

In contrast, Christians and Christianity were projectively identified with negative self/object representations, and thus intensely hated (52). S's identification with the destructive subpersonality meant that he derived sadistic pleasure from the cruelty of animal sacrifice, as well as from seeing others' emotional pain (55,64). The suffering of these external objects was also gratifying because they were projectively identified with S's hated part-objects, who he tortured in fantasy. Sacrifices assumed further significance for S; ritual blood drinking is a literal enactment of the infantile cannibalistic fantasy of draining the parental breast/penis of it's fantasised magical contents. Not surprisingly, therefore, S developed a craving for blood, which he greedily imbibed to give him power (56,65). Anticipation of the blood would drive S into a state of frenzied excitement before each sacrifice. Despite S's manic excitement and omnipotent fantasies, his satanic life-style began to pall. Three factors contributed to his disillusionment. Firstly, fellow Satanists, who initially seemed like caring family members, gradually appeared to be driven by selfish pursuit of their own interests (67,69). Secondly, S's narcissistic grandiosity provided an imperfect defence against the dissociated self representation of being rejected and hated by bad internal objects. His new-found strength and self-confidence did thus not feel authentic, and he became aware of an underlying self-hatred that equalled his hatred of others (57,58). Thirdly, S realised with growing anxiety that he was becoming increasingly controlled by his possessing demons (71,76,77).

14.4.4. Experience of demonic possession

S invited demonic possession in order to gain supernatural power. These demons would manifest themselves visibly to S in the form of a wrinkled crone, a handsome young man, and an ugly beast, and instruct him in the use of black magic (70,74). Possession by these entities suggests the ego-syntonic reintrojection of previously split-off self/object representations as personified, independent agencies. This is most clearly evident in the ugly beast-demon, whose possession of S resulted in him verbally and physically attacking others, and causing them magical harm through the destructive use of supernatural power (73). Here we see S's fantasised omnipotent destructiveness projectively personified as an ugly, animal-like, possessing entity. At the level of conscious awareness, S experienced

himself to be a willing receptacle for this alien figure. Unconsciously, however, it represented the manifestation of a primitive, destructive part of his own mind, capable of attacking and harming hated objects through the fantasised equation of omnipotent thought with magical action.

Initially, S invited possession by this destructive subpersonality because of the power it gave him, and because satanic cult ideology perversely celebrates destructiveness as good, by virtue of it's antithesis to Christian ideology. However, the more S surrendered himself to fantasies of possession, the more he experienced these "alien," aggressive parts of his own mind as invading and taking control of his central self structure. This process resulted in S experiencing confusion, dissociated mental states, and loss of ego control, culminating in a frenzied attack on his friends which he could not recall after the event (71,76,77). This was frightening for S, who felt colonised and controlled by these autonomous subpersonality components, comprising dissociated parts of his own mind, identified with primitive bad parental part-objects. These fantasies of destructive subpersonality aspects colonising and attacking healthy parts of himself, gave rise to persecutory anxiety, despair, and thoughts of suicide as the only means of escaping the demonic invaders (75,78). When S later rejected Satanism, the increased polarisation of dissociated good and bad parts of himself gave rise to S's experience of intensified internal demonic attacks in the form of headaches, nausea, discomforting visions, and uncontrollable compulsions to shout and swear (83,86).

14.4.5. The process and experience of leaving Satanism

S, driven to despair by increasingly ego-dystonic experiences of demonic control, confessed his situation to a Christian counsellor, and earnestly prayed to God to rescue him from Satan (79,80,81,82). Satan, the previously idealised object had, as a consequence of splitting defences, become identified with the persecutory bad object, while God became a potential saviour, who might rescue him from the bad object's demonic attacks. This attempt to betray the destructive subpersonality (Satan) by expelling it through Christian exorcism, aggravated S's paranoid fantasies of demonic

attack. These persecutory fantasies resulted in a number of bizarre visceral symptoms, visions, uncontrollable impulses to shout and swear, convulsions, and the conviction that he was dying (83,86,87). S's visions included images of his face transforming into the face of an animal (84), and images of Christ's body being stolen from the tomb (85). The bestial transformation image is explicable in terms of the ego-dystonic fantasy of involuntary identification with the destructive, animal-like parts of himself, previously manifest as the "monstrous beast" demon (72). The image of Christ's body being stolen suggests the unconscious fantasy, reminiscent of the postulated infantile fantasy of raiding the breast for its magical contents, of S enviously plundering a new-found symbol of goodness.

S was only relieved of his possession symptoms through a Christian exorcism ritual (87). While undergoing this ceremony, S believed that he was dying. This experience suggests the annihilatory fantasy that the destructive subpersonality, with a murderously bad object as it's nucleus, would rather kill him than submit to the ego's attempts to defensively expel it from his mind. Through the hypnotic influence of the exorcism ritual, S's defensive externalisation of the destructive subpersonality was successful. Feeling cleansed of all internal demonic presence, he then experienced the benign and powerful Holy Spirit as filling the visceral emptiness he felt, following the demons' expulsion (88,89,90). Having evacuated the destructive subpersonality, S then defensively incorporated a new idealised paternal part-object, in the form of the Holy Spirit, thereby filling his internal world with goodness.

S felt liberated by God's love and concern for him, and underwent a dramatic transformation that saw the lifting of his depression, the emergence of high self-esteem, and belief that God had satisfied his every need (93,95,96). S, once filled with hatred, jealousy, envy, and sadistic impulses, suddenly became a devout Christian, a devoted family man, and church leader (97,98,99). S's character change may be attributed to defensive introjective identification with the newly incorporated idealised paternal part-object, personified as God. This resulted in a new narcissistic structure or subpersonality,

based on the triumphant fantasy of being the loved child of a perfect, supernatural father. S experienced love for all the people he had formerly hated, and found gratification from assisting others, when he once derived pleasure from their destruction (100,101). This was made possible by S's narcissistic identification with the omnipotently powerful and loving idealised object. S now devotes his life to combating Satan and rescuing others from him (102), whereas previously, he had dedicated himself to fighting God and "stealing souls" for Satan (59). This dramatic reversal of loyalties indicates the effect of splitting defences, and suddenly reversed introjective and projective identifications. The formerly idealised object has now become projectively identified with S's destructive subpersonality, and personified as an evil, supernatural enemy, who S now vows to destroy.

Subject Five

14.5.1. Predisposing factors

S believes that he was predestined for satanic involvement by virtue of the occult interests of his grandparents (1). S's own encounter with the occult world occurred when, as a four-year old child, he experienced possession by a powerful male demonic spirit, appointed to him as a guide (2,3,5). This event occurred in a familial context in which S's younger siblings received most of the parental attention and tokens of affection, while S was denied similar parental displays of caring (35,36,37,38). S thus felt unloved, deprived, and jealous of his favoured siblings. S's father was a distant, uncommunicative figure, who spent little time at home (41,95). S's childhood self representations were thus based on experiences of being an unloved, rejected, and deprived child.

S responded to these circumstances with rebellious and aggressive behaviour, expressing displaced hostility toward his parents and siblings by regularly attacking and hurting other children (72,73,74,75). As a four-year old child, S's hatred and aggression must have been deeply disturbing to him, prompting defences against this part of him. His destructiveness

would have been intensified by the oedipal issues he must have been contending with at the time, particularly in the light of his mother's emotional unavailability, and his father's absence. S's superego would thus have comprised a vengeful paternal object, its destructiveness exacerbated by projections of S's own ego-dystonic hatred. Simultaneously, S longed for a loving father to guide and parent him. These contrasting object fantasies were realised in the hallucinatory experience of a paternal imago, manifest as a large, terrifying, superhuman male figure.

The cruel and punitive aspects of this demonic figure derived from projections of S's internalised bad paternal part-object, its destructiveness intensified by S's own projected hatred for his father. This bad paternal introject, defensively externalised as a demonic spirit, treated S cruelly. When S disobeyed the spirit's injunction not to report his possession experience, the subsequent mysterious death of his beloved pets were interpreted by S as punishment for having disclosed the demon's presence (12,13,14). When S failed to pray to Lucifer, the demon screamed abuse at him, and afflicted him with acute motor, visceral, and perceptual symptoms (67,68,69). S's possessing demon was thus a composite figure, comprising projected destructive self and object representations. The experience of possession demonstrates the intrusive re-introjection of these ego-dystonic self and object aspects, giving rise to the introject's dissociated psychic status as an autonomous subpersonality.

However, S's anomalous perception of the demon as a guide, teacher, and trustworthy mentor, indicates the coexistence of a split-off, idealised paternal part-object, the longed-for loving father who would care for S in a way that his absent real father never could. Thus, the demon which terrified and punished S, became transformed into a fatherly mentor and ally, who gave him supernatural power. This idealised paternal part-object is most clearly revealed in the figure of Satan, who appeared to S as "the perfect person", a powerful male figure who commanded S's admiration, respect, and loyalty 147,150). The corresponding part-self representation was of a brilliant, devoted, and talented son, loyally serving his loving father. This grandiose self representation contrasted starkly with the

split-off negative self representation arising from S's actual experiences with his parents, in which he perceived himself to be unloved, rejected, and inferior. S's negative parental experiences, and his internal world of polarised part-objects, manifest as supernatural figures, therefore inclined him to interpret his experiences along supernatural lines before his actual encounter with Satanism. S's parents, preoccupied with their own marital difficulties (39), were unable to understand and contain his occult experience, and thus to make it assimilable to him as a natural, rather than a supernatural, mental event.

A further predisposing factor was his alleged introduction to frightening occult ritual activity by his grandmother, shortly after his possession experience at the age of four (15,51,52). Before he was old enough to comprehend the significance of the rituals, or to choose to become involved, he was thrust into a world of bizarre events, and recalls being injected with something during a ritual (52). What in reality transpired is impossible to ascertain, but S clearly believed himself to have been intrusively penetrated by a substance that gave adult ritual participants control over him.

Yet another predisposing factor was his belief, allegedly instilled by his grandmother upon introducing him to an unknown woman, that this woman was his true biological mother, and that she was mysteriously associated with the ritual events he had experienced (51,53,54). S's childhood perception that the secret of his origins lay in his "real" mother's association with the occult, would understandably have drawn him to Satanism. S was later to construct an elaborate explanation of his conception as part of a mysterious satanic breeding programme, in which he was secretly switched at birth and assigned to another infant's mother (46,47,48). This fantasy is meaningful in the light of S's experience of rejection by his mother, who later confirmed his impressions of rejection by confessing that she had not wanted to fall pregnant (33). S, aided by his grandmother's suggestions, appears to have coped with his experience of not being loved and wanted by his mother, through his belief that he was a changeling, that his conception was a special event, and that he could be united with his exotic and mysterious "real" mother.

S thus displays polarised maternal object representations characteristic of splitting defences. The mother who had raised him was the bad maternal part-object. S hated her and experienced her as rejecting, unloving, humiliating, argumentative, and incapable of understanding him (9,10,43). His perceived "real" mother, on the other hand, was loving, exotic, and moved into the neighbourhood to be close to him (57). She functioned as an idealised maternal part-object, and his corresponding self representation was of being a special child; loved, wanted, and conceived under intriguing circumstances. This narcissistic object relation structure clearly protected S against the dissociated, opposing maternal object relation, in which he experienced himself as the unloved, inadequate child of a cruel and rejecting mother.

14.5.2. Process of satanic involvement and initiation

S's formal introduction to Satanism allegedly began when, in his first school year, a teacher took him to a satanic ritual meeting (77,78). S's initiation into the coven commenced with him being bound and led into a darkened room in front of chanting coven members (81). He was cut and, using his own blood, wrote out a pact in which he pledged himself to Satan and the destruction of Christianity (81,82). The specific objectives of recruiting others and destroying Christianity, conveyed a sense of group unity and common purpose, which unequivocally defined the meaning of S's life in the coven. The satanic pact was burned, and the ashes ingested with blood from all the ritual participants (83). By physically incorporating the pact, Satanism became, in fantasy, a literal part of S's internal world, and by drinking the mixed blood of other cult members the cult became a living internal organism. S felt excited by his initiation as, for the first time, he felt unconditional acceptance from others, rather than the rejection he had experienced in his original family (65,66). S's formal initiation into the coven thus allowed him the novel experience of being a respected, accepted, and cared-for child in a welcoming surrogate family.

14.5.3. Experience of satanic cult involvement

Satanism gave S power, material goods, sexual gratification and, above all, unconditional acceptance. Its psychological significance clearly lay in the compensation it provided him for the experience of being an unloved, rejected, and powerless child in his family of origin, and in relation to his peers, who perceived him as deviant, and would not befriend him (34,65,66). Instruction in black magic gave him a sense of control and power, while his assigned role - to infiltrate Christian gatherings - allowed him to feel useful by providing him with a valued cult function. S's "magical" power, whereby he used demons to instil fear in others, made him arrogant, and provided a strong incentive to remain in the cult (135,137). This allowed him to feel powerful and triumphant in relation to fearful and subservient adversaries. S's identification with the destructive subpersonality thus found expression in the omnipotent fantasy of controlling others by magical means.

S quickly acquired a taste for deviant ritual practices (88). He experienced a moral inversion, in which concern and remorse were replaced by feelings of hatred, triumph, and success (91,92). This manic state was facilitated by cult indoctrination, which denigrated Christianity and it's associated values, thereby encouraging S's identification with the destructive subpersonality, and the disavowal of the libidinal parts of his personality. As a consequence of desensitisation, and the ritual deadening of his emotional responsiveness, S began to experienced hatred, manipulation, the witnessing of, and participation in, perverse and murderous activities as normal (87,88,89,113,116).

S's experience of coven unity and acceptance did not last, and he soon realised that the relationships between coven members were based on competition for power and domination over fellow Satanists (130). S even lost his initial fear of the powerful high priestess, as competition for power, and S's relentless search for others' weaknesses revealed her too to be potentially vulnerable and conquerable (133). Love was absent from S's satanic relationships, and the apparent unity between cult members existed only by virtue of their shared goal of destroying Christianity (131). Power and dominance derived from consciously inviting possession by demons stronger than those possessing

other Satanists (129). Strength of character determines success in the anxiety-provoking cult environment, where one is obliged to defend one's power and usurp the power of others (134). Ritual sexual activity created interpersonal ties based on the introjective and projective fantasies that psychic aspects of oneself are literally transferred and located in the other during sexual intercourse (132).

S's parents' Christian devotion, and lack of concern for him, together with his eviction from the family dwelling, prevented their early discovery of his satanic involvement (85,86). S's conflictual relationship with his parents deteriorated sharply following the onset of his satanic involvement. They responded to his rebellious behaviour by unsuccessfully attempting to discipline him with restrictions, physical beatings, and counselling by other adults (93,94). S responded with hatred and defiance, perceiving his parents, as he did all Christians, to be deceitful and morally corrupt (101,102). S's satanic identity may partly be attributed to his hostile reaction against the religion of his parents. By embracing Satanism, he could punish and destroy his hated parents, and defiantly assert himself against them by virtue of an antagonistic spiritual orientation. When interpersonal conflict and other misfortunes occurred in S's family, he knew that his family were victims of the magical power he carried within him (108,109). S responded defiantly to his father's attempts to counter the family's misfortunes with daily prayer meetings, by secretly praying to Satan.

S's hatred was expressed in destructive and suicidal fantasies of punishing his parents for having wronged him (103). As a consequence of S's splitting defences, his parents became unequivocally bad objects, whereas Satan was an idealised parental figure. Satan answered his prayers, and provided for him like a good father (97,98,99,100). Believing that Satan wished him to misbehave, S did so in order to please his god (107). He further believed that Satan loved his audacity, arrogance, and aggression (120). Satanism thus provided the opportunity for a perverse union between S's destructive subpersonality, established upon the internalisation of bad objects, and his idealised paternal part-object relationship. By idealising a bad internal object, projectively manifest as the figure of

Satan, the more destructively S behaved, the more he experienced the gratification of being a loved child in relation to a loving, admiring father (107,120).

The idealisation of the bad object allowed S to identify Satanism with truth, and Christianity with deceit (100,101). However, because the satanic *modus operandi* involved deceptiveness, S began to enjoy lying and deceiving others, thereby perversely serving the cause of truth as he saw it. He therefore befriended Christians and presented himself as a spiritual role model in order to infiltrate Christian gatherings (118). He undermined the Christian spirit and unity of a youth group by encouraging the female members' sexual responsiveness, and feelings of jealousy in relation to him (119). S thus used his sexual attractiveness to seduce them away from God, thereby unconsciously enacting an oedipal fantasy of seducing his emotionally unavailable mother, and taking her away from his hated father.

Identification with the destructive subpersonality, facilitated by satanic ritual, myth, and ideology, created grandiose beliefs in the omnipotent power of S's fantasies. S was convinced that his destructive thoughts about his parents were magically realised in the form of accidents that nearly killed or injured them (44,136). S's omnipotent fantasies extended to his somatic existence. He believed that he had complete mental control over his involuntary bodily functioning (71). Fantasies of invincibility and immortality protected him from any pain or vulnerability associated with accidents, or attacks by parental figures or hostile others (104,105).

S's initially positive experience of Satanism did not last. His satanic life-style caused visible physical deterioration, and left him feeling cold, emotionally numb, and lifeless (140,146). He could no longer sustain his omnipotent fantasies of complete bodily control. Instead, experiencing his body as a hated physical restriction, S began to neglect his physical needs, becoming sick and exhausted as a consequence (141). S believed that his possessing demon had taken control of his body, thereby revealing the extent of his subjugation to the autonomous destructive subpersonality (145).

14.5.4. Experience of demonic possession

S's experience of possession preceded his satanic involvement, and indicates the intrusive re-introjection of a projected destructive part of himself, identified with a bad internal object. The demonic object, personified in the hallucination of an oriental male figure (3), suggests a bad paternal part-object, shaped by alien and exotic visual images that the four year-old S may have been exposed to. By means of splitting defences, this hostile, persecutory object became its opposite, an idealised paternal part-object, and its original destructive aspects were unconsciously attributed to other possessing demons, which hated, attacked and inflicted pain on S (21,22,26). Introjective identification with the possessing bad object created a highly autonomous psychic structure, an omnipotent subpersonality comprising projected destructive self representations, and aspects of the split paternal part-objects. S's identification with this subpersonality created grandiose fantasies of supernatural power, and aggressive control over others, which provided defensive compensation for his historical experience of being an inferior, rejected, and unlovable child.

Once he encountered occult mythology, S associated his possessing presence with the figure of Satan, an awesome and exalted father figure, who loved and admired S's grandiose and destructive qualities. S's narcissistic identification with the destructive subpersonality, personified as Satan, remained gratifying as long as he remained slavishly subservient to this personified psychic structure. However, entertaining libidinal parts of himself, and failing to strictly observe Satan's wishes, instantly activated the persecutory aspects of the bad object, thereby prompting S's experience of malevolent internal attacks, with their associated dramatic physical manifestations (68,182,183). These possession symptoms were most extreme when S allowed himself to undergo Christian exorcism ceremonies, as indicated in the following section.

14.5.5. Motives for leaving Satanism and the experience of this process.

A number of events played a part in S's gradual inability to remain in the cult. Firstly, S believed that his beloved "real" mother was abducted and sacrificed by Satanists. His

previous manic elation was replaced by emotional numbness, a defence against the grief and despair he felt at the loss of an idealised maternal object (57,58,61,63). In his waking state, S's defences protected him against the horror of his satanic involvement, but nightmares confronted him with the horrifying phenomena occurring inside of him, and in the life of the cult (142). S's narcissistic identification with the destructive subpersonality became harder to sustain, thereby resulting in the previously idealised bad objects turning into persecutory figures.

For the first time, the previously disowned libidinal parts of S became manifest in the context of a heterosexual relationship, in the form of loving feelings (151). S feared that if he allowed himself to experience love he would be punished by his possessing demons (154). This indicates an emerging fear of persecution by his destructive subpersonality for the betrayal of entertaining libidinal parts of the self. Although wishing to leave Satanism, S believed that Satan could read his thoughts, control him, and would kill him if he left the cult (152,153,155). S's experience revealed him to be a helpless victim of the now omnipotent and vengeful bad object underlying the destructive subpersonality. S became afraid of being alone, and heard the voices of squabbling internal demons (143,144). A process of decompensation was evident, and the breakdown of S's defences resulted in increasingly fearful hallucinations of his bad internal objects.

The division between S's central self, and the destructive subpersonality it had previously identified with, resulted in contradictory identifications. These were based upon an internal split between contradictory libidinal and destructive parts of the self, associated with good and bad internal objects respectively. As a result of this internal schism, S thus questioned his sanity, experiencing himself torn between the irreconcilable opposites of good and evil (156). Entertaining the previously split-off, libidinal parts of himself, made S feel guilty about the satanic acts he had committed, prompting the belief that he deserved to die, and an ensuing failed suicide attempt. (157,158,161). The collapse of his manic defences opened him to depressive fantasies of having destroyed his good internal object, resulting in unbearable guilt and self-destructive impulses. Despite S's popularity,

and sexual attractiveness to others, he felt, lonely, empty, and craved emotional love (160). He had, in fantasy, destroyed his loving internal object, and consequently experienced authentic loving as unattainable. After completing his schooling, S was called up for compulsory military service (162). Feeling rejected by former friends, and distressed at being unable to observe his satanic rituals in a military setting, S experienced the return of suicidal impulses (166,167). Feeling abandoned and despairing, S attempted to test the Christian assertion of a loving God in heaven by killing himself, failing only due to a firearm malfunction (169).

One day, having left the military and begun working, S was confronted by a Christian evangelist (170,171,172). Feeling anxious in the presence of the Christian enemy, S became defensively aggressive, and boasted of his magical powers and deeds (173). Fearing that Satan would destroy him, S refused the evangelist's invitation to leave Satanism, despite his secret wish to do so (174). Ignoring his protestations, the evangelist began a deliverance ceremony to exorcise S, who experienced internal pain, burning sensations, loss of motor control and convulsions, as the demons fought against the evangelist's deliverance (175,176). S's controlling demonic spirit answered the evangelist in a voice not recognisably that of S (177). These somatic and vocal possession phenomena indicate the extent of the destructive subpersonality's dissociation from the central self.

Despite a state of exhaustion following the deliverance, S could not sleep as his demons screamed that he was a traitor and would be killed by Satan for betraying him (179,180). The experiential reality of this demonic persecution suggests an attack on the self by ego-dystonic parts of S's own mind, in the form of the vengeful destructive subpersonality. The influence that this subpersonality exercised over S is evident in his attempts to read the Bible, an activity thwarted by a demonic internal voice which controlled his reading and twisted the content of the text (181). The spiritual battle inside S manifested physically as slimy and foul-smelling sweat, stomach cramps, and oral bleeding (182,183). These symptoms were somatic expressions of the fantasy of a poisonous and

contaminating bad internal object, attacking S from within as punishment for his betrayal of the destructive subpersonality.

When S looked into mirrors he did not see his own reflection, but the horrifying faces of the demons possessing him (187). These hallucinatory images were projected personifications of S's ego-dystonic destructive self aspects - previously entertained, but now disavowed, persecutory internal presences. S's work performance was compromised by poor concentration, and he considered killing himself to escape the pain and fear arising from the demonic attacks on him (184,185). S's "demons" forced him to verbally abuse his family members, resulting in him being evicted from the family home (188). Having dissociated himself from the destructive subpersonality, S's hostility toward his parents and siblings found expression in abusive attacks on them by internal possessing forces, seemingly alien and beyond his control.

During a second deliverance, S shrieked, convulsed, and vomited slime, as the besieged demons screamed in agony and threw his body about the room (190). These extreme somatic reactions indicate the intensity of the conflict between dissociated good and bad parts of S. The latter were now experienced as palpably real and alien to the central ego, which helplessly observed the destructive subpersonality's attempts to maintain control of S's personality. Fearing identification with his weak and vulnerable child representation, which had been split off and denied during his satanic career, S refused to renounce all of his occult powers, resulting in a return of the possessing demons (193). S was loathe to give up the power and grandiosity associated with the destructive subpersonality, thereby allowing this part of him to infiltrate his central personality again, giving rise to further possession symptoms. Although he felt no emotion, S acted in a bizarre, cruel, and destructive manner, culminating in an attempt to murder the evangelist who had been looking after him (192,194). The destructive subpersonality had reasserted control over the self, and proceeded to attack those objects into which S had projected his libidinal, and hence vulnerable, aspects. After telling the evangelist for the first time about the full extent of his satanic involvement, S was physically attacked by demons. Significantly,

however, these attacks came from outside, and were no longer internal (195). This occurred because S was no longer introjectively identified with the destructive subpersonality, but had defensively located it outside of himself by means of projective fantasy. S's spiritual battle thus ended the moment he consciously terminated identification with the destructive subpersonality, thereby facilitating defensive projection of his bad self aspects, and effectively ridding himself of internal conflict (199).

Following his Christian conversion, S discovered, contrary to his previous beliefs, that Satan was in fact powerless, and his opponent, God, supremely powerful (200,202). This indicates that S's splitting defences persisted and, by means of a defensive reversal of identifications, the previously denigrated part-object (God) became idealised, while the formerly idealised part object (Satan) was denigrated. S's identification with the new idealised paternal part-object, God, resulted in him embracing Christian values, and so redefining himself as the loved and loving son of an omnipotent and benevolent father.

Subject Six

14.6.1. Predisposing factors

S's predisposition to satanic involvement emerged from the familial context of troubled relationships with both parents. As a child, he felt the need to shield his hypersensitive mother from his own emotional difficulties, as she interpreted such disclosures as reflections of her maternal failure (4). This maternal inability to contain S's experiences must have aggravated his normal depressive anxiety and guilt, related to his aggressive fantasies of harming his vulnerable maternal object. Instead of integrating a destructive self representation, modified by maternal containment, S split off and projected this uncontainably aggressive self representation. S's first object relation was thus established on the experience of his internal world being beyond understanding, dangerous to, and rejected by, his maternal object. Not surprisingly, therefore, S became an introverted and

socially withdrawn child, who had few friends, and seldom felt understood by those around him (1,2,3).

In addition, S had a hostile relationship with his absent and non-communicative father, who frequently injured S in violent assaults on the child (5,6,7). He thus internalised a sadistic, persecutory paternal object. The destructiveness of this object would have been exacerbated by the defensive projection of S's own dissociated, destructive self representation into it. S consequently experienced himself to be the withdrawn and vulnerable victim of a cruel father. When his mother sent him away to boarding school to avoid the father-son conflict, S lost the previously close relationship he had with his older sisters (8,9,10). Not only was he rejected by his mother, but he was also deprived of the only good object relations he had known as a child.

S's poor concentration, frequent school changes, and low scholastic performance made his schooling a negative experience (11,14). S also had negative relationships with his teachers, who he perceived as disliking him (16). He was clearly identified with the rejected, inadequate, negative self representation, while relating to teachers as projected critical and rejecting parental objects. As a consequence, he withdrew even further, becoming a social outcast whose only friends were outcasts like himself (13,15). S attempted to cope with his alienation through fantasies of being someone different, and of being more popular with his peers (12).

As a young adult S, despite his atheist convictions, began a spiritual quest for a god, by exploring Eastern mysticism and occult methods of divination (21,22,23,24). So began his unconscious search for a good supernatural father figure, to compensate for his own lack of loving fathering. Although rewarded by his occult pursuits, S's spiritual search for a higher power, was not satisfied (25). After his spiritual quest led him to the notion that God is a power present in all humans, he received a trusted, personal spirit guide, who gave him supernatural power, spiritual enlightenment, and power over others (26,27,32,33,34). S's spirit guide was the fantasised manifestation of the split-off and

projected counterpart of the bad paternal part-object, namely the idealised paternal part-object, which made S feel like a strong, worthy, and cared-for son. His identification with this idealised self representation, dissociated from the historical experience of being a rejected, hated and helpless child, gave him self-confidence, made him socially adept, and attracted a range of friends (35). After years of loneliness, rejection, and worthlessness, S had reached a point where self-worth, power, and the longed-for experience of parental love seemed to lie in an occult, patriarchal, spiritual cult, as yet undisclosed to him.

14.6.2. Process of satanic involvement and initiation

S began socialising with members of alternative youth subcultures who, unbeknown to him, were Satanists (28). Recognising his spiritual interests, S's new acquaintances sought to persuade him that spiritual fulfilment lay in serving Lucifer, the spirit of light, and that the opposing dark, powerless Christ figure appealed only to the indolent and morally inferior (29,30,31). This dualist division between good and bad spiritual ideologies, effectively reversing traditional Christian moral polarities, was confirmed by S's spirit guide (32). S became initiated as a Satanist, after signing a pact with Satan in his own blood, desecrating Christian symbols, and committing himself to destroying the Christian enemy (38,39,56). The dualistic satanic ideology reinforced S's splitting defences by idealising one paternal part-object (Satan), and denigrating the other (God).

S, having felt rejected and alienated all his life, was gratified by the ready acceptance of fellow Satanists (41). Satanism gave him a sense of power, control, and purpose, and provided him with the answers to all his spiritual questions (42,43). This grandiose sense of self, the polar opposite of his childhood self experience, derived from narcissistic identification with the new idealised paternal part-object, Satan, thereby allowing S to feel powerful, controlling, and all-knowing.

Carnal gratification, emphasised in the cult activities, expressed the hedonistic philosophy that Satan approved of worldly pleasure, and that abstinence carried the negative implication of self-denial (51). This ideology, which endorsed unbridled instinctual

gratification, reversed the traditional paternal prohibition of Christianity, and intensified S's idealisation. S felt obliged to demonstrate his commitment to Satan and his cause by recruiting new followers (62). S had thus fulfilled his unconscious childhood wish to be the devoted son of a loving father, a dramatic reversal of his painful childhood experience.

14.6.3. Experience of satanic cult involvement

S believed his satanic activity was morally justifiable work in the service of spiritual goodness, and enthusiastically began recruiting new followers (40,48). The idealisation of power and destructiveness made this inversion of good and bad moral poles possible, and allowed S to identify with his destructive self representation, rather than continue to split this off. S was thus identified with a narcissistic structure comprising the idealised paternal part-object, and his destructive self representations. The result was the formation of an ego-syntonic destructive subpersonality. Satanic ideology provided ideological support for S's destructiveness. He devoted himself to generating conflict and confusion among Christians, destroying their faith by sending demons to attack their families or cause their financial ruin (49,50,53,54,55). S believed that he could destroy the Christian enemy with his magical power, so demonstrating the omnipotent destructive fantasies arising from identification with the previously dissociated destructive subpersonality. S relished his "supernatural" powers, and believed that he controlled the possessing demons responsible for them (47). His contempt and hatred for others contrasted with his self-idealisation and sense of superiority (52,59). This division of grandiosity and contempt reveals S's use of projective identification, whereby his own denigrated self representations were defensively located, and attacked, in his Christian enemy. S willingly drank blood at ritual sacrifices in order to obtain supernatural power, thus displaying the infantile oral fantasy of magically absorbing the power of the parental object through oral incorporation (57,61).

S was instructed by Satan to join the police force, in order to mislead its members and spread corruption (66). During the course of his training he befriended susceptible trainee police officers, using drugs, alcohol, and occult philosophy to make them amenable to

recruitment (65,67,68,69). He provided satanic instruction to the recruits who worked in his police unit (70). All those criminals or political adversaries killed in the course of S's police activities were offered as sacrifices to Satan (71). S was evidently living out an object relationship in which he was the loyal son of an idealised father, projected in the form of a personified supernatural power, Satan.

S's relationships with fellow Satanists was based on rivalry for power and status. It was permissible to attack and destroy fellow Satanists, as their unnatural deaths served Satan's cause (63,64,86). Other Satanists were, in fantasy, hated siblings and competitors for Satan's paternal love and recognition. The success of S's identification with the destructive subpersonality is evident in his being feared by other Satanists because of his superior demonic power, cruelty, callousness, and indifference to death (87). S's relationship with the high priest was one of mutual hatred and rivalry, which became more intense as S made rapid progress in the satanic hierarchy, and employed his demonic power to challenge the high priest (74,75). The high priest was evidently identified with the projected bad paternal part-object, arising from S's abusive relationship with his father, and S consequently wanted to attack and overthrow this hated authority figure.

S's prior war experiences had hardened him against the distress associated with death, killing and conflict (58,60). His emotional responsiveness to his satanic involvement was blunted by his familiar use of denial as a defence against anxiety and emotional pain. Consequently, he managed the stress of the cult life relatively successfully.

14.6.4. Experience of demonic possession

S invited demonic possession through ritual invocation, and sexual intercourse with those already possessed (77,82). He initially experienced the supernatural power derived from this as gratifying. The demons' visible manifestations revealed them to be powerful composites of human, animal, and reptilian characteristics (78,80). The only expression S recalls seeing in their eyes was hatred (81). These details suggest that the demons were personified, hallucinatory manifestations of primitive, destructive self and object aspects,

which S's ego could not assimilate or adaptively modify. However, the ego-syntonic identification with his destructive subpersonality made possible the re-introjection of previously split-off and dissociated negative self and object representations. In this way S consciously used himself as the willing receptacle for personified aspects of his own internal world, as this made him feel powerful.

Despite S's belief that he was in control of the possessing demons, he soon learned that any negative thoughts about Satan, or attempts to deceive him, resulted in punitive demonic attacks (83,84,85). As a consequence of these attacks, S felt broken and psychologically destroyed, and was hospitalised for physical symptoms that appeared to have no organic origin. These phenomena indicate how any attempts by S to dissociate himself from the destructive subpersonality resulted in the fantasy of being internally attacked and persecuted by vengeful bad objects. The power of this fantasy is evident in S's somatic symptoms.

14.6.5. Motivation for leaving Satanism and the experience of this process

After being transferred to another town, S's attempts to continue his satanic work were frustrated by the spiritual presence of evangelical Christians, who were determined to love and befriend him, despite his attempts to avoid them (90,91,92). S also had the novel experience of a mutual, loving relationship with an older woman (88,93). Given S's childhood experience of maternal rejection, it is not surprising that his unmet emotional needs were activated by an older woman. The activation of his split-off libidinal personality, in relation to a good maternal object, served to undermine his identification with the destructive subpersonality. The contradiction between his satanic identity and the new experience of loving and being loved, made S feel confused and question his satanic commitment. S discovered that his lover was a committed Christian. Because he loved her, and wished to protect her from harm, he did not reveal his satanic involvement to her (95,96). This indicates the adult reactivation of childhood depressive anxiety concerning S's need to protect the good maternal object from his fantasised destructiveness.

Despite ceasing his satanic activities, S's life-style did not conform to Christian principles (99,100). Being the object of constant love and Christian spiritual care, however, gave him insight into the lie he was living. He consequently renounced Satanism and gave himself to God (102). After becoming a Christian, S feared that Satan would destroy him, but the anticipated demonic attacks did not materialise as S still retained his supernatural powers, and pursued an un-Christian life-style (103,104). In other words, the anticipated persecution by the vengeful destructive subpersonality did not occur because S did not completely identify with Christianity, but lived in a morally ambiguous space between these spiritual polarities.

S's complacent enjoyment of his post-satanic existence was shaken when a charismatic Christian confronted him with a spiritual choice between his hedonistic life-style, and relinquishing his supernatural powers to rely solely on God's protection (105,106,107). S's decision to ultimately renounce his occult powers resulted in extreme torment, as satanic forces attempted to destroy him, rather than lose him to God (108). S decompensated to the point where he contemplated suicide as the only escape from demonic persecution (109). Psychologically, this may be understood as a psychic attack by the betrayed destructive subpersonality, from which S had finally dissociated himself. S's identification with the libidinal parts of his personality prompted persecutory attacks by the destructive parts of his mind, reducing S to a paranoid, despairing, suicidal state.

Although involved in Christian activities, S did not fully trust God's power, and relied on his own resources to ward off satanic influence. S believes that this failure to depend completely on God, together with his "sinful" life-style, made him vulnerable to continued demonic influence (113,114). This, reasons S, lay behind his compulsion by the "demon of perversion" to engage in sexual exhibitionism and voyeuristic behaviour (115). The perverse manifestation of compelling deviant sexual behaviour confronted S with ego-dystonic sexualised aspects of his earliest contact with an exciting, but unavailable, maternal object, which he defensively perceived to be caused by alien demonic forces.

After being arrested for exhibitionism, S believed that he had hurt his partner, destroyed her trust, and lost everything he had loved (116,117,118). Feeling distraught, guilty, and humiliated, he again contemplated suicide (119). Whatever the interpersonal reality of S's relationship with his partner at this point, in fantasy he had damaged the good maternal object, and was overwhelmed by depressive anxiety, guilt, and self-hatred. S was rescued from his suicidal state by the charismatic Christian who had previously converted him (120,121). He was taken to a rural mission station, where he was exorcised, baptised, and taught to rely completely on God to protect him from Satan (121,122,123). Thus began a process of identification with a new idealised paternal part-object, God, and the protective expulsion of the destructive subpersonality with the help of Christian rituals.

Despite his Christian conversion, S continued to experience demonic attacks, in the form of intense headaches, whenever he engaged in Christian worship(124). This indicates that the defensive expulsion of the destructive subpersonality was not entirely successful, and that fantasies of intrusive attack by this subpersonality gave rise to visceral pain. After undergoing repeated exorcism rituals S regained control of his life, and won the trust of his friends (125). After living with his Christian mentor for a year, S moved out, resumed drinking alcohol, and ceased attending Christian gatherings (126,127,128). This made S vulnerable, once more, to unconscious identification with the destructive subpersonality, and resulted in further ego-dystonic perverse behaviour, with concomitant loss of all his former self-respect and dignity (128,129).

With the help of Christian friends, he again managed to regain control of his life from the demonic forces (130). As a consequence of God's profound influence on his life, he avers, S has high self-esteem, and is filled with unambivalent love and compassion for others (131,132). S had clearly established a state of constant introjective identification with an idealised paternal part-object, giving rise to a new subpersonality structure, characterised by ideal Christian qualities. Having become a transformed son of God, S is now on a Christian mission of salvation, devoted to protecting others from Satan (133,135). Defensive splitting, and the absolute reversal of positive and negative

polarities between dissociated part-objects (God and Satan), has allowed S to permanently project the destructive parts of himself into Satan, and commit himself completely to God's cause.

Subject Seven

14.7.1. Predisposing factors

S recalls being an introverted, asocial, and ruthlessly aggressive child, who constantly felt the need to harm objects, animals, and people (1,2,4,5). His childhood memories are coloured by hatred, and the urge to violate the world around him. Whatever the origin of S's intensely aggressive fantasies, his earliest object experience would have been tainted by his destructiveness, and prevented the establishment of a good internal object. The introjection of objects imbued with his destructive projections would have created an internal world populated by hostile and sadistic bad objects. S's relationship with his parents was, not surprisingly, characterised by conflict and a lack of communication (7). He hated his parents, who he perceived as critical and rejecting (10,11). Furthermore, S's aggressive behaviour led to him being ostracised by others, and feeling like a social outcast (3), thereby intensifying his hatred, and his tendency to withdraw from a world perceived as hostile.

Despite his childhood preoccupation with destructive fantasies, there is evidence of a libidinal part of S which felt depressive anxiety in response to his mounting hatred, and the prospect of this contaminating the external world. S had in fantasy externalised his good objects to protect them from his destructive internal world, but now feared for their safety outside of him. Feeling sickened and devoured by hatred, he would isolate himself in his bedroom, thereby temporarily insulating others from his own destructiveness (6,8). S's schizoid withdrawal almost severed all connection with the social world and, despite resenting school life, he realised that this was all that tenuously connected him to society (12,13). S appears to have coped defensively with extreme depressive anxiety by

identifying with his destructive internal objects, thereby minimising internal conflict by rendering his hatred ego-syntonic. This created a dominant destructive subpersonality structure, which found expression in cruel, hostile, and antisocial behaviour. He terrified teachers and pupils alike with emotional tirades and death threats, and their visible fear gave S a gratifying sense of power and control over them (14,15,18,19). S, feeling rejected by his parents,' defied their perfectionist moral expectations by adopting a negative identity, thereby becoming bad instead of good (23).

S's negative identity, based on identification with his destructive subpersonality, could not entirely negate a libidinal part of his mind. This is evident in his experience of being an unhappy adolescent, striving for knowledge that would connect him to the world around him (25). This striving for connection was expressed in the form of spiritual questions concerning his origins, and the existence of God, questions not adequately addressed by his Catholic upbringing (24). In other words, the absence of a constant good internal object, as a consequence of S's destructiveness, created the yearning in S for an omnipotently good figure, symbolised by God, who would connect him to the split-off parts of himself, and heal his schizoid isolation. S, however, could not accept the Catholic God, as this figure was identified with his critical and perfectionist parents, thereby explaining his spontaneous destruction of a Bible and religious instruction materials (22).

S believes that every level of his being inclined him toward Satanism and a ready acceptance of it's subculture, based upon hatred and destruction, rather than the Christian doctrine of love and acceptance (65). He consciously identified with the figure of Satan (69), perceiving the same evil in himself as in the legendary demonic God. Terrorising people was exciting for S, and his satanic involvement increased his ability to do so (70). He was drawn to Satanism because it's rituals involved inflicting physical pain on others, and sanctioned his predilection for self-mutilation (67). Prior to becoming a Satanist, S engaged in deliberate acts of animal cruelty because he derived sadistic pleasure from watching the animals' pain (68). The dominating influence of his destructive subpersonality clearly predisposed him to hatred and sadism, and Satan represented a

projected ideal part-object, whose destructiveness was perversely made good by virtue of the god's acceptance of S's aggressive nature. Introjective identification with this idealised paternal object allowed S to incorporate Satan's legendary omnipotent destructiveness, while simultaneously experiencing himself to be the loved son of a supernatural father.

In sum, S's early years reveal a split internal world characterised by a dominant destructive subpersonality, which S largely identified with in order to keep intense depressive anxiety at bay. S's good objects were split off and defensively externalised, prompting S to search for the actualisation of an idealised parental figure who could withstand his hatred, integrate his split inner world, and connect him to the social world from his schizoid defences had alienated him. This figure was symbolised by a god who had to be fundamentally different from the Christian God associated with his rejecting parents. S's developmental history thus clearly predisposed him to satanic cult involvement.

14.7.2. Process of satanic involvement and initiation

S was introduced to Satanism by his only high school friends, who invited him to a social gathering, promising him he would be able to relate comfortably to the people there (20,27,28). The large social gathering turned into a religious ritual, in which an animal was sacrificed and its blood imbibed by the participants (32,33). S, experiencing himself to be callous and destructive, was not negatively affected by witnessing the sacrifice (34). He felt drawn to Satanism by his friends' promises that Satan would answer all his spiritual questions, and satisfy his every need (35). The prospect of narcissistic fusion with an idealised parental figure, who would fill his inner emptiness and heal his schizoid alienation, was obviously very alluring to S. The high priest cautioned him that becoming a Satanist would be difficult, as he would have to renounce his former life, God, and family (37). For S, however, the prospect of forsaking his unhappy life did not bother him, and he longed for power and the company of people who would accept his destructiveness (38).

S's ceremonial initiation commenced with him swearing to accept Satan as his father, Lord, and master, and signing a pact to this effect in his own blood (39,41). He had to denounce Christ, and symbolically attest his hatred of Christianity by defiling and destroying a crucifix (40). A sacrificial animal was then offered to Satan, and S had to drink the fresh blood, signifying the acceptance of Satan and his demons into his body (42). When S committed himself to Satan, and invited demonic possession, he felt a powerful force surge through his body, and experienced a sense of omnipotence (44). From this point he experienced an intensification of his hatred and cruelty, and felt he had made the right decision by becoming a Satanist (43). S's initiation ritual facilitated the oral incorporative fantasy of introjectively identifying with an idealised paternal object, Satan, thereby elaborating and celebrating the ego-syntonic destructive subpersonality that had so influenced his psychic life as a child. The perverse aspect of this identification process was that it was the bad part-object which was idealised, thereby transmogrifying bad into good, while the split-off counterpart, symbolised by Christ, was denigrated. Identification with an idealised bad object allowed S to enact his own destructiveness without suffering depressive anxiety and guilt, hence the ego-syntonic intensification of his hatred and cruelty (43).

14.7.3. Experience of satanic cult involvement

S's hatred of people, and consequent desire for power and control over them, provided a strong motivation for his satanic involvement (45). By means of meditation, and ritual demonic invocation, S believed he obtained a power that allowed him to influence people's actions through thought alone (46). This reveals a primitive omnipotent fantasy of cruelly penetrating and mentally controlling others.

He was also attracted to the cult by the freely available drugs and alcohol, and Satanism's encouragement of uninhibited sexual indulgence (47,48). He felt gratified that Satanism renounced the moral codes of society, and encouraged him to express his anger, hatred and cruelty (49,63). Satanism thus encouraged S's identification with, and expression of, sexual and aggressive impulses, in this way ridding him of moral conflict and guilt. S

experienced a superficial peacefulness, but his tranquil facade masked an explosive internal state, characterised by anarchy, violence and death, resulting from the unrestrained enaction of his primitive destructiveness (50,51). Although S's school performance declined, he derived gratification from his negative identity, and felt honoured to be labelled as "evil" by peers and teachers (52,53).

As a Satanist, S experienced a sense of positive self-regard, based on his belief that he could magically control and influence the actions of others (74). His self-worth was thus based largely on the omnipotent fantasy of magically controlling others by means of thought alone. S's cult duty involved manipulating others, and influencing them to become satanic recruits, and was aided in this task by the belief that his demonic powers gave him unlimited ability to deceive and influence others (54,56). His cult "work" was understandably gratifying, as it enabled S to play out the role of being a powerful and devious manipulator, ruthlessly beguiling weak and gullible victims.

S felt a sense of achievement when his deliberate ploy of antagonising Christians resulted in them expressing anger, thereby making themselves vulnerable to demonic intrusion (57). Envy of others' goodness lay behind the satisfaction S derived from corrupting and tainting them with his badness. S's hatred of others inclined him to see people as objects to torture, denigrate, and demoralise (55). Not surprisingly, the cruelty and destructiveness of ritual animal sacrifice gave him sadistic pleasure (63). S studied the works of published Satanists, but idolised and identified with the black magician, Alaister Crowley, reputedly the most evil human being (59).

S's consistently hostile behaviour meant that he had an uneasy relationship with his fellow cult members (64). He felt that his destructive intensity and misery distanced him from them, and prevented him from relating to them (60). His original quest for a sense of belonging and connectedness with others was frustrated by his aggression and evident self-hatred, which isolated him from any positive interpersonal encounters. During rituals, S felt terrified by the awesome power displayed by certain cult members, and the knowledge

that he and his demons were helplessly vulnerable to potential attack by more powerful Satanists (71). This experience reveals the existence of a weak, vulnerable self aspect, which co-existed with the destructive subpersonality. This self representation was permanently threatened by bad internal objects, and their projected manifestation in S's perception of others as powerful potential assailants.

14.7.4. Experience of demonic possession

Voluntary demonic possession, through sexual intercourse with satanic witches, as well as ritual demonic invocation, was a routine aspect of cult life (76). When invoked, the demons would manifest themselves, and cult participants would verbally assent to accepting the demons into them (77). Drug ingestion and the hypnotic suggestion of the invocation rituals facilitated the personification of, and introjective identification with, previously split-off and projected destructive aspects of S's personality. These were subsequently experienced to be demonic alien entities, which S then invited into his being, thereby becoming a receptacle for bad objects. S consequently experienced himself to be a host, who was used and controlled by his demonic inhabitants, and thus not responsible for his destructive behaviour (83). S initially believed that he exercised control over his demons, but later realised that the demons controlled him, and used him for their own destructive ends (75). He would hear the internal voices of demons directing his behaviour (80) and, when drinking, taking drugs or fighting, S's "demons" would induce uncontrollable aggressive outbursts in him (79). He felt afraid and estranged from himself when the possessing demonic entities took over his personality, controlling his body and actions (81). While possessed, S's cognitive functioning would be impaired, and he could not clearly recall his demonically-induced behaviour after the event (84). Despite the anxiety occasioned by S's inability to control his demonic inhabitants, he continued to invite them inside him in order to obtain more supernatural power (82). All these possession phenomena suggest the primitive fantasy of being controlled by dissociated, destructive parts of S's own mind, resulting in hallucinations, delusions of influence, self-alienation, and amnestic episodes.

14.7.5. Motives for leaving Satanism and experience of this process

The process of S's leaving Satanism occurred gradually over a number of years, as the negative effects of his involvement became apparent (91). He was initially disinclined to leave because Satanism gave him power and authority over people (73). He also knew that leaving would not be easy, as the remaining members would terrorise, manipulate, and blackmail him into staying (72). However, S could no longer deny the negative impact of satanic involvement on his life. His general sensory awareness became blunted, and he lost all appreciation of beauty (95). His hatred and hostility drove his friends away, and isolated him from his family (92,94). He started deteriorating physically, becoming extremely thin and looking older than his years (96). He felt lonely, unloved, and deprived of female affection because women were afraid of him (97). He eventually even lost his compelling desire for supernatural power (99).

At this point, feeling empty and reduced to the barest level of existence, S lost the will to live (93). He could not rid himself of the controlling demons, and feared persecution should he attempt to leave the cult. His life had become unbearable, and S attempted suicide as the only means of escape from his predicament (85, 98). At an intrapsychic level, these events, culminating in a serious attempt to kill himself, may be understood to have resulted from the activity of S's destructive subpersonality, which attacked every libidinal aspect of his world, leaving him unloved, lonely, empty, and tormented by persecutory bad objects.

After being discharged from hospital following his suicide attempt, S met a Christian who vowed to rescue him from Satanism (100). S wanted to change his life for the better, and so allowed Christians to pray for his deliverance from Satanism (101). When he underwent the Christian exorcism ceremony he began growling, screaming, swearing, and shivering with cold (86). These dramatic reactions to the exorcism procedure may be interpreted in terms of a dissociative state, induced when the destructive subpersonality, experienced as a hostile possessing entity, manifested when S attempted to ally himself with libidinal parts of his mind, evoked by Christian love and prayer.

When the spirits were commanded to leave him, S felt a great force exit his body, leaving him cold, exhausted, but gratifyingly empty of possessing demons (87,88,89,90). S's experience of deliverance from possession was made possible by the hypnotic suggestion of the exorcism ritual, which promoted defensive expulsion, via projection fantasies, of the destructive subpersonality. His subsequent Christian conversion was facilitated by the gratifying, and emotionally overwhelming, experience of being loved by others for the first time (103,104). The internalisation of an idealised paternal part-object, in the form of benign God, instead of a malevolent Satan, allowed S to experience himself as a cared-for child of a loving father and Christian family.

After leaving the cult S, having witnessed evidence of a vicious attack on another cult defector, lived in fear of Satanists who threatened to kill him unless he returned (105,106). However, faith in God's love and protection helped him overcome his fear of satanic retribution (107). S's new sense of safety indicates the dominant influence of an idealised object relations structure, facilitated by Christian ideology, in which S feels himself to be the protected child of an omnipotent father. He thus has a zest for life, and is a committed child of God, eager to serve his new supernatural father (113). Christianity, he contends, enabled him to overcome his hatred and destructiveness, which were replaced by a radiant sense of internal warmth and love for others, including his previously hated parents (109,111,116). This dramatic personality change resulted from S's identification with the idealised paternal part-object, God, leading to the formation of a benevolent subpersonality, apparently free of all destructiveness. This allowed S to establish many intimate relationships, and experience his family as loving, rather than critical and prohibitive (110,112,115).

14.2: General interpretation of common themes in terms of object relations theory

14.2.1. Predisposing factors
All of the subjects, despite their different experiences, realised that their involvement in Satanism was a process that could not be understood outside of their personal and familial

histories. More specifically, all of the subjects spontaneously contextualised their accounts of satanic involvement within historical narratives of failed relationships that centred upon childhood rejection and deficient parenting. Mothers were portrayed as indifferent, neglectful, depriving, unloving, and insensitive to subjects' needs for affection and affirmation. Even subjects two and six, who felt the need to defend their vulnerable mothers from either abusive husbands, or their own childhood emotions, felt resentful toward these maternal figures for their passivity, lack of containment or protection, and inadequate provision of maternal care. Subjects who later discovered that they had been adopted felt that their adoptive status was implicated in their experience of deficient parenting. Subjects one and three were adopted at birth, and subject five believed that he was a changeling, that his biological mother was not the woman who had raised him. Awareness of their adoptive status provided these subjects with an interpretative context for their experience of deficient mothering.

Significantly, however, while all the subjects experienced their mothers as deficient in some respect, their fathers were consistently perceived to be abusive, neglectful, and unavailable. Four of the subjects reported frequent paternal physical abuse, and grew up fearing and hating their fathers. What is striking about these accounts of deficient parenting is that both parents are consistently implicated, whether passively or actively, in the subjects' experiences of growing up in interpersonal environments characterised by the absence of affection, protection, affirmation, and demonstrated caring.

Relationships with siblings also featured prominently in subjects' descriptions of their familial environments. In circumstances characterised by experiences of being unloved, rejected, deprived and badly treated by parental figures, four of those six subjects with siblings reported feelings of jealousy and hostility towards brothers and sisters, perceiving them to be the favoured recipients of loving parental attention.

These negative early parental interactions were internalised as dynamic psychic structures comprising object-representations of abusive, rejecting, and unloving parental figures,

interacting with self representations of rejected, unloved, unworthy, helpless and cruelly-treated children. The relationship between the negative maternal and paternal introjects appears to include: (1) defensive displacement of the negative aspects of the maternal object onto the paternal object (subjects two and six), thereby maintaining a relatively good maternal figure, but intensifying the perceived badness of the paternal object; or (2) the super-imposition or fusion of bad maternal and paternal part-objects. The predominant affect accompanying these internal object relations was aggression, manifest as hatred, resentment, and anger. These predominantly bad internal objects, owing to the relative absence of good parental experience, and the aggressive affect accompanying introjection, resulted in the formation of unusually hostile and persecutory superego structures. The destructive quality of these superego structures was aggravated by the subjects' uncontained hatred and anger, which both intensified the persecutory quality of the superego, and resulted in the subjects' experiencing themselves as bad, worthless, and unlovable.

The presence of this persecutory internal bad object constellation was obviously anxiety-provoking for the subjects, and they employed splitting defences to protect what little good object experience they had managed to obtain. Splitting resulted in the fantasy of an ideal part-object representation, in the form of an all-loving, protecting, and affirming parental figure, coexisting alongside the destructive part-object representation. This ideal object may be consciously or unconsciously longed for and sought after, or it may be actualised in fantasy as a relationship with a benevolent supernatural entities. Thus, as a child, subject five developed a relationship with a tutelary spirit guide, who served as a trustworthy mentor, protector and ally. Subject seven also received a spirit guide, who gave him supernatural abilities, spiritual enlightenment and power over others. Subject six, despite his hatred and destructiveness, yearned for a god who would connect him to the split-off parts of himself, and heal his schizoid isolation. A corresponding ideal self-representation of a loved, cherished, protected, and special child provided the subject pole of this gratifying internal object relation.

A number of defensive strategies centred upon these split object relations were evident in the subjects' narratives. Subjects one and four strove to actualise the fantasised ideal object relation by transforming themselves into perfectly good children, in order to win parental love and approval. Subjects three and five used the unconscious defence mechanism of projective identification to locate the destructive internal objects outside of themselves, where they were manifest as fearful supernatural visitations. Subject seven also employed projective identification, but used this defence to externalise the good aspects of himself, and then isolated himself in order to protect the outside world from his internal destructiveness. Subject six resorted to conscious fantasies of being somebody else, a more well-liked individual, in order to cope with his alienation and negative self representation.

What is important to note, however, is that these defences were all unable to adequately contain the subjects' anxiety related to bad self and object-representations. All the subjects thus resorted to a more radical defence mechanism, namely identification with bad internal objects and the adoption of a negative identity. The structural consequence of this defensive measure was the formation of a psychic organisation, or subpersonality, based on introjective identification with the destructive part-object, the specific qualities of which were shaped partly by destructive self aspects projected into the object. At the social level this subpersonality was expressed and reinforced by membership of deviant youth subcultures, where aggressive opposition to conventional social norms was rewarded with peer approval.

The need for peer group belonging, although a common feature of adolescence, appears to have assumed particular importance for these subjects. In the context of perceived familial rejection, they grew up with the feeling that they were outcasts, alienated not only from their families, but also from a society that appeared to be judgmental, hostile, and unwelcoming. Subjects initially experienced themselves to be friendless and unpopular with their peers, either because they were socially withdrawn or, as in the case of subjects five and seven, because their aggressive behaviour alienated other children. However, the

realisation that their needs for belonging, acceptance, and affirmation could not be met in their families of origin, meant that winning the substitute acceptance of their peers in later years was a matter of considerable importance. Prior to their satanic involvement, the peer affirmation that typically accompanied subjects' adoption of a negative identity was consequently experienced as very gratifying.

Identification with the destructive subpersonality resulted in subjects experiencing a sense of power and control, thereby defending them from underlying self-representations of vulnerability, rejection, and inferiority. In subjects one, two, three, and seven, identification with the destructive subpersonality was accompanied by aggressive and cruel behaviour in which others were hurt and dominated in a manner reminiscent of how the subjects had felt in relation to their bad parental objects. The victims of the subjects' sadism were receptacles for split-off and projected impotent self aspects.

Subjects typically related in a hostile and antagonistic manner toward authority figures, who were unconsciously identified with cruel, critical, and rejecting superego figures. Interestingly, only subject five was raised in a strongly religious family environment, yet four of the subjects (two, four, five and seven) developed an early negative perception of Christianity. This may be explained in terms of negative transference reactions to God as a paternal figure. The Christian God is the ultimate symbol of Western paternal authority, and was negatively associated with the subjects' hated father figures.

Only subjects four and seven displayed no prior interest in the occult world before becoming Satanists. In the case of most subjects, however, some experience of, or fascination with the supernatural preceded their introduction to Satanism. Subjects one, three, and six first encountered the supernatural through occult philosophy, games or divinatory activities. Subjects two and five were visited as children by what they perceived to be supernatural entities, and subject six also experienced contact with a spiritual being prior to his satanic involvement. Through these supernatural experiences subjects glimpsed a world of occult power, energy and influence that they found strongly

attractive. For individuals who experienced themselves as weak, powerless and vulnerable as children, it is quite understandable that a perceived world of magical power should be so enticing. Individuals familiar in some way with the supernatural world thus appear predisposed to exploring Satanism as the ultimate sphere of occult influence.

14.2.2. Process of satanic involvement and initiation

As Satanism is a secret cult, the process of becoming a member is a protracted affair in which potential Satanists are observed and screened over a period of time to assess their suitability. This screening process typically occurred in the context of friendly relationships with individuals who, unbeknown to the subjects, were members of satanic organisations. Subjects were either identified as outsiders, and befriended by Satanists, or were approached by Satanists affiliated to the same alternative youth subcultures. After their initial encounter with Satanism, subjects were typically required to wait a period, ranging from weeks to months, before becoming members. The purpose of this time period is to give potential new members the opportunity of seriously considering whether or not to join the cult, and to give existing cult members further opportunity to assess the aspirant Satanists' suitability. The perception that cult members known to the subjects have extraordinary charisma, power and influence over others makes the prospect of cult membership extremely attractive.

Having made a decision to join the cult, all the subjects were required to undergo a formal ritual initiation. The initiation rituals included the following core aspects: (1) The rejection and denigration of the Christian God, and sacrilegious violation of Christian symbols; (2) cutting oneself and using the blood to sign a pact pledging oneself to Satan and the destruction of Christianity; (3) an animal sacrifice in which the blood is collected, and the initiate required to drink the blood, symbolising the acceptance of Satan into one's life.

This symbolic incorporation of Satan, via the ingestion of blood from an animal identified with the god, is a powerful ritual that facilitates introjective identification with Satan,

thereby transforming a mythical figure into a vital internal presence. The act of blood drinking has further significance, firstly as a taboo activity, and as a deliberate corruption of the Christian Eucharist, in which wine symbolising Christ's blood is imbibed. The paternal emphasis of the initiation ritual is important; initiates are not only servants, but also *children* of Satan. Satan thus becomes the omnipotent father whose blood is literally internalised, thereby establishing, in a concrete fashion reminiscent of primitive infantile fantasy, an internal part-object relation between a cherished child and an idealised father.

The significance of denigrating the Christian God lies both in its promotion of splitting defences, evident in the good-bad duality of God and Satan, and the portrayal of Satanism as a subversive and oppositional ideology. The initiation ceremony is gratifying and exciting because initiates experience themselves to be the chosen sons and daughters of a powerful father, which for them is a unique experience. In this way they are dramatically actualising an ideal paternal part-object relationship with Satan, while simultaneously entrenching a pre-existing, but split-off, bad part-object relationship with the hated internal father, projected into the figure of God. Satan thus becomes the good father they never had, while God becomes the externalised bad paternal object, ceremonially rendered impotent, denigrated and attacked.

Initiation into the cult is gratifying for a second reason, namely the novel experience of being welcomed and accepted by a group of people who, in contrast to the subjects' families of origin, are not critical, judgmental, or rejecting. The satanic initiates thus experience a strong sense of belonging, based on the unconscious perception that the cult is a caring surrogate family. Having felt excluded from familial love and caring, and alienated from peer group acceptance, it is readily understandable how these outsiders and self-described social outcasts would relish the experience of familial belonging accompanying their new status of members of this tightly-knit, secret organisation. For all of the subjects, becoming Satanists meant renouncing their former lives and previous identities. For subjects two and four the adoption of a satanic identity was strikingly symbolised by being given a new name.

Satanism's status as an aggressively oppositional (anti-Christian) cult is psychologically important to initiates, who perceive themselves to be angry and aggressive victims of paternal abuse and rejection. Instead of being required to suppress their hostile feelings and forgive their enemies, Satanism actively encourages hatred and the acting out of aggression, by means of ritual attacks on the split-off bad paternal object (God) and those associated with him. Satanic initiates, however, do not merely perceive themselves as children of Satan but, by virtue of identification processes, experience a sense of becoming him. This identification fantasy contributes to the feelings of elation and omnipotence that typically accompany acceptance into the cult, and transforms them from helpless victims into powerful victors.

14.2.3. Experience of satanic cult involvement

Subjects' experience of their cult involvement appears to encompass two stages or phases, characterised by the length of time spent in the cult, and their experience of cult life as generally positive or negative. As indicated in the previous section, satanic initiates experience a strong sense of gratification at the beginning of their life in the coven. In addition to the novel experience of social acceptance and belonging, new cult members acquire certain skills or competencies which strongly influence their self-perception. Most important in this regard is the acquisition of "magical" abilities and "supernatural" powers. New members are instructed in a range of magical techniques, whereby they are led to believe that they can control themselves, their physical environment, and the thoughts and actions of others. Self-control techniques typically involve the belief that they can use their minds to control their bodies, e.g. through concentration they claim to leave their bodies and "astral travel" in disembodied form to wherever they wish themselves to be. Environmental control concerns the belief that subjects have psychokinetic powers, and can influence physical objects by means of thought alone. The "magical" power most valued by Satanists is the self-perceived ability to mentally control the thoughts and actions of others. These fantasies of magical power suggest a conscious elaboration of primitive unconscious infantile fantasies, in which impulses are equated with actions. The prototypal omnipotent fantasy is that of projective identification, whereby a destructive

part of the self is located in another, with real consequences for the other. Given the pre-existing tendency to splitting defences and omnipotent fantasy in these subjects, it is understandable that they would believe themselves capable of supernatural feats. Acquisition of these "powers" made subjects' feel that they were invulnerable and omnipotent. Another gratifying consequence of subjects' magical beliefs was the perception that others could sense their supernatural power, and respond to them with fear and respect.

Much satanic ritual activity centres upon using malevolent magic to harm others, thereby encouraging subjects' long-standing omnipotent, sadistic fantasies of harming those family members experienced as cruel and rejecting. In this way, persecutory bad internal objects, projected into others, are killed and tortured in fantasy. This provides sadistic gratification, while reinforcing subjects' omnipotently destructive self representations.

Satanic rituals, the cult code of secrecy, dogmatic polarisation of reversed positive and negative values, and the denigration of non-Satanists, creates a strong sense of group identity, while simultaneously alienating members from broader society. Although cult members spend much of their time attending coven meetings and engaging in satanic activities, they also perform normal social roles, and are never entirely removed from society.

Much cult emphasis is placed on the hedonistic gratification of instinctual desire, and alcohol and drug use, as well as sexual orgies, frequently form part of cult meetings. This ideology obviously constitutes a reversal of society's moral code, and, by encouraging the gratification of instinctual impulses, the cult rids members of moral conflict and guilt normally associated with instinctual indulgence. Ritual sexual activity in Satanism means more than mere instinctual gratification, it creates interpersonal ties based on the introjective and projective fantasies that psychic aspects of oneself and others are literally transferred and located in the other during sexual intercourse.

Satanic activity, however, does not revolve around hedonistic indulgence; subjects are assigned duties and expected to perform Satan's work. This typically involves recruiting newcomers, as well as infiltrating and undermining Christian groups. These activities are willingly undertaken, not merely because they provide opportunities for manipulating people and attacking the spiritual enemy, but also because they win Satan's paternal approval.

It is the ritual aspects of Satanism, particularly sacrificial rituals which hold the most power for participants. Subjects report experiencing a sense of excitement and anticipation during sacrificial rituals, culminating in the victim's throat being cut, and the blood ceremonially drunk in a blasphemous parody of Christian communion. The ingestion of blood is consciously associated with the cannibalistic fantasy of increasing one's own power and vitality through the oral incorporation of another's life force. Subjects spoke of developing addictive cravings for blood after drinking it repeatedly.

Four of the subjects explicitly stated that they had witnessed or participated in the ritual sacrifice of human beings. Subjects one and two claim to have witnessed both the sacrifice of adults and the ceremonial murder of infants born to female members of the cult. Subject two claims to have experienced the induced abortion and cannibalisation of her own foetus by coven members. Subjects responded to these alleged human sacrifices with a range of emotions, from excitement (subject two), to dissociated reactions and emotional numbness (subjects one and five), and guilt (subject three).

The normalisation of the perverse is a common experience for Satanists. The repetitive observation and performance of deviant, cruel, and destructive acts results in an acceptance of this behaviour as commonplace. A common experience at some point is a moral inversion in which any feelings of concern or remorse for others are replaced by feelings of triumph, hatred, contempt and success associated with the victimisation of others. This manic state is induced by intense cult indoctrination, which disparages

Christianity and its value system, thereby further encouraging subjects' identification with the destructive subpersonality, and the disavowal of libidinal parts of the personality.

Subjects describe obtaining sadistic pleasure from ritual sacrifices, as well as from manipulating and controlling others by magical means. This sadistic pleasure results from identification with the cruel and destructive subpersonality, as well as from the fantasy that the victims were projectively identified with the hated parts of themselves or their objects, whose punishment is consequently gratifying for the subjects. Christians are also receptacles for Satanists' projective identifications, particularly those self aspects experienced as weak and vulnerable in relation to the destructive subpersonality and cult ideology. These despised self aspects are then mocked and magically attacked in ritual onslaughts on the Christian enemy.

Subjects experienced their relationships with their respective high priests/priestesses in a number of different ways. Subjects two and six perceived their high priests negatively, responding to them with suspicion, antagonism, and competitiveness. These male cult leaders were clearly transference figures for the subjects, who unconsciously related to them as projected negative paternal object representations, who had to be closely watched and overthrown should they abuse their authority. Subject five related to his high priestess as a powerful bad maternal object who, like his mother, initially seemed powerful and fear-inspiring, but later appeared to him as potentially weak and vulnerable. Subject one felt a mixture of terror and respect toward her high priest.

Power and dominance within the cult are determined by the strength of members' personalities, and the power of the demons invited to possess them. Ritual demonic invocation forms an important part of satanic magic. By consciously opening themselves to possession by demons, Satanists acquire the demons' supernatural powers. This will be discussed in detail in the following section.

The second phase of individuals' cult "careers" are announced by the progressive shift, over months or years, from predominantly positive, to decidedly negative cult experiences and attitudes toward their cult identity. The factors responsible for Satanists' changing perceptions of the cult will be discussed in detail in Section Five.

14.2.4. Experience of demonic possession

Demonic invocation is an integral part of satanic cult activity. Unlike victims of involuntary demon possession, Satanists perform rituals to invite possession by demonic spirits. All of the subjects thus reported experiences of demons and demonic possession. For most subjects, demonic spirit possession coincided with their initiation into the cult. Subjects two and five, however, first experienced demonic possession during childhood or adolescence, prior to their cult involvement. Subject six, while involved in pre-satanic occult pursuits, received a spirit "guide" who gave him enlightenment and supernatural power.

Having been initiated into the cult, members are taught that demons are real, albeit disincarnate entities, who serve Satan and can be deployed to further the cult's objectives. Demons are "used" in two ways: they are either summoned and "sent" to harm individuals targeted for persecution by Satanists, or they are invoked and consciously invited to enter the bodies of their willing human hosts. The motivation for voluntary demonic possession is the belief that, when possessed, the hosts partake in the supernatural power of the possessing entities. This gives the hosts supernatural strength, and raises their influence and status within the satanic hierarchy.

Demons have different identities and characteristics, and some demons are more powerful than others. While most Satanists indiscriminately invite possession by demons, subject five claims to have invited possession only by powerful and "high-ranking" demons, thereby giving him supremacy over Satanists possessed by lesser spirits. Demonic possession is believed to occur by three means: ritual invocation, blood drinking, and sexual intercourse with individuals already possessed. Subjects' accounts of their

possession states reveal the following general features. Firstly, the possessed person experiences a sense of superhuman physical strength, typically manifest in ferocious assaults on perceived enemies. Subject two claims that demonic possession was also responsible for his alleged feats of supernatural sexual endurance. Secondly, possession results in the host undergoing a temporary dramatic personality transformation. Subject two, for example, was typically quiet and reserved. When possessed, however, he would respond to provocation with uncharacteristic excessive violence. Thirdly, during the initial stages of satanic involvement, subjects believe that they have conscious control over their possessing demons. This gives rise to grandiose fantasies of unlimited power over others. However, all of the subjects later discovered that it was in fact they who were controlled by the demons. This realisation announced a shift from the experience of voluntary possession, to involuntary (ego-dystonic) possession. The experience of being controlled inwardly by possessing entities elicits strong anxiety, as well as confusion, dissociated mental states, visceral symptoms, amnesia, and destructive involuntary behaviour.

A fourth characteristic of possession is the auditory experience of demonic voices, either internal or external, giving instructions, berating the hosts, or squabbling among themselves. Subjects also reported visual manifestations of demons. Although demons are regarded as spiritual entities, they are believed to adopt visible forms. Visual descriptions of demons varied among subjects. Subject one described her demons as huge, shadowy masculine figures with red eyes, while others assumed animal forms. Subject three's demons manifested as animal or humanoid figures, images associated with horror films he had seen. Subject four's demons appeared to him as a wrinkled crone, a handsome young man, and an ugly beast. Subject five was possessed by a demon that appeared as a giant, translucent, oriental male figure. Subject six described his demons as composites of human, animal, and reptilian characteristics. The demons experienced by Satanists can be understood to be personified, hallucinatory manifestations of primitive destructive self and object representations that cannot be assimilated into the ego. The degree of destructiveness associated with these representations stems directly from the aggression directed toward "bad" parental objects, whose original negative qualities are

aggravated by the children's hostile projections. Their frequent manifestation as ugly composite figures of quasi-human and animalistic/reptilian characteristics, filled with hate and malice, indicates the embodiment of the most primitive self and object fantasies. These anxiety-provoking bad self/object representations are defensively split off and externalised in fantasy, thereby attaining a life of their own as supernatural entities. On becoming members of satanic covens, neophytes are exposed to an ideology which celebrates hatred and destructiveness, teaches that demons are spiritual realities, and provides a mythical-ritual structure for the ego-syntonic re-internalisation of the split-off ego aspects. Subjects' pre-satanic identification with the destructive subpersonality facilitates this re-introjection, which would otherwise elicit extreme persecutory anxiety. Having re-internalised their "demons", subjects are gratified by the belief that they can command the supernatural powers of their possessing inhabitants, powers which express their own omnipotent destructive fantasies.

The relationship between demons and Satan is a hierarchical one. Satan, too, is a demon, but he is the supreme demonic authority who commands subordinate demons in the same way that God is believed to command His angels. Subjects one, two, three, and five claim to have seen Satan. While the detail of their respective descriptions differed to some extent, all of the subjects witnessed Satan materialise as a tall, silent, attractive, refined, Caucasian male figure, with an immensely powerful presence. Upon seeing him materialise, subjects felt a mixture of terror, awe, and respect. Satan's appearance, and subjects' experience of him as a supernatural father, indicates his status as a hallucinatory manifestation of a projected, omnipotent, paternal object representation. Initially, Satan is idealised as the omnipotent paternal part-object, who gives his satanic "children" power, acceptance, instinctual gratification and security. Unlike God, who symbolises the hostile, critical, and rejecting bad paternal part-object, Satan is believed to welcome all those social misfits who previously experienced themselves as despised and rejected.

Moreover, Satan celebrates the aggressive, destructive, and sexual aspects of people that are harshly judged and condemned by Christian ideologies and authority figures in the

broader society. By encouraging and accepting what is traditionally bad - sadism, incest, perversion and destructiveness - Satan sanctions a moral inversion in which destructive parts of the self are idealised, and libidinal parts of the self denigrated. Satan is thus the father who loves his children *because* of their "badness", rather than in spite of it. Identification with this idealised paternal part-object thus entrenches and feeds the destructive subpersonality, projected and personified in the awe-inspiring images of Satan described above.

This situation, however, is only tenable as long as the diabolical subpersonality is slavishly worshipped, and libidinal parts of the personality are hated, dissociated, and attacked in their externalised form as the loathsome Christian enemy. Any reparative impulses, tenderness, compassion, doubts about the cause, or loss of enthusiasm for the cult's sadistic rituals, suddenly transforms Satan from a loving father into a persecutory tyrant. Following the logic of splitting mechanisms, Satan suddenly becomes the bad paternal part-object, while the Satanist becomes the hapless child victim of a cruel, enraged father figure. It is at this point that subjects suddenly experience their possessing demons to be internal persecutors, instructed by Satan to punish the offending member.

The realisation that they cannot influence or escape their possessing demons is a terrifying experience for Satanists. They typically experience fantasies of these autonomous subpersonality components colonising, controlling, and attacking other self aspects. The resulting persecutory anxiety and despair is so intense that individuals contemplate, or even attempt suicide, as a last desperate strategy to escape the demonic invaders. The more subjects attempt to leave or distance themselves from Satanism, the more savage the demonic attacks become. These attacks do not merely result in psychological distress, but also somatic symptoms. Headaches, nausea, boils, stomach cramps, vomiting, rank-smelling sweating, and oral bleeding are some of the somatic symptoms subjects attributed to demonic possession.

14.2.5. Motives for leaving Satanism and experience of this process

The satanic initiation ceremony demands that individuals commit themselves completely and eternally to serving Satan, and this pledge is signed in the initiates' blood. Members are explicitly told that should they attempt to leave Satanism or betray the cult's secrets they will be persecuted and even killed by Satan himself, demons acting at his behest, or by avenging cult members. Moreover, the ceremonial internalisation of Satan through ritual blood drinking creates the conviction that wherever they may go, Satan will always be inside them as an omniscient presence. Given these conditions of membership, it is extremely difficult for cult members to leave Satanism. However, all of the subjects in this study made a decision to leave Satanism, and five of them were able to break away completely. This process began with subjects undergoing a gradual shift from experiencing the cult and their satanic identities as positive, to feeling a deepening sense of disaffection with their cult existence. A number of common factors contribute to this progressive disenchantment.

Firstly, subjects' initial experience of the cult as a loving family, under the benevolent paternal authority of Satan, change with the discovery that satanic relationships are based on conflict, selfishness, and ruthless competition for power and status. Other Satanists thus become, in fantasy, hated siblings and competitors for Satan's paternal love and recognition. The apparent cult unity is discovered to exist only by virtue of the common goal of destroying Christianity. Subjects' initial fantasies of belonging to a loving surrogate family are frustrated and replaced by the familiar experience of fierce sibling rivalry, reminiscent of their childhood experience within their families of origin.

Secondly, subjects experience events which, despite the cult indoctrination, psychic defence mechanisms, and identification with the destructive parts of their personalities, are extremely stressful and even traumatic. Unlike some religious cults in which members spend all of their time in the cult environment, Satanists straddle the contradictory nocturnal and diurnal worlds of extraordinary cult life and ordinary social existence. The fact that these worlds are irreconcilable, and Satanists are forced to pursue a secretive dual

existence, is stressful. Drug abuse, rivalrous relationships with other Satanists, uncertainty about one's fate in the coven, nightmares, and physical exhaustion add to the stress of cult membership. Two of the subjects identified the sacrifice of human infants as the primary factor eroding their satanic commitment. Subject three's participation in the sacrifice of a human infant resulted in him experiencing strong feelings of guilt, hitherto absent in his satanic career. Subject one claims that her own foetus was aborted and cannibalised by cult members, an incident so traumatic that her defences were overwhelmed. Under these circumstances, commitment to the ideology and practices of the cult is difficult to sustain.

Thirdly, the omnipotent belief that the possessing demons are under their hosts' control, is replaced by the frightening realisation that it is the hosts who are completely controlled by the possessing entities. The belief that one commands supernatural entities creates a sense of omnipotence and inflated self-esteem, defensively reversing the childhood experience of vulnerability and powerlessness. For this reason, voluntary demonic possession is an ego-syntonic experience. However, once Satanists discover that they have no real control over the autonomous subpersonality aspects, experienced as possessing demonic spirits, their fantasies of omnipotent control are replaced by feelings of helplessness and persecutory anxiety about the destructive possessing entities within. This anxiety intensifies when the demons induce involuntary displays of aggressive and bizarre behaviour. Subjects, believing that they are under demonic control, find themselves engaging in ego-dystonic acts of physical aggression, verbal abuse, self-destructiveness, and perverse sexual behaviour.

Fourth, the experience of loss undermines Satanists omnipotence and their devotion to the cause. This occurs when, as a consequence of their satanic life-style and behaviour, subjects lose relationships perceived as valuable to them. Subject one claims to have lost her unborn infant in a murderous ritual. Subject two's two successive marriages disintegrated when his partners discovered his satanic involvement. Subject five experienced the loss of his "mother", who he believed was murdered by Satanists. Subject seven realised that his hatred and hostility had driven friends away, and isolated him from

his family. These interpersonal losses serve to connect Satanists with the split-off libidinal parts of their personalities, which value loving connection with others, and which grieve the loss of relationship with loved objects. These losses result in loneliness, emptiness, grief, guilt, rejection and despair, feelings from which the cult ideology and individuals' psychic defences had previously protected them.

Fifth, for subjects five and six, the emergence of loving feelings for another person were responsible for further alienating these individuals from the cult. Falling in love is not possible without the activation of the split-off libidinal parts of the personality, which Satanism systematically attempts to destroy in its members. Falling in love while belonging to a cult based on destructiveness and hatred, ruptures the identification with the destructive subpersonality, thereby undercutting the individual's commitment to the cult and rendering the destructive subpersonality ego-dystonic.

Lastly, as a consequence of subjects' wavering commitment to Satanism, and failure to completely identify with the destructive subpersonality, their relationship with Satan, the mythical projection of the destructive subpersonality, undergoes a radical transformation. The part object relationship in which subjects perceive themselves to be the devoted children of Satan is obviously contingent upon splitting and idealising defences. Subjects believe that by merely entertaining the wish to leave the cult the omniscient Satan knows of their intentions. This activates paranoid fantasies of the split-off, persecutory part-object relationship, in which they suddenly become the "bad" children of an angry and punitive supernatural father. Thus, as a consequence of their desire to leave the cult, they not only lose an idealised father but, because of defensive splitting, suddenly feel terrorised by a sadistic, destructive father, who would rather destroy them than let them leave. The vengeful Satan responds to their betrayal of him by using his demons to attack and punish them. These frightening experiences are delusional persecutory fantasies of attacks on the central self from bad internal objects associated with the destructive subpersonality.

At this point, the increasingly reluctant satanic members feel terrified, helpless, and trapped in a situation from which escape does not seem possible. To stay in the cult would result in continued persecutory attacks from Satan and the possessing demons, with the real possibility of becoming a sacrificial victim. Leaving the cult would result both in further enraged attacks by demonic forces, and retaliatory victimisation by committed cult members. Subjects responded to this impossible situation with despair and hopelessness. There seemed to be no means of escaping the unendurable torment. Consequently, four of the subjects contemplated suicide, and two made serious attempts to kill themselves as a desperate escape measure.

For all the subjects, the only possible chance of breaking free from Satanism lay in salvation by a supernatural power stronger than Satan. Given the dualistic theology of Satanism, and the status of Christianity as the cult's implacable foe, salvation by Satan's arch-enemy, God, appeared to be the only possible means of escape. All of the subjects consequently appealed to God, previously a hated and denigrated figure, to save them from destruction by Satan. Traditional Christian denominations underplay the existence of Satan as a malevolent force, whereas the newer Charismatic Christian movement assumes the literal reality of Satan as an actively malign figure, from whom people must be rescued in the name of Jesus Christ. For this reason, six of the subjects approached Charismatic Christian churches, or were "rescued" by individuals associated with these churches. Only subject two approached God directly, without the mediation of institutionalised Christianity.

All of the other subjects then underwent Christian exorcism rituals to break Satan's hold over them, and to expel the possessing demons. The effect of these "deliverance" ceremonies upon the subjects was dramatic, and they experienced some combination of the following: convulsions, burning sensations, visceral pain, vomiting, loss of motor control, sensations of dying, visual hallucinations, uncontrollable impulses to growl, scream and swear, hearing demonic spirits using the subject's vocal apparatus to address the exorcist, and being physically flung about the room by demonic forces. These bizarre

reactions may be understood as extremely dissociated manifestations of the personified destructive subpersonality, its psychic hegemony under threat by the ego's attempts to expel this subpersonality and ally itself with libidinal parts of the self. By addressing the destructive parts of the self as alien entities possessing the person, the Christian exorcist intensifies the dissociation, and deepens the subject's tendencies to personify these ego-dystonic aspects, to the point where these split-off psychic components even speak in voices not recognisably belonging to the subjects. The visceral symptoms indicate the fantasy of being attacked from within by the malevolent bad objects associated with the destructive subpersonality. The success of the exorcism rituals stems from their power to bolster subjects' defensive fantasies of externalising the destructive parts of the self. In the case of some subjects, a single exorcism did not succeed in ridding them of the possessing demons. This was particularly so in those subjects who were loathe to relinquishing their supernatural powers, throw themselves upon God's mercy, and commit themselves to a Christian life-style. This ambivalence allowed psychic infiltration by those ego-dystonic self aspects associated with the destructive subpersonality, and resulted in possession symptoms continuing. For example, when subject five looked in a mirror he would see the horrifying faces of his possessing demons instead of his own reflection, while subject six felt compelled by the "demon of perversion" to engage in sexual exhibitionistic behaviour.

The long-term success of the exorcism rituals appears to depend on whether or not subjects embrace Christianity, and invite possession by an omnipotently good supernatural figure, in the form of God. In other words, Christian salvation, in this instance, does not heal the psychological splits within the subjects, but perpetuates them by dogmatic insistence on the polarities of good and evil, identified with God and Satan, respectively. Maintenance of splitting defences enables ex-Satanists to idealise the part-object (God) that was previously hated and disparaged, in order to defend against the new bad part-object (Satan). As a consequence, ex-Satanists, once the children of the Devil, now experience themselves to be the children of God, protected from the bad object by the omnipotent ideal object. There is no structural change in the ego, simply a reversal of split part-object relationships, with good and evil now corresponding to the

culturally/theologically "appropriate" mythical objects in the Christian worldview. The destructive subpersonality continues to exist, but in the projected form of an evil Satan, who must be fought in the name of God. A new subpersonality, structured around ideal self and object components is strongly identified with. This dynamic explains the dramatic personality changes which most subjects experienced when they became Christians. After having been angry, hating, envious, jealous, and generally destructive for many years, subjects report suddenly being filled with boundless love and compassion for others. Having once been consumed by hostility, they now radiate warmth and acceptance. These subjects have managed to establish a state of constant introjective identification with an idealised paternal part-object, giving rise to a narcissistic psychic structure, characterised by ideal Christian qualities. The only hostility they feel is now safely directed toward Satan, an enemy who can be safely hated and disparaged without disturbing the good subpersonality. The fact that these dramatic personality changes arise from identifications based on splitting defences against destructive parts of the self, does not detract from the adaptive value of these defensive strategies. As a consequence of these dynamics, sustained by a supportive Christian environment and life-style, subjects in this study appear to have become productively integrated into society, working, raising children, maintaining friendships, and devoting themselves to Christian causes.

Subjects two and three are exceptions in this regard. Neither of these two individuals managed to sustain introjective identification with God, a new ideal part-object. Subject three experienced extreme psychotic decompensation while undergoing a Christian exorcism. Despite hospitalisation, psychiatric treatment, and the prayers of Christians from his congregation, he continues to experience persecutory auditory and visual hallucinations. He also experiences addictive cravings to return to Satanism, which he gives in to periodically. Subject two displays uncertainty and confusion about his spiritual identity. Despite his alleged Christianity, he regards his fellow Christians with contempt and loathing, perceiving them to be weak, hypocritical and rejecting of him. He continues to regard satanic personality qualities in a positive light, while attempting to cling to the libidinal parts of himself that emerged subsequent to his Christian conversion. Because he

continues to project both good and parts of his personality, he becomes confused as to whether the spiritual forces which now influence him are aspects of God or Satan.

Summary

Despite idiosyncratic differences between the various research subjects, a number of striking consistencies were evident in the portrayal of their parental figures and family environments as alienating, rejecting, and unaffirming. Subjects tended to experience their mothers as passively deficient and uncontaining, and their fathers as abusive, hostile, and actively rejecting. Although a number of subjects attributed the extent of their rejection to the discovery of their adoptive status, all experienced a lack of belonging and a sense of familial estrangement. Sibling rivalry was aggravated by the perception that siblings are the recipients of loving parental attention denied to the subjects. These familial interactions with parents who are hated and distrusted are internalised, creating a primary object relations structure characterised by an abused, unloved and inadequate self representation, linked by resentment and aggressive affect to a cruel and rejecting paternal object, possibly comprising both negative maternal and paternal attributes. Defensive splitting results in the fantasy of a co-existing idealised paternal part-object, the antithesis of the persecutory bad object. A variety of defences are unsuccessfully mobilised to alleviate anxiety elicited by negative self and object representations. Individuals thus resort to a more radical defensive strategy, namely identification with the bad internal object. This results in the formation of a destructive subpersonality and the adoption of a negative identity, which is reinforced by peer approval, especially within a deviant youth subculture. At the same time, the projection of persecutory superego figures creates a social environment that is experienced as rejecting, and authority figures perceived as hostile. The hatred of authority figures and their associated "Christian" morality, the unconscious search for a loving father and surrogate family, the compensatory adoption of a negative identity, and the underlying feeling of being an impotent victim of a paternal tyrant predisposes these individuals to affiliation with a deviant cult. In addition, identification with a destructive subpersonality, and the individual's fascination with occult

power, inclines him/her to Satanism, the definitive destructive occult anti-establishment organisation.

Individuals' formal acceptance into the cult occurs by means of a ritual initiation characterised by the rejection and denigration of the Christian God, a blood pact with Satan, and the ingestion of sacrificial blood from an animal identified with Satan. This oral incorporative act facilitates introjective identification with Satan, simultaneously experienced as an idealised father and an omnipotent part of oneself. The individual's lust for power, yearning for familial belonging, and narcissistic identification with an ideal father is thus satisfied by the cult's initiation ritual.

The dualistic satanic "theology" and its hatred of Christianity promotes pre-existing splitting defences, encourages ego-syntonic identification with the destructive subpersonality, and encourages uninhibited sexual and aggressive gratification. Through the practice of malevolent magic rituals the hated bad paternal part-object - symbolised by God - is destroyed in fantasy, and a sense of supernatural omnipotence is cultivated. The normative moral poles of good and bad are reversed, allowing the "children" of Satan to feel loved and worthy while living out their sadism and destructiveness. Guilt and compassion are expunged and replaced by manic triumph, hatred, and further disavowal of libidinal parts of the self. Conscious elaboration of hostile projective identification processes, by means of "magic" rituals, promotes sadistic mental attacks on those individuals identified with persecutory internal objects and ego-dystonic self aspects. Human and animal sacrificial rituals, in which the victim is killed and the sacrificial blood imbibed, simultaneously flout inviolable social taboos, blasphemously parody the holy Christian Mass, create group solidarity, symbolically destroy projected ego-dystonic aspects, gratify sadistic impulses, and promote personal power through the belief that the victim's life force is internalised with the consumption of its blood.

By means of ritual invocation, blood drinking, and sexual intercourse Satanists consciously invite possession by demons - previously split-off, personified and projected aspects of

their own internal world - in order to acquire supernatural power and advance their status in the cult hierarchy. "Possessed" individuals, by virtue of introjective identification with these primitive and destructive parts of their own minds, experience superhuman strength, dissociative reactions, "supernatural" abilities, aggression, destructive involuntary behaviour, and dramatic personality transformations. At some point individuals invariably experience persecutory anxiety while possessed, indicating a shift from ego-syntonic to ego-dystonic relationships with these hostile re-introjected objects. Portrayals of demons in cult mythology and iconography, together with the hypnotic effect of rituals and the ingestion of drugs, create the conditions for the visual hallucinatory manifestation of demonic entities, including Satan.

The initial phase of satanic membership, following initiation into the cult, is experienced very positively. Individuals feel accepted and special, have gained an ideal father and a surrogate family, have licence to indulge in all manner of instinctual gratification, acquire "magical" abilities to control others' thoughts and actions, feel omnipotently powerful, and are encouraged to express and enact their destructive fantasies. This positive experience is only sustainable, however, as long as individuals remain permanently and completely identified with the demonic subpersonality. The spontaneous emergence of occluded libidinal parts of the self, in the form of guilt, remorse, vulnerability, loving feelings, or doubt about satanic activities, results in prompt intrapunitive attacks by the destructive subpersonality, personified as Satan or his demonic minions. Any disloyal thoughts or desires to leave the cult implies dis-identifying with the destructive subpersonality, transforming Satan from a loving father into a persecutory tyrant. All of the subjects experienced a second phase of satanic involvement, characterised by a growing negative attitude toward the cult, resulting in frightening ego-dystonic possession symptoms, paranoid anxiety about being destroyed by Satan, alienation from other cult members, and the strong desire to escape the cult. The desire to leave is also occasioned by the stress induced by a number of other factors, including intracult competition, rivalry and fears of attack, living a dual existence as both Satanists and ordinary citizens, the physical toll of drug abuse and exhaustion, loss of significant relationships, uncertainty

about one's future and safety in the cult, and the personal or vicarious trauma of abusive satanic practices. Leaving the cult, however, does not seem possible. The belief that Satan is an omnipotent and omniscient internal presence, who would sooner kill apostates than allow their escape, together with the fear of physical retribution, harassment and blackmail by loyal cult members, makes leaving the cult appear untenable. At this point, tormented and despairing, the disaffected cult members contemplate, or actually attempt, suicide as a desperate means of escaping the savage intrapsychic attacks by the destructive subpersonality (Satan). The only remaining avenue of escape lies in the redemptive power of a supernatural being more powerful than Satan. As a consequence, the recusant Satanists throw themselves on God's mercy, and undergo exorcism procedures to rid them of possessing demons. This attempt, by ceremonial means, of extruding the destructive subpersonality, results in classical psychological and physical symptoms of involuntary demonic possession. Successful exorcism of the destructive self aspects occurs when the destructive subpersonality is expelled in fantasy, and God, a new idealised paternal part-object, is identified with, resulting in a dramatic personality transformation. In many cases this divine salvation promotes adaptive life-style changes. However, insofar as it perpetuates splitting defences and projective identification, and undermines psychic integration, it appears to be a pathological solution based on the formation of another narcissistic subpersonality.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

DISCUSSION

Introduction

The Results Chapter raises more issues than can be considered in any detail. This discussion, as in the previous chapter, will consequently follow the structure provided by the five research questions, focusing selectively on the more interesting findings. Verbatim transcripts from individual interviews will be used to illustrate general observations. However, before discussing specific aspects of the research findings, it will be necessary to address the controversial issue of the research subjects' credibility, and the cogency of the researcher's interpretations of the interview narratives. After consideration of the five research questions, the chapter will conclude with a discussion of the concept of evil. It will be suggested that, despite the difficulties that depth psychology has with moral-theological concepts, the phenomenon of evil can be rendered intelligible within a depth psychology discourse.

15.1 The "truth" of satanic cult involvement

An obvious point to begin a discussion of these research findings is the issue of their truthfulness. The question of truth is relevant in two respects; firstly, have the subjects given truthful accounts of their experiences and, secondly, have the individual and general object relations interpretations uncovered the psychological truth of the subjects' accounts of satanic involvement? The first question concerns the validity of subjects' claims to have experienced and witnessed the events reported in their interviews, while the second concerns the validity of the psychoanalytic interpretations generated to make sense of the subjects' experiences. The first question is important in the light of wide-spread scepticism that satanic covens and their alleged activities are anything more than subversion myths, or the fanciful imaginings of psychologically disturbed individuals. As we have seen, the constructionist argument presented in Chapter Five aims to explain away reports of satanic activity by claiming that these are elaborate social fictions or subversion narratives, which create an imaginary threat to serve as a scape-goat for a

society's experience of dislocation and upheaval. While this may account for rumours of Satanist activity, it does not, of course, explain first-hand reports of such involvement. Chapter Five also discussed alternative theories of survivor narratives, based on the assumption that although the individuals concerned may not have intentionally fabricated their reported experiences, their so-called memories of alleged satanic happenings are essentially delusional phenomena.

Such sceptical objections to survivor narratives cannot simply be brushed aside, particularly as most of the subjects in this study were fundamentalist Christians who had an ideological and spiritual investment in convincing the researcher that Satanism is real and constitutes a danger to Christian society. Their commitment to the Christian cause might thus incline them to more dramatic recollections of their satanic past than might otherwise have been the case had they not undergone Christian conversion. Alternatively, it is also possible that these individuals' Christian conversion, and the intensity of their commitment, supports their claims of satanic involvement. Had they not experienced the events reported in their interviews, they might well have been less zealously committed to Christian fundamentalism. In other words, their Christian spirituality may make their claims more, rather than less, credible.

It must also be kept in mind that these subjects' recollections of their satanic experiences are retrospective accounts. Were they still committed Satanists at the time of the interviews their narratives would no doubt have been considerably different. Different readers may be either inclined to believe or disbelieve the substantive details emerging from the interviews. But, as is usually the case with survivor narratives, these subjects' accounts cannot be proven beyond doubt. What attitude is therefore most appropriate for a researcher to adopt toward these extraordinary claims of satanic cult involvement? The value of the constructionist perspective is that it constitutes a sceptical voice of reason in the face of the subversion myth's paranoia. The value of the realist perspective is that it alerts us to the non-discursive reality of satanic organisations, which pursue their secret ritual activities without any regard for either public scepticism or acknowledgement.

Although the realist and constructionist accounts of satanic phenomena begin from opposing assumptions, their perspectives are not necessarily mutually exclusive. One may argue that the Satanism scare is largely an ideological construction, while still asserting that secret satanic organisations do exist, and that their membership could quite possibly have increased over the past three decades.

The relevant issue here is not the existence of Satanism, or even its alleged growing appeal, but rather the discrepancy between the actual phenomenon and its discursive construction as an evil epidemic which, if unchecked, will overthrow Christian civilisation. Furthermore, the same sociological reasons advanced by the constructionists for the historically recent appearance of the satanic subversion myth may be cited as reasons for the actual increase in satanic activity. Institutional instability, the erosion of parental authority, the resurgence of Christian fundamentalism, increasing spiritual alienation, and increasingly dysfunctional family dynamics may not only generate an irrational fear of a secret satanic movement, perceived as being responsible for all social ills. They may also produce an *actual* satanic movement, which purports to provide a solution to the very ills attributed to it by anti-Satanist ideology. The two divergent perspectives may also be reconciled on the issue of satanic cult survivor narratives. It is possible to agree that many alleged survivors are deluded, while simultaneously claiming that at least some of them are not, and that their accounts are reasonably reliable chronicles of actual satanic cult experiences.

Of course, the precautions taken in screening the research subjects (see Chapter Thirteen), do not guarantee the "objective truth" of the events reported by these research subjects. However, it is doubtful whether any meaningful human experience can ever be objectively true in this sense. The only such objective truths that may be established in qualitative research are the names, ages, birth dates, places of residence and sex of the research subjects. Everything else relevant to the research is refracted through subjects' subjective experience, and by definition, cannot be objectively true. If the criterion of objective truth does not pertain to qualitative research in general, it is doubly irrelevant in this specific

study. When subjects report having literally seen Satan, and having been possessed by demons, the "objective" truth of these events can obviously not be established in any scientific sense. However, these experiences are very real to the subjects. The task of the researcher is not to dismiss these accounts as "untrue", but rather to interpret the subjective truth of the subjects' experiential reality.

This researcher began with the assumption that, despite different motives for self-disclosure, as well as duration and intensity of the relationship, qualitative research subjects' accounts have much in common with psychoanalytic patients' reconstructions of their lives. Both interviewees and patients produce *autobiographical narratives*, which are already interpretations of who they are, what they are, and how they have attained these identities. Both interviewees and patients are actively engaged in constructing meaningful stories, rather than simply recounting the facts of historical life events. Psychoanalytic interpretation provides a narrative scheme, i.e., an interpretative structure which orders and renders experience intelligible by "linking diverse happenings along a temporal dimension and by identifying the effect one event has on another" (Pokinghorne, 1988, p. 18). Consequently, the "facts" arrived at by means of a psychoanalytic interpretation, notes Schafer (1992), "are inseparable from the investigator's precritical and interrelated assumptions concerning the origins, coherence, totality, and intelligibility of personal action" (p. 213).

Psychoanalytic interpretations are retellings or re-interpretations of individuals' self-interpretative accounts. Moreover, as is clearly indicated in preceding chapters, there is not simply one psychoanalytic interpretation of a given phenomenon. Different psychoanalytic models ground interpretations in different narrative structures. If subjects' accounts of their lives are narrative creations, researchers' interpretations are metanarrative creations, no more dictated by empirical facts than are the subjects' autobiographical accounts. Because interpretations are creative rather than veridical, an interpretative metanarrative cannot be said to be true or false in a way that admits scientific verification or falsification (Schafer, 1992; Spence, 1982). Schafer (1992)

argues in this regard that narrative is not "an alternative to truth or reality; rather, it is the mode in which, inevitably, truth and reality are presented. We have only versions of the true and the real" (p. xv). Internal objects, psychic structures and archetypes form part of narrative schemas and do not correspond to, or contradict, some extra-discursive external reality.

From this hermeneutic perspective, psychological research is not concerned with *the* essential truth of a phenomenon but, as Kenneth Gergen says, with "crafting systems of intelligibility" (Gergen, 1989, p. 257). In preceding chapters, it was argued that both object relations psychoanalysis and Jungian theory provide coherent systems of intelligibility. Hopefully, the Results Chapter has illustrated both the coherence and usefulness of explaining Satanism in terms of a psychoanalytic theory premised upon the intrapsychic manifestation and transformation of interpersonal relationships. However, although the methodology and data analysis assumed an explicit object relations perspective, to exclude analytical psychology - the other major historical depth psychology tradition - would be to sacrifice a potentially rich dialogue. For this reason, the remaining discussion will entertain a synthetic vision, one which seeks to integrate the historically divergent discourses of psychoanalytic and Jungian thought.

15.2 An archetypal object relations theory of demonic possessive states

In Chapter Thirteen, it was argued that, despite theoretical differences between object relations and Jungian perspectives, these approaches both complement each other and have enough common understanding of psychodynamics to warrant integrating them into a comprehensive interpretation of demonic phenomena. At this point, a brief summary of the proposed archetypal object relations model will remind readers of the broad interpretative parameters guiding the following discussion. The model's basic assumption is that our polypsychic life comprises both integrative and dissociative tendencies, which play them themselves out in shifting identity structures constellated around personified archaic complexes. These, in turn, arise from the dialectical interplay of transpersonal archetypal fantasies and personal experiences with significant others. The human

predisposition to structure experience in terms of primitive fantasy, personification, and the projection of self aspects, makes the manifestation of intrapsychic contents as external supernatural figures a universal tendency. Demons are thus projected unconscious personifications of composite intrapsychic figures, comprising split-off parts of the self identified with internalised parental objects. These intrapsychic aspects are split off and projected because they are associated with ego-dystonic childhood complexes, involving destructive themes and feelings emerging from early negative interactions with parental figures. The archetypal predisposition to assign supernatural meaning and imagery to parental complexes is normally modified by adequate parenting. "Good enough" parenting humanises the fantastically distorted maternal and paternal figures by allowing for the withdrawal of projective identifications, and renders them more easily assimilable in terms of the integrative developmental tendency of the self. Parenting that is deficient, insofar as it is characterised by neglectful or punitive behaviours or attitudes, will intensify rather than moderate archetypal experience, resulting in the internalisation of highly destructive parental objects, both hated and feared. These objects, because of their destructive nature, cannot be assimilated, and are experienced as alien and hostile internal forces. Shadow aspects of the self, organised in terms of the bipolar structure of archetypes, become identified and fused with these archaic parental object imagos. The frightening composite of negative self and object aspects is defensively split off and projected, where it assumes a semi-autonomous existence as a separate personified identity structure, or alien subpersonality, manifest externally as some or other supernatural entity. The imagery associated with the projected subpersonality will depend on the cultural context of the children's upbringing, where myth and folklore will give the subpersonality imaginal form. The Christian myths of western society provide Satan and his demons as archetypal templates for projected destructive contents of the self. The intrusive re-introjection of this persecutory subpersonality typically gives rise to the ego-dystonic experience of being possessed by an evil spirit.

The Satanist, however, employs the counterphobic defence of voluntarily inviting possession and identifying with the destructive subpersonality. This, in some inchoate

form, happens prior to satanic involvement in order to counteract the pre-Satanists' experience of vulnerability, inadequacy, and worthlessness in relation to hostile or rejecting parental figures, around which the subpersonality nucleates. Satanism is attractive to pre-Satanists because it presents them with a mythical, organisational, and ritual structure that resonates unconsciously with their pre-existing defensive strategy of siding with the destructive subpersonality. By becoming one with Satan, and thereby consciously identifying with a mythical representation of the persecutory identity structure, the enemy within is befriended and supplicated. Furthermore, identification fantasies create the narcissistic delusional belief that the demonic entities' powers are now one's own. This creates psychic states of omnipotent inflation, in which Satanists believe that they have supernatural powers and can magically control the actions of others. Identification with destructive parts of the self is actively facilitated by satanic rituals, and ceremonially expressed in sadistic cult activities such as sacrifices, Black Mass ceremonies, etc.

15.3 Application of the archetypal object relations model to discussion of the research findings

In Chapter Fourteen, following the analysis of subjects' individual interviews, general answers to the five research questions were presented in terms of the object relations model discussed in Chapter Ten. These general findings, under the research question headings, will now be discussed from the perspective of the archetypal object relations model summarised above. In addition, relevant aspects of the individual interview analyses will be cited to both illustrate and qualify general observations.

15.3.1 Factors predisposing individuals to satanic cult involvement

Jung (1940) was struck by the extent to which modern people, under the sway of archetypal experience, re-enact age-old collective mythical dramas in their personal lives. This is strikingly evident in the research subjects who, without consciously realising it, lived out the Biblical narrative of Satan's expulsion from heaven in their families of origin. They all experienced themselves to be rejected sons or daughters, excluded from a sense

of familial belonging by unjust paternal authorities, who punished and banished them to an exiled status as outsiders in a bleak social environment. Like Satan, they could never return, and so rebelled completely against their unjust fathers by cultivating "evil" attitudes and behaviours, and nursing fantasies of revenge against their paternal tyrants. The satanic cult presented them with an opportunity to enact the myth in the most dramatic way imaginable, by becoming one with Satan and dedicating themselves to the overthrow of God's heavenly order. They could not be angels in the heavenly family, so became dark lords of an underworld in which every heavenly injunction was defied and inverted. Keeping in mind this mythical enactment, consideration of the factors predisposing subjects to satanic involvement corroborate previous research findings (see Chapter Four) on the powerful influence that deficient parenting and dysfunctional family dynamics exert on the pre-Satanist child. Not one of these subjects recalled a family environment in which they felt adequately loved, affirmed, protected or understood. Instead they felt ignored, unloved, and deprived of any real experience of family belonging. Subject two poignantly expresses a regret implicit in all the interview narratives: *"I wish to God I had a normal childhood like everyone else .... Look at what happened, look at what it's caused"*. Whether they were adopted or not, a profound sense of parental rejection underpins subjects' recollections of their abnormal childhood. Subject five stated explicitly, *"I ... felt a lot of rejection. Rejection is the number one thing there. Firstly, from my parents .... I realised that the rejection began when I was still a foetus because I was an unwanted birth"*.

This early experience of familial rejection and alienation appears to have predisposed subjects to a more general experience of social estrangement. What is noteworthy concerning the recollected early environment of familial interactions, is that although mothers were portrayed as passively deficient - unprotective, distracted, insensitive and unaffectionate - fathers were consistently perceived to be actively abusive, cruel, and rejecting. Most of the subjects were victims of paternal violence, and it is not surprising therefore that a destructive paternal introject forms the intrapsychic nucleus of the subsequent dysfunctional psychic development. This is not to say that the internalised

maternal object plays no role in the intrapsychic life of pre-Satanists, but that its influence appears subordinate to that of the explicitly hostile paternal introject. The interaction between internal maternal and paternal objects is undoubtedly complex, and is not clearly evident from the interview data. What is clear, however, is that the subjects believed themselves to be failed by their mothers before coming to hate their fathers. In this light, one may speculate that a negative maternal complex found intrapsychic expression in a destructive maternal figure. Had these children turned in resentment, anger and frustration to loving father figures, the negative qualities of the maternal introject could have been somewhat mitigated by a good paternal introject. This might have led to a more benign intrapsychic environment, and a different developmental outcome. Unfortunately, abusive paternal figures not only appear to compound the maternal introject's negative qualities, but also to provide a new object onto which aspects of the negative maternal figure may be displaced. For this reason, Satanism appears to represent an expressly patriarchal rebellion. For one subject (subject two), hatred towards his abusive father was so intense that, while "possessed" by a destructive spirit, he literally enacted a patricidal fantasy by stabbing his father in the chest: *"This spirit, which I didn't even see at the time, was the one that entered me and caused me to get out of bed and shove that knife into him"*.

However, in line with the inherent and opposed duality of archetypes, realised most extremely in splitting defences, the experience of a hated father is accompanied by the unconscious fantasy of an ideal, loving father. For this reason, Satanism cannot be seen purely as a revolt against a paternal tyrant, but also as a search for a loving father. For all of the subjects, Satan is undoubtedly experienced, at least initially, as an idealised paternal surrogate. This important fact will be discussed more fully later on in the chapter.

A second predisposing factor is pre-Satanists' experience of the social world outside of their dysfunctional families. It is here that we see the interplay between the interpersonal, intrapsychic, and sociological factors noted in Chapter Four. In this regard, Meissner (1987), discussing the concept of religious alienation, makes a valid observation, one frequently overlooked by psychoanalytic theorists:

Alienation is always *from* something that is around and outside the individual. One of the most valuable insights of modern social science has been the discovery that patterns of deviant behaviour are not merely the product of disordered intrapsychic processes or impediments of development, although these play an unquestioned and critical role; but that the organization of social structures and social processes within which the individual functions has a determining influence on the patterns of adaptation (p. 278-279).

This consideration becomes important in accounting for the fact that all Satanists in South Africa appear to be white youths and young adults from predominantly lower middle-class families. This author (Ivey 1993a, b), attempting to account for an alleged increase in recent South African Satanic involvement, identifies the recent disruption of the political status quo as an important factor determining the attraction of Satanism to the white, working class sector of the population. This argument is based on the relationship between political instability, economic insecurity, and social alienation. The years 1988 to the present represented one of the most turbulent and chaotic periods of social transition in South African history. Seen from the perspective of most lower middle-class whites, this transition involved the collapse of Afrikaner nationalism, the demise of apartheid legislation, the legalisation of most forms of political opposition, runaway inflation, massive unemployment, the erosion of racial privilege and white standards of living, and a feeling of powerlessness and insecurity in the face of black majority rule. For white adolescents, rootless, anxious, powerless, and alienated from the ideologies of the past, a magical solution to their social and psychological plight becomes very enticing. Satanism seems to promise such a solution, resulting in increasing numbers of white youth and young adults being attracted to Satanic cults. In contrast, Satanism has little allure for black South Africans because traditional African religious systems have always subscribed to beliefs in magic, ancestral spirits, and an essentially pantheistic worldview foreign to the dualistic monotheism of Christian spirituality.

For these working class white youths, feeling rejected, abused, and unloved by parental figures, their unmet needs for affirmation and acceptance become displaced onto individuals, groups and institutions outside of the family. At first, this is largely confined

to peer groups and teachers within the school environment. However, their archetypal experience as outsiders, together with the projection of negative parental figures into others, means that both peers and teachers are perceived to be critical and rejecting. With hindsight, subject four demonstrates some awareness of this dynamic: *"I hated my teachers ... It was a feeling I got towards all authority figures. It was something inside me - a feeling I got that nobody liked me. Looking back on it now, I think it was only my perspective ... no-one actually hated me as such; it was just a psychological plot that I thought was going on"*.

Subjects' maladaptive behaviour in the form of either social withdrawal or aggression aggravates their experience of being outcasts, and leaves them feeling friendless, isolated, and inferior. Subject five recalls: *"I had no real friends, I deviated from what others thought was normal"*. Subject six describes a similar sense of peer estrangement: *"I was looked upon as weird, mainly because I was so much of a loner"*. This alienation syndrome, as Meissner (1987) refers to it, is aggravated by the belief that as "poor" whites under a black government committed to eradicating historical white privilege, and empowering blacks through vigorous affirmative action, they have little prospect of attaining social status, career security, or financial comfort. [1]

Individuals attracted to Satanism are struggling with psychological issues which appear to them to be unresolvable within the institutional framework of broader society. Socio-political turbulence, cultural dislocation, and rapid ideological transformation establish a context of social discontinuity, in which a society's old institutional structures and belief systems no longer suffice to meet the social and psychological needs of a sector of the population. The sector most susceptible comprises adolescents and young adults, whose developmental task of establishing a secure individual identity involves a psychosocial moratorium and a temporary distancing from the ideologies of parental and other authority figures. A stable, well-functioning society provides and recognises a range of identity

---

[1] It should be noted that the socio-economic context of the subjects' cult involvement was not explicitly addressed in the interviews, and the author's deductions in this regard are speculative.

possibilities (Erikson, 1959). In unstable societies, however, the discrepancy between the identity needs of the youth, and the restricted identity possibilities afforded by society, leads to a sense of social alienation and prolonged identity confusion. The attraction of satanic ritual is that it is perceived to offer participants a sense of control over their lives and environment (Moody, 1974). All ritual is directed toward "the problem of transformations of state in human beings or nature" (Wallace cited in Moody, 1974, p. 367), and the transformation which Satanists seek is that which will ameliorate a profound sense of inadequacy, identity confusion, social and spiritual alienation, and powerlessness. At some point, the adoption of a negative identity (Erikson, 1968) presents itself as a solution to their psychological and social alienation. At the social level, this means actively embracing a deviant role that wins them the longed-for admiration and acceptance from peer members of the chosen youth subculture. The adoption of a negative identity is experienced as gratifying because it elicits peer respect and admiration, while simultaneously protecting individuals from the split-off, anxiety-provoking self representations.

At the intrapsychic level, it means identifying with a destructive identity structure or subpersonality based upon the hostile paternal introject, thereby counteracting a sense of weakness and inferiority by becoming powerful and controlling. This typically results in aggressive or cruel behaviour, as individuals unconsciously reverse their childhood experience of being victims of parental maltreatment, by becoming the perpetrators, while projecting their hurt and impotent self experience into the objects of their sadism. Subject three recalls his childhood cruelty: "*From young, I used to have the compulsion to hurt something ... I used to have to hurt the dog - kick it, throw it against the door, or whatever ... That spread, it just grew when I was a Satanist*". This recalls Kernberg's (1992) concept of malignant narcissism (see Chapter Ten), in which masochistic submission to tyrannical superego precursors results in a deformed self structure that unites sadism with idealisation, resulting in identification with the idealised cruel internal tyrant. The consequence of these dynamics is evident in a number of the research subjects. Subject seven recalls that, as a child, "*My head was always stuck in fantasies*

about ... being destructive, destroying the world". It is a malignant narcissistic structure that spoke through subject two when he confessed, "*Sometimes I still find it sort of comical the way people die ...(laughs) ... the looks on their faces when they know they're going out*". Kernberg's (1992) differentiation between malignant narcissism and psychopathy is, I think, borne out by this research. All of the subjects, despite identification with sadistic internal objects, displayed some evidence of guilt, remorse and libidinal connection to internal and external others. Even the above quoted subject two, recalling the Christian epiphany that wrenched him from suicidal despair, described a libidinal part of him associated with the figure of God: "*Sometimes I get very hard ... out of it ... but when I think about that, it creates a tenderness inside me, and that's what really breaks me ... keeps me still in reality*".

A third factor predisposing individuals to satanic involvement appears to be some experience of, or fascination with, the occult world, which presents itself as a desirable realm of magical power. Subject three states: "*As a young child, I was always interested in the occult, in supernatural forces. I always imagined myself to be a supernatural hero, totally opposite to how I felt in real life*". Satanism represents the ultimate vehicle for harnessing this occult power, thereby enticing potential members with the promise of magical control and influence over their interpersonal and intrapsychic worlds.

In summary, the typical pre-Satanists are lower class white children who, as a consequence of perceived maternal rejection and paternal maltreatment, are ensnared within parental complexes, and internalise hostile parental objects. The archetypal qualities of the corresponding paternal imagos are not moderated by reality, and thus assume supernatural manifestation and power. The corresponding self representations, accompanied by feelings of hatred and anger, are of abused, inferior, rejected, and powerless children. The hated paternal part-object representation cannot be assimilated and, along with highly destructive self aspects, is externalised by means of projection.

This creates a hostile external world peopled by individuals who embody the split-off and projected negative aspects of the pre-Satanists' internal object world, making them feel alienated and rejected by peers and authority figures alike. Their lowly socio-economic status and political disempowerment aggravates their alienation and cynicism about ever finding a sense of social belonging and security.

As self and object aspects are projected, the pre-Satanists unconsciously encounter their own intrapsychic contents in a world of mysterious occult power and significance. In order to defend themselves from their persecuted status of helpless victims of sadistic paternal objects, pre-Satanists re-introject and identify with their previously egodystonic projective identifications, which coalesce as destructive identity structure or subpersonalities. At the social level, they adopt a negative identity provided by a deviant youth subculture, thereby rebelling against paternal authority, while simultaneously receiving recognition and acceptance from their peers. While strenuously rebelling against institutional symbols of the hated father's authority, they identify with the sadistic paternal introject, thereby gaining protection against internal persecution and underlying feelings of impotence, while exhibiting aggressive and cruel social behaviour.

These rejected, angry, hateful and socially alienated adolescents gravitate to the occult, consciously seeking power to counteract their underlying feelings of powerlessness, while unconsciously seeking good parental objects and the estranged parts of themselves in some spiritual system antithetical to that of the Christian father-God. Satanism appears as a deviant spirituality, ideally suited to the negative developmental trajectory of these individuals. Subject seven provides an articulate summary of his personality predisposition to Satanism: "*I think spiritually, mentally, and physically, I was inclined to Satanism - spiritually, because Satan was all about hatred and destruction, and I liked that, rather than God, who was all about love and accepting people. Physically, I enjoyed hurting myself and other people, and animals ... Mentally, I think I consciously identified with and accepted Satan - his nature and way of life*". For those individuals who have adopted a negative identity, Satan's revolt against God is a potent narrative of

heroic rebellion which matches, on a mythical plane, their own personal drama of psychosocial alienation. One can understand how those who experience themselves as outcasts would perceive the Devil as:

> a titanic romantic figure ... the arch-rebel against authority, fearless, determined, defiant in the face of superior force, unhumbled in defeat ... With all the magnificence of the Devil's pride and power, it is not surprising that some have attempted to enter his service (Cavendish, 1967, p. 289).

Ironically, because Satanism is a mirror inversion of Christianity, there is necessarily a high level of emotional energy invested in Christian spirituality. Satanism, like other psychological symptoms, is a maladaptive attempt to master and redress the psychological pain arising from distressing childhood interactions with "god-like" parental figures. Satanists' hatred of God - and His mortal progenitors, i.e., flesh and blood fathers - betrays their frustrated attachment to the despised divinity. Both Freud (1923) and Klein (1955) were thus correct in their belief that pacts with the Devil originate in the search for an absent father.

It is noteworthy that most of the research subjects do not describe their families as being particularly religious. Only subject five recalls a family environment characterised by fervid Christian religiosity. It would appear then, that a strict religious upbringing is not necessary for a child's revolt against paternal authority to find spiritual or quasi-spiritual expression in satanic cult involvement.

15.3.2 Process of satanic involvement and initiation

All of the subjects in this study claimed to be members of underground satanic cult organisations (see Chapter Three), which managed to pursue their clandestine ritual activities without detection by law enforcement agencies by strictly enforcing a code of secrecy among their members. At the time these interviews were being conducted, a special national Occult Police Unit was energetically investigating alleged occult crime in South Africa, thus reinforcing the cult's need for secrecy. Secrecy was further ensured through a careful selection process, whereby likely candidates for recruitment are first

monitored by Satanists for a period of time in order to determine their suitability, and then, after being invited to join the cult, are admitted for a trial period. Only those who are sufficiently motivated, and whose behaviour during the trial period is satisfactory, are initiated as fully-fledged satanic members. The ceremonial initiation is a special event in the lives of Satanists, formally marking a radical transition from one identity to another, and inaugurating the initiates' status as children and servants of Satan. The three invariant elements of the initiation ritual are: (1) rejection and denunciation of Christ and the baptismal identity as a child of God, (2) signing a blood pact pledging oneself to Satan and the destruction of Christianity, and (3) drinking sacrificial blood to symbolise the acceptance of Satan into one's life.

By denouncing and rejecting God, the Satanist becomes a Luciferian figure, severing ties of community and identity with Christian society, while reviling the ultimate symbol of patriarchal authority. Here the hated paternal image, identified with the Christian God, is blasphemed, scorned, and ritually destroyed. The power of this ritual, given the subjects' accounts of their abusive paternal relationships, lies in its enactment of a shared patricidal fantasy in which God is identified with the bad paternal part-object, one pole of the father archetype. The second part of the ritual, involving a blood pact with Satan, dramatically attests to a profound life commitment, as well as cementing the individual's new status as the Devil's *child*. The psychological importance of this status cannot be overestimated. Pre-Satanists' lives are in thrall to the father complex precisely because they never experienced loving fathers whom they could respect and internalise as benign superego figures. Instead they encountered rejection and abuse from paternal figures whose archetypal destructiveness was reinforced, rather than moderated, by their callous and sadistic interactions with their children. However, the opposite archetypal pole, the ideal father, remained a longed-for unconscious possibility. This fact is often overlooked by those who emphasise the purely destructive and anti-Christian nature of Satanism. The Satanist is not simply a child who rejects the father, but rather a child in search of a good father. Subject two articulated this clearly: "*Satan came to me and created an image in my mind that he was more of a father to me than my own father was*". The paternal

identity of Satan is echoed by subject three: "*He was like a father, you could say ... I think he took the place of my real father*". Satan's identity as the ideal paternal part-object finds iconic manifestation in his hallucinatory appearance to his "children". This is evident in subject five's description of Satan: "*Satan appeared to me as the perfect person, very refined and cultured, somebody I respected, somebody I would be committed to, somebody who would command my attention*". For subject one, the only female subject, Satan's appearance was obviously shaped by oedipal desire: "*Everyone thinks that Satan has horns and a tail, but ... to be honest ... Satan was the most handsome man. He was all white, but his eyes were like fire. He was tall, with dark hair .... Its like ... so dominating, you could feel like someone is pressing you down*".

In the initiation ritual, participants become the adopted children of Satan, the ideal father they were deprived of in their families of origin. What appears to be a contradiction, that the mythical personification of evil is perceived as the ideal father, is comprehensible in terms of the initiates' unconscious projective fantasies. Satan, at least in the earlier stages of the cultists' experience, unites the qualities of the perfect father - omnipotence, caring, and acceptance - with projected aspects of their own personalities - rejection, alienation, envy, and hatred. Satan is a good father because he loves his devotees *for* their destructive qualities, and not in spite of them. Unlike Christianity, which requires that devotees renounce destructive parts of themselves, Satanism encourages the unbridled expression of sexual and aggressive impulses, whatever form these should take. In this light, it is understandable why the adoption of a satanic identity is experienced as liberating. The split-off qualities of the negative paternal part-object are assigned to the Christian God, thereby reversing the prevailing moral poles of good and evil. Satanism is thus as patrifocal as Christianity, and as one-sided in its absolutely dualistic distinction of good and bad.

The third aspect of the initiation ritual, in which sacrificial blood is imbibed, is perhaps the most powerful. The act of blood-drinking in Satanism condenses a number of meanings. It simultaneously flouts a biblical injunction and social taboo, it represents a

perversion of the Holy Mass, it increases personal power through the incorporation of another being's life-force, it establishes a covenant with Satan, and promotes an identification based on the fantasy of internalising the spirit of Satan with which the blood is suffused. The fantasy of introjectively identifying with Satan is, of course, a ritual extension of the universal infantile oral-incorporative fantasy of securely establishing the good maternal breast-mother within by eating it along with the milk it produces. Thus, by virtue of the fluid nature of identity processes and structures, the satanic initiate is not only a child of Satan, but also identifies with this figure by means of incorporative fantasy. This gives rise to a state of consciousness which Jung appropriately labelled inflation, resulting from the submergence of the ego in identification with some aspect of the collective unconscious, in this case, a god archetype. "In his religious ecstacy", says Jung of the pagan mystery cult initiate, "the neophyte makes himself the equal of the stars" (Jung, 1952, p. 87). The same may be said of the satanic initiate, but with destructive psychic consequences. The result is that the pre-existing destructive subpersonality or autonomous complex becomes the dominant part of the psyche, leading to a state of hypomania and ego-syntonic sadistic behaviour. Subject two gave conscious expression to this identification fantasy: "*It's like allowing him (Satan) to be reincarnate inside me. Let me pull his nature into me, let me become like him, and think like him. If I can take on the mentality, his way of doing things, then I've got that power*". The combination of arrogance, hatred and contempt for others that characterises this narcissistic state is captured by subject six: "*As a Satanist, I absolutely loved myself, and looked down on others with absolute disdain. I developed a deep hatred for my fellow man, and felt I was above everyone else*".

Satanists, upon being initiated into a coven, do not merely gain a surrogate father, but also a surrogate family into which they feel accepted and welcomed. Subject four conveys this: "*I felt good ... important, like I now officially belonged to something important. I felt needed, like I belonged. I was now a member, people cared for me*". Given the above aspects of the initiation ritual, it is not surprising that Satanists initially

experience a sense of euphoria and omnipotence. In subject three's words, "*It felt wonderful at that moment. I felt very elated, on a high. As though I could do anything*".

The above discussion of satanic recruitment and initiation highlights the power of Satanist ritual to consolidate and formalise the adoption of a new identity, based upon a pre-existing autonomous complex, within a framework of mythical symbolism and spiritual significance. Having grown up without the experience of fatherly love or familial belonging, the initiation ritual provides participants with a longed-for surrogate father, a welcoming family, and a target (Christianity) for directing hatred and hostility. An intoxicating state of inflation, based on identification with Satan, infuses initiates with a sense of omnipotent power, expunging the former anxiety-provoking self representation of being an impotent victim of a cruel and rejecting father.

15.3.3 Experience of satanic cult involvement

The research subjects' accounts of their cult experience supports the claim that a variety of antisocial and criminal activities occur as a matter of course in underground Satanist organisations (see Chapter Three). What is important for the purposes of this study, however, are the meanings that these activities have for the cult participants. For the subjects participating in this study, the experience of satanic involvement occurred in two phases, distinguished by a dramatic attitudinal shift in their perception of the cult, from strongly positive to exceptionally negative. In this section, the factors contributing to the initial positive experience of Satanism will be discussed, while the negative experiences contributing to subjects leaving the cult will be outlined later. Although many aspects of subjects' experience warrant comment, I wish to focus on the magical, ritual, and hedonistic aspects of cult involvement.

At first, for reasons indicated in the previous section, the experience of cult belonging induces a state of hypomanic inflation. Egos-yntonic identification with the personified destructive subpersonality creates feelings of omnipotence, bolstered by the acquisition of "magical" powers, which create the conviction that material reality, one's own body, and the thoughts and actions of others can be controlled by thought alone. Such belief in their

newly acquired power typically changes subjects' perception of themselves and, as a consequence, others' perceptions of them as well. This is powerfully gratifying, as subject four indicates: *"Through using black magic, there was a change in my self-image. I was confident, felt in control ... This change in my self-image got me a lot of friends. People wanted to be in my company"*.

The Satanist's magical beliefs indicate the regressive resurrection of infantile omnipotence, where thought and action are equated, and the adaptive tension between the symbolic world of fantasy and reality is collapsed. This form of psychotic thinking in which no distinction is made between symbol and symbolised, is vividly illustrated in subjects' conviction that a conscious murderous fantasy would automatically result in the death of the target individual. Subject two stated: *"There were people I actually cursed ... and they died ... I could sit here and say to you, 'I command you to die ... and you'd die, physically die"*. This magical thinking, which Freud (1912) referred to as omnipotence of thought, is the product of projective identification, where the fantasy of locating destructive parts of the self in the object and attacking it in this manner, is naturally assumed to result in the death of the object. Satanic rituals assume the reality of magical powers, and so facilitate the conscious elaboration of destructive projective identifications, which usually remain unconscious in non-Satanists in order to protect them from depressive anxiety and guilt. In the environment of the satanic cult, however, guilt has no place, and free reign is given to both the expression and realisation of the most sadistic fantasies. These fantasies are gratifying, not merely because they defend individuals against underlying feelings of impotence and inferiority, but also because they are the means by which Satanists take revenge on the hated internal parental figures, projected into others. It is thus hardly surprising that so much time and energy is expended in rituals devoted to using malevolent magic to punish and kill those perceived to have in any way harmed cult members. Subject two recalls, *"I felt a powerful sense of control and pride, exhilaration and power over life and death, confidence and assurance that I had no fear of people, and that I could kill anyone and get away with it"*.

The question of whether the Satanists' belief in the efficacy of black magic is purely delusional, or whether their destructive fantasies have some impact on their victims is an interesting one. Jung, cited in von Franz (1980), notes that the demonic rests "on the unconscious forces of negation and destruction on the reality of evil. The existence of the daemonic is demonstrated by the fact that black magic is not only possible but uncannily successful" (p. 105). He approvingly quotes Albertus Magnus's theory that, "when anyone gives free rein to violent emotion and in this state wishes evil, it will have a magical effect" (von Franz, 1980, p. 106). As indicated in Chapter Eleven, certain Jungian authors (Meier, 1984; Redfearn, 1985) believe that dissociated parts of the self, because of the energy associated with them, may physically influence the material reality onto which they are projected, thereby giving rise to paranormal phenomena. In the contemporary neo-Kleinian literature on projective identification, we find an analogous idea in the popular formulation that the object containing the projective identifications is profoundly influenced to resonate emotionally with the nature of the projected self aspects (Ogden, 1982). If we can be mentally affected by individuals' intrusive projections, is it too great a leap to infer that we may be also be materially affected by becoming the objects of individuals' murderous fantasies?

The individual sense of omnipotence is enhanced by the cult's group identity, code of secrecy, and extremist ideology, which simultaneously engender a compensatory sense of belonging, while further alienating Satanists from the wider society. The ultimate expression of this alienation is the Black Mass, and the ritual sacrifice, a gruesome act which severs any remaining moral ties the participants may have with civilised culture, while binding them to the cult through wilful participation in another's death. The practice of satanic sacrificial rituals is not only central to contemporary folklore but, if the subjects of this study are to be believed, occurs in reality on a regular basis. Furthermore, four subjects reported witnessing or participating in ritual human sacrifices. Sacrifice may be defined as the "collective killing of a human victim, its mythic rationalization, and its ritualization" (Mack, 1987, p. 8). Historically, ritual human sacrifice was practised by a number of prehistoric societies, and persists today through the targeting of

surrogate victims (Girard, 1977). Although various anthropological theories explaining the function served by sacrifice in primitive societies abound, the most popular is the notion that ritual killing serves a social regulatory and controlling function by channelling violence in order to diffuse social tensions (Bell, 1992). Although sacrifice is closely linked to religion, the celebrants themselves fail to comprehend the meaning of their actions when they contend that it is a god who requires appeasing, who demands the victims, and alone "savors the smoke from the altars and requisitions the slaughtered flesh" (Girard, 1977, p. 7). Rather, it is the social actors themselves whose aggressive energies are released in a way that safeguards society. Religious and moral authorities, in order to control the inherent human propensity for violence, sanction the ritualised expression of such violence in the form of sacrificial killing, in its direct or indirect manifestations. In this way, notes Girard, "religion shelters us from violence just as violence seeks shelter in religion" (p. 24). Moreover, this phenomenon still persists today, e.g., in the publicised execution of criminal deviants and, in some cultures, those whose sins are considered abominable in the eyes of God. Whatever the merits of this argument at a general level, in the case of satanic sacrifice, it clearly does not apply. Satanic sacrifice obviously does not serve a cohesive social function outised of the cult itself, is not sanctioned by the broader society, and is abhorrent to the religious and moral ideologies of mainstream culture.

If the social function typically served by human sacrifice is to preserve life through the ritual taking of lives, satanic ritual murder appears essentially antisocial. But the sacrifice is not wanton murder; it clearly has religious significance insofar as it involves the elements of ritual, numinous experience, and worship or propitiation of a deity. Firstly, it is a true ritual in that it is a symbolic act associated with transpersonal meaning, characterised by formality, fixity, and repetition (Bell, 1992). Secondly, the participants partake in a numinous quality of experience in that they undergo an alteration of consciousness associated with a transcendent power (Jung, 1937). Subject two conveys this very clearly, "*We would get worked up into a frenzy, you feel ecstatic ... you can feel the power, you can feel the electricity being generated in the air*". Thirdly, it is a

propitiatory act in that the victim is offered by the supplicants to a venerated supernatural figure (Satan) in order to gain his favour. It is in this context that subjects referred to the affective power that seized them upon witnessing alleged human sacrifice. Subject three stated: *"I was ... in a trance, I wasn't aware of my surroundings ... I was just so hyped-up"*. What is clear, however, is that the sacrifice, whether animal or human, evokes sadistic excitement, and therefore combines the *numinosum* with perversion. Subject four recalls, *"I enjoyed the cruelty of the animal sacrifices ... watching the animal screaming while you slit its throat. You're all anxious, waiting for the blood. You get into a type of frenzy"*! This essentially perverse aspect contrasts strongly with the positive psychic function performed by Christian ritual of the Mass, although the latter also involves the archetype of sacrifice, where wine and broken wafers symbolise the blood and dismembered body of the sacrificial Christ.

For Jung (1941), the Mass ritual signifies the necessary suffering and death that the ego needs to undergo in order for unfulfilled self aspects to be born in a higher stage of personality integration. Clearly, the unconscious psychic integrative meaning of Christian sacrificial rituals is far removed from the perverse meaning of satanic sacrifice. This raises the question of the unconscious meaning of the ritual, and the identity of the sacrificial victims for the participants. If we accept the argument that Satan is a personified projection of the destructive subpersonality, then it is likely that the sacrificial victims represent, through the mechanism of projective identification, the weak and helpless "victimised" parts of the self, which must die in order to maintain the narcissistic identification with the satanic subpersonality. The ritual both connects participants with split-off parts of themselves, and destroys these victimised aspects to propitiate the destructive subpersonality. Interestingly, a similar dynamic has been identified by Grotstein (1984) in his discussion of the "evil murderer", who kills in order to

see the look of agony in the victim's face so as to establish contact once again with his or her own suffering self at one remove, that is, projected into the victim. It is only in the intimate observation of the agony of the "other" that these people can feel "truly" in contact with themselves. This dynamic explanation is side by side with another more obvious one, that of the manic defence, in which one's own victimized self is denied by translocating it into a victim (p. 223).

The Black Mass, too, is a perverse ritual which evokes a universe of sacrilege, rather than transcendent contact with the sacred. In Chapter Ten, Chasseguet-Smirgel's (1984) definition of perversion as the reversal of values in order to reinstate primal chaos, was discussed. Chasseguet-Smirgel argued that perversion involves the overthrow of the oedipal father-creator, and the creation of an alternative "anal" universe based on chaos, sacrilege, subversion of law, narcissistic abolition of difference between subject and object, replacement of truth by falsity, and the substitution of knowledge by magic. Aspects of this perverse state of mind are evident in subject five's description of hypomania and moral inversion: "*I grew to hate those around me. Satan was destroying my conscience. What was bad, to me became good. Any sense of guilt I had was ... replaced with feelings of triumph and success*". The extent of Satanists' hatred and its interpersonal manifestation is clearly expressed by subject seven: "*I saw people as things to torture, manipulate, devalue, and demoralise. I hated everyone*".

Chasseguet-Smirgel's interpretation of perversion has considerable relevance to the meaning of the Black Mass, where God is clearly identified with the dethroned and denigrated oedipal father, and the satanic participants with the omnipotent evil son (Satan). The liturgical rite is reversed and corrupted, infantile anxiety and impotence are replaced by manic triumph, contempt is substituted for gratitude and humility, sacred symbols are destroyed, indiscriminate instinctual gratification supplants renunciation, every conceivable taboo is flouted, and sadism triumphs over generativity. The cult's ideological licence to indulge in any manner of sexual gratification is strongly attractive to participants. Subject seven captures the attraction of this permissiveness: "*No one said, 'Don't do this", or, 'It's immoral'. In fact, you are encouraged to have sex as much as you like*".

Identification with the perverse subpersonality is actively facilitated by means of rituals to invite possession by demonic spirits, which further contributes to Satanists' belief that they have supernatural power and exercise magical control over the actions of others. The psychological status of these demonic figures will be discussed in the following section.

15.3.4 The experience of demonic possession

The experience of demonic possession appears to be a ubiquitous phenomenon among Satanists, who actively pursue the magical invocation and internalisation of these "spirits" in order to gain supernatural power. In most instances, subjects displayed at least six of the seven symptom criteria for Isaac's (1987) proposed possessive states disorder (see Chapter Six). All the subjects in this study emphatically believed in the literal reality of possessing demons, and all displayed a radical shift in their experience of these spiritual forces, from gratifying to intensely persecutory.

The question of whether spiritual entities have an existence independent of the individuals to whom they appear is a metaphysical question, and cannot be addressed here. The argument of this dissertation begins with the assumption that all human experience, however numinous, may be understood in psychological terms. This does not exclude alternative explanations - even transcendental ones - but merely delimits the scope of enquiry. In Chapter Twelve, this author contended that demons are unconscious, projectively disowned, intrapsychic configurations, comprising split-off and personified shadow parts of self, invariably identified with destructive parental introjects. This formulation draws together the Jungian notion that demons are dissociated autonomous complexes with an archetypal nucleus, and the object relations notion that demons are dynamic psychic suborganisations consolidated around destructive part-object introjects. Furthermore, these intrapsychic configurations are present as subpersonalities, and individuals' essentially fluid and pluralistic sense of identity at any time is dynamically contingent upon the "migratory" nature of the "I" in relation to the various subpersonalities. In the case of demonic subpersonalities, therefore, individuals are

capable of identifying or dis-identifying with the demonic figures. The former strategy, it was hypothesised, lay behind the satanic phenomenon of ego-syntonic demon possession, which simultaneously serves to allay individuals' persecutory anxiety, while allowing them to incorporate the power associated with the demonic subpersonality. Subject seven states: "*By confessing Satan is your lord and master, and accepting the demons into your body, you get this unmistakable feeling of power, like a powerful, strong force going through your body ... You feel you could do anything, like the sky's the limit*".

Demons manifested to subjects in a number of sensory modalities: as visceral sensations, internal or external voices, or in visual form. Subjects' visual descriptions of demons varied considerably, but demons typically presented themselves as variants of archetypal shadow images. Subject six, for example, describes the demons he saw as: "*Strong, well-built cross-overs between man, animal, and reptile ... There is absolutely no love in their eyes, just pure cold hate*". Demons' manifestation as composite figures, combining quasi-human and infrahuman characteristics, is well-illustrated in subject three's description: "*Some of them were creatures with long nails ... And some of them were like people, black people, but taller than a door. Some of them had scaly skin, like armour plating. Some had wings*". These characteristics, combined with their typically malicious temperaments, support the argument that demons are primitive, destructive aspects of the internal world, that find projected iconic expression in archetypal imagery.

The hypnotic quality of the rituals, e.g., repetitive chanting, rhythmic movement, strongly suggestive instructions from a charismatic cult leader, and hallucinogenic drug ingestion, acts as a catalysts for an altered state of consciousness that facilitates subpersonality identification. The induced hypnotic state also gives a delusional intensity to the appearance of the demonic subpersonalities, thereby strengthening the belief that demons may be invoked, and are a literal reality. We thus do not need to entertain supernatural theories of possession states to account for the visual manifestation of demons. As Cavendish (1967) notes, referring to ritual magic procedures:

The magician prepares himself by abstinence and lack of sleep, or by drink, drugs and sex. He breathes in fumes which may affect his brain and senses. He performs mysterious rites which tug at the deepest, most emotional and unreasoning levels of his mind, and he is further intoxicated by the killing of an animal, the wounding of a human being and in some cases the approach to and achievement of orgasm. Through all this he concentrates on a mental picture of the being he hopes to see. It does not seem at all unlikely that at the high point of the ceremony he may actually see it (p. 256-257).

The same may be said of Satanists' visions. By means of magical invocation, blood drinking, and sexual intercourse with already possessed individuals, these former projective identifications are re-introjected. Temporary introjective identification with these destructive personifications results in the typical symptoms of possessive states of consciousness: superhuman strength, personality transformations, rage reactions and abusive outbursts, hallucinations, delusions of influence, partial or total amnesia for state-dependent behaviour, and somatic reactions. Subject seven describes the characteristic aggression and alteration of consciousness characteristic of possession states: *"They'd manifest in me by growling, spitting, frothing, punching everything. Just flipping out ... I felt blank inside while I was possessed, like I wasn't my real self, because they take over, they take over your body. It's not you doing things, but those forces inside you. I felt quite scared that those things were actually inside me"*. Sometimes, possessed individuals experience themselves to be undergoing physical transmutation consistent with the nature of the possessing entity. Subject four reported a classic werewolf transformation, illustrating the bestial fantasies frequently associated with disavowed parts of the self: *"I would be wide awake, you know, and suddenly I would see, as if it were really happening, my face becoming like an animal's, with hair growing out of it"*.

Satanists, although consciously inviting possession and believing themselves to be in control of the possessing entities, inevitably discover that it is they who are controlled by their demons. Subject six recalls, *"The more demons I got, the less I was in control of myself. I felt like I was in a trance, like I didn't know what was going on. The demons were in me ... making me do things. It wasn't really me"*. This frequent ego-dystonic experience illustrates Jung's (1954) claim that the autonomous complex, or splinter

psyche, forms a "shadow government of the ego". The experience of finding oneself under the control of malevolent "supernatural" entities is a horrifying experience, and the intense accompanying persecutory anxiety may drive the desperate victim to attempt suicide in order to escape. Subject seven states in this regard: "*But, you know, later I wanted them out. I couldn't take it. That's when I tried to commit suicide. I was sick of everything, of being controlled by all the demons. And so I slashed my wrists*".

Because these demons are in fact split-off parts of the subjects' own psyches, they appear capable of reading the victims' thoughts and attacking them when they attempt to distance themselves from the destructive subpersonality. After undergoing an unsuccessful exorcism procedure, subject five recalls: "*I couldn't sleep that night ... my demons were screaming at me, calling me a traitor, saying that Satan was going to kill me*". The ferocity of these attacks and their psychological consequences is vividly conveyed by subject six: "*I was hospitalised for demonic attacks, with no physical cause that the 'docs' could find. Eventually my entire life was destroyed through demons, and I hit rock bottom. I felt broken and attacked by demons whenever I had negative thoughts about Satan and what I was doing with my life .... What they did to me very nearly cost me my life, as I was left in a quivering, totally broken mess on the bedroom floor, ready to blow my head off with a friend's .45 Magnum*".

In all subjects, the most severe possession symptoms emerged when they attempted to leave Satanism, and underwent exorcism or "deliverance" ceremonies by Christian pastors. Subject seven describes his experience as follows: "*I was sitting in B's living room, and L was praying for me, and then the demons started manifesting. I started growling, screaming, and swearing, and I remember the room becoming ice-cold. I was shivering from cold*". The so-called paranormal phenomena that accompany exorcism procedures reveal just how dissociated these parts of the self can be. In the following example, the personified demonic figure took vocal control of subject five: "*D called on the spirit of the antichrist that was in me. It spoke in a weird voice, saying it had been assigned to me from birth, and that it wasn't going to leave*".

An important characteristic of possession states is that they are not merely mental phenomena, but find powerful expression in somatic manifestations. Subject five, for example, emphasises the somatic correlates of his possession experience: "*I experienced a tough physical battle too. I'd break out in cold sweats ... the sweat was ghastly, it was abnormal. It was slimy and stank like hell. I also had severe stomach cramps, and my mouth would bleed for no reason*". During the course of an exorcism ceremony, subject five recalls: "*The demons shrieked in agony. They picked my body up off the bed and threw it around the room. My body squirmed and wriggled. I shrieked, coughed, and vomited up slime*". These somatic phenomena lose their paranormal and mysterious status when we bear in mind Brooke's (1991) contention that "the body is the incarnation of psychological life" (p. 88), and that "each complex is an incarnate intentionality" (p. 127). This formulation undercuts the Cartesian dualism that has tended to bedevil psychoanalytic and Jungian thought: "The psyche is not ontologically separate from the body, but is the body's experience; correlatively, the body is not to be understood as the 'anatomical' body but as the bodily materiality of psychological life" (Brooke, 1991, p. 84). For this reason, it is hardly surprising that possession by a disavowed part of the self is so dramatically incarnated.

15.3.5 Motives for leaving Satanism and experience of this process

Although the early stage of subjects' satanic careers were powerfully gratifying, they all became progressively disenchanted. Persecutory anxiety replaced the earlier state of hypomanic inflation, culminating in either successful or unsuccessful attempts to flee the cult. The factors responsible for subjects' decision to leave are summarised and illustrated below:

(1) The perception that cult relationships are not benevolent, but based on ruthless competition for power and status, undermines the idealised surrogate family fantasy. In subject six's words: "*There is constant fear of other Satanists, as the only loyalty they know is to Lucifer himself. Hatred and jealousy towards each other is always driving*

them to destroy those higher up in rank as this is the easiest way to take up their position and claim their demons for themselves".

(2) There is the the stress of living a dual existence as cultists and "ordinary" citizens while maintaining their satanic identity secret. Adding to this stress is intracoven rivalry, drug abuse, and physical exhaustion. The physical toll exacted is illustrated by subject five: "*My face developed deep wrinkles ... I looked anaemic ... my body felt cold and lifeless ... I was constantly sick and exhausted. When I did sleep, I'd have nightmares about what I was involved in*". The deflation of the initial hypomania culminates in the experience of sensory deadness, as evidenced by subject seven: "*I was just existing, like a shell. I lost all sensation of life - my taste, my hearing, my smell, because I couldn't feel or sense anything anymore*".

(3) Conflict between the destructive subpersonality and residual libidinal parts of the self manifests as guilt and distress in response to the more perverse cult practices. Subject three relished animal sacrifices but, after allegedly witnessing the sacrifice of a human infant, depressive feelings were evoked in him: "*When it was over, I felt very sad, all down and broken, you know*". Subject one was similarly affected: "*Human sacrifice really got to me. I remember seeing a baby skinned alive, and the high priest cut its little heart out and eat it. It's terror ... you hear that little thing screaming and ... I don't know*". Those Satanists whose identification with the destructive subpersonality is subverted by libidinal impulses, however attenuated, will be more prone to depressive anxiety and guilt, and more likely to escape the cult.

(4) The experience of ego-dystonic demonic possession, and increasingly severe persecution by Satan, makes continued cult involvement quite untenable. Suicide, involuntary ritual sacrifice, or escape appear to be the only alternatives. Subject three describes the oral-aggressive fantasies of internal persecution that prompted his attempts to leave the cult: "*I couldn't handle the tension inside of me ... Satan and his demons inside of me, eating me, wanting to kill me*".

(5) The experience of losing relationships valuable to one, as a consequence of the satanic life-style, provides another incentive to leave. Subject seven captures this experience of loss and alienation: "*I had lost my family through constantly fighting with them, isolating myself from them ... Because of my severe hatred towards my friends, I lost the friends I had. I pushed them away ... I was tired of being alone ... I never had any girlfriends because I scared them away. They were afraid of me*".

(6) The experience of falling in love contradicts and undermines identification with the destructive subpersonality, thereby eroding commitment to the cult. Subject six relates his experience of this: "*With all these new feelings of love ... I got very confused and started doubting Satanism, as something inside me said, 'This is good'. I stopped doing Satan's work*". Subject five also fell in love, which occasioned ambivalence, persecutory anxiety, and feelings of remorse: "*For once I felt love, and wanted more. I lived in constant fear - fear of giving in to love, fear of what the demons would do to me. Satan was merciless ... I knew I would die if I pulled out. I thought then that I was psycho, split in two. Half of me adored evil, and the other half worshipped good. I started to feel guilty about the things I'd done, and felt that I deserved to die*".

(7) Confrontation with a crusading member or members of charismatic Christian religions creates a possible "escape route", and engenders hope that the recusant may be rescued from Satan by a benevolent higher power.

As discussed in the previous chapter, leaving Satanism is made extremely difficult by both internal and external factors. Internal factors are based on the belief that one's blood pact with Satan is eternal, and that any attempt to renege on this will result in persecution and death from the possessing forces inhabiting the victim's interior. Subject five expressed this as follows: "*Your blood covenant with Satan is like a marriage. You're married to him ... you take over his name. You're married to him, just like Christians are married to Jesus Christ, like a wife is married to a husband ... And when something goes wrong in the relationship (he) can sense it ... Satan's got such a fear of rejection. He'll*

try to kill you ... destroy you". The nature and extent of this internal persecution was illustrated in the previous section on demonic possession. Satanists also live in fear of physical retribution by fellow cult members, should they attempt to leave. Subject seven conveys the extent of the physical threat: *"I kept thinking of one Satanist who had decided to leave, and the other cult members, man, they left him a paraplegic! He had a broken spine all the way down. His head was cracked from here to there. Both arms were broken. And this made me petrified"*.

Despite their fear, desperation drives these individuals to cast themselves upon the mercy of the previously despised Christian God, rather than appealing to mental health professionals or police officials. This is hardly surprising, given satanic recusants' conviction that they will be inevitably destroyed by Satan unless rescued by a more powerful supernatural figure. This divine rescue is typically facilitated by charismatic Christian pastors, who perform exorcism rituals to drive out the possessing demons. Most of the subjects in this study indicated that these dramatic exorcisms were remarkably effective, and only one did not undergo this form of spiritual "deliverance". This divine salvation, it is argued, does not have a supernatural origin, despite subjects' absolute conviction that their demons were banished by God. Rather, the success of the ritual lies in the power of the exorcist's hypnotic suggestion to reinforce the possessed recusants' splitting defences, thereby allowing them to externalise the "demonic" parts of themselves by means of projective fantasy. This process of extruding destructive self aspects is particularly evident in subject five who, after undergoing a second exorcism, completely renounced the "demonic" powers he had ambivalently retained after his first exorcism. He reported the following: *"That night, I was physically attacked by demons .... In a way we were thankful that the attacks were no longer inside of me, but from the outside"*. On this occasion, his complete surrender to the exorcism process obviously permitted total dis-identification from his demonic aspects, and facilitated their successful fantasised expulsion from his mind. These demonic projective identifications, of course, continue to exist, but no longer as dreaded internal persecutors.

However, merely expelling the destructive parts of their own internal worlds is not enough to safeguard satanic recusants from their destructive projections. Consequently, the defence mechanism of introjectively identifying with a new idealised part-object is mobilised to protect these individuals from their persecutors, and to fill the psychic void caused by evacuating parts of themselves through projective identification. This second defensive strategy is well illustrated by subject four, following his exorcism ritual: "*I knew I was clean because in the middle of my stomach ... it felt like an empty space. It was so empty that it felt like it was sucking. I was so happy not to have the demons in my body, and this helped me, you know, to accept the Holy Spirit into my heart. The Holy Spirit filled that emptiness with his powerful presence when I asked him to*".

For these subjects, in other words, the only solution to possession by bad objects is possession by good objects. Introjective identification with a new idealised part-object, in the figure of God, creates a new subpersonality which is as quintessentially good as the destructive subpersonality was bad. This raises the question of whether recusant Satanists' conversion to Christianity involves authentic healing, defined in psychoanalytic terms as the cessation of splitting defences, the withdrawal of projective identifications, and the integration of previously disavowed parts of the self. Evidence from the interviews suggest that the dramatic personality changes reported by subjects following their exorcism and Christian conversion occurs through perpetuation of splitting defences, accompanied by narcissistic identification with a new idealised - but previously hated - part-object (God), and denigration of the previously idealised part-object, Satan. The dramatic personality changes referred to, together with evidence of continued splitting and projective identification, are typified by subject four in response to the interviewer's inquiry about life after Satanism: "*Wonderful, absolutely wonderful! Now that I've become a born-again Christian, I no longer get depressed ... because I have Jesus who sees to my every need. I'm happy with myself now. I really am .... I'm shining the light of Jesus at work with all my co-workers .... I've learnt to love all people ... I see everyone as equal .... Satan is my number one enemy ... I want to destroy his kingdom of darkness by preaching the love and power of God*".

Understood in Jungian terms, these individuals remain in a state of psychic inflation arising from identification with an archetypal aspect of the collective unconscious. As a result, demonic figures are not acknowledged as symbols of psychic reality, but are equated with literal persecutory entities. The symbol is an image that serves to provide dialectical mediation between the unknown, irrational and mysterious realm of the unconscious, and the rational world of consciousness. The fate of the symbol is determined by the attitude of the observer. What Jung (1921) calls the symbolic attitude denotes a metaphorical approach to psychic reality, thereby preserving the tension between reason and unreason until a new meaning is born that transcends the contradiction. This transcendent function of the psyche establishes the symbol as a vital metaphoric reality which promotes psychic integration. As Brooke (1991) aptly puts it, the symbolic attitude is one in which "the literalisms of personal life are deepened into metaphors, but the literalisms of one's archaic fantasy are softened into metaphors with which one can live a personal life as well" (p. 111). Should this dialectic collapse in favour of either of these two poles the symbol becomes a symptom, i.e. either a lifeless fact devoid of deeper significance, or an overwhelming archetypal presence that capsizes reason. In the case of these ex-Satanists, demonic forces are symptoms because they cannot be entertained as mysterious psychic potentialities; instead they are literalised as evil agencies who must be implacably opposed.

To some extent, this is understandable, given the extraordinary events that Satanists allegedly endure. Furthermore, it is difficult not to sympathise with satanic recusants' attempts to attain the security and protection of an idealised supernatural figure, in the form of the Christian God. This fundamentalist brand of Christianity, however, rejects the metaphoric nature of psychic reality and perpetuates the splitting, dissociation, and identification processes on which the destructive subpersonality formation is based. The narcissistic structure of the personality remains predominantly unmodified, maintaining a psychic instability that embraces a dualistic religiosity, rather than a spirituality that issues from a state of psychic integration. In the words of subject two, *"There's certain things that humans can't do, they need a supernatural being to fill that void inside of*

them. Christians need God, they need Jesus Christ. Satanists need Satan, they need demons".

15.4 Satanism and the problem of evil in depth psychology

Allegations of organised satanic cult worship that involve blasphemous perversion of Christian sacraments, ritual sadism, paedophilia, bestiality, human sacrifice and cannibalism, confront us with existence at the extreme margins of humanity. In this world, characterised by the assiduous pursuit of moral violation, the notion of psychic conflict seems to lose its explanatory power. Psychic conflict, in psychoanalytic terms, assumes a tension between life and death instincts, between loving and destructive impulses. The real significance of underground Satanism lies in its cultivation of Thanatos till it swells to the full circumference of psychic life, thereby actualising the almost inconceivable state of instinctual monism. Any residue of life instinct is split off, ceremonially disavowed and abusively corrupted. At these absolute limits of our moral universe psychological language seems to fail, and we find ourselves reaching for the archaic concept of evil. Depth psychology has mapped and navigated madness more successfully than any other psychological discourse. But even if we use the metaphor of exorcism (as Fairbairn did), to describe the analytic encounter with the intrapsychic manifestations of unconscious destructiveness, our traditional metapsychology does not easily encompass demonic worship and its perverse rituals. The moral-theological term, evil, is foreign to the language of psychoanalysis (Kahn, 1983; Phillips, 1994). While the conceptual boundaries of traditional psychoanalytic discourse extend to include the various permutations of lust and rage, the concept of evil does not sit comfortably here amidst a secular catalogue of conflict-defence constellations. Phillips (1994) goes further, saying that psychoanalysis, the "art of the unacceptable", is phobic about the word evil. Freud, in the spirit of post-Enlightenment rationality, felt compelled to speak of the unacceptable without evoking the supernatural. We may say that Freud naturalised the supernatural by interpreting spiritual experience - both good and bad - as the symbolic expression of intrapsychic conflict. In psychoanalytic discourse, both gods and demons were humanised by reformulating them as projected mythological embodiments of

instinctual forces, unconsciously fused with childhood imagos of god-like parental figures. Rather than man being created in the image of God, both God and Satan are unconsciously created in the ambivalent image of man, manufactured from the fantasies of young children struggling toward a moral identity amidst the turbulence of oedipal desires and prohibitions.

Even in post-Freudian psychoanalysis, there is an obvious discursive gulf between the Christian mythology of satanic evil, and the secular psychoanalytic mythology of destructive instincts and internal objects, which is not easily spanned. The problem psychology, as a secular discourse, faces, is that of understanding extremes of perversity without invoking the notion of supernatural evil. The remainder of this chapter will be concerned with addressing this problem from a Jungian and object relations perspective.

Jung (1960), unlike Freud, gave serious consideration to the phenomenon of evil, which takes its place in Jungian thought as "an effective and menacing reality in opposition to good, a psychological reality that expresses itself symbolically both in religious tradition (as the devil) and in personal experience" (Samuels *et al*, 1986). However, Jung's position is a contradictory one. Good and evil are archetypal polarities and, hence, empirical realities. Jung states in this regard: "Psychology must insist on the reality of evil, and must reject any definition that regards it as insignificant or actually non-existent" (Jung, 1951, p. 53). Jung thus rejected St Augustine's definition of evil as *privatio boni* - the notion that evil has no existence in and of itself, but is merely the diminution or absence of good (Moreno, 1970; Philp, 1958). Jung reinforces the reality of evil by making a firm distinction between sin and evil: "I mean by 'sin' the offence against our moral code, by 'evil' the black fiend ever working in man's nature" (Jung cited in Philp, 1958, p. 211). This is problematic because analytical psychology has no means of conceptualising the "black fiend". Psychoanalysis at least has the notion of the death instinct to describe a force antagonistic to life, but Jung rejected this concept. This leaves Jung in a position where any destructive aspect of the psyche must invariably serve the life instinct, and hence, be associated with creativity (Samuels *et al*, 1986). But if evil

has a positive existence, as Jung asserts, and, furthermore, is not simply moral transgression, then what precisely is it? Here Jung twice contradicts himself, firstly by assuming a relativistic perspective and, secondly, by collapsing the distinction between evil and moral transgression which he so strongly emphasised in the previous quotation:

> Evil is a relative thing, partly avoidable, partly fate - just as virtue is, and often one does not know which is worse .... Good and evil are simply the moral aspects of this natural polarity ... good and evil are feeling values of human provenance, and we cannot extend them beyond the human realm (1948, p. 197).

If evil is indeed qualitatively different from sin, then analytical psychology, by purging itself of any formulation of innate destructiveness, does not have the means to conceptualise it. Even Fairbairn, who could not accept Freud's theory of the death instinct, rejected Jung's attempt to reduce aggression to a manifestation of libido: "There is no alternative but to regard aggression as a primary instinctive tendency, and therefore as an irreducible factor in the economy of human nature" (Fairbairn cited in Guntrip, 1961, p. 274).

It would appear that Kleinian theory is the depth psychology best equipped conceptually to render satanic evil intelligible in strictly human terms. Klein, in trying to understand the extent of the sadism in childhood superego fantasies, employed Freud's theory of the death instinct, but went much further than Freud in emphasising its role as an active force in psychic life. In Kleinian theory, the death instinct refers not simply to the desire to escape from painful states of internal tension, but to the hatred of life itself (Hinshelwood, 1994). Criticism of the death instinct theory in psychoanalytic circles has been that there is no clinical evidence for it. A rejoinder to this is that the death instinct is usually fused with the life instinct, with the latter typically ascendant, and hence is not usually visible. However, "in states of *defusion* ... or when fusion is under the aegis of the death instinct instead of the life instincts, the operation of the death instinct becomes apparent" (Hinshelwood, 1991, p. 268). The conditions of sadistic perversity (Meltzer, 1979),

negative narcissism (Rosenfeld, 1971), and characterological cruelty (Brenman, 1988) discussed in Chapter Nine, illustrate this occurrence.

Bollas (1995) provides a very useful 'Winnicottian' psychoanalytic conception of evil, which complements the work of Meltzer, Rosenfeld, Brenman, and Steiner. Using the serial killer as the prototype of contemporary evil, Bollas argues that evil has a clear structure and psychic logic. Perpetrators of evil have their origins in the parents' destruction of the infantile 'true self', a psychic catastrophe which results in an extremely pathological narcissism, coldly intent on destroying the trust and love in others as this was destroyed in them. The true self, which Winnicott considered to be the source of emotional liveness, is not simply replaced by a false self, but by a new being, identified with the killing of everything good and life-affirming. With reference to Satan in Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Bollas writes:

> Ruptured from the folds of nurturance, the Satanic subject bears a deep wound and good is presented now as an enviously delivered offering .... loss of love and catastrophic displacement can foster an envious hatred of life mutating into an identification with the anti-life (p. 184).

By exploring the apparent meaninglessness of serial killings, Bollas argues that the killer is engaged in a perverse and literal attempt to master the psychic death inflicted upon him by the infantile destruction of his own self:

> The person who has been "killed" in his childhood is in unwilling identification with his own premature mortality, and by finding a victim whom he puts through the structure of evil, he transcends his own killing, psychically overcoming his own endless deaths by sacrificing to the malignant gods that overlooked his childhood (p. 193).

This notion has obvious application to the alleged human ritual sacrifice that occurs in underground satanic cults. From a neo-Kleinian perspective, evil, stripped of its supernatural referents, is a viable concept that captures the essence of envy, sadism and malevolence in negative narcissism, and its rare pure embodiment in satanic rituals.

Despite Jung's reference to the "black fiend", analytic psychology has been conceptually ill-equipped to understand evil as anything other than the archetypal shadow, whose destructive aspects Jungians have de-emphasised. However, it appears theoretically viable to unite the neo-Kleinian concept of pathological narcissistic personality organisations with the Jungian theory of the shadow, and thereby formulate a depth psychological model of evil which will be able to comprehend the sadistic excesses of satanic rituals. Furthermore, the tension between the destructive and creative conceptualisations of the unconscious, in the respective Kleinian and Jungian discourses, is echoed in the experience of these ex-Satanists. While they may have identified with evil, both intrapsychic and organisational, a life-affirming part of their unconscious minds was never quite extinguished. The reparative impulse, and some germ of good internal object experience, prevented these individuals from totally and permanently identifying with evil. Thus, despite subject two's continued hatred, bitterness, and attraction to Satanism, he is still able to maintain contact with an internal good object, which he identifies as God: "*I can still feel Him down inside here, He's that tender part ... He is the tenderness inside me*". Even subject seven, whose psychic life since early childhood seems to have been dominated by a sadistic subpersonality, was aware of the "spiritual" desire to regain contact with some projected and dimly perceived good part of himself: "*I was trying to find the link between myself and the things around me. I was always striving for answers, always striving for that*". If we define evil as the unambivalent, complete and permanent identification with the sadistic parts of one's mind, of which Satanism is the archetypal embodiment, then none of these subjects, despite their association with evil, can ever be described as evil in themselves.

We need to be mindful, however, of how vulnerable these individuals are to regressive identification with the destructive parts of themselves. Charismatic Christian salvation is experienced as providing a magical cure but, as pointed out above, it may simply provide an alternative narcissistic identity structure, based on dissociation rather than integration. The precariousness of this inflated psychic state is tragically illustrated in the case of subject five. Eighteen months after having been exorcised and converted to Christianity,

he savagely murdered a man he alleged was a satanic high priest, claiming that this man had abducted, raped, murdered and cannibalised his lover at a satanic meeting. After abducting this man, the subject drove him to a deserted spot and killed him. He claimed little recollection of his actions, and maintained that when he regained awareness he found himself standing over the deceased's body, having stabbed him nineteen time and nearly severing the victim's head with the ferocity of his attack. Psychiatric witnesses for the prosecution argued that this subject had executed a cold-blooded and premeditated murder. This author, appearing as an expert witness for the defence, argued that the murder had been committed in a dissociated state that would temporarily have overridden normal ego functioning and, therefore, the exercise of restraint, judgement, and reason. The relative merits of these opposing arguments were never tested, however. The perpetrator, fearing conviction and a lengthy jail sentence, absconded while on bail, and fled the country at the beginning of the trial. His murderous behaviour, subsequent to his Christian conversion, is grim testimony to the fact that apparent religious salvation does not preclude regressive re-identification with the destructive parts of the self.

Summary

The discussion began with a critical examination of the credibility of subjects' retrospective accounts of their satanic involvement, and the cogency of this researcher's interpretation of their accounts. The status of these accounts as narrative constructions was emphasised, along with the attendant implications this has for hermeneutic methodologies, which themselves are metanarrative schemas. The archetypal object relations model, proposed in Chapter Twelve, was then summarised and applied to the five research questions. The author drew on both psychological and sociological factors to explain the apparent demographic characteristics of South African Satanists. It was argued that the contemporary generation of white, working class adolescents have grown up in a turbulent socio-economic climate that has witnessed the overthrow of white racial privilege, political power, economic stability, and traditional ideologies. Feeling, disempowered, anomic, marginalised, resentful and dispossessed, these youths and young adults are predisposed to find a magical solution to their plight. Satanic cults

consequently become more alluring than traditional religions or political movements, seeming to offer supernatural power and control over one's destiny and the lives of others. Feeling abused, and rejected by parents, siblings, peers and authority figures, alienated from their families and other social institutions, these individuals are archetypal outsiders. The significance of this was explained in terms of a destructive father complex, which prevents the humanisation of the paternal imago, which consequently wields undiluted archetypal power over the individual. Father is internalised as a tyrannical god-like figure, both feared and hated, while the missing archetypal pole of the benevolent father is missed and longed for. Satanism provides an invitation to overcome spiritual alienation, rebel against tyrannical paternal authority, find a good father, magically destroy those who have wronged one, and compensate for an underlying sense of weakness and inferiority by identifying with an autonomous complex in the form of a destructive subpersonality. The initiation ceremony is particularly powerful as it simultaneously gives ritual expression to the patricidal fantasy of destroying the evil father, while establishing the initiate's status as the special child of a loving and powerful father, to whom is attributed shadow self aspects. By means of blood drinking, identification with Satan - the archetypal nucleus of the destructive subpersonality -is effected, resulting in narcissistic inflation and ego-syntonic sadistic behaviour.

Infantile omnipotence and destructive fantasy are sadistically deployed in malevolent magic, simultaneously defending the Satanist against underlying feelings of impotence, and punishing the hated projected internal objects in others. Although projective identification is a fantasy, the possibility was entertained that it may well have real effects on target objects. The significance of animal/human sacrifice was discussed, and it was concluded that it is a true religious ritual, featuring a symbolic act associated with transpersonal meaning, characterised by numinous experience, and aimed at propitiating a deity. However, it was emphasised that this ritual is essentially perverse in that it is bound up with sadistic gratification and sacrilegious intent. Furthermore, it was argued that the sacrificial killing is unconsciously associated with the death of the weak and helpless parts of the self, projected into the victim, thereby facilitating participants'

continued identification with the destructive subpersonality. The character of the Black Mass was also discussed, and it was pointed out how this ritual is tied to fantasies of a perverse alternative universe, characterised by sacrilege, subversion of law, overthrow of the oedipal father, narcissistic abolition of the distinction between subject and object, replacement of truth by falsity, and the substitution of knowledge by magic.

Demonic invocation and the hallucinatory manifestation of demons was considered in some detail. Demons were identified as split-off autonomous complexes, comprising personified shadow parts of the self, fused with destructive parental introjects. Common visual characteristics of demons was attributed to archetypal imagery, shaped by satanic folklore and Western mythology. The symptoms of demonic possession, both ego-syntonic and ego-dystonic, were illustrated with details from subjects' first-hand reports. The somatic manifestation of demonic possession was noted and attributed to the fact that the body is not a material reality divorced from mental phenomena, but the incarnation of psychological life.

The motives for, and experiences of, leaving Satanism were elaborated, and the Christian solution to the problem of possession by bad objects, viz. possession by good ones, was discussed. The chapter concluded with a consideration of the psychological meaning of evil. It was argued that Jung, although he took the reality of evil seriously, could not adequately conceptualise it. The author proposed a theory of evil that unites the neo-Kleinian concept of destructive or malignant narcissism, with the Jungian theory of the shadow archetype. This theory, it was contended, allows one to understand the sadistic nature of satanic rituals.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN
CONCLUSION

The first part of this dissertation was devoted to a historical and theoretical overview of the emergence and evolution of the mythical figure, Satan, in occidental culture, and a critical discussion of organisations and practices related to the dark god's worship. This historical vision, the author believes, is necessary in order to thoroughly understand the mythical, theological, and cultural contexts of contemporary society's fascination with Satanism. The second part attempted to ground the five research questions in a comprehensive and critical discussion of all published sociological and psychological theories and research findings germane to the related phenomena of demonic possession, demonic pacts, and satanic cult involvement.

The author's main theoretical focus, however, was on depth psychological theories relevant to the aforementioned issues. For this reason, six theoretical chapters were devoted to a thoroughgoing preparatory discussion of satanic-related topics from the Freudian, object relations, and Jungian traditions. The phenomenon of Satanism has been largely ignored within depth psychology literature, and the author therefore had to construct theories of demonic possession and satanic involvement from fragmentary references to related issues in the various psychodynamic discourses.

Although primarily interested in psychoanalytic theories, the author was struck by Jung's detailed consideration of religion and spiritual phenomena, and, more specifically, his sustained use of demonic possession as a metaphor to describe the profound influence of autonomous complexes on psychic life. Mindful of the developmental Jungians' thoughtful appropriation of object relations theory, the author formulated a more-or-less integrated theoretical model of demonic phenomena, drawing on the explicit and implicit commonalties between the Jungian and object relations discourses. This "archetypal object relations model", like any mixed discourse, undoubtedly has internal tensions and incongruities, and may well offend purists from both psychoanalytic and Jungian camps.

However, while certainly not a seamless integration of these theoretical traditions, this perhaps untidy hybrid was argued to provide a more complex, encompassing, and ultimately, satisfying, explanation of satanic cult phenomena.

Chapter Fifteen, in which this integrative vision was brought to bear on the research results, is the real test of the model's usefulness. Although the object relations analysis results presented in Chapter Fourteen hopefully stand as an independent, coherent, and unique research contribution, it is hoped that the archetypal object relations hybrid provides a depth and roundedness, possibly absent from the respective contributing models on their own. The results of this integrative theory are discussed and summarised in Chapter Fifteen, and will not reviewed here. Rather, the remainder of this chapter will be devoted to a few brief observations on various issues emerging from the dissertation.

The first observation concerns the issue of what causes individuals to become Satanists. Although there appear to be a number of common factors *predisposing* individuals to satanic cult involvement, it cannot be concluded that any one factor, or combination of factors, *causes* people to become Satanists. As was noted in Chapter Four, psychological explanations of satanic involvement are hard-pressed to explain why an individual from a "high-risk" background would join a Satanist coven, rather than any other aggressively deviant gang or subculture. Furthermore, understanding why a particular individual chooses to become a Satanist does not explain why another individual, with a similar personality structure and socio-economic background, does not. The complex interaction of historical class, ethnic, geographical and familial factors, together with the difficulties in conducting statistical research on an "invisible" subculture, makes any refinement of general causal statements about satanic involvement extremely difficult.

The second observation concerns a particular limitation of this study, imposed by the logistical difficulties of gaining research access to currently practising Satanists. All of the subjects in this study were satanic apostates, giving retrospective accounts of their cult involvement. Furthermore, when interviewed, most of the subjects were "born-

again" Christians, fervently antagonistic toward Satanism. The fact that the research sample comprised ex-Satanists has both positive and negative implications. On the positive side, it provides valuable insight into the distressing and frequently protracted process of leaving the cult. This information would obviously not have emerged had the sample comprised currently practising Satanists. A negative implication, however, is that these individuals' recollections and self-understandings are no doubt skewed by their current religious convictions. Ideally, further qualitative research samples should include both committed and recusant Satanists, thereby allowing a useful comparative analysis.

Thirdly, the use of psychoanalytic hermeneutics in the context of a single research interview raises another methodological issue. Freud, it is well known, understood psychoanalysis to be first and foremost a research procedure and, secondly, a therapeutic process. However, the case study method of psychoanalytic research is usually conducted over an extended period of time in the context of a therapeutic alliance, thereby allowing the therapist-researcher to develop and test interpretive hypotheses in dialogue with the patient-subject. A single interview obviously does not permit this detailed uncovering of evidence in support of a hypothesis. The researcher thus runs the risk of advancing theoretical hypotheses that are not underpinned by sufficiently detailed evidentiary material. This author, within the limitations of the single interview, has attempted to justify abstract theoretical observations with reference to verbatim interview vignettes. Interpretations might, however, have been more fine-tuned and cogent had more detail emerged in the context of an ongoing relationship with the research subjects. Regarding the small subject sample, it is interesting to note the high level of consistency between the different subjects' satanic (and pre-satanic) experiences. The commonalties far outweigh the idiosyncratic differences, and thus demonstrate that the relatively small sample of seven subjects was not an impediment to formulating general observations. Consequently, it is doubtful whether this study would have been enriched by the inclusion of more subjects.

A fourth point to be made concerns the relationship between Satanism and Christianity. As indicated in Part One of this dissertation, Satanism does not, and cannot, exist outside of a Christian society because its identity as the inverted mirror image of Christianity is obviously contingent upon the persistent hegemony of Christian spirituality. It is the *Christian* Devil who Satanists worship. Moreover, as was noted in Chapter Five, the current cultural paranoia concerning the "satanic epidemic" is directly attributable to the extreme dualistic theology of the burgeoning evangelical Christian movements, which simultaneously promotes persecutory anxiety in the Christian faithful, and spurs would-be Luciferian rebels to genuine satanic practices.

Jung, despite his sympathetic approach to Christian ritual, was critical of Christian dogma. He knew full well that Satan emerged as the historical realisation of an archetypal possibility only because Christian theodicy sought a neurotic solution to its ambivalent experience of God, by splitting of His destructive qualities and assigning them to a wholly evil adversary. Consequently, claims Jung, "every single Christian has a split in his psyche" (Cited in Stein, 1985, p. 172). Jung thus advocated a cultural therapeutics, a collective parallel to individual psychotherapy, whereby higher levels of psychological wholeness are attained by taking back one's shadow projections and integrating disavowed parts of the self. The enemy, in other words, is us, and "what one reacts to emotionally in an opponent represents an unclaimed piece of one's own psyche" (Stein, 1985, p. 172). Stein is moved to observe that Christianity's "record on reconciliation of opposites and on working through differences of attitude is not brilliant" (p. 172). A cultural shift is necessary in order to address the sociological conditions that make Satanism a compelling spiritual choice for some.

From a fundamentalist Christian perspective, everything occult is considered evil. However, much occult philosophy echoes Jung's call for the integration of our projected shadow aspects, a prerequisite for any form of psychic wholeness. Cavendish (1967) expresses this occult vision:

> According to occult theory, there are forces and intelligences, whether inside or outside the magician. which are convention ally condemned as evil, but a god who is wholly evil is as inconceivable as a god who is entirely good. The true God, the One. is the totality of everything, containing all good and evil, and reconciling all opposites (p. 338).

We need, however. to guard against a "cult of wholeness and integration", which both Jungians and object relations theorists typically advocate, and which may prove as equally as tyrannical as Christianity's insistence on projecting its shadow onto the Devil. Searles (1986), an analyst highly respected for his object relations understanding of borderline and schizophrenic psychopathology. makes a profound comment on psychological health:

> I had long thought the sense of identity in a healthy person to be essentially monolithic in nature. comprised in large part of well-digested part identifications with other persons. But ... I have come to see that the healthy individual's sense of identity is far from being monolithic in nature. Rather, it involves myriad internal objects functioning in lively and harmonious interrelatedness, all contributing to a relatively coherent, consistent sense of identity which springs from and comprises all of them, but does not involve their being congealed into so unitary a mass as I once thought. I have come to believe that the more healthy a person is, the more consciously does he live in the knowledge that there are myriad "persons" - internal objects each bearing some sense-of-identity value - within him. He recognizes this state of his internal world to be what it is - not threatened insanity, but the strength resident in the human condition (p. 79-80).

All of us have demonic aspects to our personalities. All of us intuitively understand what it means to be possessed by evil spirits. What one does with this experience, however, determines one's psychological health and one's spiritual affiliations. It would be naive to glibly assert that one should simply integrate one's "evil" aspects, particularly given the origin and psychic status of these malevolent subpersonalities in the lives of these hapless research subjects. As Hawthorne observes in his novel, *Young Goodman Brown*: "The fiend in his own shape is less hideous than when he rages in the heart of man". The individuals in this study have looked into the abyss and experienced evil in one of its purest forms. Our psychological insight that Satan and his demons are projected parts of

their own minds would be less than helpful to them. Having being delivered from Satan by the grace of God, these individuals have established relatively adaptive lives for themselves, irrespective of our diagnostic assessment of their mental integrity and spiritual attitudes. We cannot judge or begrudge them their fundamentalist Christian redemption.

REFERENCES

Abend,S. & Porder, M. (1986) Identification in the neuroses. *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, **67**, pp. 201-217.

Alfred (1976) The Church of Satan. In C. Glock & R. Bellah (Eds.) *The New Religious Consciousness*. Berkely: University of California Press.

Abenheimer, K. (1955) Critical observations on Fairbairn's theory of object relations. *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, **28**, pp. 29-41.

Ankarloo, B. & Henningsen, G. (1990) *Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Armstrong, K. (1993) *A History of God*. London: Mandarin.

Astor, J. (1990) The emergence of Fordham's model of development: A new integration in analytical psychology. *Journal of Analytical Psychology*, **35**, pp. 261-278.

Banister, P; Burman, E; Parker, I; Taylor, M; & Tindall, C. (1994) *Qualitative Methods in Psychology*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Bardaracco, J (1986) Identification and its vicissitudes in the psychoses. The importance of the concept of the 'maddening' object. *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, **67**, pp. 133- 146.

Behrends, R. & Blatt, S. (1985) Internalization and psychological development through the life cycle. Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, **40**, pp. 11-39.

Bell, C. (1992) *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*. New York: Oxford University.

Bentovim, A. & Tranter, M. (1994). A systemic approach. In V. Sinason (Ed.) (1994). *Treating Survivors of Satanist Abuse: An Invisible Trauma*, pp. 100-112. London: Karnac Books.

Best, J. (1991) Endangered children in antisatanist rhetoric. In J. Richardson, J. Best & D. Bromley (Eds.) *The Satanism Scare*, p. 95-106. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Blatt, S. & Lerner, H. (1983) Investigations in the psychoanalytic theory of object relations and object representations. In J. Masling (Ed.) *Empirical Studies of Psychoanalytical Theories, Vol. 1, 189-250*. London: The Analytic Press.

Bloom (1994) Creating sanctuary: ritual abuse and complex post-traumatic stress disorder. In V. Sinason (Ed.) *Treating Survivors of Satanist Abuse: An Invisible Trauma*, pp. 285-291. London: Karnac Books.

Blum, H. (1986) On identification and its vicissitudes. *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, **67**, pp. 267-276.

Bollas, C. (1995) The structure of evil. In *Cracking Up*, pp. 180-220. London: Routledge.

Bourget, D., Gagnon, A, & Bradford, J. (1988) Satanism in a Psychiatric Adolescent Population. *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry*, **33**, pp *197-202.*

Brandon, S. (1973) *Religion in Ancient History.* London: George Allen and Unwin.

Brenman, E. (1988) Cruelty and narrowmindedness. In E. Spillius (Ed.) *Melanie Klein Today Volume 1: Mainly Theory*, pp. 256-270. London: Routledge.

Brooke, R. (1991). *Jung and Phenomenology.* London: Routledge.

Bromley, D. (1991) Satanism: the new cult scare. In J. Richardson, J. Best, & D. Bromley (Eds.) *The Satanism Scare*, pp. 49-72. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Burket, R., Myers, W., Lyles, W. & Carrera, F. (1994) Emotional and behavioral disturbances in adolescents involved in witchcraft and Satanism. *Journal of Adolescence*, **17**, pp. 41-52.

Byrnes, J. (1984) *The Psychology of Religion.* New York: The Free Press.

Carlson, S & Larue, A. (1990) Giving the Devil Much More Than His Due. *Free Inquiry*, Summer Edition, pp. 25-34.

Carus, P. (1969) *The History Of The Devil and the Idea of Evil.* New York: Bell Publishing Company.

Cavendish, R. (1967) *The Black Arts.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Cavendish, R. (1975) *The Powers of Evil in Western Religion, Magic and Folk Belief.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Cavendish, R. (1977) *A History of Magic.* London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

Charlton, R. (1997) Fictions of the internal object. *Journal of Analytical Psychology*, **42**, pp. 81-97.

Chasseguet-Smirgel, J. (1984) *Creativity and Perversion.* London: Free Association Books.

Cohn (1975) *Europe's Inner Demons.* New York: Basic Books.

Cooklin, A. & Barnes, G. (1994) The shattered picture of the family: encountering new dimensions of human relations, of the family and of therapy. In V. Sinason (Ed.) *Treating Survivors of Satanist Abuse: An Invisible Trauma*, pp.120-130. London: Karnac Books.

Coleman, J. (1994) Satanic cult practices. In V. Sinason (Ed.) *Treating Survivors of Satanist Abuse: An Invisible Trauma*, pp. 242-253. London: Karnac Books.

Crabtree, A. (1985) *Multiple Man.* London: Grafton Books.

Curtis, J. and Curtis, M. (1993) Factors related to susceptibility and recruitment by cults. *Psychological Reports*, **73**, pp. 451-460.

Davies, T. (1969) *Magic, Divination, and Demonology Among the Hebrews and Their Neighbours.* New York: KTAV Publishing House.

Denzin (1989) *Interpretive Biography.* Newbury Park: Sage.

Denzin, N. & Lincoln, Y. (1994) Introduction: entering the field of qualitative research. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, pp. 1-17. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Edinger, E. (1972) *Ego and Archetype*. New York: Pelican Books.

Eliade, M. (1976) *Occultism, Witchcraft, and Cultural Fashions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ellenberger, H.F. (1970) *The Discovery of the Unconscious: The History and Evolution of Dynamic Psychiatry*. London: Fontana Press.

Erikson, E. (1950) *Childhood and Society*. New York: Norton.

Erikson, E. (1959) *Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History*. London: Faber.

Erikson, E. (1968) *Identity: Youth and Crisis*. London: Norton.

Erikson, E. (1975) Identification and identity. In J. Conger (Ed.) *Contemporary Issues in Adolescent Development*, pp. 410-414. New York: Harper & Row.

Erikson, E. (1980) *Identity and the Life Cycle*. New York: Norton.

Fairbairn, W.R.D. (1927/1952). Notes on the religious phantasies of a female patient. In *Psychoanalytic Studies of the Personality*, pp. 183-196. London: Routledge.

Fairbairn, W.R.D. (1931/1952) Features in the analysis of a patient with a physical genital abnormality. In *Psychoanalytic Studies of the Personality*, pp. 197-222. London: Routledge.

Fairbairn, W.R.D. (1940/1952). Schizoid factors in the personality. In *Psychoanalytic Studies of the Personality*, pp. 3-27. London: Routledge.

Fairbairn, W. (1943/1952) The repression and the return of bad objects (with special reference to the "war neuroses"). *Psychoanalytic Studies of the Personality*, pp. 59-81. London: Routledge.

Fairbairn, W.R.D. (1944/1952) Endopsychic structure considered in terms of object-relationships. In *Psychoanalytic Studies of the Personality*, pp. 82-136. London: Routledge.

Fairbairn, W. (1946/1952). Object-relationships and dynamic structure. *Psychoanalytic Studies of the Personality*, pp. 137-151. London: Routledge.

Fairbairn, W.R.D. (1949/1952) Steps in the development of an object-relations theory of the personality. In *Psychoanalytic Studies of the Personality*, pp. 152-161. London: Routledge.

Fairbairn, W.R.D. (1951/1952) A synopsis of the development of the author's views regarding the structure of the personality. In *Psychoanalytic Studies of the Personality*, pp.162-179. London: Routledge.

Fairbairn, W.R.D. (1955) Observations in defence of the object-relations theory of the personality. *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, **28**, pp. 144-156.

Fairbairn, W.R.D. (1986). The repression and the return of bad objects (with special reference to the "war neuroses"). In P. Buckley (Ed.) *Essential Papers on Object Relations*, pp. 102-126. New York: New York University Press.

Field, N. (1990) Healing, exorcism and object relations theory. *British Journal of Psychotherapy*, **6**(3), pp. 274-284.

Fordham, M. (1985) *Explorations into the Self*. London: Karnac.

Fordham, M. (1993). The Jung-Klein hybrid. *Free Associations*, **3**, 631-641.

Forsyth, N. (1987) *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Forsyth, C. and Olivier, M. (1990) The theoretical framing of a social problem: Some conceptual notes on satanic cults. *Deviant Behaviour*, **11**, pp. 281-292.

Freud, S. All references, unless otherwise stated, are to *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, volumes 1-24. London: Hogarth Press, 1953-1974. [Hereafter referred to as SE, with volume and page references].

Freud, S. & Breuer, J. (1895) *Studies on Hysteria*. SE, 2.

Freud, S. (1901) *The psychopathology of everyday life*. SE, 6.

Freud, S. (1907) Obsessive actions and religious practices. SE, 9: 117-127.

Freud, S. (1908) Character and anal eroticism. SE, 9: 167-175.

Freud, S. (1909a) Analysis of a phobia in a five-year old boy. SE, 10: 1-149.

Freud, S. (1909b) Notes upon a case of obsessional neurosis. SE, 10: 151-318.

Freud, S. (1912-1913) *Totem and Taboo*. SE, 13.

Freud, S. (1913) The disposition to obsessional neuroses: a contribution to the problem of choice of neurosis. SE, 12: 311-326.

Freud, S. (1915) Thoughts for the times on war and death. SE, 14:273-302

Freud, S. (1918) From the history of an infantile neurosis. SE, 17: 3-122.

Freud, S. (1921) *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*. SE, 18.

Freud, S. (1923) A seventeenth-century demonological neurosis. SE, 19: 69-105.

Freud, S. (1927) *The Future of an Illusion*. SE, 21.

Freud, S. (1930) *Civilization and its Discontents*. SE,21.

Freud, S. (1938) *Moses and Monotheism*. SE, 23.

Freud, S. (1954) *The Origins of Psycho-Analysis: Letters to Wilhelm Fliess, Drafts and Notes: 1887-1902*. Edited by M. Bonaparte, A. Freud & E. Kris. New York: Basic Books.

Frey-Rohn, L. (1974). *From Freud to Jung: A comparative Study of the Psychology of the Unconscious*. New York: Dell Publishing Company.

M. Galanter (Ed.) (1982) *Cults and New Religious Movements.* Washington: American Psychiatric Association.

Galanter, M. (1989) *Cults: Faith, Healing and Coercion.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Gardener, H. (1954) *Witchcraft Today.* London:

Gay, P. (1988) *Freud: A Life For Our Time.* London: Papermac.

George, R. (1995) *Alternative Realities.* New York: Facts on File.

Gergen, K. (1985) The social constructionist movement in modern psychology. *American Psychologist,* **40** (3), pp. 266-275.

Gergen, K. (1989) The possibility of psychological knowledge: a hermeneutic inquiry. In

M. Packer and R. Addison (Eds.) *Entering the Circle: Hermeneutic Investigation in Psychology,* pp 239-258. New York: State University of New York Press.

Giorgi, A. (1992) Description versus interpretation: competing alternative strategies for qualitative research. *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology,* **23**(2), pp.119-135.

Girard, R. (1977) *Violence and the Sacred.* Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Goodman, F. (1988) *How About Demons?: Possession and Exorcism in the Modern World.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Goodwin, J. (1994) Sadistic abuse: definition, recognition and treatment. In V. Sinason (Ed.) *Treating Survivors of Satanist Abuse: An Invisible Trauma,* pp.33-44. London: Karnac Books.

Gordon, R. (1985) Losing and finding: the location of archetypal experience. *Journal of Analytical Psychology,* **30**, pp. 117-133.

Gould, C. (1992) Diagnosis and treatment of ritually abused children. In D. Sahheim & S. Devine (Eds.) *Out of Darkness: Exploring Satanism and Ritual Abuse,* pp. 207-248. New York: Lexington Books.

Greaves, G. (1992) Alternative hypotheses regarding claims of satanic cult activity: a critical analysis. In D. Sahheim & S. Devine (Eds.) *Out of Darkness: Exploring Satanism and Ritual Abuse,* pp.45-72. New York: Lexington Books.

Greenberg, J. & Mitchell, S. (1983) *Object Relations in Psychoanalytic Theory.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Grotstein, J. (1981) *Splitting and Projective Identification.* New York: Jason Aronson.

Grotstein, J. (1984) Forgery of the soul: psychogenesis of evil. In M. Nelson and M. Eigen (Eds.) *Evil: Self and Culture,* pp. 203-226. New York: Human Sciences Press.

Grotstein, J. (1994) Notes on Fairbairn's metapsychology. In J. Grotstein. & D. Rinsley (Eds.) *Fairbairn and the Origins of Object Relations,* pp. 88-111. New York: The Guilford Press.

J. Grotstein & D. Rinsley (Eds.) (1994) *Fairbairn and the Origins of Object Relations.* New York: The Guilford Press.

Guiley, R. (1989) *The Encyclopedia of Witches and Witchcraft.* New York: Facts on File.

Guiley, R. (1992) *The Encyclopedia of Ghosts and Spirits.* New York: Facts on File.

Guntrip, H. (1961) *Personality Structure and Human Interaction.* London: The Hogarth Ptess.

Harris, S. and Platzner, G. (1995) *Classical Mythology: Images and Insights.* Mountain View: Mayfield Publishing Company.

Heimann, P. (1955) A contribution to the re-evaluation of the Oedipus Complex - the early stages. In M. Klein, P. Heimann & R. Money-Kyrle (Eds.) *New Directions in Psycho-Analysis.* London: Maresfield Library

Heisig, J. (1979) *Imago Dei: A Study of C.G. Jung's Psychology of Religion.* Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press.

Henderson, J. (1982) Exorcism and possession in psychotherapy practice. *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry, 27,* pp. 129-134.

Hicks, R. (1991) *In Pursuit of Satan.* Buffalo: Prometheus Books.

Hill, S. & Goodwin, J. (1993) Demonic possession as a consequence of childhood trauma. *The Journal of Psychohistory,* **20** (4), pp. 400-411.

Hinshelwood, R. (1991) *A Dictionary of Kleinian Thought.* London: Free Association Books.

Honey, M. (1987) The interview as text: hermeneutics considered as a model for analyzing the clinically informed research interview. *Human Development,* **30**, pp. 69-82.

Hoyt, C. (1989) *Witchcraft.* Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

Huberman, A. & Miles, M. (1994) Data management and analysis methods. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research,* pp. 428-444. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Isaacs, S. (1952) The nature and function of fantasy. In M. Klein, P. Heimann, S. Isaacs, & J. Riviere. *Developments in Psychoanalysis.* (J. Riviere, Ed.), pp. 67-121. London: Hogarth.

Isaacs, T. (1987) The possessive states disorder: the diagnosis of demonic *possession. Pastoral Psychology,*.**35** (4), pp. 263-273.

Ivey, G. (1993a) Devil's dominion: Satanism and social stress. *Indicator South Africa,* **10**, pp. 41-44.

Ivey, G. (1993b). The psychology of satanic worship. *South African Journal of Psychology,* **23**, pp.180-185.

Ivey, G. (1993c). Psychodynamic aspects of demonic possession and satanic worship. *South African Journal of Psychology,* **23**, pp.186-194.

Jacobi, Y. (1959). *Complex, Archetype, Symbol in the Psychology of C.G. Jung*. New York: Princeton University Press.

Jenkins, P. & Maier-Katkin, D. (1991) Occult survivors: the making of a myth. In J. Richardson, J. Best & D. Bromley (Eds.) *The Satanism Scare*, pp. 127-144. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Jones, E. (1951a) The psychology of religion. *Essays in Applied Psycho-Analysis*, vol. 2, pp.190-197. London: The Hogarth Press.

Jones, E. (1951b) Psycho-Analysis and the Christian religion. *Essays in Applied Psycho-Analysis*, vol. 2, pp. 198-211. London: The Hogarth Press.

Jung, C.G. All references are to *The Collected Works of C.G. Jung*, volumes 1-20. Translated by H. Hull. Edited by H. Read, M. Fordham, G. Adler & W. McGuire. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul; Princeton: Princeton University Press. [Hereafter referred to as CW, with the volume and page numbers].

Jung, C.G. (1902) On the psychology and pathology of so-called occult phenomena. CW, 1: 3-88.
Jung, C.G. (1921a) The type problem in human character. CW, 6: 147-165
Jung, C.G. (1921b) Definitions. CW, 6: 408-486.
Jung, C.G. (1927) Mind and earth. CW, 10: 29-49.
Jung, C.G. (1934a) A review of the complex theory. CW, 8: 92-104.
Jung, C. (1934b) The meaning of psychology for modern man. CW, 10: 134-156.
Jung, C.G. (1935) The relations between the ego and the unconscious. CW, 7: 123-241.
Jung, C.G. (1936) Psychological factors determining human behaviour. CW, 8: 114-125.
Jung, C.G. (1940a) Psychology and religion. CW, 11: 1-106.
Jung, C.G. (1940b) The psychology of the child archetype. CW, 9i: 149-181.
Jung, C.G. (1942) Psychological factors determining human behaviour. CW, 8: 114-125.
Jung, C.G. (1945) After the catastophe. CW, 10: 194-217.
Jung, C.G. (1947) On the nature of the psyche. CW, 8: 159-234.
Jung, C.G. (1948a) Instinct and the unconscious. CW, 8: 129-138.
Jung, C.G. (1948b) A review of the complex theory. CW, 8: 92-104.
Jung, C.G. (1948c) A psychological approach to the dogma of the trinity. CW, 11: 107-200.
Jung, C.G. (1948d) The psychological foundations of belief in spirits. CW, 8: 301-318.
Jung, C.G. (1949) The significance of the father in the destiny of the individual. CW, 4: 301-323.
Jung, C.G. (1952) The song of the moth. CW, 5: 79-117
Jung, C.G. (1953a) The personal and the collective (or transpersonal) unconscious. CW, 7: 127-138.
Jung, C.G. (1953b) The technique of differentiation between the ego and the figures of the unconscious. CW, 7: 212-226.
Jung, C.G. (1953c) The archetypes of the collective unconscious. CW, 7: 90-113.
Jung, C.G. (1954a) On the nature of the psyche. CW, 8: 159-234.
Jung, C.G. (1954b) Transformation symbolism in the mass. CW, 11: 201-296.

Jung, C.G. (1957a) The undiscovered self (past and present). CW, 10: 245-305.

Jung, C.G. (1957b) Commentary on "The Secret of the Golden Flower". CW, 13: 1-108.

Jung, C.G. (1958) A psychological view of conscience. CW, 10: 437-455.

Jung, C.G. (1959) The ego. CW, 9ii: 3-7.

Jung, C.G. (1960) Good and evil in analytical psychology. CW, 10: 456-468.

Jung, C.G. (1961) *Freud and Psychoanalysis*. CW, 4: 301-323.

Kahn, M. (1983) The evil hand. In *Hidden Selves*, pp. 139-182. New York: International Universities Press.

Katchen, M. (1992) The history of satanic religions. In D. Sakhheim & S. Devine (Eds.) *Out of Darkness: Exploring Satanism and Ritual Abuse*, pp 1-19. New York: Lexington Books.

Kepel, G. (1994) *The Revenge of God*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Kernberg, O. (1975) *Borderline Conditions and Pathological Narcissism*. New York: Jason Aronson.

Kernberg, O. (1976) *Object Relations Theory and Clinical Psychoanalysis*. New York: Jason Aronson.

Kernberg, O. (1986) Identification and its vicissitudes as observed in psychosis. *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, **67**, pp. 147-159.

Kernberg, O. (1992) *Aggression in Personality Disorders and Perversions*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Kieckhefer, C. (1976) *European Witch Trials: Their Foundations in Popular and Learned Culture*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Kingston, J. (1976) *Witches and Witchcraft*. London: Aldus Books.

Klein, M. (1929) Personification in the play of children. In Klein, M. (1988) *Love, Guilt and Reparation and Other Works 1921-1945*, pp. 199-209. London: Virago Press.

Klein, M.(1930) The psychotherapy of the psychoses. In Klein, M. (1988) *Love, Guilt and Reparation and Other Works 1921-1945*. London: Virago Press.

Klein, M. (1931) A contribution to the theory of intellectual inhibition. In Klein, M. (1988) *Love, Guilt and Reparation and Other Works 1921-1945*, pp. 236-247. London: Virago Press.

Klein, M. (1933) The early development of conscience in the child. In Klein, M. (1988) *Love, Guilt and Reparation and Other Works 1921-1945*, pp. 248-257. London: Virago Press.

Klein, M. (1935) A contribution to the psychogenesis of manic-depressive states. In Klein, M. (1988) *Love, Guilt and Reparation and Other Works 1921-1945*, pp. 262-289. London: Virago Press.

Klein, M. (1940). Mourning and its relation to manic-depressive states. In Klein, M. (1988) *Love, Guilt and Reparation and Other Works 1921-1945*, pp. 344-369. London: Virago Press.

Klein, M. (1946) Notes on some schizoid mechanisms. In Klein, M. (1988) *Envy and Gratitude and Other Works 1946-1963*, pp. 1-24. London: Virago Press.

Klein, M. (1948) On the theory of anxiety and guilt. In Klein, M. (1988) *Envy and Gratitude and Other Works 1946-1963*, pp. 25-42. London: Virago Press.

Klein, M. (1952a). Some theoretical conclusions regarding the emotional life of the infant. In Klein, M. (1988) *Envy and Gratitude and Other Works 1946-1963*, pp. 61-93. London: Virago Press.

Klein, M. (1952b). On observing the behaviour of young infants. In Klein, M. (1988) *Envy and Gratitude and Other Works 1946-1963*, pp. 94-121. London: Virago Press.

Klein, M. (1955) On identification. In Klein, M. (1988) *Envy and Gratitude and Other Works 1946-1963*, pp. 141-175. London: Virago Press.

Klein, M. (1957). Envy and gratitude. In Klein, M. (1988) *Envy and Gratitude and Other Works 1946-1963*, pp. 176-235. London: Virago Press.

Klein, M. (1958). On the development of mental functioning. In Klein, M. (1988) *Envy and Gratitude and Other Works 1946-1963*, pp. 236-246. London: Virago Press.

Knight, R. (1940) Introjection, projection and identification. *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 9, pp. 334-341.

Kvale, S. (1990) The qualitative research interview: a phenomenological and hermeneutical mode of understanding. *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology*, pp 171-196.

Lambert, K. (1981) Archetypes, object-relations and internal objects. In *Analysis, Repair and Individuation*, Ch.5, pp. 88-105. London: Academic Press.

Laplanche, J. & Pontalis, J.B. (1973). *The Language of Psychoanalysis*. London: Karnac Books.

Larue, G. (1990) *The Supernatural, the Occult and the Bible*. New York: Prometheus Books.

LaVey, A. (1969) *The Satanic Bible*. New York: Avon Books.

LaVey, A. (1971) *The Compleat Witch*. New York: Lancer Books.

LaVey, A. (1972) *The Satanic Rituals*. Secaucus: University Books.

Levack, B. (1987) *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*. London: Longman.

B. Levack (Ed.) (1992) *Witchcraft in the Ancient World and the Middle Ages*. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.

Levine, S. (1984) Radical Departures. *Psychology Today*, August, pp. 21-27.

Mack, B. (1987) Introduction: Religion and Ritual. In *Violent Origins: Ritual Killing and Cultural Formation*. Edited by R. Hamerton-Kelly. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Masters, A. (1978) *The Devil's Dominion*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons.

McFadyen, A., Hanks, H. & James, C. (1993) Ritual abuse: a definition. *Child Abuse Review,* **2,** pp.35-41.

Meier, C. (1984) *The Unconscious in its Empirical Manifestations.* Boston: Sigo Press.

Meissner, W. (1980) The problem of internalization and structure formation. *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis, 61,* pp. 237-248.

Meissner, W. (1981) *Internalization in Psychoanalysis.* New York: International Universities Press.

Meissner, W. (1984) *Psychoanalysis and Religious Experience.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Meissner, W. (1987) *Life and Faith: Psychological Perspectives on Religious Experience.* Washington: Georgetown University Press.

Melton, J. (1978). *The Encyclopedia of American Religions.* Wilmington: McGrath.

Meltzer, D. (1973/1979) Infantile perverse sexuality. In *Sexual States of Mind,* pp. 90-98. Perthshire: Clunie Press.

Meltzer, D (1988) Terror, persecution, dread - a dissection of paranoid anxieties. In E. Spillius (Ed.) *Melanie Klein Today: Developments in Theory and Practice, Volume 1,* pp. 230-238. London: Routledge Press.

S. Messer, L. Sass, & R. Woolfolk (Eds.) (1988). *Hermeneutics and Psychological Theory.* New Jersey: Rutgers.

Mitchell, S. (1988) *Relational Concepts in Psychoanalysis: An Integration.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Mitchell, S. (1994) The origin and nature of the "object" in the theories of Klein and Fairbairn. In J. Grotstein. & D. Rinsley (Eds.) *Fairbairn and the Origins of Object Relations,* pp. 66-87. New York: The Guilford Press.

Mollon, P. (1994) The impact of evil. In V. Sinason (Ed.) *Treating Survivors of Satanist Abuse: An Invisible Trauma,* pp. 136-147. London: Karnac Books.

Moody, E. (1974) Magical therapy: An anthropological investigation of contemporary Satanism. In I. Zaretsky & M. Leone (Eds.) *Religious Movements in Contemporary America,* pp. 355-382. Boston: Princeton University Press.

Moore, S. (1994) Common characteristics in the drawings of of ritually abused children and adults. In Sinason, V. Sinason (Ed.) *Treating Survivors of Satanist Abuse: An Invisible Trauma,* pp. 221-241. London: Karnac Books.

Moreno, A. (1970) *Jung, Gods, and Modern Man.* Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

Moriarty, A. and Story, D. (1990) Psychological Dynamics of Adolescent Satanism. *Journal of Mental Health Counselling,* **12** (2), pp. 186 - 198.

Mulhern, S. (1991) Satanism and psychotherapy: a rumor in search of an inquisition. In J. Richardson, J. Best & D. Bromley (Eds.) *The Satanism Scare*, pp.145-172. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Nelson, G. (1987) *Cults, New Religions and Religious Creativity*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Noll, R. (1989) Multiple personality, dissociation, and C.G. Jung's complex theory. *Journal of Analytical Psychology*, **34**, pp.353-370.

Ogden, T. (1990) *The Matrix of the Mind*. Northvale: Jason Aronson Inc.

Ogden, T. (1994). *Subjects of Analysis*. London: Karnac Books.

O'Grady, J. (1989) *The Prince of Darkness*. Longmead: Element Books.

Olsson, P. (1981) Adolescent Involvement with the Supernatural and Cults: Some Psychoanalytic Considerations. *The Annual of Psychoanalysis*, **8**, pp. 171-195.

Packer, M. (1985) Hermeneutic inquiry in the study of human conduct. *American Psychologist*, **40**, pp. 1081-1093.

Packer, M. & Addison, R. (1989) *Entering the Circle: Hermeneutic Investigation in Psychology*. New York: State University of New York.

Packer, M. & Addison, R. (1989) Evaluating an interpretive account. In M. Packer & R. Addison (Eds.) *Entering the Circle: Hermeneutic Investigation in Psychology*, pp. 275-292. New York: State University of New York.

Parker, J. (1993) *At the Heart of Darkness*. London: Pan Books.

Pavlos, A. (1982) *The Cult Experience*. Westport: Greenwood Press.

Perlow, M. (1995). *Understanding Mental Objects*. London: Routledge.

Pfeifer, S. (1994) Belief in demons and exorcism in psychiatric patients in Switzerland. *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, **67**, pp.247-258.

Philp, H. (1958) *Jung and the Problem of Evil*. London: Rockliff.

Phillips, A. (1994) *On Flirtation*. London: Faber & Faber.

Polkinghorne (1988) *Narrative Knowing and the Human Sciences*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Preus, J. (1987) *Explaining Religion*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press.

Prins (1992) Besieged by devils - thoughts on possession and possession states. *Medicine, Science and Law*, **32**, pp. 237-246.

Pruyser, P. (1973) Sigmund Freud and his legacy: psychoanalytic psychology of religion. In C. Glock, & P. Hammond (Eds.) *Beyond the Classics?: Essays in the Scientific Study of Religion*, pp. 243-290. New York: Harper & Row.

Redfearn, J. (1985) *My Self, My Many Selves*. London: Academic Press.

Redfearn, J. (1994) Introducing subpersonality theory. *Journal of Analytical Psychology*, **39**, pp.283-309.

Ribi, A. (1990) *Demons of the Inner World.* Boston: Shambhala Publications.

J. Richardson, J. Best & D. Bromley (Eds.) (1991) *The Satanism Scare.* New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Rizzuto, A. (1976) Freud, God, the Devil and the theory of object representation. *International Review of Psycho-Analysis*, **3**, 165-180.

Rizzuto, A. (1979) *The Birth of the Living God: A Psychoanalytic Study.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Roazen, P. (1976) *Erik H. Erikson: The Power and Limits of a Vision.* New York: The Free Press.

Robbins, R (1959). *The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology.* London: Peter Nevill Ltd.

Rogo, D. (1974). Demonic possession and parapsychology. *Parapsychology Review*, November-December, pp.18-24.

Rosenfeld, H. (1987) Destructive narcissism and the death instinct. In *Impasse and Interpretation.* London: Tavistock Publications.

Rosenfeld, H. (1988a). Contribution to the psychopathology of psychotic states: the importance of projective identification in the ego structure and the object relations of the psychotic patient. In E. Spillius (Ed.) *Melanie Klein Today: Developments in Theory and Practice, Volume 1*, pp. 117-137. London: Routledge Press.

Rosenfeld, H. (1988b) A clinical approach to the psychoanalytic theory of the life and death instincts: an investigation into the aggressive aspects of narcissism. In Spillius, E. (Ed.) *Melanie Klein Today: Developments in Theory and Practice, Volume 1*, pp. 239-255. London: Routledge Press.

Ross, C. (1995) *Satanic Ritual Abuse: Principles of Treatment.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Rubens, R. (1994). Fairbairn's structural theory. In J. Grotstein. & D. Rinsley (Eds.) *Fairbairn and the Origins of Object Relations*, pp. 151-173. New York: The Guilford Press.

Russell, J. (1977) *The Devil: Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity.* London: Cornell University Press.

Russell, J. (1980) *A History of Witchcraft: Sorcerers, Heretics, and Pagans.* London: Thames & Hudson Ltd.

Russell, J. (1989) *The Prince of Darkness: Radical Evil and the Power of Good in History.* London: Thames and Hudson.

Russell, J. & Wyndham, M. (1992) Witchcraft and the demonization of heresy. In B. Levack (Ed.) *Witchcraft in the Ancient World and the Middle Ages*, pp. 305-326. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.

D. Sakheim & S. Devine (Eds.) (1992) *Out of Darkness: Exploring Satanism and Ritual Abuse*. New York: Lexington Books.

Samuels, A. (1985) *Jung and the Post-Jungians*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Samuels, A.; Shorter, B. & Plaut, F. (1986) *A Critical Dictionary of Jungian Analysis*. London: Routledge.

J. Sandler (Ed.) (1987) *Projection, Identification, Projective Identification*. Madison: International University Press.

Scarre, G. (1987) *Witchcraft and Magic in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Europe*. Hampshire: MacMillan Education.

Schafer, R. (1968) *Aspects of Internalization*. New York: International University Press.

Schafer, R. (1972) Internalization: process or fantasy. *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, **27**, pp. 411-436.

Schafer, R. (1992) *Retelling a Life: Narration and Dialogue in Psychoanalysis*. London: Karnac.

Schwandt, T. (1994) Constructivist, interpretivist approaches to human inquiry. In N. Denzin, & Y. Lincoln (Eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, pp. 118-137. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Schwartz (1986) The meaning of cults in treatment of late adolescent issues. In S. Feinstein (Ed.) *Adolescent Psychiatry: Developmental and Clinical Studies*, Vol. 13, pp. 188-200. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Schwartz, L. & Kaslow, F. (1982) The cult phenomenon: historical, sociological, and familial factors contributing to their development and appeal. In F. Kaslow & M. Sussman (Eds.) *Cults and the Family*. New York: Haworth.

Schwartz, T. & Empey, D. (1988) *Satanism*. Michigan: Zondervan Books.

Searles, H. (1986) *My Work With Borderline Patients*. London: Karnac Books.

Segal, H (1988) Notes on symbol formation. In E. Bott-Spillius (Ed.) *Melanie Klein Today: Mainly Theory*, pp. 160-177. London: Routledge.

Senior, L. (1993) *Adolescent Involvement in Satanism and Identity Formation*. Unpublished manuscript. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand.

V. Sinason (Ed.) (1994). *Treating Survivors of Satanist Abuse: An Invisible Trauma*. London: Karnac Books.

Solomon, H. (1991) Archetypal psychology and object relations theory: history and communalities. *Journal of Analytical Psychology*, **36,** pp. 307-329.

Spanos, N. & Gottlieb, J. (1979) Demonic possession, mesmerism, and hysteria: a social psychological perspective on their historical interrelations. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, **88** (5), pp. 527-546.

Spence, D. (1982) *Narrative Truth and Historical Truth: Meaning and Interpretation in Psychoanalysis*. New York: W. Norton & Company.

Stein, M. (1985). *Jung's Treatment of Christianity*. Wilmette: Chiron Publications.

Steiner, J. (1993) *Psychic Retreats*. London: Routledge.

Stevens, P. (1990) The dangerous folklore of Satanism. *Free Inquiry, Summer Edition*, pp. 28-34.

Stiles, W. (1993) Quality control in qualitative research. *Clinical Psychology Review,* 13, pp. 593-618.

Stones, C. (1988). Research: toward a phenomenological praxis. In Kruger, D. *An Introduction to Phenomenological Psychology*, Ch. 4, pp. 141-155. Cape Town: Juta & Co.

Strachey, J. (1961). Preface to "A seventeenth-century demonological neurosis". *Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, **19**, 69-105. London: Hogarth Press.

Suster, G. (1989) *The Legacy of the Beast*. York Beach: Samuel Weiser, Inc.

Tate, T. (1991). *Children for the Devil: Ritual Abuse and Satanic Crime*. London: Methuen.

Taylor, G. (1978) Demoniacal possession and psychoanalytic theory. *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, **51**, pp. 53-60.

Tennant-Clark, C., Fritz, J. & Beauvais (1989) Occult participation: its impact on adolescent development. *Adolescence*, **25** (96), pp 757-772.

Terr, L. (1985) Remembered images and trauma: a psychology of the supernatural. *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, **40**, pp. 493-533.

Trowell (1994) Ritual organised abuse: management issues. In V. Sinason (Ed.) *Treating Survivors of Satanist Abuse: An Invisible Trauma*, pp. 200-209. London: Karnac Books.

Tyson, P. & Tyson, R. (1990) *Psychoanalytic Theories of Development: An Integration*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Victor, J. (1993) *Satanic Panic: The Creation of a Contemporary Legend*. Chicago: Open Court.

von Franz, M-L. (1980) *Projection and Re-collection in Jungian Psychology*. La Salle: Open Court.

Weiss, A. & Comrey, A. (1987) Personality characteristics of Hare Krishnas. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, **51**(3), pp. 399-413.

Westen, D. (1985) *Social Cognition and Object Relations Scale (SCORS): Manual for Coding TAT Data*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.

Westen, D. (1991a) Social cognition and object relations. *Psychological Bulletin,* **109**, pp. 429-455.

Westen, D. (1991b) Clinical assessment of object relations using the TAT. *Journal of Personality Assessment,* **56**, pp. 56-74.

Wheeler, B., Wood, S., & Hatch, R. (1988) Assessment and intervention with adolescents involved in satanism. *Social Work,* **33**, pp. 547-550.

Whitmont, E. (1969) *The Symbolic Quest: Basic Concepts of Analytical Psychology.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Whitwell, F. & Barker, M. (1980) 'Possesion' in psychiatric patients in Britain. *British Journal of Medical Psychology,* **53**, pp. 287-295.

Wilson, A. (1972) Magic in contemporary life and in psychoanalysis. *The Psychoanalytic Review,* **59**(1), pp. 5-18.

Wright, S. & Piper, E. (1986) Families and cults: familial factors related to youth leaving or remaining in deviant religious groups. *Journal of Marriage and the Family,* **48**, pp. 15-25.

Wulff, D. (1991) *The Psychology of Religion.* New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Young, W. (1992) Recognition and treatment of survivors reporting ritual abuse. In D. Sahheim & S. Devine, S. (Eds.) *Out of Darkness: Exploring Satanism and Ritual Abuse,* pp. 249-278. New York: Lexington Books.

Zacharias, G. (1980) *The Satanic Cult.* London: Allen and Unwin.

I. Zaretsky & M. Leone (Eds.) (1974) *Religious Movements in Contemporary America.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Zinkin, L. (1991) The Klein connection in the London School: The search for origins. *Journal of Analytical Psychology,* **36**, pp. 37-61.

APPENDIX 1(a)   SUBJECT ONE

S is a 19-year old white female trainee nurse. She is the adopted youngest child, and has three brothers.

I: Could you please tell me in as much detail as possible about your involvement in Satanism, and what it meant for you.

Natural meaning units	Central themes
1. *Although I was adopted at six months I never found out until standard five - that was the root of all my rebellion. Finding out I was adopted was petrol on the fire.*	1. A's rebellious attitude began with the accidental discovery that she'd been adopted as an infant.
2. *Until then I was the top student in class, I was very good at sports.*	2. Prior to discovering the fact of her adoption she had been a successful scholar and athlete.
3. *Actually, I was a good person.*	3. She regarded herself positively in moral terms.
4. *One day my parents had a fight, because my father was an alcoholic, and it came out in a fight when he was drunk - because of me, I did something wrong and it came out.*	4. She discovered the truth of her adoption when her alcoholic father revealed it in the context of a marital altercation over her minor wrong-doing.
5. *I couldn't accept it, it was a shock because I always knew there was something wrong, because my brothers would get things I wouldn't get, pocket money, and things like that. There was always something wrong and everything just fell open then when I realised I was adopted.*	5. With the emotional inability to accept the shocking discovery of her adoptive status came sudden insight into her brothers' privileged parental treatment.
6. *I never had a relationship with my father, not with my mom or with my dad.*	6. S never experienced a meaningful relationship with either parent.
7. *Dad was constantly drunk, from morning to night. Some nights we had to leave the house because he was in such a mood.*	7. Her father's constant drunken moods sometimes forced the family to vacate the house at night.
9. *He also used to be very rough, and relate to me like a son. I didn't know what to do, I was a girl but he treated me like a boy. I hated it.*	9. S hated her father's roughness and his relating to her as a boy rather than a girl.

10. *Dad would say that everything in my life would end up a disaster.*	10. S's father predicted that her life would be disastrous.
11. *I was just being there, they were looking after me and feeding me, and that's it. There was no relationship, no love. Their house wasn't a loving house. My mom didn't give us hugs and kisses, she would never say, "I love you", or things like that. You were fed and that's it. There was no personal care.*	11. S's experience of parenting consisted of mere physical provision, with a conspicuous absence of loving maternal care.
12. *When I went to netball I had to struggle myself to get money, and to buy my clothes because mom and dad weren't interested, they were only interested in my brothers because they also got colours for everything.*	12. S struggle to provide for herself materially, as her parents were more interested in meeting the needs of her high-achieving brothers.
13. *So I had to fight since I was small for a place in the world. I had to struggle for everything.*	13. S experienced her childhood to be a competitive struggle for survival.
14. *The only relationship I had was with my grandmother. I could trust her with everything. At that stage she was like my mom, she would help me get money if I needed something. She'd say, "We'll make a plan".*	14. S's grandmother provided her with her only loving and trustworthy relationship.
15. *When I got Transvaal and National colours it wasn't a big thing in his life. At that stage I was in standard two, and in the papers and everything. They always used to cut everything out related to my brothers, but not for me.*	15 While S's parents affirmed her brothers' sporting accomplishments, they did not acknowledge her own.
16. *I thought, "I'll show them". Every time something happened, I broke my arm and hurt my knee, and couldn't get further. I thought, "now I'm going to show them", and studied very hard to get the highest marks. It didn't help.*	16. When physical injury restricted S's sporting aspirations, her efforts to gain parental recognition through scholastic excellence also went unnoticed.
17. *When it came out I couldn't accept it, I*	17. After initial disbelief, S's discovery of

thought "It can't be". I was crying, full of aggression and rebellion. I wanted to show them, I wanted to get them back. I'm not even their kid and dad's beating me up. He's using me, things like that.	her adoption initiated aggressive rebellion and the desire to avenge her father's abuse and exploitation of her.
18. *That's when I started becoming the worst kid I could possibly be. I started smoking, I didn't study, my marks dropped to just passing - from being the top student. I didn't do my homework, I was in the big crowd with the matric girls. I just started hanging out with the wrong crowd. I stayed out of the house and did things I didn't ordinarily do.*	18. S ceased her academic striving, and consciously embraced the deviant behaviour of an older female peer clique.
19. *The headmaster called my mom in, I hadn't done my homework for about the fifteenth time, and all the teachers were complaining.*	19. Concerned school personnel alerted S's mother to S's refusal to perform school work.
20. *They decided to send me off to boarding school. That's where all my trouble really started. I thought now they're really trying to get rid of me, now I'm really going to get them.*	20. S's parents' decision to send her to boarding school intensified her experience of rejection and her desire for revenge.
21. *At first I was happy because I didn't have to see my parents, I don't have to be abused by my dad and do all the dirty work.*	21. S was initially relieved to be away from her parents, who she associated with abuse and exploitation.
22. *On the other hand I thought I'm going to get them. It really had a bad effect on me. They wouldn't phone me at boarding school, they couldn't care. Its the same now as well. Mom doesn't phone or nothing. At that stage I really needed them but they didn't give me any support.*	22. S also felt the need for parental support, and was hurt by their failure to telephone her.
24. *I'm still alone, but I know how to act on my own, look after myself.*	24. Although still alone, S feels more independent and capable of caring for herself.
25. *I enjoyed mixing with older girls at*	25. S enjoyed the company of older peers,

school. I was one of the pack.	and experienced a sense of belonging.
26. *The prefects would say to me, "Go and hit that girl", and then I'd up and hit the girl because she couldn't do anything.*	26. On the instructions of prefects, S willingly physically aggressed other helpless junior students.
27. *I really enjoyed it because people looked up to me. They'd say, "Don't mix with her - she'll beat you up", or, "she's involved with things, don't get close to her".*	27. S derived pleasure from the respect and fear her aggressive behaviour elicited.
28. *Even the teachers seemed scared. I had this aggressive thing, too big for my shoes. And it felt good, for my age, I was achieving something that I'd never achieved. I had people looking up to me.*	28. The recognition of others, which S had never received, now derived from her aggressive arrogance.
29. *For years I had been dominated, but now I could dominate people.*	29. Having been the victim of domination, S now relished the ability to dominate others.
30. *And when I got involved with Satanism, that was like extra power.*	30. Satanic involvement granted S additional power.
31. *They never confronted us because they thought we were fooling around.*	31. School authorities did not confront S's satanic activities as they did not take them seriously.

Could you tell me how you got involved?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
32. *Well, firstly, we played "glassy-glassy" and I could feel something there, it was so heavy you could feel it. And then I saw a girl being flung from one wall to another wall and I thought, "This is weird".*	32. S's introduction to occult games impressed her with a perception of supernatural forces.
33. *My cousin left because she didn't want to be there, but I decided this was really fun.*	33. S relished occult events that lead to a relative discontinuing her participation.

4

4. *This led to more game playing and I realised I could do quite a lot with this because we had a spirit called Mick, and we could ask Mick anything. Sometimes he would even help us with exam questions, and it was fun for a while until he decided this was now it, he'd been helping us enough.*	34. Further occult exploration convinced S that she could enlist supernatural entities for practical purposes.
35. *The girl who had led the whole thing was a Satanist, a real Satanist, her parents were high priests - her mom was a witch.*	35. The girl who directed the occult exploration was a Satanist.
36. *One night they said to me "We're going to play a real game". I had a budgie in my room because we were allowed to have pets. And one night I just bit his head off, and everyone was roaring because it was so funny.*	36. S was incited to kill her pet bird, an action considered amusing by the group.
37. *It was a long time before I could get involved. For three months I would just play and play, until they asked me if I wanted to get involved for real. I knew they were involved.*	37. S continued her occult game involvement while waiting for an invitation to become involved in Satanism.
38. *I really wanted to go into this because it gives you so much power, and so many things you didn't have.*	38. S was desirous of satanic involvement because she craved power, and other previously unattainable things.
39. *So they let me on a three month trial basis, to see if I could keep secrets and things like that. They don't let anyone get involved, that is the reason for the trial period. It also gives you time to think if you really want to get involved.*	39. S underwent a trial period of satanic involvement to assess her suitability and motivation.
40. *I was a skivvy, a little slave, I wasn't allowed to take part in anything until I was initiated. I was a messenger, I had to give messages about coven meetings, things like that, because they don't meet at the same place, they move around.*	40. In the trial period S was not permitted to participate in satanic ceremonies, but was assigned menial errands.
41. *When I passed that test they said I had*	41. A further prerequisite for S's satanic

to get three people involved, and then I would get initiated. I eventually got three people, and then I got initiated.	initiation was her successful recruitment of other potential members.
42. *The group consisted of about thirty people, some high up, school teachers, a principal. Then ordinary people, like telephone clerks. I know there was a minister as well. I was the youngest at thirteen, the high priest was about forty-two.*	42. S was the youngest in a heterogeneous group comprising individuals from diverse occupations.
43. *But you don't know a lot about the people. Like when you get initiated you get a new name, no-one knows your real name, keeping secrets.*	43. The ritual renaming of initiates signifies secrecy, the masking of identities and a sense of knowing little about fellow participants.

Where did you meet?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
44. *Different places. Sometimes on plots, sometimes in houses. The high priest's house was like a normal house. There was a red carpet, but if you rolled the carpet up their was a five-pointed star. We'd met in different places. There weren't specific signs you could see that this was a Satanist's house.*	44. Satanic meeting places varied, and there were few outward signs distinguishing Satanists' houses from "normal" houses.

Before your initiation, how did you view Satanists?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
45. *I thought they were macho, the coolest people out. They can control people. I knew the girl who got me involved, and she could sit and just look at something and it would move. She'd be sitting in a room and say "Watch this". She would concentrate and the next thing someone would burst into the room and say, "Yes, what can I do for you". She was mind-controlling people. She had enormous*	45. S, awed by tangible evidence that Satanists could magically influence objects and people, wanted to participate in this power.

power. If she didn't like a girl, or the teacher did something wrong to her, she would go to her dad and he would put a hex on them, a curse. I saw light bulbs just burst, and I thought this was so cool, something I would like to do. Seeing was believing, and because they could do it I wanted to do it.	
46. *Because Satanism gives you power, and the more rituals you go to, the more demons you get into you, the stronger you become.*	46 The desire to be infiltrated by demons was prompted by the search for more strength and power.

Could you tell me about your initiation?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
47. *Its a bit embarrassing. There were three of us. First, I had to break a cross to symbolise breaking Christianity. I had to take the bible I was doing bible study from, and we had to tear the whole bible, and everyone would urinate on it.*	47. S's initiation involved the physical destruction of Christian symbols.
48. *And then we had to fall down and start praying to Satan, invite him to take control of us.*	48. She prostrated herself and prayed to Satan to take control of her.
49. *If he accepted us a fire would just suddenly burn, and we really prayed, and it worked, a fire just lit up. The bibles we had urinated on caught fire. And then we knew we could be accepted.*	49. The spontaneous combustion of desecrated bibles indicated that Satan had heard her prayers and accepted them.
50. *And then we had to take our clothes off and get our garments.*	50. S then removed her clothes and received her ritual satanic garments.
51. *Then we had to kneel before the altar, and they slit a goat's throat in front of us ... the first meeting was at a plot, and they slit its throat, caught its blood in a silver cup, and we had to drink the blood from the animal because, at that stage, we were rejecting the blood of Jesus Christ and*	51. Kneeling before the altar, S drank the blood of a slaughtered goat identified with Satan, thereby rejecting the blood of Christ and imbibing the blood of Satan.

accepting the blood of the animal. Satan is an animal, especially he is a goat.	
52. And then we had to turn around, chew a piece of bread and spit it out, because it was the body of Christ. I had to say the Lord's Prayer backwards.	52. S was required to chew and spit out bread, symbolising the body of Christ, and blasphemously recite the Lord's Prayer backwards.
53. Then we had to take a knife and cut our wrists, and I had to sign my name in blood.	53. S then cut her wrist and by signing her name in her own blood, pledged herself to Satan.

How did it feel for you to do those things?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
54. I was very excited because I had finally reached my goal. Even though I was still young and hardly into it at that stage, it was really exciting.	54. S felt excited at having accomplished her goal of becoming a Satanist.
55. I was quite scared, 'cos you didn't know what was going to happen to you.	55. S felt anxiety related to an uncertainty about her fate in the coven.
56. But they give you a lot of things. Alcohol is freely available, drugs are free. So you're on a high already ...	56. The ingestion of available drugs and alcohol made her intoxicated from the start.
57. and sex was available - normally you'd have an orgy at the end. Sex played a big role but its not the main thing, and you're not totally yourself at that stage.	57. S experienced routine ritual sex orgies in a dissociated state of not feeling quite herself.
58. When you're a Bride of Satan you would have sex with the high priest, and when you were initiated you would have sex on the altar, that's what happened to me.	58. S's status as a "Bride of Satan" meant special ceremonial sexual attention from the high priest.
59. There was also homosexuality, you could have sex with anyone you wanted, you could have sex with animals. We were taught that man is only an animal and if you have to satisfy your craving you can do that.	59. Emphasis on the animalistic nature of humankind was concretely expressed by encouraging the hedonistic gratification of deviant sexual desire.

Was that a typical coven meeting?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
60. *No, not always. There were different meetings at different times. It depends on time of year, what spiritual event.*	60. The nature of satanic meetings was ritually dictated by calendar.
61. *They would perform offerings. Sometimes it was animals, sometimes it was a baby.*	61. Ritual animal and human sacrificial offerings were performed.

Once you were initiated, how did your life change?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
62. *My life changed drastically. I was bigger than ever, because now people could look up to me. People saw me and said, "She's got something", because I started getting my power. I didn't have a lot of power, then suddenly I could do things, things like mind control, astral projection.*	62. S's life was dramatically changed by her acquisition of magical power, and her sense of being "bigger", arising from the new respect that others showed her.

Could you tell me more about that?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
63. *If people who were into Satanism could see that you were higher than them they would come and do anything for you. It's like the high priest, he's head of everything, and if you don't obey him he can really punish you. Everything is spiritually classified, so if you can do mind control then you have power. So I would just concentrate and anything I wanted, if I wanted them to do something they would just come.*	63. S was acutely aware of the power hierarchy within Satanism, and used her perceived aptitude for mind control to exercise power over others.
64. *Astral projection - when your spirit leaves your body - was quite hard to do in the beginning, but you can control your*	64. Among S's many powers was her self-perceived ability to project her disembodied spirit into places where she could watch

spirit to go to places, you can watch people without them knowing ... it's only like your shell sitting here. At that stage I had lots of powers.	people without them knowing.
65. *The more coven meetings I attended, the more orgies I got involved in, the more demons I could get into me by drinking blood and inviting them, the more power I would get. Eventually I had the power to move physical things from one side to the other.*	65. By concertedly harnessing more power through coven rituals, sex orgies, and incorporating demons through blood drinking, S acquired the ability to move physical objects through force of will.
66 *It depended on the situation what I could do. One day someone made me very cross, a guy, and I got so cross because he was mocking me, and I hit the guy across four tables.*	66. S, angered by a man's taunting, discovered an abnormal physical strength in her when she knocked him off his feet.
67. *So I had physical power as well, not me but the demons inside me, because you invite them by drinking blood, things like that.*	67. Through blood drinking and ritual invocation S had internalised demonic spirits, and exploited their physical and spiritual powers.

Could you describe your experience of being possessed by demons.

Natural meaning units	Central themes
68. *Being possessed is not very nice because you're not in total control. You're torn into two. On this side I'm struggling to do ... and if they don't want to do something you can't do it. Its like you're really torn into two.*	68. S experienced demonic possession as unpleasant because she felt a division within her that meant she could not act in opposition to the controlling wishes of internalised demonic entities.
69. *Sometimes I really couldn't think straight, they were in control of my thoughts.*	69. S sometimes experienced her thoughts as being controlled by demons.

I: Yet you still invited them in?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
70. *Yes, because the more demons you*	70. Demonic invocation was necessary in

	order to gain spiritual strength.
could get the stronger you would get. It was very important.	

Were you aware of different demons?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
71. *Yes, I was. A lot of demons could speak to me as well. Its like your conscience if you do something wrong. Sometimes they would talk to your mind, sometimes they would want to....and you would do things for them.*	71. S experienced demons talking to her internally and instructing her to do their bidding.
73. *At coven meetings they would call up demons in a circle or pentagram, the circle would keep the demon in. You had to be sure that the circle was unbroken, because if the demon gets out you can be in a lot of danger.*	73. The ritual evocation of demons was a dangerous practice that required magical safety measures.

What did you see?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
74. *It depends. Demons differ in size. A lot of demons are big - I would just see like a shadow, with red, red eyes. Like a very huge figure of a man.*	74. Some demons appeared to S as huge, shadowy masculine figures with red eyes.
75. *Then you would get demons that look like frogs that are about four feet tall.*	75. Other demons appeared as large frogs.
76. *It depends on the demon. Sometimes it was vague but sometimes it was real. I could see claws, like eagle's claws.*	76. Demonic figures were sometimes vague, but very clear and substantial at others.

I: How many demons did you feel inside yourself?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
78. *The demons would be sent to bother people, like a hex, when you would really try to hurt that person, hurt that person's*	78. Demons would be destructively employed to harm other people.

family, things like that.	

Did it work?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
79. *Yes, it worked all the time that I was there, except if the person was a Christian, because a Christian puts on the armour of God. If the person wasn't then something bad would happen to them, like an accident, or they would get very ill.*	79. Unless protected by their Christian faith, victims of demonic magic would meet with accidents or illness.
80. *I once put a hex on a pastor, and when the end of the year came he couldn't find another parish to go. I also put a hex on one of my teachers and she got divorced.*	80. S attributed the ill fortune of two individuals to her destructive magical powers.

Did Satan ever appear to you?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
81. *Only the high priest could communicate with Satan. But we did witness one day ... Satan appeared. It was Walpurgisnight and he just materialised. He looked like a normal human being. Everyone thinks that Satan has horns and a fork but, well, to be honest with you, Satan was the most handsome man. He was all white, but his eyes were like fire. He was tall, with dark hair.*	81. S once witnessed Satan's materialisation as a perfectly attractive, white male human figure.

What did it feel like to be in his presence?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
82. *I was scared, I didn't even want to look at him. Its like ... so dominating, you could feel like someone is pressing you down.*	82. S felt afraid and experienced Satan's domineering presence as a physical force pressing down on her.

What feelings did you have for the high priest?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
83. *For him I felt terror, and a lot of respect. If he says something to you know you've got to do it. He was very powerful, a person you looked up to. Nobody knew, in the day he was mister good guy.*	83. S felt a combination of terror and respect toward the powerful high priest, whose daylight identity was disguised by an innocuous persona.

Earlier on you mentioned sacrifices. How did you experience these?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
84. *Human sacrifice really got to me. I remember seeing a baby skinned alive, and the high priest cut its little heart out and eat it. Its terror. You hear that little thing screaming and ... I don't know, If I think now about it its terrible, but at that stage you're so out of your mind you don't care.*	84. S's retrospective horror at witnessing the ritual murder and cannibalisation of a human infant was dulled at the time by the dissociative impact of her cult involvement.
85. *People think, "Oh where do the babies come from"?, but its very easy. In the coven there are girls who become pregnant in the coven and, well, we had a doctor there who would deliver the babies.*	85. S alleges that sacrificial human infants belonging to cult members were delivered by a medically qualified coven member.
86. *But you don't know if you're going to be the next one, you don't know what's going to happen to you tomorrow.*	86. S lived in a state of uncertainty as to whether she might be chosen as a human sacrifice.

Did you ever witness a coven member sacrificed?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
87. *Well it brings back a lot of memories, but he [a coven member] was on the altar. The high priest also cut his heart out.*	87. S witnessed the high priest ritually murder an adult coven member.
88. *Sometimes they would torture people. They would nail a person on a cross, turn it upside down and torture him. It's really happening ...*	88. S witnessed the ceremonial torture of individuals.

89. *Well, I wanted to get out. I was scared.*	89. S was afraid and wished to leave the coven.
90. *I just wanted to live a normal life, not having nightmares, not pumping my veins full of drugs, being a normal person again. It changed a lot.*	90. S wanted to lead a normal life, free of nightmares and drug abuse.
91. *I knew I had to get out because I had a very bad experience.* {After the interviewer had switched the tape recorder off at the end of the interview, the subject said she would tell me about the experience. She had fallen pregnant in the coven and an abortion had been ritually induced, and the foetus cannibalised.}	91. The traumatic event that forced S to leave Satanism was the induced abortion and cannibalisation of her foetus.
92 {She reported having been so traumatised by this event that now, as a student nurse, she cannot bear to watch pregnancy termination.}	92. S's work as a student nurse is negatively affected by her consequent inability to witness medical pregnancy termination.
93 *I wanted to get out, and went to a minister. At that stage I was seen as a problem child. I said, "Please help me get out, if I don't get out I'll be killed". He said, "We know you're a problem child, and that you're just seeking attention". I went from minister to minister, and I thought, "I can't get out".*	93. S, fearing for her life, was blocked in her attempts to leave the coven by disbelieving clergy who labelled her claims as attention-seeking fabrications.
94. *Then I got hold of P. He was the first person who believed me.*	94. S eventually found a religious minister who believed her.
95. *In Satanism you're really striving the whole time, to reach something, and then you have it for a few days and you think, "This is not good enough", and you're striving again.*	95. For S, Satanism involved the persistent striving for accomplishments which, when attained, would no longer be adequate in her own eyes.
96. *It's like witches in different covens. They fight constantly, and if there's someone stronger than you, then fight.*	
97. *That's why there is the heavy drinking and drugs. Last year I was working at a*	97. S understands her indiscriminate drug abuse to have been an attempt to evade the

crèche for three months before nursing, and the guy caught me out. I couldn't get proper drugs, I would shoot anything to get a bit of a high ... pinks, spirits, or take Histalix Cough Syrup, capsules, or even inhale aerosol. You feel really bad when you come down from there. It's like you try running away through any means available.	unremitting stress of striving for more power, and fighting others for contested satanic status.
98. *If I couldn't get anything to inject myself with I'd just draw some of my own blood and squirt it against the wall. I don't know. Blood plays a very important role in Satanism, and it was just nice seeing my own blood, and drinking it. Drinking it would make me feel emotional things, sometimes I would feel high and good. I dunno ... perverted.*	98. In the absence of injectable substances S would derive emotional gratification from drawing her own blood, squirting and drinking it.
99. *One day my mom came in there and saw me with a syringe of blood. They just tried to put the incident away and not think of it.*	99. S's mother refused to acknowledge S's bizarre behaviour of drawing her own blood.

What was it like for you to come out of Satanism?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
100. *Satan lies ... People say Satan is nothing, and I didn't know where to go. I was scared.*	100. Other people's refusal to acknowledge Satan's reality intensified S's fear and uncertainty about where to seek help.
101. *I knew God could be a way out, but I wasn't sure, not totally.*	101. S suspected, but could not be certain, that God might be able to free her from Satanism.
102. *But they prayed for me, and I had to invite Jesus into my heart, and then they got the demon out, and I had to say, "I don't give you authority in my life any more. I'm shutting the door now and you're not coming back".*	102. Upon being prayed for by Christians S invited Jesus into her, thereby displacing the erstwhile controlling demon, and ceremonially preventing his re-entry.

Natural meaning units	Central themes
103. *After the demon left it felt like a weight fell from my shoulders, but I was still scared, and didn't know what to do. Now I was standing all alone against the Satanists. It was quite hard. Its a spiritual thing.*	103. Although relived by the extrusion of her demon, S was frightened by the realisation that she stood in solitary opposition to the Satanists' spiritual power.
104. *At that stage Satan couldn't get to me because I was covered in the blood of Jesus. But if I got a letter from the Satanists, I didn't know what to do.*	104. Although immune to Satan's retribution by virtue of Jesus' protection, S did not know how to manage the Satanists' attempts to contact her.
105. *Everyone around was Catholics or Methodists who didn't believe what I'd been through.*	105. S perceived herself to be surrounded by individuals who did not believe her satanic experiences.
106. *But I trusted God and that helped me, that brought me through.*	106. S was assisted by her trust in God.
107. *I do sometimes get phone calls, especially when I help other Satanists come out. Letters saying I'm on their hit list, and they're going to get me.*	107. S is still threatened with retribution by Satanists.
108. *Now I think its funny because they don't have any power over me. I'm sorting Satan out, I can help people.*	108. S now experiences herself as invincible from satanic influence, and as having the power to combat Satan.

How would you describe yourself now?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
109. *Well, I'm a very calm person now, a very spontaneous person. Totally changed, more relaxed, listening to people, serving people.*	109. Since leaving Satanism S has experienced a dramatic change, becoming calm, relaxed, spontaneous, open to others and willing to serve them.
110. *Earlier, I would never do that. I got a piece of my heart that only God could give me. I've got a total personality change. I try to be like Jesus now.*	110. S attributes her personality transformation to a God-given metaphorical heart graft, and now attempts to emulate Jesus Christ.

APPENDIX 1 (b) Significant interpersonal contexts, fantasies, and corresponding object relations derivatives

Interpersonal Context	Fantasy	Self rep.	Affect link	Object rep.	T. no.
Striving to win parental love/recognition in absence of meaningful relationship with parents.	Being a perfect child is necessary to earn parental love as the ordinary child is not good enough. [Nucleus of persecutory superego].	Successful, morally good	Unexpressed resentment	Depriving, frustrating	2,3,4
Maternal relationship based on physical provision, rather than love.	Sporting and scholastic achievement will make S loveable, not being loveable as she is. [Identification with perceived parental ideals]	Needy, inadequate, lacking	frustration, hope	Withholding, unresponsive	2,11
Paternal drunkenness, physical abuse, and exploitation.	Father is dangerous and wishes to hurt me [Internalisation of abusive paternal object]	Frightened, abused, vulnerable	Fear, impotence, hatred	Violent, punitive	7,8
Paternal denial of S's femininity/individuality.	Father treats me like the son I am not [My femininity is not recognised and is not valuable]	Sexless, unrecognised, angry	Anger, frustration	unresponsive, rough	9
Paternal prediction of disastrous life.	S is a disaster in Fathers' eyes. [S is the childhood receptacle of father's projective identifications]	anxious, defiant	Desperation	malevolent	10

1

Interpersonal context	Fantasy	Self rep.	Affect link	Object rep.	Theme
Competitive struggle for survival with favoured siblings.	S must fight siblings for resources denied her, but readily given to them. [The favoured sons are loved but I am not. I have to fight to have needs met].	deprived, competitive	resentment	favoured competitors for parental nurturance	12,13
Parental failure to acknowledge S's achievements.	Nothing I do is sufficient to earn the parental recognition given to my brothers.	rejected; disregarded	resentment	uncaring; rejecting	12,15
Loving grandmother sole source of adult support and nurturance.	[Grandmother internalised as the only good object in S's world].	loved, worthy	love	loving; trustworthy	14
Discovery of adoption.	I have always been unloved because I was abandoned and belong to no-one.	Unwanted, abandoned	shock	Abandoning/ unloving	17
Adoption of negative identity.	Since I am abandoned and cannot earn love by being good I will identify with all that is bad.	Aggressive/d efiant/rebellio us	rage	Abandoning	17,18
Sent to boarding school - desire for revenge on parents.	I will take revenge on the parents who want to abandon me.	rejected/unw anted	Anger	rejecting	20
No parental contact/support.	I am alone and need parental support.	vulnerable; lonely	hurt; abandoned	uncaring	22,23

Interpersonal context	Fantasy	Self rep.	Affect link	Object rep.	Theme
Rejection of parents and turn to peer clique for unmet needs.	I must turn to my peers to find the acceptance denied me by my parents.	rebellious	defiant	accepting	18,23, 25
Older peers replace parents as source of recognition and acceptance.	The "bad" me is acceptable to my peers in a way that the good me never was to my parents.	acceptable	belonging	accepting	23,25
Peers incite bullying and aggression.	Identification with and enactment of the abusive paternal object earns S peer approval.	abuser/aggressor, powerful	gratifying, sadistic	fearful, respectful	26/27/ 28/29
Introduction to occult games.	[Contact with projective identifications through occult games].	potent	exciting	uncanny	32,33, 34
Killing of pet bird.	[Symbolic destruction of vulnerable part of the self, and identification with destructive paternal object].	destructive/powerful	exciting	weak/vulnerable	36
S had to prove herself suitable for satanic involvement.	[Repetition and displacement of childhood efforts to win parental acceptance and love].	needy	excitement/suspense	judgmental	39,40, 41

3

Interpersonal context	Fantasy	Self rep.	Affect link	Object rep.	Theme
Perception of Satanists as powerful.	[Idealisation of omnipotent objects and desire to identify with them].	idealising/weak	hungry excitement	omnipotent/idealised	45
Initiation comprising the destruction of Christian symbols, internalisation of Satan, and test of worthiness.	[Oral incorporation and identification with Satan, and expulsion/destruction of Christian God and self].	accepted/loved worthy/good	excitement elation	Loving/approving	47, 48,49, 50,51, 52,53, 54
Sex with high priest and involvement in rituals emphasising unrestricted gratification of all sexual impulses.	Reversal of Christian morality and valorisation of instinctual gratification. [Incestuous enactment of Oedipus, and Identification of self with sexual impulses].	bestial/sexualised			57,58, 59
Realisation of narcissistic fantasies of power and control over others.	Omnipotence and mastery over material world and others	powerful, controlling	excitement	inferior, respectful	62,63, 64,65, 66
Invocation of demonic entities through blood drinking and ritual activities in order to enact destructive wishes toward other.	[Re-introjection of split-off and dissociated self and object aspects].	controlled, helpless	anxiety	powerful, controlling	67,68, 69, 71,72, 77,78, 79,80
Experience of Satan's manifestation.	[Idealisation of bad paternal introject, externalised as mythical embodiment of both perfection and destructiveness].	awed, frightened, dominated	awe/fear	beautiful, omnipotent	81,82

Interpersonal Context	Fantasy	Self rep.	Affect link	Object rep	T. no.
Relationship with high priest.	[Omnipotent father figure split into contradictory good/bad manifestations].	terrified, revering	terror, anxiety	tyrannical, duplicitous	83
Witnessing of human sacrifice and torture.	Destructiveness taken to extremes.	horrified, anxious	horror, anxiety	murderous, sadistic	84,87, 88
Induced abortion and cannibalisation of S's foetus.	[Invasive literal destruction of S's internal world].	traumatised, attacked	horror, fear	attacking, destructive, dangerous	91
Interpersonal conflict and return of inadequacy.	Conflictual competition with others for status and power. [Repetition of destructive sibling rivalry for parental recognition].	inadequate, lacking, threatened	desperation	attacking, hostile	95,96, 97
Omnipotence and identification with Satanism replaced by fear of harm and desire to escape.	Destruction by hostile others. [Persecutory anxiety derived internally from bad paternal introject compounded by realistic fear of being tortured/killed].	helpless, terrified	terror	destructive, hostile	86,89, 90,93
Refusal of Christians to believe and help S.	Rejection/abandonment by those whose help is desperately needed.	rejected, unheard, terrified, alone	abandonment , terror	rejecting	93,99, 105
Rescue by pastor who believed and understood S's experience.	[S's rescue from external persecutors mirrors the rescue of good object experience (loving grandmother) from	understood, accepted, nurtured	relief, gratification	containing, accepting	94

Interpersonal Context	Fantasy	Self rep.	Affect link	Object rep	T. no.
	bad parental introjects]. Fantasy				
Exorcism of demon and invitation of God into S's life.	[Expulsion of bad object and internalisation of omnipotent good paternal object, God].	insecure, afraid, alone	fear	bad objects threatening, good object uncertain	102
Personality transformation.	[Identification with good paternal introject - "I try to be like Jesus now"].	trusting, invulnerable, good, devoted	gratification	vulnerable and in need of S's help	106, 108-111

APPENDIX 2 (a) SUBJECT TWO

B is a 45 year old, divorced business man, actively involved in Satanism between the ages of 21 and 30.

Natural meaning units	Central themes
1. *The biggest influence on my life was being raised as an abused child.*	1. B identifies the experience of childhood physical abuse as his primary developmental influence.
2. *I didn't see it as abuse, I thought it was a normal way of life.*	2. The frequency of the paternal abuse meant that, as a child, B perceived it as a normal way of life.
3. *There was incest in the family ... My sister was sexually abused. She was raped by daddy.*	3. B's sister was sexually molested and raped by their father.
4. *At the age of 12 or 13 my Daddy, You know...this is something I don't want to talk about ... Sometimes as a kid you block out a lot of things, but I remember one time he told me to turn the TV off ... this is crazy...I was watching and he got up and came in there and said, "Boy, I thought I told you to turn the TV off". I went into the bathroom and he came in there and beat me with his fist just for the hell of it.*	4. B vividly recalls how, as a young adolescent, he was unjustly beaten by his father.
5. *And I told Mom, "One of these days I'm going to kill that bastard", and I meant it.*	5. B informed his mother of his serious intention to kill his hated father.
6. *He used to come in every weekend drunk and beat mom up with his fist.*	6. B's father would regularly return home intoxicated and beat B's mother.
7. *I was laying in bed one night and he knocked her out ... I was laying there quiet, pretending to be asleep, and I opened up one eye and saw her laying on the bed, I was on the bed next to her, and she didn't wake up - he'd knocked her*	7. B recalls witnessing his father knock his mother unconscious.

out.	
8. *And so all this was forming inside me. At the age of 14 it came out of me.*	8. At the age of 14 B could no longer contain his growing hatred for his father.
9. *He came home drunk one night, was beating her up and everything, and I heard her screaming out his nickname, Bo, and she screamed "Bo, don't stab me with that knife, don't stab me with that knife, don't hurt me with that knife...".*	9. One night B heard his mother being beaten and pleading with B's father not to stab her.
10. *And then she shouted out for me. At that time I sort of blacked out ... I felt something enter into me. I knew it was another personality, it wasn't really me, but it was something.*	10. When she shouted out to B he suddenly experienced a momentary loss of awareness and the intrusion of a foreign personality into him.
11. *I had a knife which I had next to my bed, and I picked up that knife and I went in and shoved it up into him as far as I could shove it, into his lungs. I just barely remember shoving the knife into him.*	11. B armed himself with a knife and stabbed his father in the torso.
12. *I laughed ... that's when I knew something had changed in me.*	12. B laughed when he stabbed his father, and experienced this as heralding an internal transformation.
13. *Here was this big asshole, who thought he was everything in the world, God manifested in the flesh, now the motherfucker's dying - good.*	13. B relished the ironical prospect of this paternal tyrant, who thought himself to be God, dying from a wound his son had inflicted.
14. *I've got power, to stop him. I've got power over life and death. I can let you live or I can cut your life short, man.*	14. B suddenly experienced a triumphant sense of omnipotent power over another's life or death.

15. *It happened so fast. I remember picking the knife up, turning the corner, going into the bedroom. I remember just a split-second of it going in, and then all of a sudden I didn't remember anything. I was back in my room.*	15. Although B recalls entering his parents' room with the knife, and returning to his room afterwards, he remembers little of the actual stabbing.
16. *Then I went back into the room and saw him laying across his bed. He was trying to get across the room. And I remember his hand ... this disfigured body moving around. The knife was still in him.*	16. On returning to his parents' room B saw his father, disfigured by his injury, the knife protruding from his body.
17. *A little newsclip like this came out in the newspaper about what I'd done to my daddy ... mom kept it for years till she died. I guess my stabbing him brought us closer together.*	17. Until her death B's mother kept a newspaper clipping about B's assault on his father.
18. *He almost died, and at the hospital the police came ... it was an attempted murder type thing ... in the hospital they rolled him by, and as they rolled him by I laughed, I laughed out loud.*	18. Although his father nearly died, and the incident was investigated as attempted murder, B laughed out loud when his injured father was wheeled past him.
19. *The cop heard me and came over and said to me, "If I see you laugh again I'll not only put you in that jail, but throw you under it. I'm going to make sure you serve time".*	19. The investigating police officer, angered by B's laughter, threatened him with a jail sentence.
20. *Then they sent me to jail, at the age of 14, but all I saw myself doing was protecting my mother. If my mother hadn't cried out I would never have gone in there.*	20. Although detained by the police, B felt his actions were justified by his motive to protect his mother when she cried out to him.
21. *Now I'm 45, but I remember what happened there, sitting in that station at the age of 14. She (police officer) looks at me and says, "You look like one of those kids who would stab their*	21. B clearly recalls a police officer telling him that he looked like the type of child who would stab his father.

3

father".	
22. *I didn't say nothing but from that point on I hated and despised cops like you wouldn't believe. I didn't think they had the right to say that and judge me. Anyway, sitting in that police station and hearing what they said formed my opinion of the police.*	22. B, feeling unfairly judged by the police officer, developed an intense generalised hatred for policemen.
23. *I was an artistic-type child, I've never been homosexual or anything like that, but homosexualism is very strong in Satanism, and most people who are artistic are the ones drawn into the occult 'cos they've got a very sensitive spirit in that you can hear spirits, you can hear voices.*	23. B understands his childhood creativity and sensitivity to spirit communication as having predisposed him to occult involvement.
24. *Some people don't have to do rituals and ceremonies and take drugs and alcohol, though drugs and alcohol form part of Satanism, you don't normally find people who are drug addicts and alcoholics in Satanism, they're very straight people ... they act normal just like anybody else.*	24. B understands himself to be an essentially normal person whose abnormal sensitivity to occult communication made artificially induced altered mental states unnecessary.
25. *Child welfare came in and wanted to send me to a boy's home ... I don't know what mom said but somehow me and my sister didn't get sent to a children's home because of this thing.*	25. B's mother prevented the authorities' attempts to place her children in a custodial institution.
26. *They ended up divorcing. A lot of kids end up thinking that they are responsible for mothers and fathers divorcing, but they're wrong. I **knew** I was the cause of it. It didn't bother me all that much.*	26. B was convinced that he was responsible for his parents' divorce, but this knowledge caused him little distress.
27. *After that I went back to a normal life - what I thought was normal. From then on I*	27. Although B resumed what he perceived to be a normal life he was puzzled by his

had trouble in school, I failed every year. I couldn't understand why I couldn't concentrate in school.	impaired concentration and scholastic failure.
28. *Eventually I finished school, went on to college and studied business administration, went on to university and got two certificates.*	28. B finally completed his schooling and obtained tertiary qualifications.
29. *It's a spirit. The sixties gave birth to some sort of a spirit of rebellion, to do everything opposite, the reverse. Which is really what Satanism is all about. Its a rebellion against ... if the law says you do this, well you go out and do the opposite. Its a reversal of all and everything.*	29. B experienced the 1960s as a rebellious period characterised, like Satanism, by the reversal of societal norms.
30. *I met up with a group of people who used drugs. I started smoking dope, taking acid, mainlining ... shooting up.*	30. After meeting a group of drug users B too began taking drugs.
31. *I never got busted, kept myself pretty secure. And then we went on to international drug smuggling.*	31. B, having been careful to avoid arrest, became involved in international drug smuggling.
32. *And then the time came that an attorney involved in this actually approached me to start terminating people.*	32. A legal professional involved in criminal activities approached B with a view to recruiting him as an assassin.
33. *At this time Satanism was only beginning to come out of the ground, it was a very loose organisation. Anton LaVey actually pulled it together...I joined on April 30th, Walpurgis day 1969. I joined three years after Anton LaVey started his church.*	33. B joined the satanic movement shortly after the Church of Satan was founded by Anton LaVey.
34. *But we started our own one - it was not connected to him at all. But we used his*	34. Although drawing on LaVey's satanic publications, B was actively involved in

Satanic Bible and we used his book on Satanic rituals.	starting an independent satanic organisation.
35. *It was almost like I was chosen ... Its a spiritual thing. These spirits were appearing to me as a child. But I didn't understand what they were.*	35. B understands his childhood perception of spirit manifestations to be a sign that he was spiritually chosen for an occult purpose that he did not understand at the time.
36. *I got to the point where the kind of spirits I was entertaining ... I mean not everyone has seen Satan, but I saw him. He appeared to me. He materialised ... the hair stands up on my arm every time I think about these things. You can touch them, they materialise into plasma. Satan began materialising to me.*	36. B interprets his experience of Satan materialising before him to mean that he was accorded an unusual occult status.

Could you describe Satan's appearance?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
37. *He stood about seven feet tall. He's not as big as some of the other angels. Osmodius is much larger than that. Some of the angels stand about fifteen feet tall, some of the demons do. Even God's angels stand about fifteen feet tall ... they're beings - not human beings - but beings, celestial beings or spirits ... Satan had a black robe, black, black, black ... pitch black. I couldn't even see his face. His robe had bell sleeves, narrow at the top. His hands don't stick out beyond the sleeves. The robe is even with the floor. You can't see his feet. You don't see his hands, you don't see his feet, you don't see his face. This is the way he comes and appears.*	37. Satan appeared to B as a tall figure whose extremities and facial features were hidden from view by a black robe.
38. *He walked into the room the first time I saw him. I was in bed when he walked out of the*	38. B's first encounter with Satan was in B's childhood home, when Satan entered his

passage into my bedroom. There was enough light coming into the room for me to see him.	room one night.
39. *I spoke to him as father, I addressed him as "Father", he was Father.*	39. B perceived Satan to be a father figure and addressed him as "Father".
40. *I felt cold, very cold, like standing inside of a fridge, chill-bumps all over your body - you just freeze. I couldn't move, I couldn't move, man. Just his presence was unreal. Its like a deep fear.*	40. The impact of Satan's supernatural manifestation to B was to make him feel paralysed, physically cold, and intensely fearful.
41. *I understood that what I felt in his presence, even though the chill-bumps was on my arm, and my hair was standing up, and my flesh was just petrified ... spiritually I understood that what I was feeling from him, that what was being generated from him was what he was actually feeling himself. That was him, it was his nature. He has a phenomenal amount of fear within himself ... he's a spirit of fear ... he's afraid*	41. B attributes the intense fear he felt in Satan's presence to Satan's own essentially fearful nature.
42. *You can actually feel a lot of rejection coming from Satan ... I felt a lot coming from him. Its because he was rejected ... he was rejected, he was kicked out of heaven.*	42. B experienced a deep sense of rejection radiating from Satan, which he attributes to Satan's having been rejected by God.

What did it mean for you to be a Satanist, to be part of that?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
43. *It gave me security, it gave me confidence. You know, if somebody does somebody wrong you hear them say, "I'd really like to get that person, I'd really like to ...one of these days he's going to meet the wrong person". I said, "Well why don't you do something about it ...*	43. Satanism gave B the confidence and security to actively avenge the wrong he perceived was done to him, without fear of retribution.

why don't you be that person he should meet? Why you talk about it, why don't you do something"? I was in a position that I could do something and get away with it.	
44. *And if I did get caught the rest of the church would stand behind me. They'd give me an alibi. How can a judge deny a lot of witnesses saying you were at a party the whole night long?*	44. B believed that the loyal support of the satanic church placed him beyond the power of even the legal system.
45. *They'll stand with you, they're stronger than Christians. Christians aren't like that. They're the first to kill their own wounded. If one of their brothers or sister's falls they're the first to go in there and finish him off. They're pathetic, disgusting.*	45. B contrasts the loyalty and moral strength of Satanists with the despicable tendency of Christians to attack their metaphorically wounded fellow Christians.
46. *Satan came to me and created an image in my mind that he was more of a father to me than my own father was. And I trusted him. And he gave me power.*	46. Satan appeared to B as a trustworthy father figure who would parent and empower him in a way that his biological father never did.
47. *Basically, I was a very intelligent child, although I was psychologically disturbed.*	47. B perceives himself to have been a psychologically disordered, yet intelligent child.
48. *At the age of 15 or 16 I used to lay on the couch with stomach cramps. When Mom sent me to the doctor he said it was ulcers forming in my stomach.*	48. He attributes the abdominal pain he felt as an adolescent, diagnosed as ulcers, to his emotional turmoil.
49. *It was bothering me but I didn't even realise what it was that was bothering me.*	49. B was unaware at the time of how emotionally affected he was by his family environment.
50. *I never thought of myself as being a*	50. B's reserved and introverted childhood

radical-type child. I was very quiet, very withdrawn, but not so withdrawn that I sat in the corner. I was reserved child, growing up, and it bothered my father.	personality bothered his father.
51. *I remember hearing a lot of things ... parents don't know that children are listening ... I remember dad saying to mom - talking about me - "You gotta watch those quiet ones, 'cos those are the ones you can't trust, and they'll sneak up on you and kill you". This was before I even stabbed him.*	51. Prior to the stabbing B overheard his father tell his mother that introverted children like B could not be trusted as they were inclined to ambush and murder their unsuspecting victims.
52. *That just embedded in my mind ... psychologically, whether it affected me directly or indirectly, it played a big part 'cos getting back to that thing entering in me, when it entered me I heard a voice ... a lot of years after this Satan himself appeared to me, several times. And when this spirit entered me he said "I can give you power over life and death, to take a life or let that life live.*	52. B feels that his father's statement influenced his subsequent attack on him, as B heard both the possessing entity, and later Satan, offer him the power to determine whether others' lived or died.
53. *This spirit, which I didn't even see at the time, was the one that entered me and caused me to get out of bed and shove that knife into him.*	53. B attributes his attack on his father to the supernatural influence of this invasive spiritual being.
54. When you're living in a troubled family ... when you got a disturbed childhood like that ... some people think the child is fantasising and creates these beings, but its not true. Satan used these things as opportunities.	54. B contends that the supernatural beings which appeared to him were not fantasies stemming from his disturbed upbringing, but spiritual realities which used his troubled childhood circumstances to influence him.
55. *Satan, even though he was the one who set the thing up that happened in my family ... he does that kinda thing in order to come across*	55. B believes that Satan engineered his family crisis in order to establish B's dependency on him as a helpful and

to you, to get close to you. He creates that atmosphere, and he's really the only one you're capable of trusting. If you need help, come to him.	trustworthy figure.
56. *He was the one creating the shit in the family ... he's the problem ... even though you serve him.*	56. In retrospect B believes that Satan manipulated B into serving him by deceitfully proffering help for the family turmoil he in fact had caused.
57. *I used to sleep with my knees up under my chin, and mom said "Why are you doing that"?, and I said "There's something at the foot of my bed, grabbing my feet ... these things would come in and play with me in the room.*	57. As a child B felt supernatural entities tugging at his feet and attempting to play with him while he tried to sleep.
58. *I'm not a psychotic and I've never been to a nut-house ... I'm just as sane as anybody else. Its just that I have this extra-sensory perception of spirits .... a sixth sense.*	58. B considers himself to be quite sane, and attributes his supernatural experiences to extra-sensory perception of spiritual beings.
59. *I've been a Christian for 14 years and I still have a helluva time trying to distinguish what is God and what is the devil.*	59. Despite his long-standing Christian identity B still struggles to distinguish between the figures of God and Satan.
60. *In Satanism I had a very strong prophetic ministry. Satan would talk to me and tell me things that would come to pass.*	60. As a Satanist B had prophetic powers which enabled him to receive Satan's communications of future events.
61. *Anyway, that spirit actually spoke to me. At that point he was just a voice. He always called me Chris, although I called him Father. It was a deep voice. The first time he walked in he said "Chris, Chris, Chris, Chris". Like that. Its like cold steel, nothing warm about it. Not really hard, but like ... there's a certain temper, like steel being tempered ... Its not a warm,*	61. During B's first encounter with Satan he repeatedly called B's name in a deep, steely, yet approachable voice.

affectionate voice, but its not a hard-type voice either. It is approachable.	
62. *Satan said to me, after I had stabbed my daddy, and I was sitting in the hospital and they were rolling my father in to be operated on. He said to me, "I can give you power over life and death and other people's lives. You can have the power to either spare their lives and let them live or you can destroy them and send them to hell where they all belong, and they will never come back". He would actually do that through me. That was the power of "sanctioning" people.*	62. After B stabbed his father Satan spoke to him and offered him the power of killing or sparing the lives of others.
63. *I felt a powerful sense of control and pride, exhilaration and power over life and death, confidence and assurance that I had no fear of people, and that I could hurt and kill anyone I wanted to and get away with it.*	63. B's responded to Satan's offer with the exhilarating conviction that he was invulnerable, had omnipotent control over others, and could destroy them with impunity.
64. *The foundation was laid in my life and I thought it was the normal, natural thing. Later I found out that most Satanists have never seen Satan.*	64. B took his extraordinary power and personal relationship with Satan for granted.
65. *I was a mixed up sort of Satanist, you know. I hated police, but we used them. We would get things on the police and frame them, to force them ...*	65. Despite his hatred of the police B retained contact with them by manipulating and blackmailing them.
66. *You know police are very promiscuous people ... I still don't like police, I despise them with a passion. They're the ugliest, filthiest human beings, bunch of Satanist pigs that have walked the face of this earth. I get very emotional when I think about these cops, I still*	66. B despises police officers, perceiving them as evil, promiscuous people who exploit their power and authority in order to abuse others.

don't like them. They think they have so much power and authority that they can run over everybody else. To hell with them!	
67. *Anyway, when I heard that voice I felt good inside. You see, the thing I lived under was fear. "They will never come back, destroy them".*	67. When Satan granted B the power to destroy others, the fear he had lived under was vanquished and replaced by a positive internal feeling.
68. *My dad, my God, I didn't know what the hell was wrong with him. He used to stand over my bed with a knife in his hand and threaten me.*	68. B struggles to comprehend the injustice of his father abusing his adult power by threatening him with a knife.
69. *I looked back on that and think, "I wish to hell I had killed him". What right does a human being have to do that to a child?*	69. B, recalling his childhood experience of paternal abuse, wishes that he had killed his father.
70. *And then I got to thinking who the hell was he anyway? Who was he? You think you know somebody but you don't know that person.*	70. B, struggling to understand his father, realised that the assumptions we have about others are wrong, and their true identity remains hidden.
71. *Besides that, even though I've got a good mother, and I love my mother, I was willing to lay my life down for her you know, who the hell was she?, to stay with that man, to put one of her kids through that shit, for God's sake.*	71. Even though B loves his mother and was prepared to die for her, he feels angry and bewildered by her decision to stay with B's father and tolerate his abuse of her child.
72. *God's been healing me for 14 years, and I'm not sure I'm totally healed. Sometimes I get real emotional about this.*	72. Despite his experience of God's healing influence, B's continued emotional response to his childhood recollections makes him suspect that he is not yet completely healed.
73. *I wish to God I had a normal childhood like everybody else. And sure it has affected me.*	73. B, aware of the adverse effects of his upbringing, wishes that he had a normal childhood.

74. *It's affected my sister ... she's just now for the first time in her life been able to have a child ... she's 35 years old.*	74. B is aware that his sister was emotionally affected by the paternal abuse, and has only recently been able to have a child of her own.
75. *And I've got a son, 17, who I've only seen a few years of his life. I'm biologically his daddy but I'm not a father to him. Look at what happened, look at what it's caused.*	75. B blames his experience of paternal abuse for his estrangement from his own son, and self-perceived failure as a father.
76. *And the only thing I can do now is to break the chain. The Bible says the sins of the father are visited upon the son up until the third or fourth generation. Before I came to the Lord, the last thing Satan said to me, that really made an impact on me; he said "When your son gets old enough" - and I didn't even know the scripture then - he said to me in an audible voice, "I'm going to cause your son to do to you what you did to your father, and what your daddy did to his daddy".*	76. Powerless to change the past, B is determined to break the established chain of generational parricidal violence which Satan threatened to effect in B's own relationship with his son.
77. *And it was the truth, cause when daddy was a young man he came home drunk one night and jumped into bed with his mother and father, with a gun, and they had a damn shoot-out in bed. My father was shot in the chest. And I thought even though these were spirits talking, this was reality, cos what this thing said to me was the truth. That's what happened to me at the age of 14.*	77. The fact that B's father was shot and wounded in a violent altercation with his own father convinced B that the satanically-inspired pattern of generational father-son violence was a reality.
78. *I was given a spiritual name, Angel Heart, 20 years ago. Angel Heart was a reaper. The book of Revelations says that God has reapers, and that one angel killed 300 000 Assyrians, and carried a sword. A sword is a symbol of*	78. As a Satanist B's assassin role, which he believes Satan assigned to him in adolescence, led him to identify with a great mythological warrior-angel

death or reaping. They bring in certain people who have certain abilities. The reaper in Satanism is the angel of death. What my function was to "sanction" people, basically what Satan taught me to do at age 14.	
79. *It's very hard to find people who can sanction other people, or what you call terminate other people. I've never been caught. I was a very quiet child, reserved ... but when it comes to performing certain things, like sanctions, I could smile. Sometimes I still find it sort of comical the way people die...(laughs)...the looks on their faces when they know they're going out, going to die. My function, 'cos Satan appeared to me several times and instructed me what to do, I sanctioned people, I removed people.*	79. Despite his reserved nature B is amused by the way his victims' die, especially their realisation of the imminence of death at his hands.
80. *I had power over the high priest, so if the high priest got out of line I removed him, although I was not a high priest, but sort of a watcher.*	80. B functioned as an observer of satanic proceedings, and claimed to have the power to murder his high priest should the latter transgress his designated role.
81. *I could watch - there are watching angels. Satan, when he fell brought a lot of watchers down with him, and these are very powerful spirits.*	81. B identified with the powerful "watcher angels" who, in biblical mythology, accompanied Satan on his expulsion from heaven.
82. *It wasn't just Satan who appeared to me, I was possessed several times by different spirits, very powerful spirits.*	82. B experienced himself to be possessed by a number of powerful spirits.

Could you tell me how it felt to be possessed?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
83. *I was always a shy, quiet type person. I*	83. Despite B's introverted personality he

wasn't very outward going ... very reserved inside, and normally I never talk this much. I had a violent temper.	had a violent temper.
84. *I can explain possession like this. I know how to talk to a woman. If you've got it you've got it, where you can sway a woman, sweet talk her and come across as the perfect gentleman - be a mellow and mild type person, approachable and stuff like that.*	84. B would adopt a charming, approachable facade in order to attract women.
85. *But if something ever went wrong ... You see, its not the opposite of your normal mannerism. There could be a group of guys sitting in a restaurant like this. "Blankety blank, you mother ... And you are sitting right there with your lady. So you walk over to that table and say, "Listen, man, your mouth is foul. Shut up, because I've got a lady here. Don't talk like that in front of her". And if he decided he wanted to challenge me, I'd just hit him, take him out, grab him by the hair and smash his face right down into the table before he gets up. That was the kind of person I was, very mild-mannered, reserved, very quiet. But if somebody said something that I didn't like it would trigger me into a very violent state, violent physically and verbally. A lot of times I wouldn't say a thing, I'd just walk over to the person and punch him. As we say, I'd hit him three ways - fast, hard, and continuously. It was like short bursts and everything. That, to me, was the way that I was possessed.*	85. When angered, B's refined persona would slip and he would feel possessed by violently aggressive impulses.
86. *And it wasn't just Satan that possessed me. The spirit that possessed me most of the time was Asmodius. Asmodeous was the demon of*	86. When possessed by the demon Asmodeus B was capable of superhuman feats of sexual endurance.

rage, and a very high sexual vitality, the spirit that destroys marriages. I could have sex with a young lady for up to four, five hours straight without losing an erection. Humanly, physically, that's impossible - but I've done it. Its every girl's dream, hey.	
87. *The erection thing, in the occult, and in the bible - and Satanists look at the Bible as an occult book - the horn is always symbolic of power, like the unicorn's horn, or the horn of your erection is a symbol of power. As long as you can keep an erection up, like Baphomet - he's the goat in the pentegram - well-known for his vigorous sexual activity. A male goat will actually take a woman on as well in acts of bestiality. Sometimes they're used in Satanism. Asmodius is like that as well, not only did he perform in the sexual realm, but he also broke marriages up, took on affairs.*	87. B understands the human erection to be a symbol of power associated with goat-god, Baphomet, who would employ his rampant sexuality to destroy marriages.
88. *If a man feels weak within himself, or he needs the security of an outward power, or something like that, its easier for him to allow a spirit to work faster and quicker through him.*	88. B believes that men who are weak or who need the security of an external power are best suited as hosts for spiritual possession.
89. *Now I'm no homosexual, but sometimes I come across as carrying feminine characteristics. People look at me, and a lot of men look at me, and say that I don't really look like a macho-type man. So I look like the kind of person that somebody can walk all over and shit all over. Its a mistake ... that is a helluva mistake, to think something like that about me.*	89. B's feminine qualities result in men mistaking him for someone who can be safely abused.
90. *There are people who, if they were alive today, would tell you that they wish they had*	90. When taunted by men for his feminine qualities B, possessed by Asmodeus, a

never laid eyes on me. But some people, because of a man being feminine, or having woman characteristics, they think they can just walk all over them and shit all over them. But man, physical size means nothing. When a spirit possesses a person you can take on five, ten men easily - and whip their asses from one end of the place to the other. Its not you, you're physically possessed by a supernatural spirit. In the spirit realm Asmodius would stand between twelve and fifteen feet tall. Asmodius was always a very volatile spirit, a spirit of rage ... wherever he manifested himself it was total annihilation, total destruction. He's the sanctioning spirit, the terminating spirit.

volatile demon of rage, would retaliate and physically beat his attackers into submission with his superhuman strength.

---

91. *I didn't lose my identity. If you play with little spirits you can lose your identity with them. They'll possess you to where they don't want to leave. If you deal with the mature spirits, the high-ranking spirits - like Asmodius, Lilith, Satan, Lucifer, Belial or Leviathan, or some of the spirits that are high-ranking in Satan's kingdom - they have the maturity, they can control themselves. These were very intellectual spirits. Some kids get possessed by the wrong ones, deaf and dumb spirits, the little spirits. There are principalities and powers, there are high spirits that live and reign in the heavens, but then there are those low in the chain of command.*

91. B never experienced a loss of his identity while possessed, owing to the superior status of his possessing spirits in the occult hierarchy.

---

92. *What do you want to be in the kingdom of Satan? You want to be someone in authority, with an intellectual evil spirit ruling and reigning inside you. Some are spirits of fear,*

92. B, wanting a position of satanic authority, was careful to invite possession by only intellectually powerful spirits.

some aren't. Some of these spirits know their authority and power and don't feel threatened by these lesser demons. These are the ones that entertained me, and I entertained them, the higher spirits.	
93. *Deaf and dumb spirits, insane spirits, poltergeist spirits ... these are childish spirits, you know. I never went for that kind of thing. I've never played with a Ouja board in my entire life ... what the hell for? I had Satan himself coming to me and telling me what the future was, told me what to do to change situations and circumstances. I was in a position that I could change the future. What the hell did I want to mess with little spirits for? What could I get from them that I couldn't get straight from Satan himself? I went straight to the top, that's where I've always been. I learned very well from Satan.*	93. B's superior occult status, indicated by his special relationship with Satan, meant that he had no use for lower spirits.
94. *He always demanded for you to lay your life down for him, but he wouldn't lay his life down for nobody, he wouldn't shed his blood for nobody, but he wants you to shed your blood.*	94. Satan demands that his followers sacrifice themselves for him, but B knows that Satan would never do the same for them.
95. *A lot of these kids want to cut themselves, shed their blood and drink their blood. Let them cut their bodies and drain their blood for me. I'm not going to shed my blood for them. Why should I cut my body up. Why should I lay my life down, go and marry the Devil and everything, and leave this world, and be with the spirits. What the hell for? What good am I going to be with him in the nether worlds?*	95. B sees no sense in the self-destructive acts of worship that young Satanists perform.

96. *Besides, I want to live as long as I can on this earth 'cos it makes good sense to me. I've developed the mentality that he had. He expected people to lay their lives down for him. I won't lay my life down for nobody, but I expect them to lay their life down for me. He expects me to pour my blood out for him. To hell with him, I'm not going to pour my blood out for him. I know he wouldn't do it, so why should I do it?*	96. B's identification with Satan means that he would not sacrifice himself for this selfish god but, like Satan, expects others to sacrifice themselves for him.
97. *It's like allowing him to be reincarnate inside me. Let me pull his nature into me, let me become like him, and think like him. If I can take on the mentality, his way of doing things, then I've got that power. As long as he stands behind me and possesses me in that light and everything, I've got the power that he's got, as long as he stands behind me and enforces it upon other people.*	97. In his pursuit of power B consciously seeks to incorporate Satan's nature and identify with it, thereby sharing Satan's strength and having it enforced by Satan upon other people.
98. *I have the authority. The church is subject to me. Even though I may not be the high priest, I've got power over the high priest. If he messes up I'll take his ass out.*	98. B claims that he possesses Satan's authority and therefore exercises power over the high priest.
99. *I mean, he's worshipping the very thing that is actually possessing me. Virtually, I'm his god.*	99. B reasons that his identification with the possessing spirit of Satan makes him the object of the high priest's worship.
100. *I never lost my personality or my identity. It wasn't me, but I had full consciousness of it, I was aware of it.*	100. B was aware of the possessing spirit, remaining conscious of it without ever losing his sense of identity.
101. *It was like I could just walk up to somebody, with a big smile on my face, and just pop their jugular vein, a very easy thing to do.*	101. Despite his small physical stature B's experience of possession gave him the strength to physically attack men much

It's the fastest way for a man to die, he won't hit you back, even if he's a big man. We used to think the bigger they are, the harder they fall, which is true. I'm only five foot eight, I'm not a big man of stature, but that doesn't mean nothing. I've seen little men with the strength of ten, once these spirits came on to them, take a man out very fast.	larger than him.
102. *Another one of the prophetic spirits was Astirith, a bisexual-type spirit who would tell me things from the past and the present, and even prophecy into the future.*	102. As a consequence of communications from Astirith, a prophetic spirit, B claimed to have supernatural knowledge of past, present, and future events.
103. *We used Anton LaVey's Satanic Bible and Satanic Rituals as guidelines.*	103. B employed published manuals on satanic rites as guidelines.
104. *I had my covenant burned onto my arm here (shows the scar), but about 18 months ago I had it taken off, the spirits kept following the thing around ... ink and acid ... the third eye, the eye of Horus, the all-seeing eye of Lucifer, the angel of light. And usually Lucifer appears as a young boy, he materialises as a beautiful child. It's the all-seeing eye of destruction.*	104. B carried a tattoo symbolising his satanic covenant, which he only recently removed to prevent spirits from pursuing it.
105. *In the 1960s there was the opportunity to be anti-establishment, anti-government, anti-cops, anti-authority, anti-everything. I fitted in perfectly, having my background.*	105. B's personal history predisposed him to embrace the 1960s anti-establishment ideology.
106. *I was 16 years old. My science project was on embalming people, and I had a chart drawn up showing where the main arteries were, knowing just where to cut to drain the body of blood. If you're going to sanction people its important to know where all the vital*	106. B's adolescent scientific interest in the human body was motivated by his desire to learn how to kill effectively.

organs are, especially the arteries.	
107. *We brought them in live. Its very important that people are not dead when you bring them in for a sacrifice, keep them alive as long as you can, 'cos the life is in the blood.*	107. B, believing that the sought after life force is contained in the blood, recalls the importance of human sacrificial victims being alive.
108. *The Black Mass is a parody of the Roman Catholic Church, and for a long time the Roman Catholics believed that as you drink the wine it literally became the blood of Christ. And they were accused of being cannibals, which made all good Satanists proud of these Catholics (laughs).*	108. B relished the irony that the cannibalistic implications of the Catholic Mass, in which the blood and flesh of Christ is consumed, were shared by Satanists in their blasphemous parody of the holy ritual.
109. *The most common ritual was the communion ritual, which is the "wine" - really the blood of the sacrificial victim - is normally put between the breasts of the young lady, if its a sacrificial ritual. Sometimes the altar can be the girl herself.*	109. B recalls the blood of the sacrificial victim being used in ritual parody of the Catholic communion wine.
110. *Then they build themselves up into a frenzy, the priest blasphemes God, he exalts Satan as being the true god, and he declares God to be a false God, everything opposite to what he really is.*	110. In a frenzied state the high priest would lead the ritual debasement of God, and exalt Satan as the one true God.
111. *Calls him down out of heaven so he can be sodomized - they perform spiritual acts of sodomy on God himself, on Christ. Someone can take on the symbolism of Christ and the high priest will sodomize them - a young boy or girl. I'm being very mild, I'm not being very explicit. And they exalt Satan and debase God, everything in reverse.*	111. By sodomizing a child, symbolising the figure of Christ, the high priest ritually violates the sanctity of God.
112. *To quote from Paul Valentine, who*	112. For B, a quoted reference to the

referred to the Christian church as a "rotting corpse". The rotting corpse of Christianity is on its way out. That is their vocabulary, that's the way they come across, as far removed from normality that anyone could even think that. Who would ever think of Christianity as being a stinking, rotting corpse.	Christian church as a rotting corpse illustrates the extent to which Satanism deviates from social norms.
113. *The priest might fast for nine days, he'll abstain from food, he'll drink nothing but water. He'll chasten himself to become that kind of vessel that Satan would want to occupy or manifest himself in.*	113. In preparation for an important ritual the satanic high priest will purify himself to become a worthy vessel for Satan's manifestation.
114. *So as he builds himself up to the ... like if its a human sacrifice, or sometimes the girls will give birth to babies and as the child is ready to be delivered, they'll actually remove the baby and sacrifice the baby on top of the mother ... cut its jugular vein, drain the blood. The mother, who is the altar, would be one of the first to drink the blood from the baby, along with the high priest. Sometimes the girls give birth to the babies specifically for human sacrifice.*	114. B refers to a sacrificial ritual in which the baby of pregnant Satanist is delivered in order to be killed upon the alter of its mother's body, after which she drinks her own infant's blood.
115. *We would get worked up into a frenzy, you feel ecstatic ... you can feel the power, you can feel the electricity being generated in the air.*	115. B experienced a state of mounting frenzied excitement during the sacrificial ritual.
116. *Just at the height of the meeting the victim's throat is cut, the blood pumps out in spurts, pumps into the cup, which is passed around. We'd drink it ... it's really a blasphemous thing 'cos its the symbol of communion in the Christian church.*	116. The ritual culminates in the victim's throat being cut, and the ceremonial drinking of his/her blood in a blasphemous parody of the Christian communion.

117. *Sometimes the priest will raise an erection and ejaculate onto the Eucharist bread, sometimes put it into his mouth and spit it out again, blaspheme it, call God the lowest thing on earth.*	117. The Christian communion ritual is further defiled through the act of ejaculating upon or spitting out bread symbolising the Eucharist.
118. *Incest, sodomy, bestiality, a goat with a young girl, everything you can imagine and things you can't even imagine - it's there.*	118. Every conceivable sexual perversion is deliberately practised in satanic rituals.
119. *I had the Charisma that could draw people to me. But I never allowed anyone to become much of a friend to me. I was a loner.*	119. Despite his charismatic appeal, B was a solitary person who avoided close friendships.
120. *Sanctioning was performed if someone got too close to the church, in revealing the secrets of the church. If they were found to be infiltrators they were killed. Other people, who I called "crusader rabbits", always looking for a crusade. If it looked like they would stir up trouble, they were eliminated.*	120. The people B killed were infiltrators, those who attempted to divulge the cult's secrets, and anyone whose behaviour threatened to disrupt the organisation.
121. *Sometimes I'd use a knife. The first one was a rush, it was like a blackout.*	121. B recalls killing his first victim with a knife, and experiencing a momentary rush of excitement and a sense of temporary unconsciousness.
122. *After a while it becomes a normal way of doing things.*	122. After killing a number of victims B began to perceive murder as a normal part of his life.
123. *There are certain things you do, certain things you don't do. You don't want to make a mistake, you don't tell anybody what you're doing. I did everything alone.*	123. B, careful to avoid mistakes that would implicate him, performed his killings alone and did not discuss them.
124. *There were people I actually cursed with*	124. B killed a number of victims through

my mouth and they died. I didn't have to cut too many throats. I could sit here and say to you, "I command you to die ... I command you to die, and you'd die, physically die. And they died. It might have taken a few weeks, or a couple of months, but they died.	the magical power of cursing them and willing them to die.
125. *I did that to a guy in his early twenties. He hit me on a job. He was stupid. I told him, "That was the last thing you really wished you should have done". I backed off and said, "You don't know what you've done, man. You can't touch me without paying the price". He thought that was the funniest thing he'd ever heard in his life. Three months later he went into such a state of depression, from that point on. One morning he just put a pillow over his head, put a gun into it and blew his brains out. That's the kind of spirit that I generate.*	125. B claims to have killed a man who assaulted him by magically causing his victim to become depressed and commit suicide.
126. *Or if it was an older guy they either just fell dead on the job or died of a heart attack. It was natural causes, although they were unnatural. Because I never allowed people to get close to me no-one could tie me in with anything.*	126. Older victims of B would die from natural causes unnaturally induced by his murderous thoughts.
127. *I got in through the drugs. I was an international drug smuggler at one point. I did a lot of mainlining, a lot of drugs myself.*	127. B got involved in Satanism through his drug involvement.
128. *Of course drugs and alcohol play an important part in bringing people in. A lot of the kids that were used for sacrificial victims were just invited off the streets. You offer them dope, invite them into a house and they never come out. They're listed as missing and never*	128. Drugs and alcohol are used in Satanism to lure potential sacrificial victims.

found, they disappear.	25

How did you come to leave Satanism?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
129. *Well, because of my position in it, you know ... Satan is not the kind of person to just leave you alone when you want to leave ... he's still with you.*	129. Because of his significant satanic status, B claims that Satan did not allow him to leave when he wanted to.
130. *Just before I walked free totally my jaw was broken, and I was kicked in the face. This whole jaw was laid open, like this by a couple of guys. One held a gun to my head and the other ran and kicked me.*	130. B was severely physically assaulted as punishment for attempting to leave the cult.
131. *The police actually came and saved my life (laughs). They would have taken me out. You don't just leave, you don't walk out.*	131. B was rescued from his assailants by the police.
132. *But I got tired of it. Everybody goes through changes in their lives.*	132. B tired of Satanism and attributes his desire to leave to certain life changes.
148. *It was at the time that I wrote the suicide note that I challenged God, which is a really blasphemous thing. The only indication I had that God existed was that Satan appeared to me and told me, instructed me about things, about spirits, powers. In 1977 I challenged God, "You claim to be this all-powerful God, more powerful than Satan. I know Satan's trying to kill me, and I feel like you are too". In my own eyes God wasn't any better than Satan. Look at all the crap I went through all my life...I said "Who are you...why don't you come down here, let's see what kind of guts you got...".*	133. The disintegration of B's two marriages changed his perspective.
149 *Two weeks later the Lord Jesus Christ*	134. The secrecy demanded by B's satanic

comes walking into the house - I saw Him. He spoke to me of many personal things that would shortly come to pass in my life.	involvement conflicted with his marital partners' efforts to know and understand him.
150. *I could sense someone in the house. As I turned around a bright transparent light in the form of a human figure moved toward me slowly.*	135. B's attempts to prevent his partners learning of his satanic identity ultimately failed, and he experienced a sense of loss when they terminated the respective marriages upon discovering his involvement.
151. *I gazed into his face, it was pure light. Everything around us felt so clean, holy and pure. It was like time stood still ... you can't put this into words. Waves of pure white light shot out from his face and body.*	136. Satan's intense fear of rejection and the close relationship B shared with him, meant that Satan had a human-like intuitive sensitivity to B's intentions to leave the cult.
152. *He was gentle, soft and approachable. He didn't drive me away but drew me to him with pulsating bursts of transparent, clear, laser-beam light, dispersing into a spectrum, not different colours, but just pure white. At the tip end of each ray of light coming out His body, shot out another soft ray of light, and then from the tip-end of another one and so on ... pure, blinding light ... but it didn't blind me.*	137. B compares his blood covenant with Satan to a marital contract, and Satan to a marital partner who senses a disruption in the marital relationship.
153. *I was physically there, I didn't leave my body. I touched myself, and I even reached out to touch him. You couldn't touch him, but he was tangible, the atmosphere the Lord's presence created around us in the room was tangible and could be seen, and looked like it could be touched. It was so real I reached out to feel it with my fingers.*	138. Satan's fear of rejection results in him attempting to destroy anyone who tries to leave his cult.
139. *All of this creates changes in your life. It's not that I'm totally out - do you ever really get out? I left it fifteen years ago. But sitting*	139. Although having left Satanism 15 years ago, B questions whether he is really free of it.

here talking to you, am I really out? Do you think I'm free right now?	
140. *I'm not a gambler. You can't live that kind of lifestyle all of your life, without the odds being stacked up against you. I'm forty five, I'm not a twenty two year old boy anymore. A person changes.*	140. One of the changes which contributed to B's leaving Satanism was the realisation that the difficulties and risks associated with that life-style increase with age.
141. *I had security from Satan himself, as long as I was doing what he wanted me to do. We had a working agreement. It wasn't really based on love, just a mutual understanding we had with one another.*	141. B had a working agreement with Satan, based on the understanding that as long as B abided by Satan's wishes, Satan would grant him security.
142. *He was a father to me, he protected me - nobody ever messed with me, man. I knew that he would take care of my business for me.*	142. B experienced Satan as a father who protected him and assisted him practically.
143. *I didn't always have to put a knife to a person's throat or blow them away or anything like that, I had the security that he could operate, that he could materialise in the physical realm, he could actually possess other people.*	143. B's felt secure in the knowledge that Satan could materialise in the physical realm and eradicate those individuals B chose as targets.
144. *You might do a Satanist wrong in business. You might not even know that he is a Satanist, but you do him wrong and you got that whole damn church raising devils to come get your ass, boy. And they'll come. All of a sudden things start going wrong in your life. All of a sudden your marriage busts up, all of a sudden your kids start dying for strange reasons.*	144. B felt that Satanists are protected from others who may do them wrong by the support of the cult, which avenges its members by persecuting offenders with demonic magic.
145. *These spirits do obey human beings - its a*	145. Possessing spirits obey the wishes of

mutual agreement. There's certain things that they can't do in the spirit realm that they need a human body for, to possess.	their human hosts because they need the hosts' physical being to act in ways otherwise impossible in the spirit realm.
146. *There's certain things that humans can't do, they need a supernatural being to fill that void inside them. Christians need God, they need Jesus Christ, Satanists need Satan. They need demons.*	146. Humans, in turn, need a spiritual presence, either divine or demonic, to fill an internal void.
147. *On my birthday that year I wrote out a suicide note. I was going to kill myself and my family.*	147. Having lost the will to live, B wrote a suicide note in anticipation of killing himself and his family.
148. *It was at the time that I wrote the suicide note that I challenged God, which is a really blasphemous thing. The only indication I had that God existed was that Satan appeared to me and told me, instructed me about things, about spirits, powers. In 1977 I challenged God, "You claim to be this all-powerful God, more powerful than Satan. I know Satan's trying to kill me and I feel like you are too," In my own eyes God wasn't any better than Satan. Look at all the crap I went through all my life ... I said "Who are you? ... Why don't you come down here, let's see what kind of guts you got ..."*	148. Convinced in his suicidal frame of mind that Satan was trying to kill him, B challenged God to prove His alleged power over Satan by coming to B's assistance.
149. *Two weeks later the Lord Jesus Chris comes walking into the house - I saw Him. He spoke to me of many personal things that would shortly come to pass in my life.*	149. Shortly after B challenged God, Christ appeared before B and told him of imminent events that would occur in his life.
150. *I could sense someone in the house. As I turned around, a bright transparent light in the form of a human figure moved toward me slowly.*	150. B sensed a presence before Christ appeared to him as a human figure radiating light.
151. *I gazed into His face, it was pure light. Everything around us felt so clean, holy and*	151. Gazing upon the luminescent figure of Christ, B experienced a timeless sense of

pure. It was like time stood still ... you can't put this into words. Waves of pure light shot out from his face and body.	divine purity.
152. He was gently, soft and approachable. He didn't drive me away but drew me to him with pulsating bursts of transparent, clear, laser-beam, dispersing into a spectrum, not different colours, but just pure white. At the tip end of each reay of light coming out His body, shot out another soft ray of light, and then from tip-end of another one and so on ... pure, blinding light ... but it didn't blind me.	152. B felt drawn to the soft and gentle figure of Christ by the pure white light emitted from His body.
153. I was physically there, I didn't leave my body. I touched myself, and I even reached out to touch him. You couldn't touch him, but he was tangible, the atmosphere the Lord's presence created around us in the room was tangible and could be seen, and looked like it could be touched.	153. Christ's presence was so tangible that B unsuccessfully attempted to touch the figure.
154. The cloud we were in felt like balls of cotton wool.	154. B felt himself to be enveloped in a soft cloud.
155. I was conscious of the fact that there was no presence of darkness, evil, or consciousness of sin, around me or us.	155. B felt aware of the complete absence of sin or evil around them.
156. I felt at home, comfortable. I was happy for the first time in my life.	156. B felt a sense of happiness and "at-homeness" for the first time in his life.
157. He sought me out, and while my sin abounded His grace did much more abound. It blew me away, I couldn't believe it.	157. B was awed by the realisation that Christ had sought him out and vanquished his sin with a more powerful grace.
158. It was at that stage that I realised who was strongest. He didn't have to rebuke Satan, He didn't have to rebuke the angel of death. I was	158. B was struck by the realisation that Christ was stronger than Satan and B's own destructiveness.

the grim reaper, I terminated people.	
159. *Satan always hopes to get me back. I've been out for fifteen years. Last week a guy says to me, "We need a leader, someone who has leadership abilities to start a church in the open. Why don't you start it". And I've been speaking against it. But do you think they've given up on me? No.*	159. Despite B's spoken opposition to Satanism, Satan has not ceased trying to bring him back through the persuasive efforts of individuals encouraging B to openly lead a satanic church.
160. *You never really leave. I'm going through a thing right now ... even the Christians, what they call my own brothers and sisters in the Lord, still believe I'm involved.*	160. The suspicions of B's fellow-Christians that he is still involved in Satanism leave him feeling unsupported and doubtful that he could ever leave Satanism completely.
161. *And right now I'm receiving more financial help from people in the occult ... and Satanists encouraging me to "keep going, keep going, don't give up". They've got more confidence of me coming back into Satanism than Christians have of me staying out.*	161. B receives more financial help and encouragement from Satanists confident of his return, than from Christians who have little faith in his power to refuse.
162. *Christians act like a bunch of pious bastards, illegitimate assholes, man.*	162. B resents the sanctimonious behaviour of Christians.
163. *I think I've got a close relationship with the Lord. I saw Christ, he touched me, he's real. That's the only thing that keeps a balance in my life. Sometimes I get very hard ... out of it ... but when I think about that it creates a tenderness inside me, and that's what really breaks me, man, keeps me still in reality. That is the dominant ruling force in my life.*	163. When B begins to feel hard and disillusioned it is only his close relationship with God, as his ruling force, that allows him to retain a sense of tenderness and balance.
164. *I used to shake my fist in God's face. As far as Satan's child is concerned, I was the best, I was the best child that anyone could*	164. B strove to be a loyal child of Satan and consequently rejected God.

ever have, whoever I belonged to. I denied God.	
165. *Later on I told God, "If you promise me that I won't become like those other assholes out there, who call themselves Christians, then I'll serve you, follow you".*	165. B agreed to serve God on condition that B would not become like the Christians he despised.
166. *'Cos I don't like those people - I used to smash them in the face, I used to hit them when they came up to me.*	166. B felt so much aggression for Christians that he used to physically assault them when they approached him.
167. *And you know what He said, He said, "Son, I don't want you to become like them either". Hey, that impressed me, man. I knew He was real. He knew what was going on out there.*	167. B was impressed by God's assurance that He too did not want B to become like the Christians he resented.
168. *I can still feel him down inside here, He's that tender part ... He is the tenderness inside me.*	168. B identifies God as the tenderness he feels inside himself.
169. *You can imagine what I was like before the Lord came into my life. You think I'm rough now, I'm not rough at all, compared to what I used to be.*	169. B claims to have softened considerably since God entered his life.
170. *But I don't back down for anybody. I'm not one of these jellyfish-type Christians. If a guy thinks he can take me on, let him take me on.*	170. B claims that, unlike the spineless Christians around him, he refuses to be intimidated and is ready to defend himself against any human attack.
171. *I'm still alive. I've been doing it since I was about fourteen years old, and nobody has got to me yet. And if I've lasted this long I'll last the rest of the way.*	171. B defiantly asserts his invulnerability and will to survive.
172. *I like to think of God like that. He's a*	172. B imagines God to possess masculine

man, a real man, and He'll stand up to anybody. He isn't afraid to directly confront people either, which is something Satanists are very good at. They like challenging other people, they like challenges.	qualities of strength, courage and assertiveness common to himself and other Satanists.
173. *Christians don't like challenges, they're afraid of them. They make me sick.*	173. Christians offend B with their weakness and fear of challenges.

32

APPENDIX 2 (b) SUBJECT TWO Significant interpersonal contexts, fantasies, and corresponding object relations derivatives

Interpersonal Context	Fantasy	Self rep.	Affect link	Object rep	T. no.
Growing up with a drunken father who repeatedly beat him, raped his sister, and beat his mother.	I wish to take revenge by killing my father.	Reserved, sensitive, anxious, impotent, persecuted child	Helplessness, anger, hatred	Crazed, perverse, unjust tyrant	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 50, 57, 68, 69, 70
Mother tolerates husband's abuse and permits his abuse of the children	The mother I love cannot be trusted to protect her own children from father's abuse	Betrayed, untrusting	Resentment, confusion	Uncaring, untrustworthy, negligent mother	71
Rejection by father who failed to accept son's personality.	I am unjustly treated and rejected by a father who cannot love or accept me.	rejected	resentment	Senselessly cruel and rejecting father	51, 68
Aware of spiritual entities from an early age.	Some invisible alien presence is trying to contact me [malevolent projective identifications based on destructive paternal introject are experienced as alien entities]	Sensitive, anxious	Anxiety	Mischievous supernatural entities	35, 57, 58
Overhears father express his suspicions that son may attempt to kill him.	Father's suspicions that I am a potential killer coincide with my fantasies of killing him. [Father projects own murderousness into his son, who identifies with the projected destructiveness]	Violent killer masked by withdrawn persona	Hatred	Vulnerable	51, 52

1

Interpersonal Context	Fantasy	Self rep.	Affect link	Object rep	T. no.
Hears mother call to him for help while being beaten by his drunken father.	Another personality is entering me and controlling my actions. [Intrusive return of destructive split-off, dissociated subpersonality]	Passive observer of possessing entity	Dissociation - experience of blacking out.	Mother's potential murderer	9, 10
After inflicting potentially deadly stab wound to father, B experiences an internal transformation.	I have become one with the possessing foreign personality [Introjective identification with omnipotently destructive subpersonality].	Power, omnipotent control over life and death	manic triumph, exhilaration	Vanquished enemy; dying "God manifested in the flesh".	12, 14, 18, 52, 53, 54, 62, 63
Threatened with jail by police officers after stabbing	Father's unjust power and authority persists in police persecution of a child protecting his mother [Police and father are identified as cruel abusers of authority]	Innocent victim of persecution	Hatred, outrage	Cruel, perverse, evil tyrants	19, 20, 21, 22, 66
Parents divorce after father's stabbing	I have caused the break up of my parents' marriage, and mother has chosen me over father [Oedipal triumph over father receives mother's tacit approval]	Unrepentant, triumphant	Entitled	Loved maternal object closer than before	17, 25, 26
Scholastic failure resulting from anxiety (stomach cramps) and poor concentration.	[Oedipal triumph results in unconscious ambivalence, guilt, and experience of retaliatory persecution by paternal introject - stomach cramps]	Incestuous son [Oedipus]	Ambivalence, anxiety, guilt	Retaliatory paternal introject	48, 49

Interpersonal Context	Fantasy	Self rep.	Affect link	Object rep	T. no.
Satan appears as a supernatural surrogate father	Satan, the opponent of God, has chosen me as his favoured son, and has granted me omnipotent destructive power over my enemies. [Split-off idealised paternal part-object is personified and projected as the hallucinatory fulfilment of B's wish for an omnipotent, protective father]	Omnipotent favourite son	Excitement	Trustworthy, protective, omnipotent father	35, 36, 39, 46
Satan impresses B as a spirit of fear and rejection	Like me, Satan was rejected by his father and is filled with fear. [The idealised paternal imago is projectively identified with B's own fear and experience of paternal rejection]	Spiritual twin	Fear	A god whose essence is fear and rejection	41, 42
Inspired by the first Church of Satan B becomes involved in a separate satanic organisation.	I have been chosen by a higher power to embrace Satanism as a further defiant gesture against an unjust society and its paternal Christian God.	Predestined, spiritually chosen one.	Gratification related to the perception of being chosen.	Satan the ultimate symbol of social defiance	33, 34, 105
Satanic involvement brings with it security and self-confidence	With my omnipotent power I can take revenge on all those who do me wrong. [Identification with omnipotent paternal part-object accompanied by revenge fantasies targeting those perceived as having abused him]	Fearful, abused child transmogrifies into omnipotent avenger	Aggression	Sadistic persecutors transformed into potential victims	43, 52, 63, 67

3

Interpersonal Context	Fantasy	Self rep.	Affect link	Object rep	T. no.
Identifies with a powerful mythological biblical figure (an angel of death) and becomes an assassin within the cult	I will use my superhuman power to please my father by killing those who threaten me and our family. [Identified with the idealised paternal part-object, B enacts the fantasy of killing his abusive father]	Omnipotent avenging angel	Aggression	Persecutory enemies who must be killed. [projected bad paternal part-object]	78, 121
Derives pleasure from killing those perceived as enemies	Every killing is an act of pleasurable revenge in which I murder my hated father.	Omnipotent avenging son	Sadistic gratification	Hated father. [projected paternal part-object]	79, 120
B discovers the power of killing through malevolent magic.	I have the magical power of killing people through thought alone [omnipotent destructive fantasy whereby thoughts become acts]	Omnipotent possessor of magical power	Triumphant gratification of destructive fantasy	Defenceless victims of B's murderous thoughts	124, 125, 126
Was a "watcher" who would closely observe the high priest in order to insure that he did not abuse his office	In the same way as I watched my father I must watch this authority figure and kill him if he abuses his authority [High priest viewed as potentially bad paternal authority who needs to be closely observed and controlled]	Suspicious observing child	Fear	Potentially abusive father figure	80, 81
Despite his charismatic influence on others, B avoided close relationships	Others, even though they admire me, cannot be trusted and must be kept at a distance. [Fantasy that closeness will lead to vulnerability to abuse and rejection by others]	Independent, invulnerable, charismatic	Detachment	Admiring, desirous of closeness	119

Interpersonal Context	Fantasy	Self rep.	Affect link	Object rep	T. no.
Although shy and introverted, when threatened or provoked by men, B became possessed by a demon of rage and violently assaulted his antagonists	Asmodeus, the demon of rage, possesses me and causes me to attack those who threaten me or my woman. [Any perceived threat reminiscent of his father's abuse of him or his sister/mother elicits a destructive subpersonality alien to his normal self experience]	Violent alien personality	Rage	Persecutory male figures (father)	85, 91, 101
A second possession state was characterised by superhuman sexual stamina and the impulse to destroy others' marriages.	[Originally the castrated, impotent child, B enacts the triumphant oedipal fantasy of destroying his parents' marriage and using his potent phallus to give his mother sexual pleasure]	Sexually potent wrecker of marriages [triumphant oedipal child]	Triumph, excitement	Sexually fulfilled women belonging to other men [incestuous mother]	86, 87, 88
Communications from a prophetic spirit created the omniscient sense of knowing past, present, and future	My spiritual communications give me privileged access to superhuman knowledge. [Identification with omniscient parental part-object]	Omniscient, special	Gratification from sense of power	Omniscient spirit	102
B, unlike other Satanists, only allowed possession by powerful, high-ranking spirits	My special occult status in the eyes of Satan means that I am worthy of possession by only the most powerful spirits [narcissistic entitlement]	The entitled special son	Gratification	Satanist siblings, second in the satanic father's affections, are inferior, possessed by lowly spirits	91, 92, 93

Interpersonal Context	Fantasy	Self rep.	Affect link	Object rep	T. no.
Unlike other Satanists B was not content to be Satan's disciple, but attempted to become Satan through conscious identification	By becoming Satan I can avoid the servitude of being one of Satan's sacrificial children - [Introjective identification with a powerful father provides an omnipotent defence against the risk of dangerous child-parent dependency]	Omnipotent god	Defiant pleasure	Subject minions (other Satanists) Untrustworthy father (Satan)	94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99
Unsuccessful efforts to hide his satanic life from marital partners resulted in their leaving him.	Women who try to get close reject me when they discover my real identity	Rejected, bad child	Hurt, loss	Rejecting good objects	133, 134, 135
B's sense of loss occasioned by marital failures prompts him to leave Satanism, resulting in retaliatory attacks by Satan	Satan intuitively knows I wish to leave him and will try to destroy me. [Rejection of the destructive subpersonality arouses anxiety that it will retaliate by destroying the central self]	Rejecting son	Fear, despair	Angry rejected father-god [punitive bad paternal introject]	136, 137, 138, 147, 148
Realisation that Satan had deliberately caused his experience of paternal abuse in order to create the deceitful illusion that only Satan could be depended on.	Satan deceived me into believing that I could depend on him as a caring and trustworthy father, while he was creating the destructiveness in my family for his own malevolent ends	Betrayed, hurt son	Anger	Deceitful, malevolent, untrustworthy father-god [bad paternal introject]	54, 55, 56
Physical assault by Satanists punishing B for trying to leave the cult	Satan will not let me leave and is sending Satanists to kill me. [Paranoid anxiety about projected internal persecutor reinforced by Satanists' retaliation].	Persecuted	Fear	Vengeful paternal aggressor	129, 130, 131

Interpersonal Context	Fantasy	Self rep.	Affect link	Object rep	T. no.
Rejection of Satan results in emptiness, despair, persecutory and suicidal thoughts	Because Satan wishes to kill me and I have nothing good inside of me to replace him with, I might as well destroy myself. [Absence of a secure good internal object to counteract the vengeful subpersonality results in suicidal despair]	Weak, empty child victim	Despair	Vengeful paternal aggressor	146, 147, 148
Challenges God to intervene and rescue him from Satan	God has allowed my victimisation. If He is a good father who cares about me, let him prove it. [Despair and persecutory anxiety mobilises the wish to be rescued by an omnipotently good paternal object]	Helpless child in need of saving	Despair	Desired but absent god [omnipotent good father]	148
God appears and rescues B from Satan's power and his own destructiveness	This omnipotent, good, and powerful God has conquered Satan, expunged my evil, and adopted me as his son. [Defensive mobilisation of projected omnipotent, good paternal part-object creates the hallucinatory experience of a divine visitation]	Redeemed, accepted child	Happiness	Loving, containing supernatural figure [Idealised paternal part-object]	149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158.

Interpersonal Context	Fantasy	Self rep.	Affect link	Object rep	T. no.
God experienced as a hypermasculine figure who shares B's negative perceptions of other Christians.	God and I are strong, courageous men united in our criticism of weak, unassertive Christians. [Projection of own negative childhood self-perceptions onto Christians, and introjective identification with idealised paternal part-object]	Grandiose, virtuous, special	Aggression	God perceived as an extension of self [Introjective identification with idealised object]; Contemptible Christians [Projection of own negative self-representations]	163, 165, 167, 172, 173.
Experiences God as a source of tenderness inside himself.	God counteracts my destructiveness and creates loving feelings in me [Identification with good internal object]	Tender, loving, soft	Love	God experienced in terms of maternal softness and tenderness [Good maternal object]	154, 168, 169.
Defiant assertion of invulnerability and will to survive in the face of potential attackers.	I cannot allow the tenderness and softness I feel inside to dominate me as I must be strong and invincible to those who still wish to harm me. [Experience of tenderness creates paranoid anxiety and mobilises defences against vulnerability]	Vulnerable potential victim [Defenceless child]	Paranoid anxiety	Assailants [projected abusive paternal object]	170, 171

Interpersonal Context	Fantasy	Self rep.	Affect link	Object rep	T. no.
Has an ambivalent relationship with Satanism and struggles to distinguish between God and Satan.	Satanism still means support and encouragement to me, and I'm uncertain about whether the spiritual influences I feel come from God or Satan. [Inability to distinguish between good and bad paternal part-objects resulting from projective identification]	Ambivalent, confused	Confusion	Blurring of good and bad internal part-objects	59, 139, 159, 160, 161
Blames his satanically instigated experience of paternal abuse for his estrangement from his own son, and his self-perceived failure as a father.	My failure as a father is the fulfilment of a generational paternal legacy inflicted by Satan upon our family.	Failure as a father; victim of inherited familial pathology	Pain, regret, guilt	Alienated, estranged son	75
B does not feel completely healed and believes that all he can do is to break the generational chain of father-son violence.	I have been irreparably harmed by Satan working through my father. The only positive thing I can do is stop the enactment of generational father-son violence [Reparative fantasy of healing family pathology by becoming a better father]	Wounded healer - redemptive sacrificial figure	Concern, hope	Damaged family	76, 77.

APPENDIX 3 (a) SUBJECT THREE

E is a 34-year old former electronics technician, boarded from work on psychological grounds. His stepmother died ten years ago and he currently lives with his retired stepfather.

Could you please tell me in detail about your life and your experience of satanic involvement?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
1. *I've lived here all my life. Came here when I was two. My stepfather and aunt are also here. My mother passed away ten years ago, from Parkinson's, so I'm living with my stepdad at the moment. He's pensioned, but he used to be head porter at the hospital. I've got two older sisters, so-called sisters, because I'm adopted from birth.*	1. E was adopted from birth and has two older stepsisters.
2. *They don't have much to do with me ... never treated me like a brother, even when I was small. They made me feel out, like I didn't belong.*	2. E did not feel like he belonged in his adopted family owing to his stepsisters' failure to accept him as their brother.
3. *I was very sickly, something wrong with my blood corpuscles, and always at the doctor.*	3. E was a sickly child who required frequent treatment for a blood disease.
4. *My parents used to go out a lot in those days ... the sixties. They used to go out dancing a lot, and leave me with my aunt. I felt very alone ... kinda rejected, you know.*	4. E experienced loneliness and rejection when his parents frequently left him with a female relative in order to go out at night.
5. *I used to get hidings a lot and I would run to my aunt, she used to shield me from my parents ... from my parents. I was hit around a lot ... I suppose you could say I was abused.*	5. E experienced frequent beatings at the hands of his parents and sought protection from a female relative.
6. *It was my stepdad who hit me around a lot. I hated him for that.*	6. E hated his physically abusive stepfather.
7. *My stepmom didn't hit me so much, but she wasn't interested in me. I don't think she cared. Around her I felt unwanted.*	7. E did not feel wanted or cared for by his stepmother.
8. *But I knew I was adopted, and that got to*	8. E's sense of rejection began when he

me. That's where my rejection began.	discovered his adoptive status.
9. But I was also very stubborn when I was small ... wouldn't eat, wouldn't do homework ... very rebellious, you know.	9. E perceived himself to be a stubborn and rebellious child.
10. I used to also get enjoyment from being destructive ... breaking up things and getting into trouble.	10. E obtained pleasure from being destructive and getting into punished.
11. As a young child I was always interested in the occult, in supernatural forces. I always imagined myself to be a supernatural hero, like you read about in comics ... totally opposite to how I felt in real life. I would kill and torture baddies who did me wrong.	11. E's interest in the occult began with compensatory childhood fantasies of being a supernatural hero who too took cruel revenge on those who had harmed him.
12. Anyway, it started when I was in primary school, we used to play with a ouija board. Since then I've been fascinated by anything to do with the supernatural. We would play it after school, ask questions and get answers, that type of stuff.	12. E's supernatural involvement began with occult divination games.
13. And as a teenager I was always interested in the occult movies and horror films. The more gruesome it was the more I liked it. I was only interested in horror films.	13. As an adolescent E was fascinated with gruesome horror films.
14. Some years ago I bumped into some friends who were involved in the occult ... involved in the spiritualist church and so on. They invited me to come along to seances and things, everyone sitting around a table and calling up spirits. Because I was interested in the supernatural I went along.	14. As an adult E was invited by friends to attend seances.
15. Things started appearing, on the table and on the floor. Things started moving, lights would go on and off.	15. E witnessed supernatural phenomena occurring at the seances.
16. And I found out that I could do things, I could make things move, I could make balls float in the air. I had a sense of control and power.	16. E experienced a sense of control and power when he discovered his aptitude for telekinesis.

17. *The more I got involved in it the more power I got. The deeper I got involved, the more I enjoyed it.*	17. E's deepening involvement in occult activities brought him a sense of increasing power and enjoyment.
18. *It was like a madman pulling me. And eventually I wanted more, I knew there had to be something more to it, more power, more satisfaction. I wasn't getting enough satisfaction from just going to seances.*	18. E, compelled by the search for more power and enjoyment, grew dissatisfied with mere seance attendance.
19. *And eventually I turned to Satanism about three or four years ago. I was 27 at that stage. because I'd read a few books, you know, that were banned. And I don't know what made me, but something inside me said that is the way to go.*	19. After reading banned occult literature E felt strongly influenced to involve himself in Satanism.
20. *Some friends of mine were involved in Satanism. I never knew at the time, but they asked me to come along to a satanic meeting, and I thought this was the big opportunity to find out what it is about and what's involved.*	20. E responded enthusiastically when his friends disclosed their satanic involvement and invited him to attend a satanic meeting.
21. *There were no sacrifices at the meeting, just a plain meeting. I enjoyed it, and three months later I was initiated into the coven, and had to go through certain rituals.*	21. E enjoyed his first meeting and was initiated into the coven three months later.
22. *I had to take off my black gown and sit naked, with everyone standing in a pentagram on the floor, at different points, chanting. There were black candles at each point of the pentagram.*	22. E's initiation was a formal ritual ceremony involving satanic symbolism and regalia.
23. *A demon materialised next to me and actually came into my body. At that particular moment I felt quite a bit of pain all over my body, like sharp stabbing pains.*	23. A demon materialised before E, and he experienced considerable pain as he felt it enter him.
24. *I had to tear up a bible, I had to urinate on the bible, I had to break crosses ...*	24. As part of his initiation E had to violate sacred Christian symbols.
25. *I had to drink blood after cutting myself on the arm, and I had to sign a contract with*	25. After cutting himself E pledged allegiance to Satan by signing a pact in his

Satan in my own blood, on a virgin parchment. And I had to swear allegiance to Satan.	own blood.
26. *Then we were welcomed into the coven and given black robes, and declared fully-fledged Satanists.*	26. After receiving a ceremonial garment E was welcomed as a full satanic member of the coven.
27. *We had to attend all the meetings. Once a week, twice a week, depending on the area you were in. All the rituals you had to take part in, and you had to get people to join the coven. We had to take part in sacrifices, and all that type of stuff as well.*	27. E was obliged to participate in all the coven activities, and to recruit new members.

How did it feel to be initiated into the coven?

28. *It felt wonderful, at that moment. I felt ... could I say, high. I felt very elated, on a high. As though I could do anything, you know.*	28. E's initiation into the coven made him feel elated and omnipotent.
29. *Activities varied, depending on the time of the year, according to the satanic calendar. Most of the activity at ordinary meetings throughout the year centred around cursing other people, calling up demons to attack and hurt other people.*	29. The coven's activities, dictated by the satanic calendar, centred upon harming others with malevolent magic.
30. *They also teach you, that the bible is wrong, they'd quote from the scriptures and show you why that was wrong, they would point out contradictions in the bible.*	30. Members received ideological instruction aimed at discrediting Biblical scriptures.
31. *But mostly it's about involving other people, recruiting other people, if possible, and learning from the high priest or priestess, depending on what you do, you know.*	31. An emphasis was laid on recruiting others and receiving education related to one's role in the coven.
32. *There were all types of people in the coven. Poor people, rich people, people of high standing, town councillors, even doctors.*	32. The coven's membership comprised people from all social classes and vocational backgrounds.

How did being a Satanist effect your daily life?

33. *I had to be very careful who I associated with. I wasn't allowed to go into churches, I wasn't allowed to mix freely with people.*	33. E's satanic membership imposed restrictions on his social activities and interactions with others.
34. *I felt very suspicious of everybody else, on the edge of my nerves.*	34. E became anxious and suspicious of other people.
35. *At home I'd have fights with my dad, I couldn't get on with him.*	35. E's relationship with his stepfather deteriorated with his satanic involvement.

What was your relationship with the other Satanists like?

36. *At first it was a very brotherly, sisterly type thing. We were close. For the first time I felt really accepted by other people.*	36. E's relationship with his fellow coven members was initially close, and for the first time he felt accepted by others.
37. *But as I got more involved I realised there was a lot of back-biting going on, a lot of fighting amongst the members. They want higher rank than the other members, so there is a continual struggle for power. Eventually nobody spoke to anybody else. You just got together at the meeting, you know, just to do your rituals, and then you go your separate ways.*	37. With E's increasing satanic involvement he began to realise that intracoven relationships were conflictual and based solely on competition for power.

Could you describe the ritual activities?

38. *Chanting, singing and praying to Satan.*	38. Satan was worshipped during coven rituals.
39. *And then there were sacrificial rituals, where they either sacrificed a person, a baby, a cat, or a fowl, you know.*	39. Sacrificial rituals involved animal and human victims.
40. *We also had communion, but we'd do it back-to-front, say the Lord's Prayer backwards. We would drink the blood.*	40. E participated in rituals involving blood drinking and the blasphemous reversal of the Christian communion liturgy.
41. *At first it was revolting, but after a while it*	41. Although E was initially repulsed by

became second nature, it was like drinking water, it becomes easier each time. It felt like I was taking power into me, so it felt good.	drinking blood he began to associate the gratifying experience of incorporating power with blood ingestion.

Did you ever witness human sacrifices?

42. *Uh ... I must confess that I was involved in one human sacrifice (laughs). We all had to attend a big sacrifice ... all the covens got together in a farming area, in an old barn. There was an altar built of wood. On the alter were purple sheets ... and there was a little baby lying on the alter. At the height of the ceremony the high priest and priestess took their places around the baby ... and, uh, they stabbed it with a dagger, in the chest. They collected the blood, mixed it with wine, and passed it around to everybody.*	42. E recalls participating in the ritual sacrifice of a human infant, in which the infant was stabbed to death and its blood drunk.
43. *You know, its very ... at that particular moment I didn't realise what was going on. I was ... I suppose you could say in a trance, I wasn't aware of my surroundings - not through taking drugs - I was just so hyped-up, you know. I couldn't comprehend what was going on.*	43. E experienced an altered state of consciousness during the infant sacrifice, and claims he could not fully comprehend what was taking place.
44. *But when it was over I felt very sad, all down and broken, you know.*	44. After the sacrifice of the infant he felt sad and distressed.
45. *But the animal sacrifices, the dogs and cats, I quite enjoyed. Even as a youngster I used to kick the dog and kick the cat ... I used to have that hate in me. From young I used to have the compulsion to hurt something. A spur of the moment compulsion. I used to have to hurt the dog - kick it, throw it against the door, or whatever.*	45. In contrast, however, E enjoyed the animal sacrifices and associated this with his childhood hatred, expressed in the sadistic compulsion to hurt his pets.
46. *I just had ... even now I still have the compulsion to hurt. That spread, it just grew when I was a Satanist.*	46. E's sadistic compulsions intensified with his satanic activities.
47. I felt more hatred in me, not only for	47. E's hatred for animals extended to

animals, but also for my fellow man, you know. If they weren't a Satanist I'd hate them.	humans when he became involved in Satanism.
48. *And if they were a Satanist I'd still hate them because they may be in a higher position to what I am. So there was no real love, you know.*	48. E hated fellow Satanists who had a higher status in the coven.
49. *And Satan would appear at the sacrifice, I saw him a few times. He would appear out of thin air. Normally there would be a vapour or mist, and it would take the shape of him.*	49. E witnessed Satan materialise at certain sacrificial rituals.
50. *He was tall, taller than a door frame, and was dark-skinned, you know ... tanned. He's a silent presence, I never heard him speak.*	50. E describes Satan a tall, dark-skinned, and silent figure.
51. *He had a very commanding presence. You could feel the power steaming from him ... cold.*	51. E experienced Satan's presence as cold, powerful, and commanding.
52. *You get shivers down your back, very scared, you know. You can't help but fall to your knees or hide your face ... he is very powerful.*	52. E felt intensely fearful in Satan's powerful presence.

Who was Satan to you?

53. *He was like a father, you could say. Like my father who I never knew ... 'cos I didn't know who my real father was. I think he took the place of my real father ... he took the place of my father.*	53. For E Satan was a father figure who substituted for the biological father he never knew.
54. *He gave me powers and looked after me ... as long as I was loyal to him.*	54. As long as E was loyal to him Satan gave him protection and power.
55. *But I only saw the one human sacrifice. The other occasions I would make an excuse not to attend. I don't know why ... something inside of me didn't quite agree. There was just something that said no, I mustn't go.*	55. E felt disturbed by the infant sacrifice he witnessed, and his conscience would not permit him to attend other human sacrifices.
56. *I've caused a lot of hurt to things ... with all this anger in my heart. When I saw the baby*	56. E's appreciation of his internal destructiveness and the hurt he had

get stabbed it was like me doing it, you know. I couldn't handle it.	caused in the past prompted him to identify with the infant's murderer, and feel intensely guilty.
57. *And I used to get punished for that, you know. Satan was angry, very angry. He was out to get me. I'd get headaches and boils all over my body. You see, if you don't do what they want you to do they curse you, they send demons to harm you.*	57. E believed that Satan was extremely angry and punished his disloyalty by sending demons to possess him, thereby causing headaches and outbreaks of boils on his body.
58. *I was very wary of crossing streets, because something could just push me in front of a truck. I became a very nervous kind of person, always wondering if I was going to be next.*	58. E became anxious and hypervigilant, fearing that Satan intended to kill him.
59. *You are constantly warned that if you leave the coven, or don't do what they tell you, they'll get back at you or your family ... they control you.*	59. E felt controlled by the coven through threats of punishment should he disobey his instructions or attempt to leave the cult.
60. *I could control people. I found out that I could look at a person and will that person to cross over the street, and they'd do it. I could will them to walk back over the street.*	60. E believed he could exert supernatural control over others' actions by willing them to obey unspoken instructions.
61. *You had a fair amount of power as long as you kept within the boundaries of Satanism. The moment you stepped out you'd lose all your power. Somebody else would be higher than you.*	61. E's considerable supernatural power was contingent upon his satanic membership.
62. *I could summon more demons from those who I didn't consider worthy, summon their demons into me and gain more power.*	62. E obtained more powers by summoning and appropriating the demons of other Satanists he perceived to be unworthy.
63. *When I did that it showed other people that I had the power and could do it, you know. They respected me for that. It felt good, that respect. Nobody respected me when I was younger.*	63. E's appropriation of others' demonic powers earned him the gratifying respect absent in his youthful interactions with people.
64. *But then I started cutting myself to appease the demons. Satan was punishing me, torturing me. I had to do something. It was like an urge*	64. To appease Satan and his demons, who E perceived as punishing his disloyalty, he felt compelled to shed his

... you had to cut yourself. I used to take a razor blade and cut my arms ... blood would run over the floor.	own blood through self-mutilation.
65. *Sometimes I used to enjoy it ... I used to enjoy the pain ... I am a type for the pain, you know. I got used to pain when my stepfather used to hit me.*	65. E sometimes obtained masochistic pleasure from self-mutilation, and associated this pain with childhood beatings from his stepfather.
66. *And of course I would drink my own blood. I used to collect it in a jar and drink it every now and then. At that moment I felt I was gaining power. I was drinking my own blood so I was becoming more of myself, getting more involved in myself, you know. It's hard to describe ... I was feeding on myself, in other words. I was feeding on myself and growing stronger.*	66. E would collect and drink his own blood, motivated by the fantasy that he was growing stronger by incorporating and feeding off himself.
67. *I also had a pentagram in my home on my floor. I would invite my friends to little ceremonies, just to get them involved.*	67. E invited friends to attend his own private ritual ceremonies in order to get them involved in Satanism.

Could you tell me more about the demons that appeared to you?

68. *Some of them were creatures with long nails, like you see in horror movies. And some of them were like people, black people, but taller than a door. Some of them had scaly skin like armour plating. Some had wings, some were small, some were tall.*	68. The demons that appeared to E varied from winged or scaly animalistic figures to black humanoid forms.
69. *If you didn't do what Satan wanted you to do he would send demons to get you. I used to get thrown about the room. My dad used to come to my room and I'd be lying on the floor. I would fly up against the ceiling and against the walls.*	69. E was punished for his disobedience by Satan, who sent demons to physically throw him around his room.

Could you describe the feeling of having demons inside you?

70. *It's like fire ... a burning fire ... hot coals inside you all the time. You've got to keep on*	70. E likened possession by demons to the burning sensation of having hot coals

	inside of him.
71. *You can be walking down the street when you have the thought of throwing yourself in front of a car, or jumping off a building. You have to keep on fighting against it, keep on fighting against the demons. It was like a power struggle all the time.*	71. E experienced a constant struggle with demons, who he experienced as inflicting spontaneous suicidal impulses upon him.
72. *I couldn't handle the tension inside of me ... Satan and his demons inside of me, eating me, wanting to kill me. Eventually I couldn't work ... that's how I came to be boarded.*	72. Anxiety about being literally consumed and destroyed by demonic forces inside of him prevented E from working, and led to him being boarded from his job.

How did you come to get out of Satanism?

73. *I was riding past a Baptist church one Sunday ... and I just had the urge to go into the church. I had to find help. Something told me to go into the church and find help or the demons would kill me. I parked the car and ran into the church and shouted that I needed help.*	73. E's attempts to leave Satanism began when, fearing that he would be killed by demons, he spontaneously rushed into a church and shouted for help.
74. *People came and asked what the matter was. I told them I was a Satanist ... I just had to have help. From then on they started ministering to me.*	74. E confessed to the church members that he was a Satanist, and they began ministering to him.
75. *I had to go to deliverance services and be delivered a few times. The first time it didn't work properly, you know. I got involved again.*	75. E underwent repeated religious exorcism rituals after the first proved unsuccessful and he returned to Satanism.
76. *They spent something like 20 hours delivering me. I went bezerk, throwing things and going absolutely off my head. I was crawling up the walls ...*	76. During the exorcism ceremonies E lost control of himself and exhibited hostile and bizarre behaviour.
77. *and Satan came into the room where we had the deliverance. I could see he wanted to kill me.*	77. During the exorcism E saw Satan, who he perceived as wanting to kill him.
78. *They took me up to F hospital and Dr J decided to admit me to P ward, which is the*	78. E was admitted to the psychiatric ward of the local hospital.

normal psycho ward at the hospital.	
79. *I was seeing things, I was hearing voices, I was seeing demons attacking me. I was ... I don't know what the medical term is ...*	79. E experienced visual and auditory hallucinations involving demonic attacks on him.
80. *I was very hyped-up, restless, and fighting with everybody ... with the nurses.*	80. E was excitable, restless, and aggressive on the ward.
81. *Eventually they decided to send me to a psychiatric hospital, where they treated me. I was there for about four months.*	81. E was eventually sent to a psychiatric hospital for four months.
82. *But when I came back I just got involved in Satanism again.*	82. Upon his return from hospital E again became involved in Satanism.
83. *And then the second time I volunteered to go back to hospital because I just couldn't handle the situation any more. I was very abrupt with my dad, worked up, my nerves on edge. My Dad recommended that I go back, so I signed myself in ... last year.*	83. After again becoming anxious, excitable, and unable to deal with his experience, E voluntarily went back to hospital.
84. *But then they said there was nothing wrong with me. The doctors all said there was nothing wrong with me, and nothing they could do with me.*	84. Unable to discover further evidence of psychiatric illness, psychiatric staff allegedly told E that they could not help him.
85. *And then I came back. Up until this day I'm still struggling, you know, to stay out of it. There's a magnetic field pulling me back. It's a continuous struggle all the time ... I just feel compelled sometimes.*	85. E still struggles continuously against the compulsion to return to Satanism.
86. *Then I think rationally ... I've been out of it so long ... three months. Then I'm okay for a few days.*	86. E uses the fact that he's managed to stay away from Satanism for a period as a rational strategy to fight the compulsion to return.
87. *Then I get the urge again. It's like smoking cigarettes. You give up for a few days and then eventually the craving gets so bad you go back to cigarettes. It's the same with Satanism, you know.*	87. E likens the urge to return to Satanism to a powerful addictive craving.

88. *Each time I've gone back I've had to prove myself again. They treated me with suspicion. But they knew I would be coming back.*	88. E's fellow Satanists, although suspicious of him, knew he would return and insisted on him proving his loyalty to the cult anew.
89. *I still hear voices and see things ... demons talking to me, and so on. After I joined Satanism I would hear voices talking about me, talking to me. They would say bad things about me ... I'm a failure, I'm no good, "nobody loves you", "why don't you kill yourself", "Why don't you get involved again ...We're waiting for you", that type of stuff.*	89. After becoming involved in Satanism E experienced persecutory auditory hallucinations, and demonic visual hallucinations still persist.
90. *Today I'm on Fluenxyl injections, which still controls it a bit. But I still sometimes hear voices and see things at night. I see little creatures running across the floor and up the walls, I see demons appearing in my room.*	90. Despite antipsychotic medication E still experiences hallucinations.
91. *I call people up from the church who've been praying for me, then they come over and pray for me, then I'm okay for the night.*	91. The prayers of church members, who visit him when he calls, give him temporary respite from the hallucinations.
92. *I also got sent to K hospital for 30 days observation. I got caught spraying satanic graffiti on a church wall. There was a court case but, on the advice of various doctors, charges were dropped. They decided that I was mentally unstable at the time I did it.*	92. E, tried for spraying satanic graffiti on a church wall, was acquitted after psychiatrists testified to his mental instability at the time he committed the crime. .
93. *I dunno, perhaps I was unstable, perhaps there is something psychologically wrong with me ... all the beatings I got when I was a kid.*	93. E acknowledges that he may well be psychologically disordered, and relates this to the beatings he received as a child.
94. *But the doctors didn't buy the story of Satanism too well. There are very few people who do believe ... until they get involved themselves and see what is happening.*	94. The psychiatrists, like most people, did not believe E's accounts of satanic involvement, attributing these to his psychotic condition.

How does it feel to be out of Satanism?

95. *It feels lonely. I miss the people and the rituals. I don't have any friends, you know. I*	95. E, now friendless and lonely, misses the social and ritual aspects of Satanism,

suppose that's part of the compulsion to go back.	and feels this is partly why he feels compelled to return.

APPENDIX 3 (b) SUBJECT THREE Significant interpersonal contexts, fantasies, and corresponding object relations derivatives

Interpersonal Context	Fantasy	Self rep.	Affect link	Object rep	T. no.
E 's discovery of his adopted status, and his siblings' failure to relate to him as their brother, made him feel alienated and rejected.	I am the unloved, unwanted outcast, and do not belong in this family.	Abandoned, unloved child.	Rejection	Rejecting parents and siblings.	1,2,8
E was a sickly child who required frequent medical attention for a blood disorder.	I am the frail and sickly one. My blood is bad and there is always something wrong inside of me.	Vulnerable, inferior, contaminated.	Anxiety, shame.	Rejecting objects internalised as poisoning, contaminating.	3
Parents would frequently leave him with a relative while they socialised at night.	My parents do not care for me, want to spend time with me, or have me around them.	Rejected, unloved child.	Rejection	Rejecting, uncaring parents.	4
Frequent beatings by stepfather.	My stepfather hates me and wishes to hurt me.	Hated child.	Anger, hatred	Destructive, sadistic father.	5,6
Stepmother did not protect E or demonstrate any affection for him.	My stepmother does not want me or care for me.	Rejected, unloved child.	Rejection	Unprotecting, uncaring mother.	7
E was a stubborn and rebellious child.	I will not take in or comply with the expectations of parents who hate and reject me.	Rebellious, defiant child.	Resentment, anger.	Controlling and rejecting parents.	9

E derived pleasure from being cruel and destructive.	I will hurt and destroy because my abuse and rejection has filled me with hatred and cruelty.	Hateful, sadistic child identified with destructive father.	Hate	Abused and hated self rep. projected into animals.	10,45,46
E entertained childhood fantasies of being a hero with supernatural powers in order to compensate for self-perceived weakness and inadequacy.	By fantasising about being a supernatural hero I can escape my feelings of weakness and inadequacy.	Weak, inadequate child fantastically transformed into omnipotent hero.	Hatred, sadistic pleasure.	Abusive parental attackers rendered weak and vulnerable in fantasy.	11
E was fascinated with gruesome cinematic horror.	I see myself in the cruel and savage fantasy figures, and would like to do what they do to the people who hurt me.	Sadistic, destructive avenger.	Sadistic excitement, hatred.	Abusive and rejecting family figures.	13
E's supernatural involvement, which began with occult divination games, deepened when he witnessed supernatural phenomena at seances, and discovered that he had supernatural power.	I have found a world of supernatural events, which I can control with magical power.	Omnipotent possessor of supernatural power.	Excitement, elation.	Inhospitable world under his magical control.	12,14,15,16
E, driven by the desire for more power, became frustrated with the limitations of seances.	I have to feed my insatiable hunger for more power, and seances are not giving me enough. [Frustrated oral needs manifest in greedy fantasies of further occult nourishment].	Frustrated, greedy infant.	Excitement, frustration.	Exciting but frustrating occult breast.	17,18

After reading banned literature on Satanism E was invited by friends to attend a satanic meeting.	Perhaps Satanism can satisfy my craving for more supernatural power and satisfaction. [Fantasy of an occult breast with an unlimited supply of power/nourishment].	Greedy infant	Excitement	Satanic breast an unlimited reservoir of nourishing occult power.	19,20
E saw a demon materialise and experienced physical pain as he felt it enter him.	One of Satan's demons is inside of me, and controls me. [Introjective identification with hallucinated destructive part-object].	Possessed	Anxiety	Destructive supernatural entity.	23
E was ceremonially welcomed into a Satanist coven after undergoing ritual initiation in which he violated Christian symbols and signed a pact with Satan in his own blood.	I have finally found acceptance in a family that promises to give me all that was denied to me by my biological parents and adopted family.	Omnipotent, loved, accepted child.	Excitement, elation.	Idealised, loving family members.	28,36
Satanic ritual activities centred upon using malevolent magic to harm others.	My coven-family accepts and encourages my magical sadistic fantasies of hurting those who reject or hurt me.	Omnipotently destructive avenging child.	Sadistic gratification	Persecutory parental objects killed and tortured in fantasy.	29,47
Conventional notions of good and evil were reversed, and E received ideological instruction discrediting Christianity.	What society teaches as good is actually bad, and what I was brought up to believe was bad in me is actually good. [Ideologically justified reversal of good and bad encourages splitting, minimises guilt and promotes identification with destructive internal objects].	Good child	Gratification	Idealised parental figures	30,38

The collective satanic in-group identity made E feel increasingly suspicious of, and alienated from, non-Satanists.	Non-Satanists are bad and cannot be trusted. I must be wary of those hostile to my satanic family.	Paranoid	Persecutory anxiety	Hostile assailants [Projected destructive impulses and self/objects aspects]	33,34,35
E believed he could exert supernatural control over others' actions by willing them to obey unspoken instructions.	As long as I am a Satanist I can magically control the actions of others with thought alone. [Omnipotent fantasy].	Omnipotent	Narcissistic gratification	Slaves to E's magical power.	60,61
E obtained further power and the respect of other Satanists by appropriating the demons of those Satanists he perceived to be unworthy.	Nobody respected me when I was younger, but now I can get respect and more power by taking demons away from those less powerful and worthy than I. [Narcissistic fantasy of power and recognition compensates E for underlying feeling of being inferior and unloved].	Powerful, respected.	Narcissistic gratification.	Weak, unworthy.	62,63
E participated in animal sacrificial rituals characterised by blood drinking and the blasphemous reversal of the Holy Communion liturgy.	I am attacking the Christian enemy and incorporating more power by drinking sacrificial blood. [Oral aggressive attacks on bad objects and incorporation of their power].	Destructive, sadistic attacker.	Sadistic gratification, hatred.	Vanquished aggressors [bad parental objects] murdered and sucked dry.	39,40,41, 45,47

4

E's participation in the sacrifice of a human infant mobilises depressive anxiety and guilt.	I have caused so much hurt with my destructive fantasies and cruel behaviour, and now I have murdered a baby. [Depressive guilt related to actual and fantasised attacks on good objects].	Cruel, remorseful murderer.	Depressive anxiety and guilt.	Injured and murdered good external/internal objects.	42,43,44, 55,56
E witnessed Satan materialise as a tall, powerful, dark-skinned, silent figure at sacrificial rituals.	[Hallucinatory projection of omnipotent paternal part-object, identified with destructive self representation]	Helpless, awe-struck child.	Awe, fear.	Omnipotent paternal part-object.	49,50,51, 52
E experienced Satan as a protecting surrogate father.	Satan is the father I never had, come to protect me and give me power. [Projected imago of idealised paternal part-object].	Loved and protected son.	Gratification	Omnipotent good father.	53,54
E's initial impression of social acceptance and belonging changed when he began to see that satanic relationships were based on conflict and competition for power.	My loving family in fact consists of squabbling siblings, constantly fighting me and one another for parental recognition, status and power.	Child hungry for power and respect.	Envy, jealousy.	Hated rivalrous siblings.	37
E would collect and drink his own blood, thereby increasing his power by feeding on himself.	If I drink my own blood I can feed on myself and become a self-sufficient source of my own nourishment. [Narcissistic fantasy of self-incorporation avoids anxiety-provoking object dependency].	Self-sufficient source of power.	Narcissistic gratification.	Superfluous, devalued.	66

E's avoidance of further human sacrifices incurred the wrath of Satan, who E believed punished him with physical symptoms.	Satan is punishing me for my disobedience with painful bodily symptoms. [Depressive remorse associated with the good internal object mobilised fantasies of internal attack on E's body by the persecutory paternal part-object].	Disobedient son	Persecutory anxiety	Vengeful paternal part-object.	55,56,57
Satan continued to persecute the disloyal E by sending demons to attack him, induce suicidal urges, and put his life at physical risk.	I have angered Satan with my disloyalty and he is now persecuting me. [Attacks by destructive paternal part-object assume delusional intensity].	Fearful child	Persecutory anxiety	Persecutory paternal part-object	58,69,71
E began to cut himself in order to appease Satan, resulting in masochistic pleasure associated with childhood recollections of pain inflicted by his father's beatings.	I am a bad child who must inflict physical suffering on myself to appease my angry father. [Masochistic enslavement to the persecutory paternal part-object].	Bad, guilty child.	Masochistic gratification.	Angry paternal part-object	64,65
Fantasies of demonic attack from within affected E's work performance and led to him being boarded for psychological disability.	Satan and his demons are inside of me, gnawing away at me from within. [Paranoid fantasy of oral aggressive attacks by destructive internal objects].	Victim of persecutory attacks	Paranoid anxiety.	Attacking demonic entities. [Destructive internal objects].	72
E's attempts to leave Satanism began when, fearing he would be killed by Satan, he rushed into a church and confessed he was a Satanist.	Satan and his demons are going to kill me. All I can do is seek help from the Satanists' Christian enemies.	Helpless, persecuted child.	Fear, desperation	Rescuing adults.	73,74

6

E underwent repeated Christian exorcism rituals during which he lost control of his actions, exhibited hostile and bizarre behaviour, and saw Satan materialise with murderous intent.	The possessing demonic entities will not leave my body, and are forcing me to behave in a bizarre and aggressive manner. [E experiences loss of control to the destructive subpersonality associated with the persecutory paternal object].	Helpless victim of possessing demonic forces.	Persecutory anxiety.	Attacking demonic forces [Destructive subpersonality identified with bad paternal part-object].	75,76,77
The attempted exorcism rituals induced psychotic decompensation in which E, experiencing visual hallucinations of demonic attack, was hospitalised.	Satan and his demons are attacking my body and mind, and I have no defence against them. [Intense persecutory anxiety associated with the hallucinated destructive subpersonality results in psychotic decompensation].	Helpless victim of attacking demonic forces.	Annihilatory anxiety.	Attacking demonic forces [Destructive subpersonality identified with bad paternal part-object].	78,79,80, 81
After his release from hospital E could not resist the compelling urge to return to Satanism, an urge he likens to a powerful addictive craving.	Satan has supernatural control over my mind, and draws me back despite my attempts to resist. [E's actions dominated by the destructive subpersonality].	Possessed victim.	Helplessness	Powerful, controlling satanic forces.	85,86,87, 92
The persecutory visual and auditory hallucinations persisted, despite antipsychotic medication, and the temporary relief provided by the prayers of Christians.	The psychotic personality organisation, structured around primitive superego precursors, continues to dominate E, resulting in a chronic psychotic condition.	Helpless victim enslaved by Satan.	Persecutory anxiety.	Omnipotent satanic forces.	89,90,91

7

E acknowledges that, in the light of his childhood beatings, he might be psychologically disordered, but strongly disputes the psychiatrists' claims that his satanic experiences were simply psychotic delusions.	My childhood abuse might have driven me crazy, but my satanic experience, and the effect it has had on me, is real, no matter what the psychiatrists say.	Psychiatric patient whose experience is dismissed as unreal.	Helplessness	Disbelieving psychiatrists.	93,94
Despite the fact that E is treated with suspicion, and must prove himself anew each time he returns to Satanism, his experience of loneliness and social isolation keeps drawing him back.	However much anxiety and discomfort Satanism caused me, I yearn for it because it takes away my loneliness and gives some meaning to my life. [Without Satanism E's childhood experience of rejection and alienation painfully reasserts itself].	Lonely social outcast. [Rejected child]	Loneliness	Satanism a source of meaning and companionship.	95
Fantasies of demonic attack from within affected E's work performance, and led him to being boarded for psychological disability	Satan and his demons are inside of me, gnawing away at me fromf within [Paranoid fantasy of oral agressive attacks by destructive internal objects]	Victim of persecutory attacks	Paranoid anxiety	Attacking demonic entities. [Destructive internal objects]	72
E's attempts to leave Satanism began when, fearing he would be killed by Satan, he rushed into a church and confessed he was a Satanist	Satan and his demons are going to kill me. All I can do is seek help from the Satanist's Christian enemies	Helpless, persecuted child	Fear, desparation	Rescuing adults	73, 74
E underwent repeated Christian exorcism rituals, during which he lost contol of his actions, exhibited hostile and bizarre behaviour, and saw Satan materialise with murderous intent	The possessing demonic entitites will not leave my body, and are forcing me to behave in a bizarre and aggressive manner. [E experiences loss of control to the destructive subpersonality associated with the persecutory paternal object]	Helpless victim of possessing demonics forces	Persecutory anxiety	Attacking demonic forces [Destructive subpersonality identified with bad paternal object]	75, 76, 77

The attempted exorcism rituals induced psychotic decompensation, in which E, experiencing visual hallucinations of demonic attack, was hospitalised.	Satan and his demons are attacking my body and mind, and I have no defence against them. [Intense persecutory anxiety associated with the hallucinated, destructive subpersonality, results in psychotic decompensation]	Helpless victim of attacking demonic forces	Annihilatory anxiety	Attacking demonic forces [Destructive subpersonality identified with bad paternal part- object]	78,79, 80, 81

APPENDIX 4 (a) SUBJECT FOUR

S is a 28-year old married white man, occupying a supervisory position in a mining company.

Natural meaning units	Central themes
1. Where shall I begin? What I remember, growing up, is that I was never good in anyone's eyes. Very few people, if any, liked me. I was always treated as if I was in the way. No matter what I did or said, they would find fault with me. Nothing I did ever pleased anyone.	1. As a child S felt unwanted, disliked, and criticised by people around him.
2. I had no friends. Other children always picked fights with me or teased me. People used to say things like I'm gay, or I'm a "softy", a wimp.	2. Instead of befriending him, S's peers insulted, teased, and fought with him.
3. In high school I made some friends. We needed each other; we were all losers.	3. As an adolescent, S's only friends were school peers who too were socially rejected.
4. My parents divorced when I was in standard one. I was heartbroken, okay.	4. S felt devastated by his parents' divorce when he was eight years old.
5. We were brought up with our mother. She was a very giving, loving, wonderful person. She was always there for me when I needed her for anything. She worked hard to provide for us. She always tried to make us happy. We could always tell her anything, you know. I never feared her, but always respected her.	5. S was raised by his mother, who he adored and idealised as a model parent.
6. My father was in town, but we almost never saw him.	6. S's father avoided contact with his children.
7. He said he was a Christian, but he always lied to me. He told me he was going to get me something for my birthday, but never did. He was going to give me his old car, but he gave it to some other kid.	7. Despite S's father's declaration that he was a Christian, S perceived him to be a liar who never honoured his promises to S.
8. I loved him so much, you know, but he didn't want me; and never did.	8. S's love for his father was met with rejection.
9. I was a very obedient child, up to standard six; then I started smoking,	9. Having been an obedient child, S assumed a deviant identity in order to feel part of his

1

drinking a lot, going to the disco. I was trying to fit in with the others at school. I wanted to be one of them.	high school peer group.
10. Some people at school started to take notice of me. They invited me to go with them to discos, and treated me as a friend. I was glad to be so important ... that someone would want to spend time with me.	10. S felt gratified when his peers began to befriend him.

Could you tell me about your relationship with your sister?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
11. I couldn't stand my sister. She, she was everything in my parent's eyes. She got to go to tech, and she got everything she asked for.	11. S, perceiving his sister to be his parents' favourite child, experienced hatred and jealousy toward her.
12. I hated school, every second of it. It seemed like a waste of time to me, and I eventually failed standard seven.	12. S's loathing for school and his consequent lack of application resulted in him failing a year.
13. I hated my teachers and they hated me, you know. I couldn't stand them, couldn't stand them, and just didn't want to listen to them. I hated them because I thought they were treating me like rubbish.	13. S's relationships with his teachers, who he felt mistreated him, was based on perceived mutual hatred.
14. It was a feeling I got towards all authority figures. It was something inside me - a feeling I got that nobody liked me. Looking back on it now, I think it was only from my own perspective ... no-one actually hated me as such; it was just a psychological plot that I thought was going on. It was a feeling I got that they hated me, whereas now, when I look back on it, it wasn't really the case, you know.	14. S despised authority figures, believing that they hated him.
15. Because I never did my homework and got into trouble, I got punished a lot. That made the situation worse.	15. S's antagonistic relationships with his teachers was aggravated by his refusal to conform to their expectations of him.
16. I did used to go to Sunday school. My mother forced us to go, and to church ... the N.G. church. I didn't like church, but just had to go.	16. S disliked the Christian Church meetings his mother forced him to attend.

17. *Anyway, it began I was nineteen. I used to go club-hopping, you know, and that's where I met this guy, who got me involved in Satanism.*	17. S's introduction to Satanism began with a social encounter with another man at the age of 19.
18. *At that time ... at that time I was just existing. Nothing really meant anything to me. I didn't have any purpose in life, nothing.*	18. S, experiencing life as meaningless, lacked purpose and direction.
19. *I didn't know God personally, and didn't want to know him. What had He ever done for me?*	19. S felt alienated from, and resentful toward a God who had never helped him in any way.
20. *I didn't have much friends either ... I was a loner.*	20. S was friendless and alone.
21. *This guy that I met ... as I got to know him at the clubs, I noticed that he had something about him, you know. Something powerful that attracted people to him. He could get anything he wanted ... girls. People kind of like flocked around him.*	21. S was intrigued to see that his new acquaintance exuded a power that attracted people to him.
22. *And so, we became good friends, and he noticed that I was this confused guy that wanted, needed some type of control in his life.*	22. S became friends with his new acquaintance, who soon noticed that S was confused and unable to control his life.
23. *I could talk to him, and he'd listen. He understood my problems, and told me that I could be just like him. I could have power and influence over people, power to get what I wanted.*	23. S's friend listened empathically to S's self-disclosures and assured S that he too could acquire power and influence over others.
24. *He told me that he was involved in Satanism, and through Satanism he was able to get anything he wanted, absolutely anything he wanted. He said ... he said it was the most wonderful, successful kind of life serving Satan.*	24. S's friend disclosed his satanic involvement, and promoted Satanism as a spiritual path which brought him success and gratified all his needs.
25. *Unlike God, who doesn't care, Satan took care of those who served him, and he was living proof.*	25. S's friend presented himself as living proof that Satan, unlike God, cared for his worshippers.
26. *He told me that if I joined Satanism I would never be lonely or unhappy again.*	26. S's friend reassured him that he would cease being lonely and unhappy if he became

	a Satanist.
27. He didn't force me, or threaten me, or anything like that. He said that I could decide for myself what I wanted to do ... and then he laughed and walked away.	27. S's friend put no pressure on him, but simply left him to decide on his offer to introduce S to Satanism.
28. I kept thinking about it, you know, about Satan. Wondering if I should get involved. I was curious, and after about a month I spoke to the guy and told him that I was interested.	28. After deliberating for a month, S told his friend that he was interested in Satanism.
29. He took me along one night to a ritual, but warned me that I was not to tell, say anything to anybody, or else they'd find me and kill me if I ratted on them.	29. S's friend took him to a satanic ritual, warning him that S would be hunted and killed if he disclosed the night's events to anyone.
30. The guy there, the high priest at the time, was talking about Satan's power, and about what he can do for those who served him well.	30. S listened to the high priest sermonising about Satan's power and the rewards of serving Satan.
31. I remember ... I remember it was a big shed, a big disused type of shed, away from everything, where no one would notice what was going on.	31. The satanic meeting took place in a remote, disused shed to avoid unwanted attention.
32. There were candles all over. Everyone was chanting, singing. A cat was killed and offered up to Satan.	32. S observed a ceremonial animal sacrifice take place at his first satanic meeting.
33. People were then sharing the blood amongst themselves ... drinking and then giving to one another to drink. After that the animal was burned.	33. The sacrificial blood was passed around and drunk, and the animal then burned.
34. I wasn't scared, you know, I was more curious about this Satan guy that everyone was having so much respect for, and who was giving everyone so much power.	34. S felt unafraid and curious about the god, Satan, who commanded such respect, and bestowed power on his worshippers.
35. I wanted that power that M was talking about, and so I made it known that I was willing to join, to give my heart to Satan.	35. S, desiring the power that his friend had spoken of, indicated that he was prepared to commit himself to the cult.
36. They said they'd know if I ratted on them. (laughs) I had no problem keeping	36. S had no difficulty taking a satanic oath of secrecy, a precondition for cult

4

their Satanic identity secret. I didn't tell anybody ... didn't tell anyone - that was one of the things I had to do in order to join them.	membership.
37. In order to become a member, I had to cut myself and sign a pact with the devil. This meant, by doing this I was making a kind of covenant with Satan and the cult.	37. S's initiation began with him cutting himself and signing a satanic covenant in his own blood.
38. A goat was slaughtered, and I had to drink the blood. This meant that I was accepting Satan's blood and rejecting the blood of God.	38. Drinking the blood of a sacrificial goat conveyed S's ritual acceptance of Satan's blood, and the rejection of the blood of Christ.
39. I also got a new name, to signify that I was now a child of Satan and no longer a child of God, you see. It's just like when you get baptised when you're a baby, and get given a new name.	39. S received a new name to denote his new identity as a child of Satan.
40. I was given a cross, and I had to spit on it and then burn it. I had to ... to curse and swear God, and say three times that the Christian God was a dead god and no longer living.	40. S had to destroy a crucifix and denounce and denigrate the Christian God.
41. I was given a book that had the "Our Father" written backwards, and I had to say this out aloud in front of everybody.	41. S had to read aloud a sacred Biblical prayer, corrupted by the order of the words being reversed.
42. Then I had sex with most of the women in the coven that night. I had to do this, I had to.	42. S was obliged to have sexually intercourse with most of the women in the coven that night.
43. Everyone was around a circle, and we were calling up the spirits, asking them to enter into us. I was very new to this, and became aware of a presence in the room. He said that Satan needed me for his work, and that ... that I'd be very powerful; I'd be able to get everything I ever wanted if I invited him into my body. I said 'Yes'.	43. During a ritual in which spirits were invoked and invited to possess the participants, S consented to possession by a male spiritual presence, who promised him power and gratification of every wish if S allowed him inside his body.
44. There was a lot of alcohol and drugs there, and everyone was enjoying themselves, getting high (laughs). It was one hell of a party that only ended about half-	44. S's initiation culminated in a protracted celebration involving alcohol and drugs.

past three the next morning.	

How did you feel during your initiation?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
45. I felt strong ... untouchable. I was glad to be chosen as Satan's servant, you know.	45. S, gratified at being chosen as Satan's servant, felt omnipotent.
46. I felt good, you know ... important, like I now officially belonged to something important. I felt needed, like I belonged. I was now a member, people cared for me, and it was a nice feeling.	46. S's satanic membership gave him a novel sense of importance, belonging, and being cared for by others.
47. I now belonged to Satan, who was a powerful figure, and as his child, I would be taken care of.	47. S experienced himself to be a child, belonging to a powerful and caring father figure, Satan.
48. I was also excited, I could feel the excitement in my stomach, because of the promises of power and also the promise that I'd never be alone again.	48. S felt excited at the prospect of gaining power, and never again experiencing loneliness.
49. I'd say it was an empowering experience because, at that time, I felt as though I was entering into a different world that would enable me to, you know, become a stronger person that nobody would mess with again. I felt in control, like my life was now beginning.	49. S, feeling empowered and in control, experienced his satanic initiation as a new beginning.
50. I learnt to use black magic to get all kinds of supernatural power, and it was great. It was really great to have that kind of power that you can use. I loved being in control of everything, to have the power.	50. S was excited by the magical control and power he was taught to acquire.
51. I did not care about other people anymore. I didn't care what my family or friends did or said anymore. I hated them ... hated them, and was able to let all the forces of darkness against them if they got in my way.	51. S, now indifferent to the opinions of others, hated his family and was prepared to attack them with the supernatural forces at his disposal if they crossed him.
52. I hated Christians especially. They were so full of themselves, all self-righteous and preachy. They were the enemy.	52. S hated Christians intensely, perceiving them as arrogant and moralistic enemies of his.

53. *Through using black magic there was a change in my self-image. I was confident, felt in control of the situation.*	53. Through the use of black magic S developed self-confidence, and a sense of control.
54. *This change in my self-image got me a lot of friends. People wanted to be in my company, you know (laughs).*	54. The change in S's self-image made him attractive to others.
55. *I enjoyed seeing people getting hurt, especially emotionally.*	55. S derived sadistic pleasure from seeing others' emotional pain.
56. *I loved the sacrificial rituals because when the animal was killed I could drink the blood, and this gave me power, you see. I got an endless thirst for blood, because the blood of the animal, just as it was killed, was the highest source of power that one could get into your body.*	56. S developed a craving for drinking sacrificial blood, experiencing it as a source of extreme power.
57. *Although I felt strong and powerful, I hated myself as much as I hated other people. Deep down, I wasn't happy with myself, not happy at all.*	57. Beneath his new-found strength and confidence, S hated himself as much as he hated others.
58. *It felt like this power and good self-image was false, you know, like it wasn't enough.*	58. S's power and positive self-image did not feel authentic or completely satisfying.
59. *My function in the coven was like this ... I'll try to explain it to you, you see. My function in the coven was to steal souls from the "dead one". I had to make them see and accept the darkness. By using my power, I could confuse and manipulate them, and eventually draw them in, in to Satanism.*	59. S's satanic function was to confuse and manipulate Christians, before enticing them into Satanism, thereby stealing their souls from God.
60. *I felt happy and proud when I was able to bring new followers in. I wanted to please my master, Satan, and do his work.*	60. The recruitment of new followers made S feel a sense of pride and satisfaction at having pleased his master, Satan.
61. *With my power I was able to cast spells on people, to harm or destroy them physically and spiritually. I could control people with my mind, to get them to do what I wanted.*	61. S used his supernatural mental powers to control, harm, and destroy others.
62. *Astral projection was a favourite of mine. Although it was hard in the*	62. S derived particular pleasure from leaving his body by means of astral

7

beginning, I got to like it a lot. It felt great to be in the spiritual realm, feeling yourself going out of your body, weightless.	projection.

How did it feel to be involved in satanic rituals?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
63. I did partake in the rituals, and I enjoyed it because it was a way of showing Satan that we loved and served him.	63. S felt gratified to participate in satanic rituals as these allowed him to show his devotion to Satan.
64. I enjoyed the cruelty of the animal sacrifices, you know, watching the animal screaming while you slit its throat.	64. S derived sadistic pleasure from the cruel exhibition of animal sacrifice.
65. You're all anxious, waiting for the blood. You get into a type of frenzy!	65. S experienced a state of frenzied excitement before each sacrifice, as he waited for the blood.
66. As a Satanist, I was drawn a lot to meditation. Through meditation I got to confer a lot with demons.	66. S used mediation as a vehicle for contacting demonic spirits.

Could you tell me about your relationship with the other Satanists?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
67. We...we weren't very close. I ... I just felt like a member of a group, but I was never very close to them. Everyone was there for their selfish reasons, you know, so we didn't have close relationships like a family. Although we all worshipped Satan, most of us had different aims, motivations for being there, you know.	67. S did not feel close to his fellow Satanists who, despite being united by a common cause, selfishly pursued their own interests.
68. There were so many different kinds of people there in the coven - doctors, lawyers, schoolchildren, even clergy! (laughs).	68. S's coven comprised a diverse mix of people.

And the high priest....?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
69. Because Satanism was my calling, I never doubted the high priest. I respected	69. S respected and obeyed the high priest, but did not feel close to him.

Natural meaning units	Central themes
and obeyed him, like a teacher, but we weren't close or anything like that.	

Did you ever encounter demonic forces?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
70. *Through deep meditation, and by inviting spirits into my body during rituals, I got a lot of demons into my body. Through the demons I got more power, and because I wanted more power I called more demons to enter into me.*	70. S invited demonic possession in order to gain supernatural power.
71. *But, you see, the more demons I got, the less I was in control of myself. I felt like I was in a trance, like I didn't know what was going on. The demons were in me, they were in me, making me do things. It wasn't really me.*	71. The more demons S experienced inside him, the more he experienced confusion, dissociated states, and control of his actions by the possessing entities.

Could you describe the demons that possessed you?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
72. *One, called "Grandma", appeared as an old woman - all wrinkled up, one as a handsome young man, and another as a monstrous beast ... horribly ugly.*	72. S's demons appeared to him in the form of a crone, a beast, and an attractive young man.
73. *The beast, Asmodeus, was very big, with a powerful stature. He was my warring demon. He taught me how to fight people, how to get revenge, how to make war with people. I could just focus on them and something bad would happen to them. One time, there was this guy who almost knocked into me when I was driving. Just by using my mind, focusing my powers on him, I actually pushed his car off the road!*	73. Possession by the beast-demon resulted in S attacking others, and using his supernatural mental power to cause harm to those who threatened him.
74. *The old woman and young man spoke to me, inside my head, and sometimes outside my body. I used to have counselling sessions with them, where they'd teach me all about spell-casting, etc. They'd ... they'd tell me to do things - how to destroy people, how to further Satan's cause.*	74. S's demons would counsel and instruct him in the use of magic for promoting Satan's cause.

What made you decide to leave Satanism?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
75. *Because I felt less and less in control of myself emotionally I got depressed. I felt helpless, like I could do anything and not be in control. I lost control of myself so many times, you know, ...so many times.*	75. As S experienced increasing loss of control over his actions he became helpless and depressed.
76. *One night I went into a trance and started doing things that I would never have done to my friends - attacking them, screaming, carrying on like an animal.*	76. In a dissociated state S launched a frenzied attack on his friends, behaving in a manner totally alien to him.
77. *This is what they told me. I ... I don't remember much, but I do remember being scared of myself.*	77. All that S recalls of the attack is the experience of being afraid of himself.
78. *I was tired of being controlled by demons - sick and tired of it. I hated myself even more, and was thinking a lot about suicide. Killing myself seemed the only way to get out of this situation that I'd been in for three years already.*	78. S's persistent experience of demonic control and self-hatred gave rise to despair, and thoughts of suicide as the only escape.
79. *But, I remember talking to one of my sister's friends, and they were telling me about God - how God has the power to heal everyone ... to put everything right. This made me think that maybe ... maybe Jesus might be able to help me, so I went to a church for help.*	79. An acquaintance's statement that God is capable of healing everyone prompted S to go to a church and seek help from Jesus Christ.
80. *After hearing the gospel of Jesus I went after church and spoke to a counsellor at the church. He prayed for me, and told me to do the "Sinner's Prayer", so I did.*	80. After attending a church service, S disclosed his situation to a Christian counsellor, and willingly followed instructions to pray to God.
81. *I meant every word 'cause I was so desperate for Satan to leave me, and felt that only God could help me.*	81. S, desperate to be free of Satan's influence, was sincere in his pleas for God to rescue him.
82. *He told me to get active in the church, and because I was so scared of Satan, I went to every church meeting and prayer meeting that I could - everyday. In this church, it was fourteen times a week! (laughs). I'm*	82. S enthusiastically obeyed the Christian counsellor's instruction to become active in the life of the Church.

serious (laughs).	
83. *After a long time, about two months later, I started noticing that the demons had not left me. They were still there. When I was in church, or praying at home, I got severe headaches, nausea; strange visions.*	83. S noticed that his possessing demons had not left him, but caused him headaches, nausea, and discomforting visions whenever he worshipped God.

Could you tell me about the visions?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
84. *I would be wide awake, you know, and suddenly I would see, as if it was really happening, my facing becoming like an animal's, with hair growing out of it ... like a werewolf. It was frightening, I can tell you that.*	84. S experienced frightening images of his face being transformed into an animal's face.
85. *I'd also see Jesus being taken from the grave, thieves stealing Jesus.*	85. S also saw images of Jesus' body being stolen from his grave.
86. *Sometimes I just wanted to shout, scream. I couldn't control that feeling. I felt scared, you know, that people would look on me as a mad man, swearing and shouting.*	86. S experienced uncontrollable compulsions to shout and swear, and felt afraid that others would perceive him to be insane.
87. *I mentioned this to my pastor one morning in a five o'clock prayer meeting. He and the other members of the church started to cast out the demons. I can't remember much, but I can remember being very frightened, because when ... when they ... they started to pray and call the demons out, my whole body started twisting, wriggling and moving about violently. They had to hold me down. I honestly thought I was going to die. Really. I thought I was going to die.*	87. When Christians began to cast out his demons, S experienced the terrifying conviction that he was dying, as his body twisted and convulsed uncontrollably.
88. *By eight o'clock, I was totally clean. I knew I was clean because in the middle of my stomach ... there in my stomach it felt like an empty space. It was so empty that it felt like it was sucking.*	88. S felt completely cleansed of demonic presence when he experienced a sensation of emptiness in his abdomen.
89. *I was so happy not to have demons in my body, and this helped me, you know, to*	89. The relief at having the demons evicted from inside his body motivated S to invite

accept the Holy Spirit into my heart.	the Holy Spirit into him.
90. *The Holy Spirit filled that emptiness with his powerful presence when I asked him to.*	90. S experienced the Holy Spirit as filling the emptiness left by the demons' evacuation with his benign and powerful presence.
91. *After becoming a Christian, I moved to another town to start a new life, so I never ... I didn't experience any threats from other Satanists when I left.*	91. After embracing Christianity S avoided retribution from his former cult members by starting a new life in another town.
92. *I was confused in the beginning, after I left Satanism. I was worried ... I worried a lot about my future. Would God really be able to accept me? Would I be able to live up to him?*	92. After leaving Satanism S initially worried about whether God would accept him, and whether he could fulfil God's expectations of him.
93. *But the love of the Lord Jesus Christ, his concern for me ... I could feel it, you know. I could literally feel his wonderful presence in my life, and this picked me up and set me free from my worries.*	93. S felt liberated by his sense of God's tangible love and concern for him.
94. *Jesus Christ honestly helped me to leave Satanism. It was only through the power of God that the angel of darkness could be defeated.*	94. S believes that he would not have been able to leave Satanism without God's power.

Could you describe your life after Satanism?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
95. *Wonderful. Absolutely wonderful. My life has improved, you know. Now that I've become a born-again Christian, I no longer get depressed any more because I have Jesus, who sees to my every need.*	95. Since becoming a Christian and having his every need met by God, S's depression has lifted and he perceives a wonderful transformation in his life.
96. *I'm happy with myself now. I really am. I can accept myself. I feel very good.*	96. S now accepts himself and feels happy about what he has become.
97. *I'm married to a lovely Christian woman, with a baby girl who's the joy of our life. She's everything to me, you know. (laughs).*	97. S is happily married husband and doting father.
98. *I work on a mine, and I'm shining the light of Jesus at work with all my co-workers.*	98. S actively directs his Christian spirit at his co-workers.

99. I love attending church ... getting in touch with the Holy Spirit. I'm one of the leaders in the church now.	99. S loves the spiritual communion that his church provides, and has become a church leader himself.
100. You know, I've learnt to love all people, even my sister and father. I ... I see everyone as equal. I find pleasure in helping others, doing things for others.	100. S now leaves all people, including the family members he formerly hated, and obtains gratification from assisting others.
101. I can appreciate people because they are lives created by God. I don't see them as things to be destroyed anymore.	101. S now appreciates others as God's creation, and no longer wishes to destroy them.
102. Satan is my number one enemy, and ... and my life-goal is to work against him and get others out of Satanism. I want to destroy his kingdom of darkness by preaching the love and power of God- with the help of God, of course.	102. S now devotes his life to destroying Satan and rescuing others from his grasp with the help of God.

APPENDIX 4 (B) SUBJECT FOUR: Significant interpersonal contexts, fantasies, and corresponding object relations derivatives

Interpersonal Context	Fantasy	Self rep.	Affect link	Object rep	T. no.
As a child S felt unwanted, disliked, and criticised by people around him.	The people who matter to me dislike, criticise, and reject me [Internalisation of hostile, rejecting objects].	Unlovable, hated child.	Persecutory anxiety, anger.	Hostile, rejecting, cruel objects.	1
Instead of befriending him, S's peers insulted, teased, and fought with him.	Instead of accepting me as their friend my peers attack and hurt me.	Alienated, rejected, inadequate.	Persecutory anxiety, resentment.	Destructive, hostile attackers.	2
S felt devastated by his parents' divorce when he was eight years old.	My parents have attacked and destroyed their union, and I am powerless to repair their relationship.[Internalisation of a warring, damaged parental couple].	Bereft, uncontained, helpless child.	Anxiety, grief.	Warring, damaged, unavailable parental couple.	3
S was raised by his mother, who he adored and idealised as a model parent.	I cannot hate the only parent on whom I can depend, so I will make her perfect in my mind and thus protect her from my angry attacks on her [Defensive splitting and idealisation of maternal part-object].	Adoring part-self split off from destructive part self representation.	Anxiety, anger.	Idealised maternal part-object split off from bad maternal part-object.	5
S disliked the Christian church meetings his mother forced him to attend.	I hate the Christian spiritual activities that my selfish, uncaring mother forces into me. [Coercive, uncaring, religious maternal object internalised].	Resentful, angry, anti-Christian child.	Anger, hatred.	Coercive, moralistic, uncaring Christian [bad maternal part-object].	16

1

S experienced his self-declared Christian father to be a liar, who never honoured his promises to S, and who responded to S's love with rejection.	The father whose love I crave is a hypocrite and liar, who rejects me and will not be a father to me. [Internalisation of hypocritical, deceitful, rejecting paternal part-object].	Rejected, inadequate, fatherless child.	Hatred dissociated from love.	Deceitful, hypocritical, rejecting Christian paternal part-object.	6,7,8
S, perceiving his sister to be his parents' favourite child, felt hatred and jealousy toward her.	My sister is loved more than me, and I hate her for it.	Inferior, rejected, jealous child.	Jealousy, hatred.	Favourite child & rival for parental love.	11
As an adolescent, S's only friends were school peers who too were socially rejected.	The only ones who are willing to be my friends are social outcasts like me.	Alienated, inadequate, rejected child.	Humiliation, anger.	Fellow social outcasts.	3
Having been an obedient child, S adopted a deviant identity in order to win peer group acceptance.	I have been a good child in order to win my parents' love, but now I will become bad to win the acceptance of my rejecting peers.	Deviant recipient of peer group acceptance.	Gratification.	Accepting, friendly peers.	9,10
S's hatred of school resulted in him failing a year.	I have failed where others succeed - I am intellectually inadequate and abnormal.	Failure, abnormal child.	Resentment, hatred.	Punitive authorities/disap proving parents.	12
S's hatred toward his teachers, who he perceived as abusive authority figures, was aggravated by punishment resulting from his refusal to conform to their expectations.	I hate my teachers because they hate me, punish me, and try to force me to conform to their expectations. [Hatred toward bad parental objects is displaced onto teachers, experienced as hating and punitive].	Victim of authority figures' hatred and punishment.	Hatred, anger.	Hating, judgmental, punitive authority figures [projected bad parental objects]	13,14,15

As a young adult S, feeling friendless and lonely, experienced his life as meaningless and lacking direction.	I am lost, lonely, and have nothing good inside of me. [Absence of stable good internal object leaves S empty and lacking the directing influence of an ego ideal].	Empty, lonely, aimless.	Anxiety.	Absent, uncaring, rejecting others.	18,20
S felt alienated from, and resentful toward a God who had never helped him in any way.	God, like my own father, has rejected me - has never shown me love or helped me in any way. [God = projected bad paternal part-object].	Unloved, rejected child.	Anger, hatred.	Rejecting, absent, unloving father [Projected bad paternal part-object].	19
S was intrigued when a new male social acquaintance displayed an enigmatic power that attracted people to him.	I envy this man's power and attractiveness to others.	Envious.	Envy.	Powerful, attractive, enviable male figure.	17,21
The new acquaintance befriended S, observing his confusion and empathically listening to S's distressed self-disclosures.	For the first time I have a friend who hears and understands my distress.	Understood.	Gratification.	Caring, understanding male friend.	22,23
S's friend revealed his satanic involvement, and assured S that by following the spiritual path that brought him success and gratification, S too could acquire power and influence over others.	I too can have my friend's power, attractiveness, and influence over others if I become involved in Satanism.	Potentially powerful and attractive.	Excitement.	Caring, helping male friend.	23,24

S's friend presented himself as living proof that Satan, unlike God, cared for his worshippers, and argued that S would cease being lonely and unhappy if he became a Satanist.	I can have the father I never had, who will cure me of my loneliness and unhappiness.	Potentially loved, happy son.	Excitement.	Potentially loving, caring, supernatural father figure.	25,26
At his first satanic meeting, having observed the ritual sacrifice of an animal, S felt unafraid and curious about the god, Satan, who commanded such respect, and bestowed power on his worshippers.	I, too, want to have contact with this god who gives others such power, and who commands such respect.	Curious potential member of a special family.	Excitement.	Unknown potential surrogate father.	29,32,34
Desiring the power that his friend had spoken of, S indicated his willingness to commit himself to the cult, and had no reservations in swearing to the cult's code of secrecy.	I will do anything to have the power that I have seen in others.	Enthusiastic aspirant Satanist.	Excitement.	Potential family.	35,36
S's initiation involved cutting himself and signing a satanic covenant in his own blood, followed by drinking the blood of a sacrificial goat to denote ritual acceptance of Satan's blood, and the rejection of Christ's blood.	I have signed a pact with Satan in my own blood, and taken Satan's blood inside me - he is part of me and I belong to him. [Symbolic incorporation of Satan facilitates internalisation and identification].	Privileged initiate.	Excitement.	Mythical figure (Satan) transformed into internal reality.	37,38
S received a new name to denote his new identity as a child of Satan.	I have become somebody new - a child of Satan.	Privileged child.	Excitement.	Welcoming father figure [Satan].	39

S had to destroy a crucifix and denigrate the Christian God, and read aloud a corrupted Christian prayer.	I will destroy the bad Christian father and attack his works. [Ritual attack on denigrated bad paternal part-object].	Rebellious, avenging child.	Hatred.	Denigrated bad paternal part-object projected onto supernatural father figure [God].	40,41
S was obliged to have sexual intercourse with most of the women in the coven.	I must enact my sexual fantasies and define myself in terms of previously forbidden instincts.	Phallic identity.	Sexual excitement.	Available sexual objects.	42
During a ritual in which spirits were invoked and invited to possess the participants, S consented to possession by a male spiritual presence, who promised him power and the gratification of his every wish if S allowed him inside his body. S's initiation culminated in a celebration in which all the participants became intoxicated through the use of drugs and alcohol.	I will allow Satan's emissary inside me in order to obtain power and gratify my needs. [Hallucinatory manifestation and introjection of projected aspect of self/object].	Receptacle for alien satanic presence.	Excited anticipation.	Gratifying	43
S experienced himself to be the chosen child and servant of a powerful, caring father figure in the form of Satan.	I am the loved son of a powerful father. [Idealised paternal part-object relationship].	Loved, chosen son.	Gratification.	Adoring supernatural father [idealised paternal part-object].	45,47

5

S's satanic membership gave him a novel sense of importance, belonging, and of being cared for by others.	I am an important member of a family that cares for and accepts me.	Accepted, cared for family member.	Gratification.	Caring family members.	46
S, feeling omnipotent and in total control, experienced an exciting sense of a new beginning, free of loneliness and powerlessness.	My life is just beginning now that I have power, control, and a sense of belonging.	Omnipotent.	Manic excitement.	Idealised paternal part-object.	48,49
S experienced excitement, self-confidence, and a new sense of control when he learned how to use the power of magic.	I am powerful and have supernatural control of my world. [Introjective identification with idealised paternal part-object creates sense of manic omnipotence].	Narcissistic omnipotence.	Manic excitement.	Idealised paternal part-object.	50,53
The change in S's self-image won him friends and made him attractive to others for the first time.	People love me for my control, power, and supernatural influence.	Attractive.	Gratification.	Others under S's "spell".	54
S, now indifferent to the opinions of others, hated his family and was prepared to attack them with the supernatural powers at his disposal.	I am invulnerable to others, and will magically attack my hated family if they dare to challenge me. [Split off bad part-objects are despised and subject to S's omnipotent power].	Aggressive, omnipotent.	Hatred.	Bad part-objects.	51
S hated Christians intensely, perceiving them as arrogant and moralistic enemies of his.	[Christians are projectively identified with bad parental part-objects].	Subject of parental judgement and rejection.	Hatred.	Critical, moralistic, rejecting Christians [bad parental part-objects].	52

S's new-found strength and self-confidence did not feel authentic, and he was aware of an underlying self-hatred that equalled his hatred of others.	[Narcissistic grandiosity provides an imperfect defence against underlying fantasy of being rejected, hated, and judged by bad internal objects].	Hated, rejected, inferior child.	Persecutory anxiety, despair.	Hating, rejecting, critical parental part-objects.	57,58
S derived sadistic pleasure from seeing others' emotional pain, and the cruel exhibition of animal sacrifice.	[External objects projectively identified with hated internal bad parental part-objects who S hurts and tortures in fantasy].	Sadistic torturer.	Sadistic gratification.	Anguished bad parental part-objects.	55,64
The recruitment of new followers by "stealing souls" from God, gave S a sense of pride and satisfaction at having pleased his master, Satan.	[S plunders and castrates his bad paternal part-object, identified with God, in order to gratify sadistic impulses and win the love of the idealised paternal part-object, Satan].	Thieving, castrating son.	Sadistic gratification.	Dissociated good [Satan] and bad [God] paternal part-objects.	59,60
S felt gratified to participate in satanic rituals, as these allowed him to demonstrate his devotion to Satan.	[Satanic rituals reinforced S's fantasy of being the devoted son of an exalted paternal part-object].	Devoted son.	Gratification.	Idealised paternal part-object (Satan).	63
S did not feel close to his fellow Satanists who, despite being united by a common cause, selfishly pursued their own interests.	The people who, at first, seemed like caring family members, are selfish and concerned only with furthering their own interests.	Disillusioned, hostile.	Resentment.	Selfish, uncaring family members.	67,69
S developed a craving for blood, which he imbibed to give him power, and experienced a state of frenzied excitement before each sacrifice.	[The act of blood-drinking literally enacts the cannibalistic fantasy of incorporating the life energy of the sacrificial (parental) object].	Cannibalistic infant.	Excitement, greed.	Good breast/penis of parental figures.	56,65

S invited demonic possession in order to gain supernatural power, and the demons would counsel and instruct him in the use of black magic. S's demons appeared to him in the form of a wrinkled crone, a handsome young man, and an ugly beast.	[Demonic possession = egosyntonic reintrojection of previously split-off archetypal self/object representations as independent personified entities].	Receptacle for helpful alien entities [dissociated part-self & object aspects].	Gratification	Benign internal alien mentors.	70, 74
Possession by Asmodeus, the beast-demon, resulted in S attacking others, and using his supernatural mental power to cause harm to those who threatened him.	[S's fantasised omnipotent destructiveness is projectively personified as an ugly, animalistic possessing demonic entity].	Passive receptacle for the destructive demonic entity [dissociated destructive subpersonality].	Aggressive gratification.	Savage, ugly, inhuman demon [bad internal part-object].	73
The more demons S felt were possessing him, the more he experienced confusion, dissociated states, and loss of control, culminating in a frenzied attack on friends, which he could not recall after the event.	[S's central self is invaded and controlled by autonomous destructive subpersonality aspects, resulting in loss of ego control over aggressive impulses].	Helpless self controlled by possessing forces [autonomous subpersonality components].	Anxiety.	Uncontrolled bad parental part-objects.	71,76,77
With increasing loss of control to the possessing demons S became depressed and despairing, and contemplated suicide as the only escape.	[Fantasy of destructive personified subpersonality aspects colonising and destroying healthy parts of the self gives rise to despair and fantasies of suicide as the only means of escaping the possessing subpersonality].	Helpless victim of destructive subpersonality.	Persecutory anxiety, despair.	Controlling, destructive bad internal objects.	75,78

In desperation S sought help from Christianity, disclosing his situation to a Christian counsellor, and earnestly praying to God to rescue him from Satan.	Only Satan's supernatural adversary, God, can rescue me from Satan's attempts to destroy me.	Helpless victim in need of rescue.	Persecutory anxiety, desperation.	Satan's adversary as a potential saviour.	79,80,81, 82
Rather than leaving him, S's possessing demons caused him headaches, nausea, and discomforting visions whenever he worshipped God.	Satan is punishing me for deserting him by sending demons to attack my insides and distress me with visions. [Fantasies of the now egodystonic destructive subpersonality persecuting S with internal attacks].	Victim of vengeful bad internal part-object.	Persecutory anxiety.	Vengeful, persecutory bad internal part-objects.	83
S experienced frightening images of his face transforming into the face of an animal.	[Egodystonic fantasies of involuntary identification with destructive, animalistic parts of the self].	Man-beast (Werewolf).	Anxiety.	Destructive bad part-objects.	84
S also saw images of Jesus Christ's body being stolen from his grave.	[Envious fantasies of plundering good object].	Envious thief.	Depressive anxiety.	Threatened good object.	85
S experienced uncontrollable compulsions to shout and swear, and felt afraid that others would perceive him to be insane.	Demons have taken control of me and are making me behave in an aggressive and blasphemous manner. [Destructive subpersonality asserts itself against S's attempts to repel it].	Innocent victim of demonic possessing elements.	Anxiety.	Controlling destructive internal bad objects.	86
While undergoing a Christian exorcism, S experienced the terrifying conviction that he was dying, as his body twisted and convulsed uncontrollably.	[Fantasy that the egodystonic destructive subpersonality would rather kill him than submit to the ego's attempts to defensively expel it].	Victim of murderous subpersonality.	Annihilatory anxiety.	Murderous bad internal objects.	87

9

S, feeling cleansed of all internal demonic presence, experienced the Holy Spirit as filling the emptiness left by the demonic evacuation with his benign and powerful presence.	[Having evacuated the destructive subpersonality, S now incorporates a new idealised paternal part-object].	Filled with good substances/objects.	Gratification.	Incorporated idealised paternal part-object.	88,89,90
S felt liberated by God's tangible love and concern for him, undergoing a dramatic transformation that saw the lifting of his depression, the emergence of positive self-regard, and belief that God has satisfied his every need.	[Identification with new idealised paternal part-object (God) gives rise to a new egosyntonic subpersonality based on the experience of being the loved child of a perfect father].	Happy, satisfied self, free of anxieties. [Narcissistic defensive personality structure].	Gratification.	Incorporated idealised paternal part-object.	93,95,96.
S is now a devoted Christian and family man, who has became a church leader, and who actively employs his Christian spirit in his work environment.	[Personality transformation arising from fantasy of identifying with incorporated idealised paternal part-object].	Ideal self.	Gratification, triumph.	Incorporated idealised paternal part-object.	97,98,99
S loves all the people he formerly hated, appreciating them as God's creation, and finds gratification from assisting others, rather than seeking to destroy them.	[Narcissistic introjective identification with idealised paternal part-object, and projection of destructive subpersonality, allows S to feel all-loving].	A self that is one with God [Narcissistic identification with idealised object].	Gratification, triumph.	Incorporated idealised paternal part-object.	100,101
S now devotes his life to destroying Satan and rescuing others from his grasp with God's help.	[Formerly idealised paternal part-object has now become S's all-bad supernatural enemy as a consequence of defensive splitting and projective identification].	Omnipotent enemy of denigrated part-object.	Aggressive gratification, triumph.	Bad paternal part-object (Satan).	102

F is a 20-year old male, currently employed as a property evaluator. He has a brother and a sister, and is the eldest of the three children.

Natural meaning units	Central themes
1. I think it was something that comes down through the bloodline. My parents have an occult background. They are Christian but my great grandfather was a clairvoyant. On my mother's side, her mother was a white witch, and her father was one of the top freemasons in South Africa.	1. E believes his satanic involvement was predestined by an ancestral link with occult activities.
2. I got involved at the age of four. At the age of four my spiritual eye was opened - I could see into the spiritual realm - a demon appeared to me and told me it was my guide and was going to teach me things.	2. E believes his occult involvement began as a child when, aged four, he was made aware of the spiritual realm by a demon appointed to him as a guide and teacher.
3. It was very scary. It was like in the form of a human, but it wasn't human. It was so tall it had to sort of duck under the ceiling. It was white ... pale skin. It's eyes were very dark, slanted like Chinese eyes, and it had a long mustache. It was old, but at the same time it was very strong.	3. E was frightened by the demon's manifestation as a large, powerful, and old oriental male figure.
4. I called out to my parents to come and help but they were asleep. And then I ran toward the door and ran through it.	4. When E's sleeping parents failed to respond to his cries for help, he ran through the demonic figure.
5. But as I ran through it this demon dropped into me and I knew I was possessed, that there was nothing I could do.	5. E felt the demon enter him and knew immediately that he was possessed, and could do nothing about it.
6. I heard this laughter and it started screaming.	6. E heard the demon laughing and screaming.
7. Then a voice spoke gently to me, saying that I mustn't worry because it had been allocated to me and I mustn't tell anybody.	7. The demon gently reassured E, telling him it had been allocated to him, and that he should keep the demon's presence a secret.
10. She laughed at me, and I hated her. But then afterwards it was all right, but I didn't like her. She never believed me, she didn't understand, she laughed at me.	10. E hated his mother at that moment, and resented her afterwards for ridiculing him, and failing to believe or understand his experience.

11. I was forced to keep the demon a secret, because otherwise he said he would take from me the things that I loved the most. I didn't believe this at all, but the following day, after I'd seen this demon the first time, I told my parents.	11. E did not believe the demon's threat to take away the things he loved should he reveal the demon's presence, and so told his parents of his experience.
12. Then on the third day I woke up and the dog I had been given for Christmas, Dusty, was dead, her whole side eaten away. I remember feeling stunned, just standing looking at her.	12. E was shocked when, shortly after the demon's threat, his pet dog died.
13. I didn't know what to do, 'cos I felt this thing in my head. All of a sudden I got a fright, and I ran round thinking, "this can't be".	13. E, experiencing the demon's internal presence, felt fearful and incredulous at the actualization of it's threat.
14. All my animals just started dying one by one. The I realized he was serious.	14. When more of E's pets began dying he realized the demon was indeed punishing E's disclosure of its presence.
15. A few days after that my grandmother took me to what was some sort of coven meeting.	15. Shortly after his possession experience E's grandmother took him to a satanic meeting.
16. From then on I just got sucked in, it's like a chain reaction, one thing led to the next, until my mind became so conditioned.	16. E felt himself caught in a series of events that resulted in him becoming inured to his extraordinary experiences.
17. I'll tell you the details later, but there's more about the demon. I was petrified at first, but the demon became my friend.	17. The demon, which initially terrified E, then befriended him.
18. He knew about my ambition to fly - we lived near the airport and I wanted to become a pilot - and he taught me astral projection. He told me I could already fly, and I discovered that by concentrating I could float high above my body.	18. The demon, intuiting E's wish to fly, taught him to leave his body by means of mental concentration alone.
19. Eventually I came to rely on him and trusted him with everything.	19. E came to trust and rely upon his possessing spirit.
20. I learned how to lift things in the air without touching them, I could speak in other languages.	20. E acquired further supernatural powers under the demon's instruction.

2

21. *At first there was just the one demon, but he summoned others.*	21. E's possessing spirit summoned other demons.
22. *These weren't friendly; when they possessed me I ached, I actually passed out from the pain.*	22. When possessed by unfriendly secondary demons E experienced physical pain so intense that he lost consciousness.
23. *Each demon had a different function, like one demon allowed me to speak in other languages, another demon to lift things in the air, another demon allowed me to foretell things.*	23. Different demons were responsible for E's experience of various supernatural abilities.
24. *I would hear their voices inside my head, because I was possessed, but if I was being taught something they would be outside my body, and the voices would be outside my head.*	24. On different occasions E would hear internal or external demonic communications.
25. *My guide told me that Lucifer, not God, was the true Lord, and that all Christians were misguided fools and liars.*	25. E was informed by his demonic guide that Lucifer was the one true God, and that Christians were both misguided and mendacious.
26. *Some of the demons hated me. One day they tripped me. I fell on a brick and fractured my knee.*	26. E perceived some of his demons as hating him, and believed they caused him physical injury.
27. *I had to have my leg in plaster and Dad freaked when I got home, saying he couldn't afford to keep taking me to the doctor to fix me up all the time.*	27. When E received medical attention for his injury, his father angrily complained that he could not afford F's regular medical expenses.
28. *He screamed at my mother for not praying for me, for not laying her hands on me. He said it was time to use Jesus to fix my problems because they couldn't afford to fix them themselves.*	28. E's father exclaimed that, as they could not afford treatment for their injury-prone son, they would have to call upon Jesus' supernatural power.
29. *The idea started festering deep inside, "My parents can't care for me, they can't afford me".*	29. E was troubled by the growing belief that his parents did not care for him and could not afford to keep him.
30. *My demon told me, "See, these dumb Christians can't handle life. They say they have a god who loves them and provides everything for them, but they can't even afford you. Their God can't even afford*	30. E's demon ridiculed his parents' Christian inadequacies by pointing out that God, despite His promises to provide for his worshippers, could not even care for F when he was injured.

3

31. I must say I felt a lot of rejection. Rejection is the number one thing there.	31. E identifies his experience of rejection as the primary phenomenon implicated in his satanic involvement.
32. Firstly, for me, it was from my parents. When I told them they didn't believe what had happened. That was rejection.	32. E interpreted his parents' refusal to believe his possession experience as rejection.
33. But, speaking to my parents years later - a few months ago - I realized that the rejection began when I was still a fetus because I was an unwanted birth.	33. E's parents' recent disclosure to him that he was an unwanted baby convinced him that his rejection began when he was still a fetus.
34. Also, I had no real friends, I deviated from what others thought was normal.	34. E had few friends and was perceived by others as deviant.
35. Also, I saw other kids my age, how they got spoilt, how they got presents. But for me there was nothing, and I thought, "How come they get things that I can't"? My brother and sister got things that I didn't.	35. E felt resentful that his peers and siblings received presents from their parents, while he did not.
36. I was different, and because I was different I got pushed to one side.	36. E believes that because he was different from his siblings his parents ignored him.
37. It was a case of, "Because he's gifted he can take care of himself. He doesn't have a problem", whereas my brother and sister had a learning problem. They were the ones that needed help. My sister was born deaf and my brother had a disjointed hip. So the message was, "there's nothing wrong with you". But now there's nothing wrong with them. My sister can hear perfectly. But at that stage, everything builds on rejection. Everybody was making a fuss over my brother and sister.	37. While E's physically handicapped siblings received much parental attention, E felt rejected as his parents believed his intellectual precocity justified their comparable lack of concern for him.
38. I could never tell them that I loved them. There was no such thing as love. They basically gave up on me.	38. E could not express affection toward his parents as he felt they did not love him, and had ceased to care for him.
39. Also, it wasn't a happy marriage. About three times as I was growing up they wanted to get divorced.	39. E perceived his parents' marriage to be unstable and precarious.

40. *Everybody else had their parents, and the parents had each other. My family was different.*	40. E perceived the normal supportive familial relationships to be absent from his own family life.
41. *My father and I were so distant we didn't even talk.*	41. E's relationship with his father was so distant that they did not speak to each other.
42. *My mother as well. She was in and out of hospital all the time because she had a back accident and ended up in a wheelchair. I was about five or six at the time. We never got on and I never saw much of her.*	42. E also felt distant from his mother, whose frequent hospitalizations following a physical injury meant that she was frequently absent.

I: Could you tell me a bit more about your relationship with her?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
43. *She always moaned and complained about everything. Um ... she'd argue a lot.*	43. E did not have a good relationship with his mother, who he perceived as complaining and argumentative.
44. *Once I was angry and used my powers to hurt her. They went on a business trip down to Durban, and a witch-doctor ran across the road and they swerved to miss him. She got whiplash or something and hurt her back.*	44. E, feeling angry with his mother, used his supernatural powers to cause a near motor vehicle collision that aggravated her back injury.
45. *She blamed me for that. She said I influenced the spirit world and got the witchdoctor to do that. We just didn't get on.*	45. E's mother, intuiting his supernatural involvement, blamed him for engineering the incident.
46. *You see she's not my real mother, whatever she says.*	46. E is convinced that his mother is not really his biological mother.
47. *My real mother ... I was an illegitimate birth, part of some sort of experiment. There was this breeding program in the movement. They flew in a lady from overseas - a couple of people actually - to be used as breeders.*	47. E believes he was conceived by a foreign woman who was flown into the country to be impregnated as part of an experimental satanic breeding program.
48. *I was made and they monitored me. And the doctors there at the birth switched the babies and gave me to L. And they monitored me as I grew up.*	48. E believes that Satanist doctors switched babies at birth, without his adoptive mother's knowledge, and monitored him as he grew up

5

49. *I could only see my real mother now and again.*	49. E was rarely able to see his biological mother.
50. *When I was about thirteen she was killed, she was sacrificed.*	50. E believes that his biological mother was killed in a satanic ritual sacrifice when he was thirteen.
51. *I first saw her when I was four or five. My grandmother was involved. She took me there during the night without anyone knowing about it.*	51. E first met his biological mother when, as a young child, his grandmother secretly arranged a nocturnal meeting between them.
52. *They took me to some place ... I don't quite remember what happened there. They did something to me, put something into me. Some people had sex. They painted something on me. Then, afterwards, they washed me.*	52. E has a vague recollection of being taken to a ritual that involved being painted with a substance, washed, having something injected into him, and witnessing sex acts between other ritual participants.
53. *Then they took me to the airport. My grandmother said to me, "This is your real mother". The woman picked me up and she was crying.*	53. E was taken to an airport and introduced to his biological mother, who tearfully embraced him.
54. *I think I was too young to understand what was going on.*	54. E was too young at the time to understand these events.
55. *And I knew I couldn't talk about it because if I spoke the demon would kill me.*	55. E did not speak of these events for fear that his demon would kill him.
56. *Every four or five years I remember having to visit the same doctor. I don't know why but somehow something would happen and I'd always be sick at a certain stage, and then they'd take me to this doctor. He would inject me with something and a few hours later I'd feel better.*	56. E recalls a pattern of regular visits to a doctor for mysterious ailments which quickly ceased following an injection.

I: You mentioned that your real mother was sacrificed?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
57. *Yes, my real mother moved near to where we lived.*	57. E's biological mother moved close to where he lived.
58. *One day I went to visit her. There were lots of people there - very rich people. I was very shy, but also very scared, which is*	58. E felt unusually afraid when, upon paying her a secret visit one day, he found a number of wealthy people in her property.

6

strange 'cos I don't usually get scared.	
59. My grandmother would never speak to me about the occult. She made as if she was a big Christian.	59. E's grandmother never discussed occult matters with him, and deceitfully cultivated a Christian persona.
60. She sometimes came over to our house to stay while my parents were away. One day she asked me to come into her room. She ripped her clothes off, and I didn't understand what was going on. I got a fright and I ran to my mother's place.	60. E, frightened by a sexual overture by his grandmother, fled to his biological mother's property.
61. When I got there was a guy sitting at the front door. He just said, "She's gone, she's gone".	61. E was told by an unknown man that his biological mother had gone.
62. I went home and my grandmother just laughed at me.	62. Upon returning home his grandmother laughed at him.
63. A few weeks after that she was killed. [F, composed until this point cries silently for a few minutes]. I just felt numb, I withdrew.	63. When E realized that his biological mother had been killed he became emotionally numb and withdrawn.
64. I don't think L knew that her mother was a witch. She'd go through stages. On one occasion they found her in a grave yard.	64. Despite occasional unusual behavior, E's grandmother's satanic activities were not known to her daughter.

I: Could you tell me about the attraction that Satanism had for you?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
65. To someone like me Satanism had something to offer - acceptance, power, wealth, sex.	65. E was attracted to Satanism because it offered him social acceptance, power, material wealth, and sexual gratification.
66. And it doesn't matter what you look like, how old you are, what sex you are. Doesn't matter what status you are, they will befriend you.	66. Satanism was particularly attractive to E because it's members appeared to offer unconditional acceptance and friendship.

I: Could we go back to your earlier experience of possession?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
67. Yeah, my first lesson in respect for these powers came when I didn't pray to Lord Lucifer for a week.	67. The destructive power of E's demon was revealed to him when he failed to pray to Lucifer for a week.

68. *My demon screamed at me, calling me miserable and pathetic. I just felt my energy deflate. I was so sick I couldn't project out of my body for three weeks. I had severe stomach cramps. I couldn't walk, I began to vomit, and I couldn't see straight.*	68. The demon screamed abuse at E, who became afflicted with intense motor, visceral, and perceptual symptoms.
69. *My parents took me to the church and the pastor removed my shirt and ripped it to pieces, saying it was satanic and had caused my illness.*	69. E's parents took him to the pastor of their church, who attributed his illness to satanic influences.
70. *I was taken to hospital - the diagnosis was appendicitis. It mysteriously disappeared after a week, so it wasn't necessary to have an operation.*	70. Despite being hospitalized with diagnosed appendicitis, E experienced a spontaneous remission.
71. *My secret was that I learned to master my body. I could alter my body temperature, decrease my heart rate to near death, and increase it to near cardiac arrest. I could dilate my pupils - anything the doctors looked for as symptoms, I could supply. My guide had taught me well.*	71. E contends that his demonic guide taught him complete psychological control over his physiological functioning, enabling him to manifest diagnostic signs of illness at will.
72. *People knew I was clever. I manipulated them and usually got my own way. I would break people down.*	72. E was acknowledged by others to be clever, and manipulated them to his own ends.
73. *I wasn't allowed to go to nursery school 'cos teachers there couldn't handle me. Every day the kids had to go to sleep and I would get up and kick and hurt everybody. Just cause trouble.*	73. E was prohibited from attending nursery school owing to his sadistic and uncontrollable behavior.
74. *The first day I went to school I got into a fight. Spiritually, mentally and physically I would flatten others.*	74. E was an aggressive child who used his superior mental and physical strength to attack others.
75. *As a kid I developed a deep rebellious streak. If I was told to do something, I'd do the opposite.*	75. E became an oppositional and rebellious child.
76. *At the age of four I could read, draw and do things other kids my age couldn't, I was also one of the fastest athletes in my school.*	76. E enjoyed an intellectual and athletic advantage over other children his age.

I: After that initial experience, how did you actually get involved in Satanism?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
77. *When I went to school one of the teachers said I was a gifted child and should stay for extra lessons.*	77. One of E's teachers kept him after school on the pretext that, as a gifted child, he required extra tuition.
78. *And I was taken into this darkened room and had to drink blood. They strapped me to a table, injected me with something and washed me with special stuff.*	78. E recalls the teacher taking him to a ritual meeting where E was bound, injected, forced to drink blood, and washed with a special substance.
79. *It was there that I started to learn witchcraft, moving from one house to the next.*	79. After E's introduction to Satanism he began to learn black magic at different venues.
80. *From an early age I was taught to infiltrate churches, at first children's religious classes.*	80. E was taught to infiltrate Christian gatherings.

I: Could you tell about your initiation experience?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
81. *When I was let into the coven there was this large pentegram in the center of a pitch-dark room. There were candles leading to the pentegram, and thirteen people all dressed in black. They were chanting something. Then I got tied and led in.*	81. E's ceremonial initiation into the coven commenced with him being bound and led into a darkened room in front of chanting coven members.
82. *Then the high priestess cut me and I had to write in my own blood, "I so and so, born on such a date give my whole being and soul to Satan. I deny God the father, God the son, God the Holy spirit. I deny any Christian prayer I have said in the past or may say in the future. I accept Satan as the master and ruler of my life, and promise to despise the Christian faith as long as I live, and to dedicate myself to its destruction. I promise to recruit people. Should I not I will have the courage to accept my punishment and the consequences. I accept my guide as my protector, teacher and counselor". The guide is the demon that's assigned to you. That's the whole thing I*	82. After the high priestess cut him, E had to write a pact in his own blood, committing himself to Satan and the destruction of Christianity.

had to write out.	
83. Then they put it down in the pentegram and burn it. All the people in the circle had to cut themselves and bleed themselves into a glass file. You bleed into the file and they mix it up with something else, and you drink that with the ashes of the contract you've just written. That's the initiation ceremony.	83. E's satanic pact was burned in a pentegram, and the ashes ingested with blood from all the ritual participants.
84. In some cases you break a cross, stamp on bread, and defile the body of Christ. You might urinate on a bible, it varies from coven to coven. It usually ends up in a sex orgy.	84. Variations of satanic initiation rituals may include the destruction and defiling of Christian symbols, culminating in a sex orgy.

I: Did all this happen without your parents discovering anything?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
85. My parents didn't suspect anything. They were Christians, and they also just didn't care.	85. E believes that his parents' Christian devotion and lack of concern for him prevented their early discovery of his satanic involvement.
86. I was kicked out of the house at the age of nine. That lasted for a few days and then I was back in the house. And then I was kicked out again, then they took me back and said I could stay in the room outside, the maid's room. Then I was basically free to come and go as I liked.	86. E enjoyed freedom from parental control when he was evicted him from the family house, and allowed to stay in an outbuilding on the property.

I: What did it feel like to be a Satanist?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
87. I became conditioned, until I didn't really feel anything.	87. E's satanic experiences resulted in a blunting of his emotional responsiveness.
88. It was completely normal. I mean, when I came out of it I couldn't understand why I wasn't allowed to drink blood. Blood tasted sweet ... you become accustomed to it.	88. E acquired an appetite for the abnormal practice of drinking blood, and struggled to appreciate this as a taboo activity after leaving Satanism.
89. It's normal to someone's head being cut off, it's normal to see babies killed, it's normal to take part in orgies, you know. It	89. E experienced hatred, manipulation, the witnessing of, and participation in perverse and murderous activities as normal.

become normal to manipulate people, it becomes normal to be filled with hatred - although I didn't see it as hatred.	
90. All that stands against you gets flattened. As long as you destroy everything that's related to Christianity, like Christian marriages. It's normal to cause disruption and strife.	90. All destructive behavior was sanctioned in Satanism, as long as it furthered the cause of destroying Christianity.
91. Gradually I grew to hate those around me. Satan was destroying my conscience. What was bad, to me became good.	91. E attributes his growing hatred for others, the inversion of good and bad, and the accompanying destruction of his conscience to Satan's influence.
92. Any sense of guilt I had was gradually being replaced with feelings of triumph and success.	92. Guilt was replaced by feelings of triumph and success.
93. My parents got their friends to come and tell me that what I was doing was wrong, they got a guy at church to speak to me, but I hated him 'cos he was a Christian. They referred me to a guidance counselor at school, whatever.	93. Attempts by E's parents to influence him by persuading others to counsel E about his behavior were unsuccessful.
94. They put restrictions on me ... whatever. My Dad started hitting me with a hose pipe, leaving black marks all over my back. I always received the hidings with the hose pipe, and I usually bled from them.	94. E's parents tried to control him by imposing restrictions on him, and his father resorted to beating him severely.
95. In the early stages of my life - till I was about thirteen - my father was away a lot, he was a sales rep. So we rarely saw much of him. He was never there - always away on business trips. He was also very involved in the church so I never saw him much.	95. As a child E saw little of his father as the latter's business and religious activities kept him away from home for much of the time.
96. This caused a lot of strife and tension with my parents.	96. The regular absence of E's father from home led to marital conflict.
97. We were also poor much of the time. Once we ended up living in someone's caravan.	97. E's difficult family circumstances were aggravated by financial poverty.
98. This made it difficult to attend rituals, so I prayed to Lucifer to find my father	98. When the family's impoverished living circumstances made it difficult for E to

employment.	attend rituals,
99. *Dad soon got a job, and a company car. We moved into a big house, we had an abundance of food.*	99. E's prayers to Lucifer were answered when E's father gained employment and the family's material circumstances improved.
100. *Life was well again because Lucifer loved me, and showed me where reality lay.*	100. E attributed his change in fortune to Lucifer's revelation of the truth and love for him.

I: How did you relate to your parents as Christians?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
101. *Christians to me were no-good, blinded people. They were liars.*	101. E perceived Christians to be deceitful and morally corrupt.
102. *I hated my parents and my hatred increased each day.*	102. E's hatred for his parents intensified daily.
103. *I began having bizarre thoughts due to the mounting hatred. Sometimes they would go out at night. One thought I had was to overturn all the furniture in the house, leave the front door open, set the curtains alight, and kill the dog with a knife, spreading its blood all over the walls. Then I would hang myself in the passage.*	103. When E's parents went out, E's hatred found expression in fantasies of punishing them by dramatically killing the family pet and committing suicide.
104. *Thoughts of death scenes made me feel invincible. Anything that happened to me, that I survived, meant that I was unable to die.*	104. Fantasies of death, and his ability to survive various accidents, made E believe he was invincible.
105. *Feeling invincible made me daring and adventurous, and that's the character one needs to be involved with the higher powers.*	105. E believes that his feelings of omnipotence and invincibility provided the character strength necessary for his involvement with occult powers.
106. *I also started to get a kick out of lying and deceiving people.*	106. E began to enjoy lying and deceiving others.
107. *By the time I was ten my guide told me that Lord Lucifer wanted me to be as naughty as I could - it made him feel good. I obliged, I'd do anything for my God if it pleased him.*	107. E, advised by his demon that Lucifer wished him to misbehave, did so in order to please his god.

12

108. *Suddenly the family began to fall apart. There was strife in the household. People came to visit but never visited again. Mom went back into hospital, money ran out, everyone became sick. The lights tripped constantly and things went missing.*	108. Interpersonal conflict and a range of misfortunes suddenly occurred in E's family.
109. *I knew why, because my evil spirit was hanging over the house.*	109. E attributed the familial misfortune to the influence of his evil spirit.
110. *Dad forced us all to have a Bible-time in the mornings before we went to school, but I secretly prayed to Lucifer.*	110. E used an enforced daily religious family ritual to secretly pray to Lucifer.
111. *One day in English literature class a weird thing happened to me. The teacher was reading from some book, and suddenly the world started to rock around me. I got pins and needles in my head, my eyes felt dry and stinging. I felt extremely uncomfortable and began to sweat. I had that experience each night for the next few weeks.*	111. At this time E suddenly developed a range of unfamiliar and repetitive somatic symptoms.
112. *Each time I went to church with my parents I'd experience the same.*	112. E's somatic symptoms also appeared whenever he went to church with his parents.
113. *I acquired a taste for the satanic life. Eventually drinking blood is like drinking water, like drinking tea.*	113. E's adaptation to his satanic life-style is illustrated by his claim that drinking blood became a normal experience.
114. *If someone does even this much wrong to you slam him.*	114. E responded with instant aggression to others' perceived hostile actions.
115. *I was conditioned pretty well. It becomes like an order, you just have to do it. You either do it or you die.*	115. E became conditioned to obeying the cult's orders, believing that he would be executed if he disobeyed.
116. *I also went through a ritual to remove all my emotions, all my human feelings, 'cos those get in the way.*	116. E underwent a ritual removal of his normal affective responsiveness, as emotions inhibited his satanic participation.
117. *I was also on the lookout for people I might recruit.*	117. E endeavored to recruit new members for the coven.
118. *I was friends with Christians because I needed to infiltrate them. I would even act like a Christian, become a role model to*	118. E befriended Christians and presented himself as a spiritual role model in order to infiltrate Christian gatherings.

13

everybody, and then suddenly change in the middle of the day. I got involved with a church youth group.	
119. The group became weaker and weaker each Friday night. Lust was my weapon, you see. The girls wanted me. Rumors spread about the girls I went out with, and the rest became jealous. Strife set in and the prayer base was destroyed. They could no longer praise, pray, and worship their God in spirit and truth.	119. E undermined the Christian unity and spirit of a youth group by encouraging the female members' sexual responsiveness to him, and jealousy regarding his other female partners.
120. Satan loved my arrogance, audacity, and aggression.	120. E believed that Satan loved his arrogance, audacity, and aggression.
121. Like ... I had a girlfriend in another school far away. There was a guy there who was bugging her. I went over, borrowed a uniform from another guy in that school, went into the school at break and beat up the guy who was bugging her. I then went back to the other guy's house, changed uniforms and went back to my school (laughs).	121. E recalls with amusement how he used subterfuge and physical aggression to punish a youth who had harassed his girlfriend.
122. Anyway, I passed matric, I got a first class matric with two distinctions, even though I bunked school for three months solid in matric and got suspended.	122. E excelled academically despite long periods of absence from school.

I: Could you tell me a bit about satanic life and your experience of the rituals?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
123. Well, you realize that some people are selected to be high priests, or brides of Satan, or eliminators, torturers, whatever. People are selected for different things. People are selected for punishing people for doing something wrong, for breeding, for disciplining and interrogating people who want to get out. A woman selected to be a bride of Satan does not participate in most rituals. She is dressed in white and simply observes the rituals. She is not allowed to have sex until the night the ritual takes place.	123. Satanic members are selected to perform specific functions, which dictate their roles and level of participation in the life of the cult.

124. *There's a ritual where they actually kill your emotions - they tie your wrists and ankles and suspend you over a corpse that is set alight. They take parts of the corpse and put them on your back and drip candle wax over you, and ... your emotions get killed. It has a spiritual significance, but it filters through to the physical, the psychological. You feel dead, you have no motivation for life. You just lose it.*	124. E describes a ritual in which contact with the flesh of a corpse is symbolically employed to deaden the participants' emotional responsiveness and motivation for life.
125. *The classic example of a death ritual is Black Mass when they take somebody, maybe a hitch-hiker, and make him symbolize Jesus Christ, and then basically re-enact the death of him. It shows everyone in the coven that Jesus Christ is dead, that he never rose. The guy might get hung upside down on a cross, but they might take a spike and stick it through his head.*	125. E describes a ritual in which Christ's death is re-enacted by the ceremonial murder of an individual, thereby demonstrating the finality of death and fallacy of the Christian resurrection myth.
126. *I witnessed lots of human sacrifices. And animal sacrifices - I had to kill an animal when I was four.*	126. E witnessed many animal and human sacrifices, and sacrificed an animal when still a young child.

I: What sense do you make of your satanic involvement?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
127. *If I look back on it was revenge ... it was when I had the need to take revenge because of what had been done to me.*	127. E retrospectively understands his satanic involvement to have been motivated by the desire to avenge others' unjust actions toward him.
128. *I thought it was unfair because nobody believed me. I went to my parents and they kept saying I was having nightmares. But it wasn't a nightmare, it was reality.*	128. E was injured by his parents' disbelief and their dismissing his terrifying occult experiences as mere nightmares.

I: Could you tell me about your relationships with people in the coven?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
129. *It runs on blood, the power lies in the blood, and also if you can get a stronger demon in you then someone weaker has to submit to you.*	129. Power and dominance in Satanism obtains from inviting possession by demons stronger than those of other Satanists.

15

130. Relationships in the coven were based on competition. If you have a position they want your position, because it means honor and more power. The whole thing runs on power. If you've got more power then you're sitting on top of everything, you've got control over other people.	130. The nature of relationships between coven members was based on competition for power and domination over others.
131. It's very competitive. There's no love or relationship between anybody, but in the sense where there's unity, on the side, where you're all dedicated to Satan, and to develop powers and dedicated to destroy the Christian faith, and dedicated to recruit people to the movement or whatever, so that's the unity, but other than that	131. Love is absent from satanic relationships, and the unity between cult members derives only from the shared common purpose of destroying Christianity.
132. The relationships you have are in the sense of soul ties .... it's like if you have sex with somebody, you pick up parts of that person. It's like if you glue two pieces of paper together and tear them apart, there are parts of both paper on either side, that's what happens if you have sex with somebody else. That's the only relationship you have.	132. Satanic relationships also create interpersonal ties based on the fantasy that in sexual intercourse parts of oneself are transferred, and adhere to one's partners.

I: How did you relate to the high priestess?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
133. Initially it's fear because you know that person has more power than you, that person has control over you and you have to obey her. But if you find a gap, like if that person is suddenly on drugs and has a weak point, and you find that weak point, because of the competitiveness you lose your fear of that person.	133. Although E initially feared the more powerful high priestess, competition for power and the persistent search for others' weaknesses allowed him to lose his fear.
134. It all depends on how strong your own character is. Everybody in the coven relays it to the top - that that person is in danger and you can take that person out. You basically pose a threat to that person, you're in authority there, and that person knows that.	134. Strength of character determines one's success in the cult, as members in positions of power live with the constant awareness that others wish to usurp that power.

I: What kept you in Satanism?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
135. I dunno. The power, the ability to use demons ...	135. The lure of power and his belief that he could command demonic forces motivated E to remain in the cult.
136. I mean you want to start using lightning, having control of lightning, you have to have power. I tried to kill my parents like that once. I said, "I hate your guts and tonight you're going to die". At about midnight I did the whole thing I was taught to do. There was this big oak tree next door, leaning towards the house. I heard the lightning strike and the whole house just shuddered, and I thought, "now they're dead". I woke up the next day and the tree had missed the house by about ten centimeters.	136. E illustrates the extent of his power with reference to an incident in which he believes he nearly succeeded in deliberately killing his parents' by magically causing a lightning-induced accident to befall them.
137. It becomes a means of instilling fear in others, because you become very arrogant. You can say, "I've got more power than you".	137. E's magical power, which he used to instill fear in others, made him arrogant.
138. If you get confronted by a Christian you can say, "My God has more power than your God. What can your God do"?. Most Christians don't know where they stand.	138. E believed that his God was more powerful than the Christian God.
139. I realize now that it's not you who use demons but the demons that use you. You're conditioned to think that you're using them, that you're the one with the power.	139. E retrospectively realizes that it was not he who had control over demons, but rather demons that had control over him.
140. But Satanism took a real toll on me. My face developed deep wrinkles, people said I looked anemic. I was pale and spent most of my time in the dark. My body felt cold and lifeless.	140. E's satanic life-style caused visible physical deterioration.
141. I was hardly ever in my body. I hated my body - it was a bondage 'cos it needed sleep and food. I pushed my body to the limit. I was constantly sick and exhausted.	141. Experiencing his body as a hated physical restriction, E neglected his physical needs and consequently felt sick and exhausted.
142. When I did sleep I'd have nightmares	142. E's nightmares confronted him with the

about what I was involved in. I'd dream of sacrifices and see the demons for what they really were - ghastly, hideous creatures.	horror of his satanic involvement, which he no longer experienced in waking life.
143. I was afraid to be left alone.	143. E felt afraid of being left alone.
144. I'd hear voices in my head as the demons argued amongst themselves.	144. E interpreted internal voices to be squabbling demons that had possessed him.
145. My guide took over my body completely, and I had no control anymore.	145. E's original demonic spirit assumed all control of E's body.
146. If I watched a sad movie, people would tell me that I cried. I never knew I cried, although the tears were there to prove it. I felt nothing, absolutely nothing.	146. Although tearful at times, E felt completely numb and devoid of emotion.

I: Did Satan ever physically appear to you?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
147. Yes ... um, look - Satan can disguise himself as an angel of light, like the Bible says. And he can change shape and appear to you as your mind would portray an important person. He will appear to you in that form.	147. Satan's appearance changes and adapts to conform to each Satanist's expectations of what he would look like.
148. But what he looks like doesn't really draw you, what draws you is his eyes. Its like everything else around you fades, you just see his eyes. Its very awe-inspiring, it's very ... evil - there's no other word to describe it, it's just evil.	148. In Satan's visible manifestations, E felt a sense of awe and compelling attraction to the evil he perceived in Satan's eyes.
149. His eyes can invoke fear in you. I feared him in a lot of different ways. I feared him because he had a hold over my life. And he can just say, "End it", and that's the way it is. You know he's got all the power.	149. E feared Satan because Satan had such power over him that he could take his life at any time.
150. Satan appeared to me as the perfect person, very refined and cultured, somebody I respected, somebody I would be committed to, somebody who could command my attention.	150. Satan appeared to E as the idealized personification of a person who commanded admiration, commitment, and respect.

I: You eventually got out of Satanism. How did that happen?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
151. I fell in love with a girl, A. For once I felt love, and wanted more.	151. In the context of a heterosexual relationship, E felt love for the first time, and desired more.
152. I wanted to leave the movement, but I knew I couldn't. Satan controlled me, body, soul, and spirit.	152. Although E wanted to leave Satanism, he knew that Satan's complete control over him would not permit it.
153. He knew what I'd think, and I would be severely punished.	153. E believed that Satan could read his thoughts and would punish him for wanting to leave the cult.
154. I lived in constant fear - fear of giving in to love, fear of what the demons would do to me.	154. E believed that if he allowed himself to experience love, he would be punished by his possessing demons.
155. Satan was merciless .... I knew I would die if I pulled out.	155. E believed that Satan was merciless and would kill him if he left the cult.
156. I thought then that I was psycho, split in two. Half of me adored evil, and the other half worshipped good.	156. E doubted his sanity as he experienced an internal split within him, between a part which adored evil, and an opposing part which worshipped good.
157. I started to feel guilty about the things I'd done, and felt that I deserved to die.	157. E, feeling guilty about the acts he had committed, believed that death was a fitting punishment.
158. I had a collection of knives, and one morning I wondered what it would be like to watch myself die. I made a long cut down my forearm. Blood poured everywhere, but I didn't feel any pain. I wanted to die, I deserved to die.	158. Feeling that he wanted and deserved to die, E cut himself with a knife.
159. Just them my mother walked in and I covered my arm with a sheet. I wore long-sleeved shirts after that 'cos I didn't want any one to know what I had done. One day my dad saw the scar. I explained that I had accidentally cut it one barbed wire.	159. After E's suicidal gesture was interrupted he hid the evidence of his actions and lied about the origin of the scar.
160. I was feeling very lonely. People think that you can't be lonely if you're popular	160. Despite E's popularity and sexual attractiveness to others, he felt lonely and

19

and everyone likes you. But I was, I still felt neglected. I wanted to be loved - not sexually, but emotionally.	craved emotional love.
161. One day at church I was feeling very depressed. I walked out and sat outside. I opened up my knife and cut along the scar. It stung and bled, but I cut deeper along the length of my forearm and across my wrist. Blood dripped onto the bricks and I waited to die, but ... uh, I didn't. My arm eventually stopped bleeding.	161. Feeling depressed, E made another unsuccessful suicide attempt by cutting himself.
162. I got called up to the air force after I finished school.	162. After leaving school E was called up to the air force to perform compulsory national service.
163. Not much happened, except that I assaulted two instructors.	163. While performing national service E assaulted two air force instructors.
164. The welfare people found out about my suicide attempts, and I told them I had been involved in Satanism.	164. When the air force welfare services learned of his suicide attempts, E admitted his satanic involvement.
165. They sent me to a psychologist, who wanted to exempt me from military service. I didn't want to go home and spoke circles around them, convincing them that I was no longer involved and wouldn't try suicide again.	165. Not wishing to return home, E deceived the psychologists involved in his case, and successfully persuaded them not to discharge him.
166. I felt alone and rejected as the friends I had made never kept contact with me.	166. E felt alone and rejected when his former friends failed to maintain contact with him.
167. Also, I wasn't able to practice my rituals.	167. E was distressed because he could not practice his satanic rituals in the air force.
168. I began to feel suicidal again. I would load my weapon with a round in the chamber, put the safety catch off, and put the barrel in my mouth with my finger on the trigger.	168. E's suicidal impulses returned, and he began to rehearse killing himself with his pistol.
169. I thought that if there was a God in heaven who loves me, then killing myself was a way of finding out. One day I loaded my pistol, aimed it at my temple and fired. My body was throbbing and I felt a stinging	169. E attempted to test the Christian assertion of the existence of a loving God in heaven by killing himself, failing only due to a firearm malfunction.

sensation all over my skin. But the weapon was dirty and the round stuck in the chamber.	
170. I finished my year in the air force, and started working in the bank.	170. After completing his national service E began working.
171. Some Christian guys picked me up after work one day, saying they were taking me somewhere special. We ended up outside a house.	171. Some Christian work colleagues one day drove E to a secret destination, which he later realized was the home of a Christian evangelist.
172. I felt anxious, as I sensed God's presence on that property. The door opened and there stood D. Immediately I knew what they had organized.	172. E, sensing God's presence on the property, felt anxious, and suddenly understood his colleagues intentions when he was introduced to the Christian owner.
173. I became aggressive and wanted to hit them. I boasted of feats I had done, like being able to control lightning.	173. E became aggressive and boasted of his magical feats.
174. D asked me if I wanted to leave Satanism. I refused point blank. Deep down I wanted to, but I feared for my life.	174. Fearing for his life, E emphatically refused the invitation to leave Satanism, despite his secret wish to do so.
175. D began to pray and laid his hands on me. I could sense my demons surfacing, and tried to keep them under control. But I couldn't, I felt severe pain inside as the demons fought to stay in my body.	175. E felt severe internal pain and loss of control as his demons fought against the evangelist's exorcist prayers.
176. D put a Bible on my chest and I could feel my body start to burn. My body shook and convulsed in pain as the demons tried to get away from the Bible.	176. E felt his body burn and convulse painfully as his demons sought to evade the Bible placed on his chest.
177. D called on the spirit of the antichrist that was in me. It spoke in a weird voice, saying that it had been assigned to me from birth, and that it wasn't going to leave.	177. When the evangelist called on E's controlling demonic spirit, it spoke in a strange voice, saying it had been assigned to E at birth and would not leave.
178. My body became calm for a while, until D asked me to confess that Jesus is Lord. I couldn't do that, the demons would prevent me from saying His name.	178. E's demons prevented him from uttering the name of Jesus.
179. The battle raged on for another two hours, and after four hours of deliverance I	179. After the deliverance ceremony had ended E was physically exhausted.

was exhausted. I couldn't walk properly, I had no energy left.	
180. I couldn't sleep that night. My guide and his demons were screaming at me, calling me a traitor, saying that Satan was going to kill me.	180. E could not sleep as his demons screamed that he was a traitor and would be killed by Satan for betraying him.
181. I took a Bible to work next morning. I tried to read it in the bus, but another voice in my head read it for me, twisting the scriptures.	181. E's attempts to read a Bible were thwarted by an internal voice which controlled his reading and twisted the content.
182. I experienced a tough physical battle too. I'd break out in cold sweats, and had to take a change of clothing each day. The sweat was ghastly, it was abnormal. It was slimy and stank like hell.	182. The spiritual battle inside E manifested physically in the form of abnormally slimy and foul-smelling cold sweat.
183. I also had severe stomach cramps, and my mouth would bleed for no reason.	183. E also suffered stomach cramps and oral bleeding.
184. I couldn't concentrate and made mistakes which almost cost me my job.	184. E's work performance was compromised by poor concentration and errors.
185. I contemplated suicide to escape all the attacks, pain, and fear.	185. E considered killing himself to escape the pain and fear arising from the demonic attacks on him.
186. I had nightmares with the little sleep I got.	186. E's sleep was disrupted by nightmares.
187. I'd also see the demons' faces in every mirror I came across.	187. Instead of his own reflection, E was confronted by demonic faces when he looked into mirrors.
188. I told D what had happened, and that Id been kicked out of home 'cos the demons would curse my parents, brother and sister openly.	188. E's parents evicted him from their home when his demons began to verbally abuse them and other family members.
189. The next day I moved into his home, and the physical battle stopped, except for the sleepless nights, sweating spells, pain attacks and suicidal thoughts.	189. When the evangelist took E into his home, although the sweating, pain, sleeplessness, and suicidal thoughts persisted, the physical demonic attacks on E ceased.
190. I had another deliverance and the demons screamed in agony. They picked my	190. During another deliverance E shrieked, convulsed, and vomited slime as the demons

body up off the bed and threw it around the room. My body squirmed and wriggled. I shrieked, coughed and vomited slime as the demons left.	screamed in agony and threw his body physically about the room, before leaving.
191. I was exhausted and resigned from the bank. I needed sleep and couldn't get enough.	191. E was so exhausted and need of sleep that he resigned from his job.
192. I was still acting weird. I had no feelings. I'd cut a wart out of my skin, leaving a large hole there. I'd grab the cats by their tails and throw them into the swimming pool. I swore in church and abused everyone.	192. E, although feeling no emotion, acted in a bizarre, cruel, and aggressive manner.
193. The demons came back because I refused to renounce all my powers. You can't fight on both sides, you see.	193. Because E had refused to renounce all of his occult powers the demons returned to possess him.
194. The demon of murder was in me and I attacked D. But he had powerful angels protecting him, and the demon eventually left screaming.	194. A murderous demon caused E to attack the evangelist, but powerful angels protected him from E's attacks, and drove the demon off.
195. That night I told D about the full extent of my satanic involvement. That night I was physically attacked by demons. I shouted at them and threw a coke bottle at them.	195. After telling the evangelist about the full extent of his satanic involvement, E was physically attacked by demons.
196. D ran in, and by now I'd wet my pants.	196. By the time the evangelist had ran to E's aid, E was so afraid that he lost control of his bladder.
197. In a way we were thankful that the attacks were no longer inside of me, but from the outside.	197. E derived some comfort from his experience of the demonic attacks being external, and no longer inside him.
198. I was as scared as a baby and had to sleep with D and F that night.	198. E felt like a terrified infant and had to sleep with the evangelist and his wife.
199. The battle ended at twenty to six on the first of November, 1991. That night I renounced the last of my powers, my ability to astral project and to communicate with the demonic world.	199. E's spiritual battle ended at the precise moment he renounced all his occult power and severed communication with the demonic world.
200. Eventually I saw that Satan had no power, God has ultimate power.	200. E discovered that, contrary to his previous convictions, Satan was powerless

	and God supremely powerful.
201. Now that I'm a Christian it's not a case of having power. The power you have isn't to be used against other people, the power is to be used for the benefit of other people. It's not destructive like in Satanism.	201. After his Christian conversion E now believes that power should be employed for the good of others, rather than used toward destructive ends.
202. From about the age of fifteen I realized that there has to be something in this Jesus, he has to be alive. I knew that there is a God, and that he has to have power. You're not allowed to acknowledge that in Satanism because you're indoctrinated to believe otherwise, and you get sacrificed.	202. E realizes that he had long believed in the existence of a powerful living opponent to Satan, despite the cult indoctrination and threat of sacrifice.

APPENDIX 5 (b) SUBJECT 5 : Significant interpersonal contexts, fantasies, and corresponding object relations derivatives

Interpersonal Context	Fantasy	Self rep.	Affect link	Object rep	T. no.
S believes he was predestined for satanic involvement by virtue of the occult interests of his grandparents.	I was born with an occult affinity - my ancestors occult interests were passed on to me through the blood line.	Fated recipient of occult predisposition.	Resignation	Omnipresent ancestral spirits.	1
As a four year-old child, S experienced a visitation and possession by a demonic spirit.	An evil spirit has entered me and I am powerless to expel it. [The intrusive return of a projected bad paternal object evokes the experience of spiritual possession].	helpless victim of intrusive malevolent spirit.	Terror	Malevolent, powerful, male oriental spirit. [Bad paternal part-object].	2,3,5,6
The demonic figure demands S's secrecy and threatens to take away that which S loves should he reveal the demon's presence.	The evil spirit inside of me threatens to destroy that which I value if I betray its presence. [The destructive introject threatens to destroy S's good objects].	Isolated child in thrall to possessing spirit.	Fear	Threatening, destructive bad paternal introject.	6,7,11
After S tells his parents of his ordeal, they dismiss his experience as a dream.	My parents have invalidated my experience and left me alone to face the evil spirit inside me.	Betrayed, rejected child.	Rejection, fear, isolation.	Uncaring, rejecting parental figures.	8,11,32
S's mother deliberately scares the sleeping child after his nocturnal encounter with the spirit.	My mother, rather than believing and attempting to understand me, mocks and humiliates me instead.	Misunderstood, humiliated child.	Fear, humiliation.	Hated, sadistic maternal object.	9,10

S's pet animals start dying following his disclosure of his possession experience.	The destructive spirit in me is punishing me for disclosing it's presence by magically killing my beloved pets. [The omnipotent bad internal object vengefully destroys S's loved objects].	Incredulous, helpless witness to the bad object's malice.	Horror, helplessness.	Malevolent, murderous, persecutory internal object.	12,13,14
Shortly after his possession experience, S's grandmother took him to a satanic meeting where he dimly recalls being interfered with, ceremonially washed, and forced to watch a sex ritual.	Adults are secretly involving me in frightening events which I cannot understand.	Vulnerable child victim of incomprehensible adult attention.	Anxiety, helplessness.	Ominous, threatening adults.	15,52
S believes that his grandmother, who presented herself as a Christian, was a satanic witch, who on one occasion frightened him by exposing herself to him.	My grandmother, who passes as a Christian, is in fact a satanic witch who wishes to exploit and sexually abuse me.	Child victim	Fear	Abusive woman.	60,64
S's grandmother introduces him to his "real" mother, thereby creating the idea that his birth was the consequence of a mysterious satanic breeding program.	I was conceived under mysterious and special circumstances, and my biological mother is an exotic woman from another country. [S interprets his encounter with a strange woman in terms of the narcissistic fantasy that his conception was special, and that he has another "real" mother].	Special child.	Gratification derived from sense of uniqueness	Secret exotic maternal figure.	46,47,48, 51,53,54

After frightening and punishing S, the demon befriended him and instructed him in the use of supernatural powers.	The internal spirit which at first terrified and punished me, is now a fatherly mentor and ally who I can rely on to acquire supernatural power. [S's ego is seduced by the bad object's promise of supernatural power, and develops a collusive relationship with the former persecutor].	Trusting, special surrogate child.	Excitement, gratification.	Caring, understanding trustworthy, father-mentor.	7,18,19, 20.
S became possessed by other demons, which both hurt him physically and provided him with further supernatural abilities.	My spirit guide has called other harmful spirits to enter me and provide me with more supernatural abilities. [Splitting of the internal object into idealized good and persecutory bad components].	Victim of painful demonic assaults.	Anxiety, pain.	Hating, persecutory internal part-objects.	21,22,23, 24,26
S is taught by his demonic spirit to believe that Christians are fools and liars, and that Lucifer is the true god.	Christians represent deception and ignorance, and the true god is Lucifer, who Christians portray as bad. [The transposing of good and bad allows the ego to ally itself to a projected evil paternal part-object, now seen as the true god].	Privileged student of the real truth.	Gratification	Lying, ignorant purveyors of untruth [good objects made bad] versus the personified symbol of truth [bad object made good].	25
When S's Christian parents could not afford his medical expenses, S's demonic spirit used this to point out that God was incapable of caring for His worshippers.	God and my Christian parents have failed me and cannot take care of me.	Unloved and unprotected child.	Hurt, rejection, anger.	Impotent, uncaring parental objects.	27,28,29, 30

3

S's parents' disclose that his birth was unwanted, reinforcing his experience of rejection by them.	My experience of rejection began before I was born because my conception was unwanted by my parents.	Unloved, rejected.	Anger, rejection.	Unloving, rejecting parental figures.	33
S's physically handicapped younger siblings received parental attention and gifts, while S's health and intellectual precocity excluded him from similar parental displays of caring.	Because I am healthy and intelligent my parents ignore me, while my handicapped siblings receive parental love and gifts.	Unloved, rejected child.	Rejection, jealousy.	Rejecting parents; favored siblings.	35,36,37, 38
S was aware of marital conflict between his parents and their desire to get divorced.	Other people have stable, loving parents who support each other, but my parents fight and do not want to be together.	Anxious, abnormal child.	Anxiety	Unstable, hostile parental couple.	39,40,96
As a child S had few friends as he was perceived by others as deviant.	I am not normal, and other children do not want to befriend me.	Abnormal, friendless outcast.	Rejection, loneliness.	Normal, rejecting peers.	34
S's father was a distant, noncommunicative figure who was absent from the family home much of the time.	My father does not wish to spend time or communicate with me.	Fatherless child.	Resentment.	Absent, uncaring father.	41,95
S had a poor relationship with his mother, who, absent for much of his childhood, he perceived as complaining, uncaring, and argumentative.	This complaining, uncaring, and argumentative woman, who has ignored my needs is not my biological mother, as I was swapped with her infant at birth.	Misunderstood, unwanted, unloved child.	Anger, resentment.	Absent, argumentative, unloving mother.	42,44,46, 48

4

S was an intelligent, manipulative, and aggressive child, who habitually attacked and hurt other children.	I am more powerful and clever than my normal sibling-peers, and I will punish them for having the love and caring denied to me [Hatred and narcissistic defenses against envy and inferiority expressed in S's aggressive attacks on other children].	Envious, aggressive, and inferior child behind grandiose facade.	Envy, aggression.	Hated recipients of loving attention denied to S.	72,73,74, 75,76
S's second encounter with Satanism began when he first went to school, and was taken by a teacher to a ritual where he was bound, injected, forced to drink blood, and ceremonially washed.	Because I am different I have been singled out by adults for involvement in something I don't understand.	Victim of incomprehensible adult behavior.	Anxiety.	Secretive, abusive adults.	77,78
S was taught witchcraft and infiltration of Christian youth gatherings, and soon became desensitized to his extraordinary experiences.	I have been sucked into events I cannot understand or control. All I can do is learn to do what is expected of me.	Compliant participant.	Resignation Acceptance	Powerful, controlling adults.	16,79,80
At S's initiation he was cut, and wrote a pact in his own blood, pledging himself to Satan and the destruction of Christianity.	I have a new life in a new family, and everything I do must help my father, Satan, destroy Christianity.	Accepted member of a new family.	Gratification	Approving parental figures.	81,82
S's satanic pact was burned, and the ashes ingested with blood from all the ritual participants.	When I drink my blood, mixed with the ashes of my pact and blood of other Satanists, they become part of me, and I become one with them. [Introjective identification based on cannibalistic ritual].	New identity as a Satanist.	Gratification	Approving parental figures.	83

Satanism gave S power, material goods, sexual gratification and, above all, unconditional acceptance.	Satanism compensates me for the caring and acceptance I never got from my family, by giving me power, sexual gratification, and unconditional acceptance.	Respected, accepted, cared-for child.	Gratification	Caring and accepting family members.	65,66
As a consequence of desensitization and the ritual deadening of his emotional responsiveness, S experienced hatred, manipulation, the witnessing of, and participation in perverse and murderous activities as normal.	I can express and act out the most cruel, perverse, and antisocial impulses because I have stopped feeling, and it is expected of me to live in defiance of Christian ethical codes.	Emotionally blunted automaton.	Emotionally numb.	Controlling	87,88,89, 113,116
S's satanic involvement resulted in a moral inversion in which love and remorse became replaced by feelings of hatred, triumph and success.	The weak moral part of me has died, and I am one with the destructiveness which makes me powerful and triumphant. [Identification with the bad internal object creates manically destructive dominant subpersonality].	Manically triumphant, powerful.	Excitement	Objects to be manipulated and attacked.	91,92
S excelled academically, despite his satanic involvement and long periods of absence from school.	I need not be concerned about school as I am intellectually gifted and have supernatural mental powers.	Intellectually arrogant.	Inflation	Intellectual underlings.	122
S believes that his parents' Christian devotion and lack of concern, together with the freedom afforded by his eviction from the main family dwelling, prevented their early discovery of his satanic involvement.	I can live as I wish because my Christian parents do not care for me, and cannot comprehend my experience within their twisted religious frame of reference.	Outcast child.	Rejection, hatred.	Rejecting, hated parental figures.	85,86

6

S's parents unsuccessfully attempted to discipline him with restrictions, physical beatings, and counseling by other adults.	I will defy any attempts by my hated Christian parents to control me.	Defiant child.	Hatred.	Hated impotent parental figures.	93,94
S hated his parents and perceived them, as he did all Christians, as deceitful and morally corrupt.	My hypocritical parents espouse Christian values, while failing to love and care for me.	Wronged, hating child.	Hatred.	Hypocritical, deceitful Christian parents.	101,102
S's hatred found expression in destructive and self-destructive fantasies of punishing his parents for having wronged him.	I will make my parents sorry for the way they treated me by dramatically killing myself in their home.	Vengeful, rejected child.	Anger.	Abandoning parental figures.	103
Fantasies of his death, and his experience of surviving assorted accidents, made S believe he was invincible and immortal.	Whatever negative events occur cannot harm me - I am invincible and cannot die. [S erects a manic defence of omnipotent fantasies to shield him from his pain and vulnerability].	Omnipotent, immortal.	Manic triumph.	Powerless bad parental objects.	104,105
S began to enjoy lying and deceiving others.	Others are gullible fools who can be controlled and manipulated by my lies.	Deceitful manipulator.	Destructive gratification.	Gullible objects of control.	106
Satan manifested visibly to S as a powerful, fearful, and compelling figure, who he revered and committed himself to.	Satan appears to me as an omnipotent father worthy of my reverence and commitment. [Hallucinatory manifestation of Satan as the idealized paternal part].	Adoring son.	Awe, adoration.	Idealized father.	147,148,149,150

7

Believing that Lucifer wished him to misbehave, S did so in order to please his god.	I will behave as destructively as possible because Lucifer, my beloved father, wishes me to. [Collusive subservience to idealized bad paternal part-object].	Compliant, loving child.	Libidinal attachment.	Idealized paternal part-object.	107
S believed that Satan loved S's audacity, arrogance, and aggression.	I can earn my satanic father's love by being arrogant, aggressive, and audacious.	Loved child.	Gratification	Admiring father.	120
S's prayers to Lucifer to change the family's impoverished living circumstances were answered, and S attributed this to Lucifer's revelation of the truth, and his love for S.	Lucifer, who loves me and shows me the spiritual truth, has answered my prayers and provided for me like a good father should.	Loved child.	Gratification	Loving, caring paternal object.	97,98,99, 100
When S did failed to pray to Lucifer his possessing demon screamed abuse at him and afflicted him with acute motor, visceral, and perceptual symptoms, which a pastor attributed to satanic influences.	Because I have failed to worship my god, the demon inside me is punishing me with abuse and internal attacks on my body. [Idealized paternal part-object is replaced by the fantasy of a split-off persecutory paternal bad object, attacking S from within, and causing physical symptoms]	Disobedient child.	Persecutory anxiety.	Persecutory paternal part-object.	67,68,69
Despite being diagnosed with appendicitis and hospitalized, S attributes a spontaneous remission of symptoms to his complete psychological control over his physiological functioning.	I have so much power that I can even control my body, willing physical symptoms to appear and disappear. [Omnipotent fantasies of bodily control defend S against persecutory anxieties of internal attack by bad objects].	Omnipotent	Persecutory anxiety	Persecutory bad internal object.	70,71

When interpersonal conflict and a range of misfortunes occurred in S's family, S knew this was the result of his evil spirit.	The evil inside of me is so powerful that it magically affects events and people around me.	Destructive, powerful.	Awe	Victims of S's demonic power.	108,109
S's father attempted to counter the family's misfortune by means of daily family prayer meetings, during which S secretly prayed to Lucifer.	I will defy my father by refusing to worship God, and secretly pray to Lucifer instead.	Defiant child.	Hostility.	Hated paternal figure.	110
S befriended Christians and presented himself as a spiritual role model in order to infiltrate Christian gatherings.	I will infiltrate Christian gatherings by deceitfully presenting myself as a Christian role model, the antithesis of my satanic self.	Malevolent deceiver.	Aggression.	Gullible victims.	118
S undermined the Christian spirit and unity of a youth group by encouraging the female members' sexual responsiveness to him, and fostering jealousy regarding his other female partners.	I will undermine this Christian group by exploiting my sexual attractiveness to girls to seduce them away from God, thereby creating in them un-Christian feelings of sexual desire and jealousy.	Sexual manipulator.	Aggression, envy, narcissistic gratification.	Corruptible female targets.	119
Power and dominance derived from inviting possession by demons stronger than the demons of other Satanists.	I will make myself a receptacle for evil forces that are more powerful than the forces of others.	Willing receptacle.	Gratification	Powerful demonic forces.	129
The relationships between S's satanic coven members were based on competition for power and domination over others.	I have to control and be more powerful than my satanic competitors.	Power-hungry.	Aggression.	Hostile competitors.	130

Love was absent from S's satanic relationships, and the unity between cult members derived only from their shared goal of destroying Christianity.	I cannot love or trust my fellow Satanists because they wish to control and dominate me, but we are held together by the goal of destroying a common enemy.	Suspicious.	Fearful.	Adversaries.	131
S's satanic relationships created interpersonal ties based on the fantasy that sexual intercourse results in parts of oneself being transferred and adhering to ones' partners.	Sex with other Satanists results in parts of me existing in them, and parts of them existing in me, thereby joining us together. [Introjective and projective fantasies create the belief that psychic aspects are concretely transferred and located in the other during sexual intercourse].	Receptacle for others' psychic contents.	Anxiety, ambivalence	Palpable internal presences.	132
Although S initially feared the high priestess because of her superior power, competition for power and the persistent search for others' weaknesses resulted in him losing his fear.	This powerful figure has her own hidden frailties. I don't have to fear her because she can be conquered.	Fearless, power-hungry.	Greed, aggression.	Vulnerable possessor of desired power.	133
Strength of character determines cult success in the anxiety-provoking environment of having to defend one's own power, and usurp the power of others.	I have to be strong and never expose weakness, because others will see my vulnerability and exploit it to steal my power. [Others will attack and plunder my insides if they see that they can].	Suspicious, hostile.	Paranoid anxiety.	Hostile plunderers.	134
S's magical power, whereby he used demons to instill fear in others, made him arrogant and provided the incentive to remain in the cult.	By means of my demonic powers I have power over others and can instill fear in them. [Identification with destructive internal objects expressed in the omnipotent fantasy of controlling others by magical means].	Arrogant, powerful.	Triumph.	Subservient, fearful.	135,137

10

While angry with his parents, S used his demonic powers to attempt to harm or kill them by causing various accidents to happen to them.	I am so powerful that I can harm or kill my hated parents from afar by causing accidents to befall them. [Destructive fantasy in which S is convinced that his thoughts are magically realized in the external world].	Omnipotent.	Hatred	Hated parental objects.	44,136
S's perceived biological mother, who lived close to him, was allegedly abducted and sacrificed by Satanists, leaving S feeling numb and withdrawn.	The real mother, the only person to have loved me, has been taken from me and killed.	Hopeless.	Emotional numbness a defense against grief, despair.	Dead good maternal object.	57,58,61, 63
S's satanic life-style caused visible physical deterioration, and left him feeling cold, emotionally numb, and lifeless.	Satanism is draining me of energy and feeling, and I have little left inside me. [Fantasy of being consumed from within by bad internal objects].	Empty, lifeless.	Emotionally blunted.	Consuming bad internal objects.	140, 146
S, experiencing his body to be a hated physical restriction, neglected his physical needs, and consequently became sick and exhausted.	My body and it's needs set physical limitations on my satanic aspirations. I will ignore bodily needs, and live a disembodied existence.	Idealized image of a disembodied self.	Frustration	Body as hated limitation.	141
S's demonic spirit assumed all control of S's body.	My possessing spirit has taken control of my body away from me. [Subjugation of body-self to the destructive subpersonality].	Powerless.	Anxiety.	Controlling internal demonic presence. [Destructive subpersonality].	145

The horror of S's satanic involvement, which he no longer experienced in waking life, confronted him in the form of nightmares.	I cannot escape from the horrifying things inside and outside of me. [Persecution by bad internal objects against which S has no defenses].	Horrified, helpless.	Terror	Horrifying demonic objects.	142
S became afraid of being alone, and heard the voices of squabbling demons inside him.	I feel alone and powerless against the demons fighting each other inside me. [The breakdown of S's defenses results in increasingly fearful and hallucinogenic manifestations of his bad internal objects].	Helpless victim.	Paranoid anxiety.	Destructive internal presences. [Bad internal objects].	143,144
In the context of a heterosexual relationship, S felt mutual loving feelings for the first time, and desired more of this experience.	For the first time I am feeling loving, rather than destructive, feelings, and I want to follow these feelings. [The repressed libidinal part of S was activated despite the controlling destructive subpersonality].	Loved and loving.	Love.	Loving object.	151
S feared that if he allowed himself to experience love he would be punished by his possessing demons.	[Fear of persecution by bad internal objects for the betrayal of identifying with libidinal parts of the self].	Loving, vulnerable.	Persecutory anxiety.	Vengeful persecutory objects.	154
Although wishing to leave Satanism, S believed that Satan could read his thoughts, control him, and kill him if he left the cult.	Satan knows my every thought and will kill me if I try to leave him.	Helpless victim.	Persecutory anxiety.	Omnipotent, vengeful killer. [Murderous bad internal object].	152,153, 155

S questioned his sanity, experiencing an internal split between a part attracted to evil, and another part attracted to good.	I feel myself to be two contradictory people, one identified with satanic evil, and one identified with goodness and love. [Internal split between antagonistic libidinal and destructive parts of the self].	Split good and bad self aspects.	Anxiety	Split good and bad internal objects.	156
S, feeling guilty about the satanic acts he had committed, believed that he deserved to die and attempted suicide by cutting himself.	I have damaged and destroyed all that is good, and will punish myself by taking my own life. [Depressive fantasies of having destroyed the good internal object results in unbearable guilt and self-destructive impulses].	Destructive, guilty.	Guilt, self-hatred.	Destroyed good object.	157,158
After S's suicide attempt was interrupted, he hid the evidence of his self-destructive act, and lied about the origin of the scar.	Others must not be allowed to know of my shameful self-destructive act.	Ashamed	Self-loathing.	Potential witnesses of shameful actions.	159
Despite S's popularity and sexual attractiveness to others he felt lonely and craved emotional love.	Others may like me and be sexually attracted to me, but I feel unloved and crave a quality of loving that feels unattainable.	Unloved, empty.	Pain, frustration.	Unattainable loving object.	160
Feeling despair, S cut himself in another suicide attempt.	I will kill myself because I feel empty, hopeless and irredeemable. [The fantasy of having destroyed everything good inside him makes living unbearable].	Hopeless, despairing.	Despair.	Lost, dead loving object.	161

13

S was called up for compulsory military service and, facing discharge after his aggressive behavior led to him admitting the fact of his satanic involvement, lied to psychologists in order to avoid expulsion.	I do not want to be rejected by yet another parental figure, and so I will deceive them about my real situation.	Deceitful.	Triumph.	Gullible authority figures [parental objects].	162,163, 164,165
S, feeling rejected by former friends, and distressed at being unable to observe his satanic rituals in a military setting, experienced the return of his suicidal impulses.	I wish to end my life because former friends have rejected me, and I cannot carry out the satanic rituals that once earned me my father, Satan's, love.	Abandoned.	Despair	Rejecting objects.	166,167,1 68
S attempted to test the Christian assertion of a loving God in heaven by killing himself, failing only due to a firearm malfunction.	I am unloved and despairing. If there is a Christian God in heaven who will love me, then I will kill myself to reach Him.	Abandoned child, desperate for parental love.	Desperation.	Saving, loving parental object.	169
When S finally left the military and began working, his Christian work colleagues one day secretly took him to a rendezvous with a Christian evangelist.	I have been taken to a confrontation with the Christian enemy.	Anxious, threatened child.	Persecutory anxiety, anger.	Christian enemy. [Bad paternal object].	170,171, 172
When confronted by the evangelist, S became aggressive and boasted of his magical feats.	I feel afraid of this man and will defend myself by boasting of my supernatural powers and deeds.	Vulnerable, small, insecure.	Anxiety.	Christian enemy.	173

14

Fearing that Satan would destroy him, S refused the evangelist's invitation to leave Satanism, despite his secret wish to do so.	Even though I wish to leave Satanism, Satan will kill me if I admit it to this man.	Frightened deserter.	Persecutory anxiety.	Vengeful god [Persecutory bad object].	174
S experienced internal pain, burning sensations, loss of motor control, and convulsions as the demons fought against the evangelist's deliverance.	The demons inside of me are fighting the Christian's attempts to deliver me, causing me physical pain, convulsions, and lack of control over my body. [Somatic manifestations of the destructive subpersonalities resistance to enemy influence].	Helpless ego witness to a conflict between opposing forces.	Anxiety	Demonic forces [bad internal objects] fighting for control of S.	175,176
When the evangelist called on S's controlling demonic spirit it answered in a strange voice, saying it had been assigned to S at birth, and would never leave.	The demonic spirit within me is responding to the Christian in a voice that is not mine, and refuses to relinquish control of me. [The destructive subpersonality is dissociated and personified, and thus speaks in a voice other than S's normal voice].	Helpless witness to vocal communication from demonic spirit[destructive subpersonality].	Persecutory anxiety.	Tangible internal demonic presence [bad internal object].	177
Despite his exhaustion after the deliverance, S could not sleep as his demons screamed that he was a traitor and would be killed by Satan for betraying him.	Because I have betrayed Satan his demons are tormenting me and threatening me with death. [Attacks on the self by the vengeful destructive subpersonality].	Tormented victim.	Paranoid anxiety.	Vengeful demonic attackers [Bad objects].	179,180
S's attempts to read a Bible were thwarted by a demonic internal voice which controlled his reading and twisted the content.	Although I try to read the Bible, a demon reads the words for me and twists them in my mind. [Fantasy of the destructive subpersonality preventing S from engaging in a taboo activity].	Helpless victim of demonic cognitive infiltration.	Helplessness.	Intrusive demonic presence [aspect of the bad internal object].	181

15

The spiritual battle inside of S manifested physically as slimy and foul-smelling sweat, stomach cramps, and oral bleeding.	The badness inside me is leaking out in my sweat and bleeding mouth, and the demons are attacking me from inside. [Somatic manifestations of the fantasy of internal badness and destructiveness].	Receptacle for evil forces [destructive subpersonality].	Anxiety, revulsion.	Poisonous internal presence [bad object].	182,183
S's sleep was disturbed by nightmares and, instead of his own reflection, S was confronted by hallucinations of demonic faces when he looked into mirrors.	I see terrible visions in my dreams, and the horrifying faces of the demons inside of me, when I look in mirrors. [Projected personifications of S's egodystonic destructive self aspects].	Victim of horrifying visual images [projected self aspects].	Intense paranoid anxiety.	Persecutory demonic figures [bad internal objects]	186,187
S's work performance was compromised by poor concentration, and he considered killing himself to escape the pain and fear arising from demonic attacks on him.	I cannot endure the pain and fear anymore, and want to escape by killing myself. [Persecution by the destructive subpersonality is felt to be unbearable].	Helpless victim.	Unbearable pain and fear.	Tormenting demonic forces [bad internal objects].	184,185
S's parents evicted him from their home when his demons began to verbally abuse them and S's siblings.	The demons possessing me are causing me to behave in an abusive manner toward my parents and siblings. [Destructive subpersonality begins expressing aggression directly toward parents and siblings].	Hostile, abusive subpersonality.	Hatred, anger.	Uncaring, punitive parental figures.	188
During a second deliverance S shrieked, convulsed, and vomited slime as the demons screamed in agony and threw his body about the room, before leaving.	[Dissociated destructive subpersonality responds violently to the Christian deliverance].	Helpless container for a demonic presence [destructive subpersonality].	Fear	Enraged demonic force [bad internal object].	190

16

Because S still refused to renounce all of his occult powers the demons returned to possess him.	Because I cannot bear to lose my supernatural powers, my continued association with the occult has invited the demons back into me. [Ambivalent attitude toward the destructive subpersonality allows its continued conscious manifestation].	Ambivalent.	Fear of losing powers.	Tenacious possessing powers [bad internal objects].	193
S, although feeling no emotion, acted in a bizarre, cruel, and aggressive manner.	I do not feel the aggression expressed by the demonic power that controls my actions. [Emotional blunting provides a defense against gratification derived from the aggressive actions of the egodystonic destructive subpersonality].	Dissociated aggressive, cruel self aspects [destructive subpersonality].	Hatred.	Hated objects containing S's projected vulnerabilities.	192
A murderous demon possessed S and caused him to attack the evangelist, with whom he had been living.	The demon inside me wishes to kill the Christian who is seeking to remove my possessing spirit. [Acting under the influence of the destructive subpersonality, S attacks the evangelist attempting to exorcise this personality structure].	Murderous subpersonality.	Hatred.	Christian enemy.	194
After telling the evangelist about the full extent of his satanic involvement, E was physically attacked by demons, but derived some comfort from his experience of these attacks coming from outside, rather than inside him.	Although the demons still attack me, they are no longer inside, but are now outside of me. [With S no longer ambivalent about contact with the supernatural world, projective defenses have replaced introjective defenses, and the destructive subpersonality is now located outside of him].	Internally purified of destructive introjective identifications.	Relief.	Attacking external demonic forces [projected bad objects].	195,197

17

S's spiritual battle ended at the precise moment he renounced all his occult power and severed communication with the demonic world.	I have finally let go of all my supernatural powers and severed all occult attachments. [Termination of supernatural identifications facilitates defensive projection of bad self aspects, thereby ridding S of internal conflict].	Internally "clean", dis-identified from destructive self aspects.	Relief.	Externalized bad objects.	199
Following his Christian conversion S discovered, contrary to his previous indoctrinated beliefs, that Satan was powerless, and his opponent, God, supremely powerful.	Now that I have taken God inside me I realize that my enemy, Satan, is powerless, and that God is omnipotent. [Splitting persists, and in a defensive reversal the previously denigrated part-object (God) is now idealized, while the formerly idealized Satan is now denigrated].	Strong, pure son of God. [Identification with idealized paternal part-object].	Idealized love for God, and contempt for Satan.	Idealized paternal part-object (God) vs disparaged bad paternal part-object (Satan).	200,202
S now believes that power should be employed for the good of others, rather than used toward destructive ends.	God is now in me, and I thus reverse my former philosophy to embrace the Christian moral code. [Identification with idealized father figure (God) results in S embracing Christian values].	Benevolent.	Love.	Objects of Christian love.	201

APPENDIX 6 (A) SUBJECT SIX

S is a 33-year old ex-policeman, currently running his own business.

Natural meaning units	Central themes
1. As a child, I was very introverted, and had a hard time opening up to people, even to other children of my own age. I kept mostly to myself.	1. S was an introverted and socially withdrawn child.
2. I only managed to make a small group of close friends who were very much like me.	2. S's few childhood friends were similar in temperament to him.
3. I never felt understood, and this stayed with me until recently.	3. For most of his life S never felt understood by those around him.
4. My relationship with my mother was peaceable, but I was never able to talk to her as she got upset easily and saw my problems as her failures.	4. S maintained a peaceable relationship with his hypersensitive mother at the expense of avoiding self-disclosure about his difficulties, as she interpreted these as reflecting her failures.
5. My father and I had a terrible relationship. I hardly ever spoke to him as he worked mostly nightshift on the mines, and when I came home from school he was usually sleeping.	5. S had a bad relationship with his father, who he hardly spoke to owing to the latter's work and sleep routines.
6. My father had a very violent temper and he would often beat me. He would punch me around the room and I would often have black eyes and a broken nose.	6. S was often physically injured in violent assaults by his bad-tempered father.
7. This ended when I was twelve. My dad took to beating me one day, and I lost my temper and smashed a lamp over his head.	7. S's beatings at the hands of his father ended when, at the age of 12, S lost his temper and retaliated by assaulting him.
8. After this my mother decided enough is enough, and from then on I found myself in one boarding school after another, just to keep my dad and I apart.	8. S's mother could not tolerate the father-son conflict and sent her son to boarding school to separate them.
9. From a young age I was very close to my two sisters, who were older than me, as I felt that they were the only ones I could	9. S had a close relationship with his two older sisters, the only family members he felt able to could communicate with.

communicate with.	
10. As we got older we also drifted apart, and once I was in boarding school communication between us broke down completely.	10. Increasing age and S's physical absence at boarding school led to the breakdown of his formerly close relationship with his sisters.
11. School for me was generally a lousy experience. I was never very good at schoolwork and had great difficulty concentrating in class.	11. S's poor concentration and scholastic performance made his schooling a negative experience.
12. My mind was always on other things, like what it would be like to be different or more popular with my peers.	12. S was constantly distracted by fantasies of being different and more popular with his peers.
13. I was looked upon as weird, mainly because I was so much of a loner.	13. S's social withdrawal resulted in others perceiving him negatively.
14. I also changed schools a lot, which made matters worse.	14. Frequent school changes aggravated S's social alienation.
15. I had very few friends, and those I did have were in much the same boat as me. As they say, birds of a feather flock together. We were generally disliked and often referred to as the "outsiders".	15. S's few friends were, like him, generally disliked and perceived as social outcasts.
16. I never really got along with my teachers, and they mostly didn't like me.	16. S had negative relationships with his teachers, who he felt disliked him.
17. I came from a Christian background. By this I mean my parents took us to Sunday School, and occasionally attended Sunday service themselves.	17. S's parents sent their children to religious instruction classes, and occasionally attended Christian Sunday service themselves.
18. Once I was too old for Sunday School they left it to my sisters and I to decide whether we wanted to go to church or not, and my parents stopped going altogether.	18. As the children got older S's parents did not enforce church attendance, and ceased any religious observance themselves.
19. I was baptised and confirmed in the Methodist Church, but this basically meant nothing to me as I never knew the Lord Jesus Christ as my personal saviour and	19. Although S was baptised and confirmed within the Christian faith, religion had no personal meaning for him.

never felt the Holy Spirit upon my life.	

How did you come to be involved in Satanism?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
20. *There was a long process of ever deepening involvement in the occult before I became a Satanist.*	20. A process of deepening occult involvement preceded S's satanic participation.
21. *I never knew the Lord personally, and eventually had an atheistic outlook on life.*	21. From being unconcerned with religious questions, S adopted an expressly atheistic viewpoint.
22. *But something inside of me said there had to be some sort of god or higher power, and so I started searching for these answers.*	22. Despite his atheistic stance, S began searching for a god or supernatural power.
23. *I delved into Transcendental Meditation, Buddhism, Hare Krishna, and other religions.*	23. S's spiritual quest led him to explore Eastern mystical religions.
24. *I also started using Tarot cards, crystals and rune stones for fortune telling and communicating with the spirit world.*	24. S began to experiment with occult methods of divination.
25. *Although I got results from this I still wasn't getting the answers I was seeking.*	25. Although rewarded by his occult pursuits, S's essentially spiritual quest for a higher power was not satisfied.
26. *I then discovered the New Age Movement ... which taught me how to get a direct link to the spirit world. This teaches that God is not a personal being, but a universal power, and that God is in us in the form of spirits, and that we're all part of God - that is to say, we are God.*	26. S's discovery of New Age esoteric philosophy gave him direct access to the spirit world, and introduced him to the notion that God is not an external being, but an impersonal spiritual power present in all humans.
27. *I received a spirit guide who gave me all the answers I was looking for, and taught me a lot about the spirit world. I received many spiritual powers and gifts - demonic power, through my spirit guide.*	27. S received a personal spirit guide who gave him occult power, spiritual education, and answers to all his religious questions.

28. *I then got involved with a biker club and heavy metal band who, unbeknown to me, were Satanists.*	28. S began socialising with members of rock music and a motorcycle clubs, not knowing at the time that they were Satanists.
29. *They used my New Age involvement to draw me in. They said that my views on God were correct, but that God has two sides - light and dark, good and evil; two opposites in one God force which was necessary to bring about a balance of the universal power we refer to as God.*	29. Recognising S's esoteric interests, these individuals sought to influence him through the argument that the God-force comprised a balance of good and evil qualities.
30. *To live a true fulfilling life you had to serve and do work for the "light", Lucifer. The "dark" Jesus was for lazy people who wanted everything for nothing and were not prepared to work for it.*	30. S's new acquaintances asserted that spiritual fulfilment lay in serving Lucifer, the spirit of light, and that the opposing dark Christ figure appealed only to the indolent and morally inferior.
31. *That is why Christians don't have the gifts we have, because they serve the wrong side, with a dead master, Jesus.*	31. Christians' lack of occult power was attributed to them serving Jesus, a dead master associated with the negative spiritual pole.
32. *At first I was sceptical about this, so I asked my spirit guide about what I was told, and he said this was correct.*	32. S's scepticism regarding these new ideas were allayed when his spirit guide confirmed them to be correct.
33. *I had come to trust him fully. He had promised me things in the past and had seemed to have kept his promises.*	33. S trusted the spirit guide, who appeared to have fulfilled his promises to S.
34. *He taught me how to access my inner self and how to use my spiritual powers to levitate, to astral project, to gain control over my own destiny, and mostly to influence and control people, which I especially loved due to my past inability to do so.*	34. S's spirit guide taught him to harness his spiritual power to supernatural ends and control other people, a valued ability given S's past failures to influence others.
35. *I made friends of all ages from all walks of life as I was more confident and always knew what to say to please people.*	35. With his new sense of confidence and intuitive perception of what others wished to hear, S made a range of friends.
36. *I was twenty-two years old when I got*	36. When S was 22 years old he knowingly

4

involved with the Satanists.	became involved with Satanists.
37. *I had a motorcycle and played guitar, and therefore fitted in easily with them.*	37. S's alternative life-style and image made him appear suitable as a potential Satanist recruit.
38. *I was told, however, that if I wanted to become a Satanist I would have to keep my mouth shut about them, and would have to help them destroy the foe. This meant destroying Christianity and converting people to our side. If they would not convert they had to be destroyed spiritually and emotionally, you see.*	38. S was informed that a precondition of his becoming a Satanist was taking a vow of secrecy and committing himself to destroying the Christian foe, either by converting Christians to Satanism, or by destroying them emotionally.
39. *At my initiation I had to desecrate a local church and burn a bible on the pulpit. I also had to say the Lord's Prayer backwards.*	39. S's initiation involved various acts in which Christian symbols were desecrated.
40. *I felt that what I was doing was right. I was happy to be doing the work of the "good side".*	40. S believed that his satanic activity was morally justifiable work in the service of spiritual goodness.
41. *And I was overjoyed to be accepted by so many people.*	41. S was gratified by the experience of being accepted by fellow Satanists.
42. *I was thrilled as I had found all the answers to my questions. My life now had a purpose, you know.*	42. Satanism provided S with the answers to his spiritual questions, and gave him a sense of purpose.
43. *I was attracted to Satanism by the fact that I was given power over so many things, and had control over my life and surroundings.*	43. Satanism's attraction for S lay in the power and control he acquired over his life and environment.
44. *Actually, it was the demons that had control over me, not me over them. They just allowed me to use them so that I would think I was in control.*	44. S believes that he was deceived by demons into thinking he controlled them, whereas in reality they were manipulating him.
45. *My spirit guide was the main demon in me, whose name I knew but will never utter again.*	45. S's controlling demon was his spirit guide, whose name he dare not utter for fear of invoking it.

46. *I only came to realise later that all these powers I had were not from within me, but from demons who were under him.*	46. S later realised that his occult powers derived from demons subordinate to his spirit guide, and not from within himself.
47. *When I did realise it, it still didn't bother me as I felt that I was still in control of them, and I was just too glad to have all the powers I had.*	47. S was grateful for his supernatural powers, and continued to believe that he controlled the demons responsible for them.

How did your life change when you became a Satanist?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
48. *My life changed dramatically when I became a Satanist. I was always on the go from pubs to night clubs, recruiting new followers.*	48. Upon becoming a Satanist S experienced a dramatic change in his life, and actively began recruiting new followers.
49. *We would often go to Christian prayer groups and bible studies to spread confusion, give twisted explanations of the scriptures, and spread conflict and discord among the members.*	49. S went to Christian gatherings and actively attempted to generate conflict and confusion among the members.
50. *But we had to be subtle so that they wouldn't realise who we were, you see.*	50. S's disruption of Christian gatherings was discreet in order to keep his satanic identity secret.
51. *A large part of satanic life was focused on self-gratification, as we believed all things of this world were given to us for our pleasure, and to abstain would be denying yourself what is rightfully yours to enjoy. So a lot of time was spent on drinking, "jols", and having sex.*	51. Carnal gratification, emphasised in cult activities, expressed the hedonistic philosophy that Satan had provided worldly things for the purpose of human pleasure, and that abstention had the negative implication of self-denial.
52. *As a Satanist I absolutely loved myself, and looked down on others with absolute disdain. I developed a deep hatred for my fellow man, and felt I was above everyone else.*	52. S's contempt and hatred for others contrasted with his self-idealisation and sense of superiority.
53. *One of the most effective ways to destroy a person's faith was to ruin them financially, as their faith would often be*	53. S concerned himself with others' financial ruin in order to destroy their Christian faith.

6

destroyed if their security was taken away from them.	
54. During rituals we would place demons in people's houses in various ways to destroy the family structure and cause conflicts in the home.	54. S engaged in magical rituals in which demons would be sent to others' homes in order to cause conflict and destroy the family structure.
55. The children of pastors or ministers were prime targets for converting, or to place demonic curses over, as this gave us a strong foothold in their homes.	55. Clergymen were servants of God, and their children were thus specifically chosen as targets of ritual cursing or conversion in order to infiltrate their homes.
56. On becoming a Satanist I was required to sign a contract with Satan in my own blood. Your blood is drained from a cut, usually on the palm of your hand, into a goblet. You sign the contract with some of this blood, and then the rest is offered up to Lucifer and passed to all present.	56. S's initiation into Satanism began with him signing a pact with Satan in his own blood.
57. At some rituals animals were killed, like a cat, and the blood drunk by us. You see, this blood gives us power, when you drink blood you get power into your own body.	57. At ritual animal sacrifices S drank blood in order to obtain power.

How did you respond to the things you experienced as a Satanist?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
58. My emotional response to what was going on in the coven was not very strong, you know, because I had been hardened by life and learned to shut out all my feelings.	58. S's emotional responsiveness to his satanic experiences was blunted by his use of denial as a defence against emotional pain.
59. I had a great hatred in me for nearly all other people.	59. S felt hatred towards fellow humans.
60. Having spent time fighting in the Angolan war, I was also hardened against the usual emotions involved with death and killing.	60. S's prior war experiences had hardened him against the distress associated with death and killing.
61. I did participate in the rituals and felt	61. S's felt gratified by the power that his

very good about it, as through the rituals I gained more power.	involvement in satanic rituals gave him.
62. I also felt it was my duty to participate as Lucifer required us to show our dedication to him and his cause.	62. S felt obliged to demonstrate his commitment to Lucifer and the satanic cause.

Could you tell me about your relationships with other Satanists in your coven?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
63. I hated them all. I was capable of controlling most of them, and they were afraid of me as they knew I had a lot of power. I had an extremely powerful demon in me.	63. S hated his fellow Satanists, who feared him because of the controlling power that his demon gave him.
64. What scared them the most, though, was that I had absolutely no fear of death, and would be extremely cruel and cold without showing any emotions whatsoever.	64. S's extreme cruelty, callousness, and the fact that he was unafraid of death, inspired fear in his fellow Satanists.
65. My main function was recruiting people and the breaking down of law and order.	65. S's satanic function was to recruit new members, and erode the law and order of society.
66. I had been in Satanism for six months when I got a message from Satan himself, through my spirit guide. I was to join the South African Police, where I was to mislead fellow policemen and spread corruption in the force.	66. Via his spirit guide, S was instructed by Satan to join the police force in order to mislead it's members and spread corruption.
67. This I did in the police college by befriending all those with a rebellious nature, and those who had little or no Christian background, and had an interest in the occult or supernatural.	67. S befriended those police recruits were rebellious, lacked Christian convictions, or showed occult interests.
68. I introduced them to New Age and would draw them into things such as occult games, Tarot cards, runes, astrology, astral projection, and teach T.M. as a means of beating stress.	68. S introduced susceptible recruits to "New Age" philosophy, occult divination, and meditation.

69. *On weekends I would promote drinking and the use of drugs, such as grass and various "uppers". When they were under the influence they were easy to recruit into Satanism. By the end of my six months at police college I had brought six new members into Satanism.*	69. S's successful indoctrination and recruitment of six police force colleagues was facilitated by his strategy of using drugs and alcohol to make them more amenable to his influence.
70. *After college most of us managed to get into the same unit for the first two years, where we would work together as a team while I continued to train them in the craft.*	70. For a number of years S provided satanic instruction to those members of his police unit he had recruited, and who worked together as a team.
71. *We were in a specific riot unit that was sent all over the country on operations that often led to killing "enemies of the state" or criminals. All those killed in our presence or by ourselves were dedicated to Satan as sacrifices.*	71. All those criminals or political adversaries killed in the course of S's police activities were offered as sacrifices to Satan.
72. *When off-duty, we'd go into the cities and recruit more members into Satanism.*	72. Satanic members of S's police unit would recruit civilian members when off duty.
73. *I studied the teachings of Anton LaVey because it was the clearest and most detailed , but most of my knowledge was learned directly from demons, and not writings.*	73. Although S studied published writings on Satanism, most of his satanic knowledge was acquired directly from demons.

What was your relationship like with the high priest?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
74. *Before I joined the South African Police I had a very dangerous relationship with our high priest, as we hated each other and were both very powerful.*	74. Both S and the coven's high priest were powerful, and their mutual hatred made their relationship dangerous.
75. *I was rising in rank far more rapidly than most. My demons would often confront the high priest's demons, and he would never get the better of me.*	75. S made rapid progress in the satanic hierarchy of power, and he soon began to employ his demons to challenge the high priest's demons.
76. *When I joined the police we had very*	76. As head of the police unit's satanic

	coven, S himself became a high priest.
little to do with each other. By the time I left police college I was a high priest myself, as head of the police unit coven.	

Did you ever experience demonic possession?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
77. (Laughs). Yes..., um...I became possessed by inviting demons through rituals, and through sex.	77. S became possessed through the ritual invitation of demons, and sexual intercourse with those already containing demons.
78. The demons were manifest in many forms. Some demons took on normal human forms - male and female. Some were dark, shadow-like shapes. Others appeared as animals. Some demons took on their true appearance - ugly, really ugly.	78. The demons manifested as human forms, animals, shadowy figures, or as their true hideous selves.
79. I often had sex with a demon that took on the form of an extremely beautiful, fairy-like woman.	79. S had sexual intercourse with a beautiful fairy-like woman.
80. The true appearance of demons varied extremely, but common characteristics were strong, well-built cross-overs between man, animal and reptile.	80. Demons' visible manifestations revealed them to be typically powerful composites of human, animal, and reptilian characteristics.
81. Just one thing - there is absolutely no love in their eyes, just pure cold hate.	81. The only emotion S saw expressed in eyes of demons S was pure, cold hatred.

What was it like to have demons inside you?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
82. At first I was very happy to have demons in me, as this was where I got my power.	82. S initially experienced demonic possession as gratifying as the demons gave him supernatural power.
83. But there was another aspect to Satanism and demon possession - fear. As a Satanist you learn that you're in control of the demons. But you soon learn that if you're dishonest to Satan these demons will turn on you and cause you great pain and	83. Despite S's belief that he was in control of the possessing demons, he soon learned that any attempts to deceive Satan resulted in punitive demonic attacks that caused both physical and emotional pain.

misery, both physical and emotional.	
84. I was hospitalised for demonic attacks, with no physical cause that the docs could find.	84. As a consequence of internal demonic attacks, S was hospitalised for physical symptoms that appeared to have no organic origin.
85. Eventually my entire life was destroyed through demons, and I hit rock bottom. I felt broken and attacked by demons whenever I had negative thoughts about Satan and what I was doing with my life.	85. S felt broken and psychologically destroyed by repeated demon attacks aimed at punishing him for entertaining negative thoughts about Satan.
86. There is also the constant fear of other Satanists, as the only loyalty they know is to Lucifer himself. Hatred and jealousy towards each other is always driving them to destroy those higher up in rank as this is the easiest way to take up their position and claim their demons for themselves. You see, demons know no loyalty, and will go to the one who serves Satan the best.	86. S's relationship with other Satanists was based on rivalry for power and status, and was thus characterised by mutual fear, hatred, and envy.
87. Destroying other Satanists also serves Satan's cause as this usually leads to their death through suicide, sacrifice, or drugs.	87. Destroying fellow Satanists was permitted as their unnatural deaths served Satan's cause.

How did you come to leave Satanism, and why?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
88. What made me want to leave Satanism was love. I found love for the first time in my life.	88. S's novel experience of a loving relationship prompted him to leave Satanism.
89. After two and a half years in the police O got transferred to Newcastle, and I'm convinced this was God's doing.	89. S believes that God was responsible for his transfer to another town.
90. When I got there I was sure I would continue doing Satan's work, but everywhere I went I was confronted with one big problem: born-again Christians who were totally on fire with the Holy Spirit.	90. S's attempts to continue Satan's work in his new town were frustrated by the powerful spiritual presence of evangelical Christianity.

91. *To make matters worse, they were all intent on making friends with me.*	91. S's attempts to promote Satanism were further frustrated by Christians who were determined to befriend him.
92. *No matter how hard I tried to avoid them they always found me and simply loved me.*	92. S felt distressed by Christians who loved him, despite his best attempts to avoid them.
93. *Then I met a beautiful woman who I had met many years before when I was in high school. Even though she was much older than me I fell in love with her and knew that she was the one I wanted to spend the rest of my life with. She also fell for me and we started a relationship.*	93. S began a mutually committed love relationship with an older woman.
94. *I figured that I had found someone I could convert and make my satanic soul mate.*	94. S thought that by converting his lover to Satanism he would gain a satanic soul mate.
95. *What I did not know was that despite her weak points she was a Christian with immense faith in the Lord Jesus Christ.*	95. S did not realise that his lover was a committed Christian.
96. *I could not tell her about my involvement in the occult. I loved her and could not bear to see such a beautiful woman hurt.*	96. Because S loved his partner and wished to protect her from hurt, he did not reveal his satanic involvement to her.
97. *With all these new feelings of love and all these people loving me, I got very confused and started doubting Satanism, as something inside me said, "This is good".*	97. The contradiction between S's satanic identity and his new experience of loving and being loved, made him feel confused and question his satanic commitment.
98. *I stopped doing Satan's work. Being in a town where none of the Satanists knew me, and the various covens I had been with in the past had no contact with me, I had no problems. Well, not at first, anyway.*	98. Having severed contact with other satanic covens, and not knowing any Satanists in his new town, S felt safe enough to cease his satanic activities.
99. *I still drank a lot of alcohol, and was sleeping with a woman I was not married to. What was worse was that she was still married to a man in prison.*	99. Despite no longer being a practising Satanist, S's life-style did not conform to Christian principles.

100. Satan obviously didn't mind my new life as I was still living in sin and had lost her into a life of sin, and we therefore belonged to him.	100. S believes that Satan did not object to his new life-style, as S was "living in sin" and consequently still belonged to him.
101. After nine months in Newcastle I left the police force. I went to work for the woman I was involved with as she had her own business with her son.	101. S left the police force to work for his lover.
102. In them I found only love. This love, along with their unity in Christ and their prayers and faith, finally opened my eyes to the lie I was living. This, along with what all the other Christians were doing, got me to renounce Satan and seek the Lord Jesus.	102. Being the object of constant love, prayer, and Christian spirit gave S insight into the lie he was living, and resulted in him renouncing Satan and committing himself to God.
103. At first I was very scared as I knew the power that Satan and his demons had over me, and that they could destroy me. But for some reason they seemed to leave me alone to do my own thing.	103. After giving himself to Christ, S initially feared that Satan and his demons would destroy him with their power, but they failed to attack him.
104. I still had all my powers, and often used them to make friends and have fun. I was still blinded by Satan. I still drank a lot, used foul language and smoked dope - all evil things. I was involved in an adulterous relationship and was simply living a life of sin.	104. The anticipated demonic attacks failed to materialise as S still retained his supernatural powers and pursued an un-Christian life-style.
105. After a few months I started feeling really at ease , and was glad to be out of Satanism. I was under the impression that my life was on track. For the first time I was really happy and at peace.	105. S's anxieties about demonic retribution ceased, and he felt peaceful and happy at the prospect of a new life outside of Satanism.
106. But a few months later I was introduced to a true, wonderful servant of the Lord, a walking, living miracle himself. He taught me all about God the father, His great plan for His people, and about the true life in Jesus Christ. This was when my life was turned upside-down. I now had to make the hardest and most frightening	106. S's complacence was shaken when he met a charismatic Christian figure who preached evangelical doctrine to him, and confronted him with a spiritual choice.

choice I had ever had to make in my life.	
107. It was at this point that I realised that all the powers I had at my disposal were evil, and that to be saved I would have to give them up and face the consequences, relying totally on the Lord to protect me.	107. S realised that if he were to be saved by God he would have to relinquish his evil supernatural powers and rely solely on God to protect him from Satan's wrath.
108. This led to the worst torment I had ever been through - spiritually, mentally, and socially. Satan and his demons turned on me and destroyed my life, as they realised that if they didn't act now and destroy my faith - or even kill me - they would lose me to God.	108. S's decision to renounce his supernatural powers resulted in extreme torment, as the satanic forces attempted to destroy him rather than lose him to God.
109. What they did to me very nearly cost me my life, as I was left in a quivering, totally broken mess on the bedroom floor, ready to blow my head off with a friend's .45 Magnum.	109. Demonic persecution resulted in S's extreme psychological decompensation, to the point where he contemplated suicide.
110. The details of this are extremely painful to recall, but I feel it's necessary for me to talk about them so that Satan's cruel, totally evil nature may be revealed.	110. Although recalling the details of his psychic disintegration was painful to S, he felt obliged to express them in order to expose Satan's cruel and evil nature.
111. I pray with all my heart, mind and soul that this will be an eye-opener to everyone who hears my story, that they will come and repent and commit their life to Jesus Christ and be born again, renouncing all the evil in their lives in the name of Jesus.	111. S prays that his story will be a revelation to others, and that they will renounce evil and commit their lives to God.
112. I started going to church and attending P's home cell. And I totally renounced Satan and all his demons, and decided to stop using my demonic powers altogether.	112. S renounced every aspect of his previous satanic life, and involved himself in church activities.
113. Unfortunately, I still had very little knowledge of the power of Jesus and the Holy Spirit, and was trying to do it on my own strength.	113. S uncertain God's power, relied on his own resources to distance himself from satanic influence.

114. This, coupled with the other sins in my life, was what gave the demons doorways into my life, which made it possible for them to get to me.	114. S's failure to depend completely on God, together with his "sinful" life-style, made him vulnerable to demonic influence.
115. It all started with the demon of perversion, which made me flash at people. Demons can make you do the strangest of things, and flashing is and always will be contrary to my nature. Demons also made me spy on women while they were getting dressed.	115. S felt compelled by the "demon of perversion" to engage in uncharacteristic sexual exhibitionism and voyeuristic behaviour.
116. Once, I was flashing and I got caught. I was placed under arrest.	116. S was arrested for exhibitionistic behaviour.
117. My friend made bail for me and I was out of jail the same day. But this episode totally destroyed my girlfriend's trust in me, and I lost every single thing I loved. Everything I ever cared about was taken away from me.	117. Although bailed out on the day of his arrest, S felt that he had destroyed his partner's trust, and that everything he loved had been taken away from him.
118. When I saw the pain in her eyes I was totally torn apart.	118. S was emotionally devastated by the pain he saw in his partner's eyes.
119. This, along with all the embarrassment I was suffering, drove me to the suicide state I told you about.	119. S, feeling distraught, guilty, and humiliated, contemplated killing himself.
120. Fortunately, my friends stopped me, and P came to the rescue.	120. S was prevented from killing himself by his friends, and rescued by the charismatic Christian figure who had initially so influenced him.
121. P took me to Maheno Mission in Dundee where I spent three and a half weeks before my trial.	121. S's Christian saviour took him to a rural Christian mission station in the period proceeding his trial.
122. At the mission I underwent an exorcism, and learned the true way to defend myself against demonic attacks - to take authority over them in the name of Jesus Christ, rebuking them in his name, and having faith in the power of the Lord,	122. S underwent a Christian exorcism, and was taught to rely on God's strength, rather than his own, to defend himself against his demonic enemy's attacks.

and not relying on your own strength to overcome the enemy.	
123. I gave my life over to the Lord totally, and got baptised in water.	123. S was baptised and gave himself completely to God.
124. But I still suffered demonic attacks such as migraines when I prayed or went to church.	124. Despite his Christian conversion S continued to experience demonic attacks in the form of migraine headaches whenever he engaged in Christian worship.
125. I had to be exorcised again and again as the Lord revealed problem areas in my life. After that my life really started coming back together, and I regained the confidence of my friends.	125. After undergoing repeated exorcism rituals S regained control of his life, as well as the trust of his friends.
126. After a year of staying at P's house I moved in with the woman I was involved with, but living up to my new Christian standards.	126. After spending a year in his Christian mentor's home S moved back in with his partner, but adhered strictly to his new Christian morality.
127. Unfortunately, I was still compromising in one area of my life - drinking. In a short while this led me to lose control of my life again.	127. S's use of alcohol resulted in him losing control of his life again.
128. I stopped going to church and the home cell, thus opening myself to demonic attacks again. The demon of perversion got hold of me again, and I was spying on women again.	128. S ceased attending Christian gatherings, and once more fell prey to the demonic forces which compelled him to engage in voyeuristic behaviour.
129. Once again, I lost control of my life - my self-respect, dignity ...	129. S lost all of his former self-respect and dignity.
130. But through my Christian friends I got my life in order again. I realise now that it was the work of the Holy Spirit that got me out, working through the Christians that befriended me. Even through the compromising Christians I was involved with, who had good hearts and a love of Jesus, even though they had a lot of sin in their lives. The Lord uses many ways to	130. S believes that it was the Holy Spirit working through his sinful and imperfect Christian friends that he regained control of his life from the demonic forces.

save us, and will even use the least worthy of us to fulfil His plans.	
131. I feel wonderful about myself now, and give all the praise and glory to the Lord for the wonderful work he has done in my life.	131. As a consequence of God's influence on his life, S has a high degree of self-esteem.
132. I now absolutely love other people, and I'm filled with compassion for others.	132. S is filled with an unambivalent love and compassion for others.
133. I really want to lead everyone I can to salvation. I'm now ministering to the woman I was involved with.	133. S is on a Christian mission of salvation, and is ministering to his former lover.
134. Most of my relationships are now totally restored, or getting there.	134. S's relationships, which suffered when he was a Satanist, have been restored.
135. Satanism is the worst thing that anyone could get involved with, and I'm doing my best to prevent people from making the same mistake I made.	135. S, having experienced the destructive effects of Satanism, has devoted himself to preventing others from becoming involved.

APPENDIX 6 (B) SUBJECT SIX : Significant interpersonal contexts, fantasies, and corresponding object relations derivatives

Interpersonal Context	Fantasy	Self rep.	Affect link	Object rep	T. no.
S felt the need to shield his hypersensitive mother from his own emotional difficulties, as she interpreted these as reflecting her maternal failure.	The disclosure of things inside me hurts my mother and are bad, so I must not let her know how I feel. [Maternal inability to contain S's experiences reinforces depressive anxieties about his inner badness threatening his good objects].	Bad, destructive.	Guilt	Vulnerable, injured maternal object.	4
S was an introverted and socially withdrawn child, who had few friends, and seldom felt understood by those around him.	People do not understand me, like me, or want to be with me. [Projection of misunderstanding and rejecting maternal object onto others].	Rejected, misunderstood, withdrawn.	Resentment	Rejecting	1,2,3
S had a bad relationship with his absent and non-communicative father, who frequently injured S in violent assaults.	My father hates me and hurts me [Internalisation of sadistic, persecutory paternal part-object].	Hated, persecuted child.	Anger	Cruel, persecuting father.	5,6,7
When S's mother sent him to boarding school to avoid the father-son conflict, S lost the previously close relationship he had with his older sisters.	Instead of defending me, mother has sent me away, and I have lost the only good relationships I had. [S deprived of good object relations by rejecting maternal part-object].	Alienated, rejected.	Anger	Rejecting maternal part-object.	8,9,10

1

S's poor concentration, frequent school changes, and low scholastic performance made his schooling a negative experience. S had negative relationships with his teachers, who he felt disliked him.	I am doing badly and am a failure in the eyes of these critical parental figures. [Identification with rejected, powerless bad self representation].	Rejected, inadequate, hated child.	Resentment.	Rejecting, critical parental objects.	11,14,16
S's social withdrawal resulted in others perceiving him negatively, and his few friends, like him, were disliked and labelled social outcasts.	We are all social outcasts who everyone shuns [Projection of rejecting parental objects results in defensive withdrawal from others].	Alienated, disliked social outcast.	Anger, pain.	Hostile, rejecting parental figures.	13,15
S was constantly distracted by fantasies of being different and more popular with his peers.	If I was someone else I would be liked by those around me. [If I was someone else my parents would love me].	Inadequate, unlovable.	Resentment	Rejecting parental objects and peers.	12
Despite S's atheist convictions, he began a spiritual quests for a god by exploring Eastern mysticism and occult methods of divination. Although rewarded by his occult pursuits, S's spiritual quest for a higher power was not satisfied.	[Unconscious quest for a good supernatural father figure to compensate for S's own lack of loving fathering].	Child yearning for a good father.	Frustrated longing	Inaccessible potential good surrogate father.	21,22,23, 24,25

After S's esoteric quest led him to the notion that God is a power present in all humans, he received a trusted personal spirit guide who gave him occult power, spiritual education, religious answers, and control over others. As a consequence S gained self-confidence, became socially adept, and made a range of friends.	There is a powerful, trustworthy, and caring father-spirit inside me, who gives me power, guidance, and control over others. [Personified fantasy of an introjected idealised paternal part-object].	Worthy, cared-for son.	Gratification	Powerful, loving, idealised internal father figure.	26,27,32, 33,34,35
S began socialising with members of alternative youth subcultures who, unbeknown to him, were Satanists. Recognising his spiritual interests, S's new acquaintances sought to persuade him that spiritual fulfilment lay in serving Lucifer, the spirit of light, and that the opposing dark, powerless Christ figure appealed only to the indolent and morally inferior. At the age of 22 S became initiated into Satanism after signing a pact with Satan in his own blood, committing himself to destroying the Christian enemy, and desecrating Christian symbols.	I will serve the good father, Satan, and destroy the dark Christian God. [Dualistic satanic philosophy aggravates splitting defences, and inverts the Christian moral polarity by idealising one paternal part-object (Satan) and denigrating the other (God)].	Loyal son.	Gratification	Idealised paternal part-object (Satan) split off from denigrated part-object (God).	28,29,30, 31,36,38, 39,56
S felt gratified by the experience of being accepted by fellow Satanists.	At last I feel wanted and accepted by others, after having been rejected all my life.	Wanted, accepted.	Gratification	Caring, accepting others.	41

3

Satanism gave S a sense of power, control, and purpose, and provided him with the answers to all his spiritual questions.	I am powerful, controlling, and all-knowing [Narcissistic identification with the idealised part-object gives rise to a grandiose sense of self].	Grandiose	Triumph	Idealised paternal part-object.	42,43
Carnal gratification, emphasised in cult activities, expressed the hedonistic philosophy that Satan approved of worldly pleasure, and that abstinence carried the negative implication of self-denial.	My satanic father approves of the uninhibited satisfaction of instinctual desire.	Phallic, disinhibited.	Sexual gratification.	Approving paternal part-object.	51
S felt obliged to demonstrate his commitment to Lucifer and the satanic cause.	I must show my loyalty to my good father, Satan.	Loyal child.	Gratification	Idealised paternal part-object.	62
S relished his supernatural powers, and believed that he controlled the possessing demons responsible for them.	The supernatural entities inside me, from which I draw my power, are under my control. [Identification with idealised part-object creates the fantasy that S controls destructive part-self representations].	Omnipotent.	Gratification	Subservient personified destructive part-self representations.	47
S's contempt and hatred for others contrasted with his self-idealisation and sense of superiority.	[Identification with idealised paternal part-object and destructive self-representations results in the formation of an egosyntonic destructive subpersonality].	Grandiose, destructive.	Hatred	Hated others [projected aspects of self].	52,59

4

S believed that his satanic activity was morally justifiable work in the service of spiritual goodness, and enthusiastically began recruiting new followers.	Satan and his cause is good, and I must therefore recruit more followers. [The idealisation of destructiveness creates an inversion of good and bad moral poles].	Loyal son.	Gratification	Idealised paternal part-object.	40,48
S devoted himself to generating conflict and confusion among Christians, and destroying their faith by sending demons to attack their families or cause financial ruin.	I will destroy the Christian enemy with magical power [Identification with destructive subpersonality results in omnipotent destructive fantasies and psychological attacks on Christians].	Powerful assailant.	Aggression	Evil Christian enemy	49,50,53, 54,55
S willingly drank blood at ritual sacrifices in order to obtain supernatural power.	[Oral incorporation of blood associated with the fantasy of absorbing another's life force].	Greedy infant.	Gratification	Parental beast/penis.	57,61
S's prior war experiences had hardened him against the distress associated with death and killing, and his emotional responsiveness to satanic involvement was blunted by his use of denial as a defence against emotional pain.	[Emotional blunting and denial, arising from S's war experiences, protected him from experiencing distress in response to satanic events].	Impervious, emotionally blunted.	Anxiety, emotional pain.	Suffering victims of aggression.	58,60
S was instructed by Satan to join the police force in order to mislead it's members and spread corruption. He befriended susceptible trainee police officers, using drugs, alcohol, and occult philosophy to make them amenable to recruitment.	My father, Satan, has instructed me to infiltrate and attack the forces of law and order by recruiting police officers as Satanists. [Subservient adherence to the destructive subpersonality].	Loyal son.	Gratification.	Idealised paternal part-object.	65,66,67, 68,69

5

S provided satanic instruction to these police recruits working in the same police unit. All those criminals or political adversaries killed in the course of S's police activities were offered as sacrifices to Satan.	I will convert these men to Satan's cause and sacrifice those I kill to my father, Satan.	Devoted son.	Gratification	Idealised paternal part-object.	70,71
S's relationships with fellow Satanists were based on rivalry for power and status. It was permissible to attack and destroy fellow Satanists as their unnatural deaths served Satan's cause. S was feared because of his superior demonic power, extreme cruelty, callousness, and indifference to death.	I will attack and destroy those siblings who are competing for power and status in my father's family.	Cruel, callous, aggressive assailant.	Sadistic gratification.	Hated siblings and competitors for Satan's recognition.	63,64,86, 87
S's relationship with the high priest was one of mutual hatred and rivalry. S made rapid progress up the satanic hierarchy, and employed his demonic power to challenge the high priest.	I will attack and overthrow this hated authority figure [projected bad paternal part-object].	Aggressive, defiant child.	Hatred	Hated bad paternal part-object.	74,75

6

S invited demonic possession through ritual invocation, and sexual intercourse with those already possessed. He initially experienced the supernatural power derived as gratifying.	By inviting demonic forces to possess me I can gain supernatural power. [Egosyntonic reintrojection of destructive self-representations].	Powerful, destructive.	Gratification	Destructive self-representations.	77,82
The demons' visible manifestations revealed them to be powerful composites of human, animal, and reptilian characteristics. The only emotion S saw expressed in their eyes was hatred.	[Demons are personified, hallucinatory manifestations of primitive, destructive self-aspects].	Willing receptacle for destructive part-objects.	Gratification	Hateful, destructive bad part-objects.	78,80,81
Despite S's belief that he was in control of the possessing demons, he soon learned that any negative thoughts about Satan, or attempts to deceive him, resulted in punitive demonic attacks. As a consequence of these attacks, S felt broken and psychologically destroyed, and was hospitalised for physical symptoms that appeared to have no organic origin.	The father who I worshipped now punishes me if I think negatively of him by attacking my mind and my insides. [Attempts by S to dissociate himself from the destructive subpersonality result in his fantasy of being internally attacked and persecuted by the vengeful personified psychic structure].	Helpless victim of punitive attacks.	Persecutory anxiety.	Vengeful bad paternal part-object.	83,84,85

After being transferred to another town, S's attempts to continue his satanic work were frustrated by the spiritual presence of evangelical Christians, who were determined to befriend and love him, despite his best attempts to avoid them.	My Christian enemies are frustrating my attempts to do Satan's work by being friendly and loving. [S's hostile projections undermined undermined by consistently positive behaviour by Christian adversaries].	Frustrated, confused.	Frustration, confusion.	"Hostile" enemies showing loving behaviour.	90,91,92
In his new town S had the novel experience of a mutual, loving relationship with an older woman. The contradiction between his satanic identity and the new experience of loving and being loved, made S feel confused and question his satanic commitment.	[The activation of S's split-off libidinal personality in relation to a good maternal object undermines his identification with the destructive subpersonality]	Loving, loved child.	Libidinal gratification.	Loving maternal object.	88,93,97
S discovered that his lover was a committed Christian. Because he loved her and wished to protect her from hurt, he did not reveal his satanic involvement to her.	[I must protect this good maternal object from my destructiveness].	Guilty, destructive child.	Depressive anxiety.	Vulnerable good maternal object.	95,96
Despite ceasing his satanic activities, S's life-style did not conform to Christian principles. Being the object of constant love and Christian spiritual care gave him insight into the lie he was living, and so he renounced Satan and gave himself to God.	My life is not acceptable to those who love me, and so I must change and worship their God. [S's identification with good objects makes S critical of his inauthentic life-style].	Ashamed.	Shame	Loving objects.	98,99,102

8

After becoming a Christian S feared that Satan would destroy him, but the anticipated demonic attacks did not materialise as S still retained his supernatural powers and pursued an un-Christian life-style.	[Anticipated persecution by the vengeful destructive subpersonality does not occur because of S's failure to completely identify with the antagonistic Christianity].	Potential victim of supernatural attack.	Persecutory anxiety.	Persecutory bad paternal part-object.	103,104
S's complacent enjoyment of his post-satanic existence was shaken when a charismatic Christian figure confronted him with a spiritual choice between his sinful life-style, or relinquishing his evil supernatural powers and relying solely on God's protection. S's decision to ultimately renounce his occult powers resulted in extreme torment, as satanic forces attempted to destroy him rather than lose him to God. S decompensated to the point where he contemplated suicide as the only escape from demonic persecution.	My decision to finally renounce my occult power and turn to God for salvation has angered Satan, who is now trying to torment and kill me. [Psychic attack by betrayed destructive subpersonality induces despair and suicidal ideation].	Tormented victim.	Annihilatory anxiety.	Murderous bad part-object.	103,104, 105,106, 107,108, 109

9

Although involved in Christian activities, S did not fully trust God's power, and relied on his own resources to distance himself from satanic influence. This failure to depend completely on God, together with his "sinful" life-style, made him vulnerable to continued demonic influence. This, reasons S, lay behind his compulsion by the "demon of perversion" to engage in sexual exhibitionism and voyeuristic behaviour.	The demon of perversion is forcing me to engage in deviant sexual behaviour. [Egodystonic sexualised aspects of S's self are perceived by him to be alien demonic influences].	Perverted	Persecutory anxiety.	Exciting but unavailable maternal objects.	112,113,114,115
After being arrested for exhibitionism, S felt he had hurt his partner, destroyed her trust, and lost everything he loved. Feeling distraught, guilty, and humiliated, he contemplated suicide.	[Fantasy of having damaged his good maternal object elicits depressive anxiety and extreme guilt].	Guilty, destructive child.	Depressive anxiety, guilt.	Damaged good maternal object.	116,117,118,119
S was rescued from his suicidal state by the charismatic Christian who had initially influenced him. This man took him to a rural Christian mission station, where he was exorcised, baptised and taught to rely completely on God to protect him from Satan.	God, my new father, has embraced me as his son and banished Satan from inside me. [Identification with a new idealised paternal part-object, God, and the projective expulsion of the destructive subpersonality with the help of hypnotic induction].	Loved, protected son.	Gratification	Omnipotent idealised paternal part-object.	120,121,122,123

Despite his Christian conversion S continued to experience demonic attacks in the form of migraine headaches whenever he engaged in Christian worship.	[Fantasy of persistent attacks by intrusive destructive subpersonality give rise to visceral pain]	Persecuted victim.	Persecutory anxiety.	Persecutory bad paternal part-object.	124
After undergoing repeated exorcism rituals, S regained control of his life, as well as the trust of his friends.	[Hypnotic influence of exorcism rituals facilitate the defensive fantasy of again expelling the destructive subpersonality]	Controlled, accepted, normal.	Gratification	Powerful good paternal part-object.	125
After a year living with his Christian mentor, S moved out, resumed drinking alcohol, and ceased attending Christian gatherings. He once again fell prey to the demonic forces which compelled him to engage in voyeuristic behaviour, losing all former self-respect and dignity.	Satan has again entered me and forced me to engage in sexually aberrant behaviour, taking away all that was good in my life. [Unconscious identification with destructive subpersonality results in further egodystonic perverse behaviour].	Victim of intrusive subpersonality.	Persecutory anxiety, despair.	Possessing destructive subpersonality.	126,127,128,129.
S again managed to regain control of his life from the demonic forces. As a consequence of God's influence on his life, S has high self-esteem, and is filled with unambivalent love and compassion for others.	[Defensive identification with idealised paternal part-object results in a new subpersonality characterised by high self-esteem, unambivalent love and compassion for others].	Transformed son of God.	Triumph	Idealised paternal part-object.	130,131,132

11

S is now on a Christian mission of salvation, and has devoted himself to protecting others from Satanism.	Satan, my former father, is now my enemy. [Splitting and the reversal of positive and negative polarities between dissociated part-objects, allows S to commit himself completely to God's cause].	Grandiose, moral.	Aggression	Evil part-object adversary.	133,135

APPENDIX 7 (A) SUBJECT SEVEN

S is an unmarried 26-year old technician

Natural meaning units	Central themes
1. Let's see ... where to start. I was very quiet as a kid. I didn't enjoy being round people, talking to people.	1. S was an introverted child who did not enjoy the company of others.
2. I was also very destructive. I just wanted to harm things - people, animals, objects ... anything.	2. S constantly experienced destructive impulses to harm objects, animals, and people.
3. I was a social outcast. You see, the hatred I had in me ... I had a severe temper, and people didn't dig that.	3. S's aggressive behaviour led to him being ostracised by others, and feeling like an outcast.
4. I have bad memories of growing up. The only thing I remember was just hatred; to violate, violate anything.	4. S's childhood memories are coloured by hatred and the urge to violate the world around him.
5. You see, I come from a country ... when I was born, I was born in the middle of a war, okay. When we moved down here to South Africa, I brought that hatred with me.	5. S believes that he was infected by the hatred of his war-torn home country, which was carried inside him when his family emigrated.
6. The hatred that I had in me grew to such an extent that it was going on to other people, to buildings, things. I was scared and just tried to shut it out.	6. S was frightened by his growing hatred, and saw it contaminating the external world around him as he tried to shut it out.

How would you describe your family life before you became involved in Satanism?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
7. Edgy, very edgy. I never communicated with my parents. We were always fighting.	7. S's relationship with his parents was characterised by conflict and a lack of communication.
8. When I wasn't fighting with them I was stuck in my room, door locked, curtains always drawn .... feeling sick inside, like the hatred was eating me up inside.	8. S, feeling sickened and devoured by hatred, isolated himself in his bedroom.

9. My head always stuck in the fantasy role ... fantasies about myself being destructive, destroying the world.	9. S was preoccupied with omnipotent destructive fantasies.
10. My relationship with my mother wasn't good, neither was it with my Dad. They never understood me ... listened to me. They gave up on me.	10. S never felt heard or understood by his parents, and perceived them as giving up on him.
11. I hated them a lot. I couldn't stand them. I just remember them being critical and judgmental ... rejecting, you know.	11. S hated his parents, who he perceived as critical and rejecting.
12. As for school, it was totally boring. It totally sucked.	12. S resented his school life, experiencing it as boring.
13. But it was just keeping me on the brink of being in society, keeping me on the edge of social life.	13. School was S's only source of tenuous contact with social life.

Can you describe your relationship with your teachers?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
14. Well, they didn't like me, were suspicious of me because I was always making threats to kill them. I just wanted to kill them ... get rid of them.	14. S's teachers disliked and were suspicious of S because of his threats to kill them.
15. A lot of the female teachers would burst out crying when I'd rant and rave in class. They'd be so shocked.	15. Female teachers became shocked and tearful in response to S's emotional outbursts.
16. The one male teacher - I won't mention any names - he got very fed up, but he never said a word. He just tried to keep me away from everything in the class, you know. He never asked me anything in class - just acted like I wasn't there.	16. A male teacher managed his anger toward S by marginalising and ignoring him.
17. I didn't have any close friends, except two.	17. S had few close friends.
18. Everybody else - all the teachers, pupils ... I'd say they were terrified and suspicious	18. S perceived pupils and teachers alike as being terrified and suspicious of him.

2

of me. One hundred percent terrified.	

How did you feel about this?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
19. I felt powerful, good about it. It was a nice feeling, like I was in control of everything. I had the cards.	19. The fear S inspired in others made him feel powerful and in control.
20. I only had two friends at school, and they were involved in Satanism.	20. S's only two school friends were involved in Satanism.

Were you brought up with any religious orientation?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
21. My parents and I ... well, I was brought up a Roman Catholic. I can't remember much of it because I never attended church.	21. S had a Catholic upbringing, but never attended Church.
22. I attended catechism to a point, and then one day I just ripped up the book I was writing in, ripped up the Bible, broke all the badges you get given for Sunday school. I just couldn't take all that Christian rubbish any longer.	22. S's participation in Catechism classes ended when, angered by Christian spirituality, he spontaneously destroyed his Bible and religious instruction materials.
23. My parents weren't really strict about religion, but they had very strict morals about how you should conduct yourself. They wanted me to be perfect, but I became the opposite.	23. S defied his parents' perfectionistic moral expectations by adopting a deviant identity.
24. I just felt miserable. I was quite young at the time - thirteen - and here I was, wondering about where I came from, who made me. I wondered if there really was a god. Catholicism at that time didn't seem to have any answers for me.	24. S was an unhappy adolescent, whose spiritual questions concerning his origins and the existence of God were not adequately addressed by Catholicism.
25. I was trying to find the link between myself and the things around me. I was always striving for answers, always striving for that.	25. S was striving for knowledge that would connect him to the world around him.

How did you become involved in Satanism?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
26. It was through my two friends at school. I didn't know it then, but they were actually involved in Satanism. They were a bit older than me.	26. S was introduced to Satanism by two older school friends.
27. They invited me to come to ... they said it was going to be a party. I said "okay". Anyway, we went to this party, and there were all these people there. Some older than me, some much older.	27. S's friends took him to a social gathering attended by many older people.
28. Before I got there, however, my friends told me that I'd be able to relate to these people, I'd fit in.	28. S's friends had promised him that he would be able to relate comfortably to the people he would meet.
29 But they also told me that I'd have to keep my lips zipped about what I saw there.	29. S was warned that he would have to keep secret all that he witnessed.
30. Because I was such an outcast, because I was so different, hating everybody, almost being detached from everyone, including my family, I didn't mind.	30. Because S was a detached social outcast, promising secrecy was not difficult for him.
31. I think they could also sense that, and trusted me.	31. S felt that his friends trusted him to maintain secrecy.
32. At the party music was playing. There was a lot of people. Then they began chanting, followed by someone talking, like a priest in church.	32. The large social gathering became a religious ritual at one point.
33. I remember clearly an animal being slaughtered there, with everyone around the thing. The blood was being shared by everybody. I was sitting outside the ring, quietly watching everything.	33. S recalls watching a ritual animal sacrifice, during which the blood was imbided by the participants.
34. The funny thing is, I wasn't scared. I didn't feel like running away ... nothing. I was already such a hard, destructive kind of person that seeing that stuff didn't	34. S, experiencing himself as callous and destructive, was not frightened by witnessing a satanic sacrifice.

bother me a bit. It was the kind of thing I'd do, you know (Laughs). Anyway, by that time I knew what the guys were up to, that they were into Satanism.	
35. My friends told me that if I joined I could get all that I could ever want. That Satan had all the answers I was looking for, and that through him I could achieve anything. Because this was what I'd always wanted in life, the idea appealed to me.	35. S was drawn to Satanism by his friends' promises that Satan would answer all of his spiritual questions and satisfy his every need.
36. I remember the high priest coming to me and staring into my face with a kind of amused look on his face. He warned me that what I had seen there was not to be told to anyone, or else	36. S recalls the high priest approaching him, staring at him, and warning him not to divulge what he had witnessed.
37. He also told me that if I wanted to be a Satanist it wasn't going to be easy, you know. I'd have to do certain things ... some hard, like totally rejecting my way of life, God, family. Because my life was already in shambles leaving everything behind didn't bother me.	37. Although the high priest cautioned S that becoming a Satanist would be difficult as he would have to renounce his former life, God, and family, the prospect of forsaking his unhappy life did not bother him.
38. I was still closely in touch with my two friends because I was eager about this satanic stuff. The power that I could have, people that would accept my destructive ways and not be shocked by it.	38. S maintained close contact with his satanic friends as he longed for power and the company of people who would accept his destructiveness.
39. Anyway, about a month later I was initiated into the cult at a ceremony. I had to say an oath to Satan, swearing that I was going to accept him as my Lord and master.	39. S's ceremonial initiation commenced with him swearing to accept Satan as Lord and master.
40. I had to totally denounce Christ, deny that he ever existed. I had to first spit, and then urinate on the cross. After this I had to set it alight, watching it burn slowly.	40. After denouncing Christ, S had to defile and destroy a crucifix.
41. I had to cut my hand and then sign a	41. S signed a pact in his own blood,

pact with Satan, agreeing to be his child, and he my master.	accepting Satan as his father and master.
42. Then an animal's throat was slit, and it was offered up to Satan. We also had to drink the blood, and by drinking the blood, accept Satan and his demons into our bodies. I had to drink first.	42. A sacrificial animal was offered to Satan and S had to drink the blood, which signified the acceptance of Satan and his demons into his body.

What were you feeling at this point?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
43. When I became a Satanist I didn't feel any excitement. It just seemed like the right thing to do. I could feel inside that my hatred and cruelty was increasing.	43. When S became a Satanist he experienced his hate and cruelty begin to intensify, and felt he had made the right decision.
44. By confessing that that Satan is your lord and master, and accepting the demons into your body, you get this unmistakable feeling of power, like a powerful, strong force going through your body, okay. You feel you could do anything, like the sky's the limit.	44. When S committed himself to Satan and invited demonic possession, he felt a powerful force surge through his body, and experienced a sense of omnipotence.
45. My quest for power and authority over everything got me involved in Satanism. I'd say I was power crazy. Because I had this extreme hatred in me for everybody, I wanted to be able to manipulate and control them.	45. S's hatred of people, and consequent desire for power and control over them provided the motivation for his satanic involvement.
46. Through deep meditation, and by inviting demons into my body during rituals, I could get this amazing power. Man, I could just stare at someone, and if I wanted them to do something, or to go away, they'd do it. I was able to control them with my mind.	46. Through meditation and ritual demonic invocation, S obtained a power that allowed him to control people's actions through thought alone.
47. The other things which attracted me were the drugs and alcohol that were always there at our meetings and rituals. You could have as much as you wanted.	47. S was also attracted to Satanism by the unlimited drugs and alcohol available at satanic gatherings.

48. *The lust ... no one said "Don't do this", or "it's immoral". In fact, you are encouraged to have sex as much as you like, and that's also what made me want Satanism.*	48. Satanism's encouragement of uninhibited sexual gratification made it attractive to him.
49. *Unlike the outside world, there in the coven I was able to realise my anger, hatred and cruelty towards the world, and was encouraged to develop it.*	49. S was gratified by the fact that Satanism renounced the moral code of wider society, and encouraged him to express and develop his anger, hatred and cruelty.
50. *When I joined the coven I also felt at peace ... there was a false sense of peace, peace with myself, peace with the way things were going.*	50. After joining the coven S experienced a superficial sensation of peace.
51. *I say a false sense of peace because I didn't speak to anybody about my experience. It was like a facade to the outside world. But inside, it was all anarchy, violence, death, and destruction. Like a time bomb.*	51. S's peaceful facade masked an explosive internal sense of anarchy, violence, destruction and death.
52. *My school marks dropped a hell of a lot. Like before, the teachers and children left me alone. They'd ignore me, as if there was something wrong or strange about me.*	52. Although S's school performance dropped, S felt that teachers and peers ignored him and perceived him as deviant.
53. *I was called "the most evil kid around", which made me feel honoured, you know, because I felt evil, and I enjoyed it.*	53. S felt honoured to be labelled as "evil" by others around him.
54. *Going out and recruiting people into Satanism was part of it as well. Playing with their minds, and manipulating them to join our coven (laughs).*	54. S's cult activity involved manipulating others and influencing them to become satanic recruits.
55. *I saw people as things to torture, manipulate, devalue, and demoralise. I hated everyone.*	55. S's hatred inclined him to perceive people as objects to torture, denigrate, and demoralise.
56. *You deceive people into doing anything you want simply by using your demonic*	56. S believed his demonic powers gave him unlimited ability to deceive and

powers.	influence others.
57. We also went out and deliberately aggravated Christians - annoyed them so that they'd get angry, curse and swear. Once you get that right, then the demons have the foothold, and you're able to reach out and get them. In other words, that was the "golden achievement".	57. S felt a sense of achievement when his deliberate antagonising of Christians resulted in them venting anger, thereby leaving them vulnerable to demonic influence.
58. I was also into Druidism, spiritism, astrology, and palmistry. I practised levitation and astral projection as well.	58. In addition to satanic magic, S pursued a range of occult practices.
59. I studied the teachings of Anton LaVey and Alastair Crowley, but Crowley was my favourite. Crowley was my idol. Crowley was "the Beast" - the most evil person, and I felt just like him.	59. S studied the works of published Satanists, but idolised and identified with the magician Alaister Crowley, reputedly the most evil human being.

Could you describe the quality of your relationships with other cult members.

Natural meaning units	Central themes
60. It wasn't very good. I didn't want to socialise with them because they were less intense, and I was this brooding, miserable, destructive person. There was like a clash of personalities, you know.	60. S felt that his destructive intensity and misery distanced him from fellow Satanists, who he could not relate to.
61. I didn't stay in the cult because of them. I stayed because of the power I wanted. I craved power and Satanism gave me that power.	61. S did not remain in the cult for the sake of relating to other Satanists, but because it was the source of the power he craved.
62. I was shot up with drugs and alcohol during the rituals, so it was like my emotions, my reality was controlled. I couldn't feel much.	62. S's emotional responsiveness to satanic rituals felt inhibited and controlled by the drugs and alcohol he imbibed.
63. But what I did feel was satisfaction, rejoicing. I enjoyed the destructive, cruel nature of the rituals, the killing of animals.	63. S derived sadistic gratification from the cruelty and destructiveness of ritual animal sacrifice.

What was your relationship like with the high priest?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
64. *Rotten. I didn't get on well with him. In fact, I didn't get on well with anyone. We had a very edgy type of relationship, 'cause I was also swearing, cursing, carrying all this anger inside of me.*	64. S's consistently hostile behaviour meant that he had an uneasy relationship with everyone in the coven, including the high priest.
65. *I think spiritually, mentally, and physically, I was inclined to Satanism. This made it easy to accept.*	65. S believes that every level of his being inclined him toward Satanism and a ready acceptance of it's subculture.
66. *I think spiritually, because Satan was all about hatred and destruction, and I liked that, rather than God, who was all about love and accepting people.*	66. S felt spiritually inclined toward Satanism because it's essence was hatred and destruction, rather than the Christian doctrine of love and acceptance.
67. *Physically, I enjoyed hurting myself and other people, and animals. I would often slash myself, put out cigarettes on my body, on my hands.*	67. S felt physically drawn to Satanism because it involved inflicting physical pain on others, and sanctioned his predilection for self-mutilation.
68. *I enjoyed torturing animals ... kicking a dog in its jaw and watching the pain.*	68. S engaged in deliberate acts of animal cruelty because he derived sadistic pleasure from their pain.
69. *Mentally, I think I consciously identified with and accepted Satan -- his nature and way of life.*	69. At a psychological level S consciously identified with the figure of Satan.
70. *Satanism increased my ability to terrorise people. It's like a kick.*	70. Terrorising people was exciting for S, and his Satanic involvement increased his ability to do so.
71. *It's also terror in the highest form, you know. Just checking everything out during rituals, I was terrified of the power of the witches and the high priest ... of what their demons could do to my demons, scared of what they could do to me. You're like completely exposed to them, they can do anything to you.*	71. S, himself, felt terrified during rituals by the awesome power displayed by certain cult members, and the knowledge that he and his demons were helplessly vulnerable to potential attack.

But you stayed in the cult even though you were afraid?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
72. *You see, as a Satanist, if you want to leave it's not that easy. You're kind of trapped, 'cause the witches and high priest will do things to keep you there - terror, fear, manipulation, blackmail, because they filmed the things that went on there in the coven. If you tried leaving, they'd blackmail you.*	72. S knew he could not easily leave the coven as the remaining members would terrorise, manipulate, and blackmail him into staying.
73. *Also, the powers that I got from Satanism made me stay. I wanted, and got authority over people. That's the kind of power Satanism gives you - power over everything.*	73. S was also disinclined to leave the cult because Satanism gave him power and authority over people.

How did you feel about yourself when you were involved in Satanism?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
74. *Good. I felt in control of everything, because the power I had enable me to control people and their actions. If someone wanted to pick a fight with me I'd just focus on them and, using my powers, I could literally scare them off. The person would eventually stand back and then leave.*	74. As a Satanist, S experienced a sense of positive self-regard based on his perceived ability to magically control and influence the actions of others.

Did you have any experience of demons?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
75. *Yes. You think you've got control over the demons, okay. You think you can get them to do what you want them to do, but man is mortal, okay, and not very much in control. The demon uses you to hurt other people, animals, to hurt this and that.*	75. S initially believed that he exercised control over his possessing demons, but later realised that the demons controlled and used him for their own destructive ends.
76. *Through having sex with witches in the coven, and by inviting demons into you during rituals, you accept the demons into*	76. Voluntary demonic possession through sexual intercourse with satanic witches, and ritual demonic invocation, was a routine

your body. You accept it as part of your routine.	aspect of the cult life.
77. *We had a special ceremony, okay. There's a pentagram done in chalk, on a black surface. A circle is drawn around this. There are candles. The witches call up the demons, and when the demons manifest, you say, "Yes, Lord, I accept you into my heart, to be my Lord and master".*	77. By means of a special ritual demons were invoked and manifested themselves, at which point participants would verbally assent to accepting the demons into themselves, and to serving them.
78. *You see, the chalk keeps the demons in. One rub-off of the chalk releases all the demons, and then all hell breaks loose. You have to make sure the circle is always there, that it doesn't get rubbed away or anything like that.*	78. Strict ritual safety measures were enforced in order to avoid destructive demonic contagion occurring outside a magic circle.

Could you describe the demons you experienced?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
79. *They had names, okay, which I don't wish to mention. When I was out drinking, doing drugs, or fighting, they'd manifest in me by growling, spitting, frothing, punching everything. Just flipping out.*	79. When drinking, taking drugs or fighting, S's demons would induce uncontrollable aggressive outbursts in him.
80. *I could hear them inside my head, telling me to do things. It was more a mental than a physical experience. But you know that they are there.*	80. S experienced his possessing demons in the form of internal voices directing his behaviour.
81. *I felt blank inside while I was possessed, like I wasn't my real self, because they take over, they take over your body. It's not you doing things, but those forces inside of you. I felt quite scared that these things were actually inside of me.*	81. S felt afraid and estranged from himself when the possessing demonic entities took over his personality, controlling his body and his actions.
82. *But demons give you supernatural powers, okay, so if you want more you have to invite more. That's what I wanted. I wanted to be powerful, so I invited a lot of demons.*	82. Despite S's anxiety about being possessed, he continued to invite demons inside him in order to obtain more supernatural power.

83. *They made me do things, like pick fights with people. You're the host, they are using you. It's not really you doing those things. You're like the puppet on a string, and the demons are the puppet master.*	83. S felt himself to be a host who was used and controlled by his demonic occupants, and was consequently not responsible for his destructive behaviour.
84. *Sometimes you do things that you barely remember, because when you're possessed your brain kind of like switches off.*	84. While possessed, S's cognitive functioning would be impaired, and he could thus not clearly recall his demonically induced behaviour.
85. *But, you know, later I wanted them out. I couldn't take it. That's when I tried to commit suicide. I was sick of everything, of being controlled by all the demons. And so I slashed my wrists. I very nearly died, 'cause I lost three-quarters of my blood, and I was just standing there, watching the blood squirt out.*	85. S could not rid himself of the controlling demons and, in a state of desperation, attempted suicide in order to free himself of demonic influence.
86. *I really wanted to be free of the demons, and so at the beginning of this year, when I got saved, about two weeks after that, the demons were taken out of me. I was sitting in B's living room, and L was praying for me, and then the demons started manifesting. I started growling, screaming, and swearing, and I remember the room becoming ice-cold. I was shivering from cold.*	86. When S underwent a Christian exorcism he began growling, screaming, swearing, and shivering from cold.
87. *L started praying faster, and going into tongues, getting into the spirits, and when he commanded the spirits to leave I remember feeling a great force going out of my body. Almost like when you get blown away on a windy day.*	87. When the spirits were commanded to leave S felt a great force exit his body.
88. *I sighed from exhaustion. I was feeling like totally wasted, you know.*	88. S felt completely exhausted after the exorcism ritual.
89. *After that I felt free, totally free. It was a wonderful feeling.*	89. S took delight in the experience of being free from internal demonic presence.

90. *My body felt cold, but empty. I remember seeing perspiration all over my body.*	90. S's body felt cold, but emptied of possessing forces.

How did you manage to leave Satanism?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
91. *I think my ability to leave Satanism gradually built up over the years. It wasn't just an overnight thing.*	91. The process of S's leaving Satanism occurred gradually over a number of years.
92. *Through my involvement in Satanism I had lost my family through constantly fighting with them, isolating myself from them.*	92. S nearly lost all contact with his family as his satanic involvement made him hostile towards, and isolated from them.
93. *I lost my will to live. I just didn't give a damn about life anymore. I was just existing, like a shell.*	93. S, feeling empty and reduced to the barest level of existence, lost his will to live.
94. *Because of my severe hatred towards my friends, I lost the friends I had. I pushed them away.*	94. S's hatred towards his friends drove them away.
95. *I lost all sensation of life - my taste, my hearing, my smell, because I couldn't feel or sense anything anymore. Nothing beautiful had an impact on me.*	95. S's sensory awareness was severely compromised, and he lost all appreciation of beauty.
96. *I lost my physical stature. I was absolutely thin, and looked forty-two years old. If you'd seen me then you wouldn't believe it's the same guy sitting in front of you now.*	96. S became extremely thin and looked older than his years.
97. *I was tired of being alone, you know, 'cause I never experienced the love or affection of a girl. I never had any girlfriends because I scared them away. They were afraid of me.*	97. Women were afraid of S, who felt lonely, unloved, and deprived of female affection.
98. *So I took the coward's way out and tried to kill myself.*	98. S experienced his satanic life to be unbearable and attempted suicide.

99. *Even the power that I acquired through Satanism didn't interest me anymore.*	99. S lost even his compelling desire for supernatural power.
100. *Thank God I never succeeded in killing myself, because after I came out of hospital I was introduced to L, who helped me leave Satanism.*	100. After his discharge from hospital, S met the Christian who helped him leave Satanism.
101. *I realised that I wanted to change my life, to make it better, and so I allowed L to pray for me. L and his Christian friends were praying for me. I was on the floor on my knees, in front of all these people, and they were praying for me, asking God to help me break ties with Satanism.*	101. S wanted to change his life for the better, and so allowed a group of Christians to pray for his deliverance from Satanism.
102. *Through the prayers and the power of God's will, the demons left me, and I was able to cut myself loose from Satan.*	102. By means of the group's prayers and the power of God, S's demons were ejected and he was able to leave Satanism.
103. *You see, I think what also helped me to accept Jesus Christ into my heart was when I experienced love in my life, through L and the other guys. I'd never experienced love in my life at all, and it was actually quite wonderful.*	103. S's Christian conversion was facilitated by the gratifying experience of being loved by others for the first time.
104. *I also felt overwhelmed, and cried like a baby in front of L and the others in the lounge.*	104. S felt emotionally overwhelmed by the experience of being loved.
105. *Another thing was fear. I feared for my life because, when I left, the others who were still involved threatened me. It carried on for about four months - "If you don't come back we're gonna kill you, shoot you". I was afraid, you know, because when Satanists say something they mean it, and so I never left home. I always went with my parents, always going to church, being permanently stuck in the spirit. Never going to night-clubs, things like that.*	105. After leaving the cult S lived in fear as Satanists threatened to kill him unless he returned.
106. *I kept thinking of one Satanist who*	106. S felt terrified when he recalled the

had decided to leave, and the other cult members, man, they left him a paraplegic! He had a broken spine all the way down. His head was cracked from here to there. Both arms were broken. And this made me petrified.	extent of the physical injury inflicted upon one Satanist who dared to leave the cult.
107. However, through God's protection and love, and my faith in Him, I eventually overcame this fear.	107. S's faith in God's love and protection helped him to overcome his fear of cult retribution.
108. You know, when I left Satanism, I couldn't believe that Jesus Christ actually had the power to take me away from Satanism. I thought it amazing.	108. At the time he left the cult, S doubted whether Christ was powerful enough to rescue him from Satanism.

Could you describe your life now that you're out of Satanism?

Natural meaning units	Central themes
109. Christianity helped me to conquer my feelings of hatred and destruction, and to cope with who I was inside.	109. Christianity enabled S to overcome his hatred and destructiveness.
110. When I came out of Satanism I experienced love for the first time - from my friends and family.	110. After leaving Satanism S experienced his friends and family as loving him for the first time.
111. I can now also love other people. I love my parents now.	111. S is now able to love others, including his parents.
112. I have strong communication ties with them. Before it was just, "Stop drinking so much", "Go get better friends", "Stay at home more often".	112. S is now able to communicate with his family, after previously experiencing them as critical and prohibiting.
113. I have a zest for life. I also have a zest to serve the Lord with all my heart and soul.	113. S has a zest for life, and is enthusiastically committed to serving God.
114. I feel free - free from the bonds of Satanism. Satanism, restricts you, you know. You're not allowed to do certain things. You're forbidden to go to certain places, and you have to always obey the	114. S feels free from the restrictive bonds of Satanism, which prohibited and dictated his behaviour.

high priest's instructions. Things like that.	
115. I've made so many friends, and I'm very close to them.	115. S has established many intimate friendships since leaving Satanism.
116. It feels like the sun's shining on me, because I feel all this warmth and love inside me now.	116. S feels a radiant sense of internal warmth and love.

APPENDIX 7 (B) SUBJECT SEVEN: Significant interpersonal contexts, fantasies, and corresponding object relations derivatives

Interpersonal Context	Fantasy	Self rep.	Affect link	Object rep	T. no.
S was an introverted child who did not enjoy the company of others.	[Schizoid defences against dependency needs manifest as an asocial personality]	Dependent.	Libidinally needy.	Threatened good objects.	1
S believes that he was infected by the hatred of his war-torn country, which he carried inside him when the family emigrated. He constantly felt destructive impulses to harm objects, animals, and people. His childhood memories are coloured by hatred and the urge to violate the world around him.	I am filled with badness and wish to destroy the good around me. [Preponderance of aggression results in defensive projection of good objects and self corresponding self aspects, and identification with bad objects].	Destructive, hating.	Hate	Bad objects aggravated by destructive projections.	2,4,5
S's aggressive behaviour led to him being ostracised by others, and feeling like a social outcast.	I am despised and rejected by others.	Social outcast.	Anger	Rejecting objects.	3
S's relationship with his parents was characterised by conflict and a lack of communication. He hated his parents, who he perceived as critical and rejecting. He never felt heard or understood by them, and perceived them to have given up on him.	My parents hate and reject me and do not understand me.	Rejected, hated	Aggression	Hated, critical parental figures	7,10,11

S was preoccupied with omnipotent destructive fantasies. He was frightened by his growing hatred and, believing that it was contaminating the world around him, tried to shut it out. Feeling sickened and devoured by hatred, he would isolate himself in his bedroom.	My hatred is poisoning the world and eating me up inside. I must protect the good outside of me by isolating myself from the world. [Depressive anxiety concerning the fate of his good internal and external objects results in S trying to protect the world from his omnipotent destructive fantasies].	Omnipotently destructive.	Depressive anxiety.	Threatened good objects.	6,8,9
S resented his school life, but realised it was his only source of tenuous contact with the social world. He perceived pupils and teachers alike as being terrified and suspicious of him, because of his threats to kill them. Female teachers became shocked and tearful in response to his emotional outbursts. The fear that S evoked in others made him feel powerful and in control.	Others are terrified of my aggression, giving me power and control over them. [Identification with destructive aspects of his personality protects S from depressive anxiety and allows him to feel powerful].	Aggressive, powerful, controlling.	Aggression.	Fearful victims.	12,13,14, 15,18,19
S defied his parents' perfectionist moral expectations by adopting a deviant identity.	My parents rejected me, so I will reject their perfectionist expectations of me by becoming bad instead.	Deviant, negativistic.	Anger.	Critical, rejecting parental objects.	23

S had a Catholic upbringing, but never attended Church. He was an unhappy adolescent, striving for knowledge that would connect him to the world around him. His spiritual questions concerning his origins and the existence of God were not adequately addressed by Catholicism. His participation in Catechism classes ended when, angered by Christian spirituality, he spontaneously destroyed his Bible and religious instruction materials.	[The absence of a constant good internal object creates the yearning for an idealised figure (God) who would connect him to split-off parts of himself and heal his schizoid detachment isolation].	Lonely, alienated, empty.	Yearning, frustration.	Idealised projected object (God).	21,22,24, 25
S was introduced to Satanism by his only school friends, who invited him to a social gathering, promising that he would be able to relate comfortably to the people there. His friends warned him that he would have to maintain strict secrecy about what he might witness, and S felt that they trusted him in this regard.	My friends wish to take me somewhere I will fit in and relate to others, and trust me to keep this arrangement secret.	Hopeful.	Gratification.	Caring friends.	20,26,27, 28,29,30, 31
The large social gathering turned into a religious ritual in which an animal was sacrificed and it's blood imbibed by the participants. S, experiencing himself to be callous and destructive, was not frightened witnessing the sacrifice. He felt drawn to Satanism by his friends' promises that Satan would answer all his spiritual questions and satisfy his every need.	[S felt drawn to Satanism by the prospect of narcissistic fusion with an idealised parental figure who would fill his inner emptiness and heal his schizoid alienation].	Empty, callous, destructive.	Yearning.	Idealised parental figure.	32,33,34, 35.

3

The high priest cautioned S that becoming a Satanist would be difficult as he would have to renounce his former life, God, and family. For S, however, the prospect of forsaking his unhappy life did not bother him, and he longed for power and the company of people who would accept his destructiveness.	My current life is miserable, and Satanism offers me power and the company of people who will accept the bad parts of me, rather than reject me.	Weak, rejected, lonely.	Dejection	Rejecting.	37,38
S's ceremonial initiation commenced with him swearing to accept Satan as his father, Lord and master, and signing a pact to this effect in his own blood. S had to denounce Christ, defile and destroy a crucifix. A sacrificial animal was then offered to Satan, and S had to drink the blood, signifying the acceptance of Satan and his demons into his body. When S committed himself to Satan and invited demonic possession, he felt a powerful force surge through his body, and experienced a sense of omnipotence. He experienced his hate and cruelty begin to intensify, and realised he had made the right decision.	[Oral incorporative fantasy of introjectively identifying with an omnipotently destructive bad object results in the formation of an egosyntonic narcissistic structure/destructive subpersonality].	Omnipotent, destructive.	Hatred, gratification.	Destructive bad object.	39,40,41, 42,43,44

4

S's hatred of people, and consequent desire for power and control over them had provided the motivation for his satanic involvement. Through meditation and ritual demonic invocation S obtained a power that allowed him to control others' actions through thought alone.	[Omnipotent projective fantasy of cruelly penetrating and mentally controlling others].	Projected destructive self aspects.	Aggression.	Victims of controlling projections.	45,46
S was also attracted to the cult by the unlimited drugs and alcohol available, and Satanism's encouragement of uninhibited sexual indulgence. He felt gratified that Satanism renounced the moral code of society, and encouraged him to express his anger, hatred and cruelty.	[Satanism encouraged identification with, and expression of sexual and aggressive impulses, thereby ridding S of guilt and moral conflict].	Sexual, greedy, destructive.	Gratification.	Permissive parental projections.	47,48,49

S believes that every level of his being inclined him toward Satanism and a ready acceptance of it's subculture, based upon hatred and destruction, rather than the Christian doctrine of love and acceptance. S consciously identified with the figure of Satan. Terrorising people was exciting for S, and his satanic involvement increased his ability to do so. He was also drawn to Satanism because it involved inflicting physical pain on others, and sanctioned his predilection for self-mutilation. Before becoming a Satanist S had engaged in deliberate acts of animal cruelty because he derived sadistic pleasure from the animals' pain.	[S's destructive subpersonality predisposed him to hatred and sadism, and Satan represented a projected ideal object whose badness was perversely made good by virtue of his acceptance of S's destructive nature. Introjective identification with this object allowed S to feel loved and whole].	Loved son.	Gratification.	Bad parental object perversely rendered good.	65,66,67, 68,69,70
S experienced a superficial sense of peace, but this peaceful facade masked an explosive internal state of anarchy, violence, destruction and death.	[Identification with destructive subpersonality leads to escalation of violent fantasy].	Omnipotently destructive.	Aggression.	Persecuted, dead internal objects.	50,51
Although S's school performance dropped he felt honoured to be labelled as "evil" by peers and teachers.	[Gratification derived from negative identity].	Evil.	Gratification.	Fearful objects.	52,53
S's cult activity involved manipulating others and influencing them to become satanic recruits. He believed that his demonic powers gave him unlimited ability to deceive and influence others.	Through my powers of deception and manipulation I can control others and persuade them to join my cause.	Powerful, devious, manipulator.	Gratification.	Weak, gullible victims.	54,56

6

As a Satanist, S experienced a sense of positive self-regard based on his perceived ability to magically control and influence the actions of others.	[Self-worth dependent on the omnipotent fantasy of magically controlling others through thought alone].	Powerful, controlling, worthy.	Gratification.	Helpless slaves of S's magical control.	74
S felt a sense of achievement when his deliberate antagonising of Christians resulted in them venting anger, thereby making them vulnerable to demonic influence.	[Envy of others' goodness results in S's deriving satisfaction from corrupting and tainting others with his badness].	Envious, malicious.	Sadistic gratification.	Victims of S's spoiling envy.	57
S's hatred inclined him to perceive people as objects to torture, denigrate, and demoralise. He derived sadistic gratification from the cruelty and destructiveness of ritual animal sacrifice.	[Identification with destructive subpersonality results in egosyntonic sadistic and destructive behaviour].	Cruel, sadistic.	Sadistic gratification.	Helpless victims.	55,63
S studied the works of published Satanists, but idolised and identified with Alaister Crowley, reputedly the most evil human being.	[Egosyntonic identification with bad objects].	Evil, potent.	Gratification.	Idolised bad object.	59
S's consistently hostile behaviour meant that he had an uneasy relationship with his fellow Satanists. He felt that his destructive intensity and misery distanced him from them and prevented him from relating to them.	I am so destructive and self-hating that I do not even fit in with other Satanists.	Isolated, self-hating.	Anxiety.	Inaccessible others.	60,61,64

During rituals S felt terrified by the awesome power displayed by certain cult members, and the knowledge that he and his demons were helplessly vulnerable to potential attack by more powerful Satanists.	My fellow Satanists could destroy me with their superior magical power.	Vulnerable, weak.	Anxiety.	Powerful potential attackers.	71
Voluntary demonic possession through sexual intercourse with satanic witches, as well as ritual demonic invocation, was a routine aspect of the cult life. When invoked, the demons would manifest themselves, and participants would verbally assent to accepting the demons into them. S initially believed that he exercised control over his possessing demons, but later realised that that the demons controlled and used him for their own destructive ends.	[Introjective identification with previously split-off and projected destructive aspects of S's personality, manifest as alien entities].	Receptacle for reintrojected semi-autonomous self aspects.	Gratification.	Destructive parental objects.	75,76,77

8

S experienced himself to be a host who was used and controlled by his demonic inhabitants, and consequently not responsible for his destructive behaviour. S would hear the internal voices of demons directing his behaviour and, when drinking, taking drugs, or fighting, the demons would induce uncontrollable aggressive outbursts in him. S felt afraid and estranged from himself when the possessing demonic entities took over his personality, controlling his body and his actions. While possessed, S's cognitive functioning would be impaired, and he could thus not clearly recall his demonically induced behaviour. Despite his anxiety, S continued to invite demons inside him in order to obtain more supernatural power.	[Fantasy of being controlled by unintegrated destructive parts of his mind (Demons) results in hallucinations, delusions of influence, self-alienation, and amnestic episodes].	Helpless host to controlling bad self aspects.	Anxiety.	Bad objects manifest as alien possessing entities.	75,76,77, 79,80,81, 82,83,84
S knew he could not easily leave the coven as the remaining members would terrorise, manipulate, and blackmail him into staying.	I cannot leave the cult because the members will force me to stay.	Captive.	Anxiety.	Manipulative, controlling jailers.	72

9

The process of S's leaving Satanism occurred gradually over a number of years, as the negative effects of his involvement intensified. His sensory awareness was severely compromised, and he lost all appreciation for beauty. His hatred and hostility drove his friends away and isolated him from his family. He became extremely thin and looked older than his years. Women were afraid of S, who felt lonely, unloved, and deprived of female affection. He even lost his compelling desire for supernatural power. Feeling empty and reduced to the barest level of existence, S lost the will to live. He could not rid himself of his controlling demons and, experiencing life as unbearable, made a serious suicide attempt.	[Destructive subpersonality attacked every libidinal aspect of S's world, leaving him feeling unmotivated, unloved, lonely, empty, controlled by demonic forces, and suicidal].	Self-hating, despairing, empty.	Suicidal.	Attacking, spoiling, bad internal objects.	85,91,92, 93,94,95, 96,97,98, 99
After being discharged from hospital following his suicide attempt, S met a Christian who vowed to rescue him from Satanism. S wanted to change his life for the better, and so allowed these Christians to pray for his deliverance from Satanism. When he underwent the Christian exorcism he began growling, screaming, swearing, and shivering with cold.	[Destructive subpersonality manifests as a hostile possessing entity when S attempts to associate himself with libidinal parts of his mind evoked by Christian prayer].	Primitive hostile subpersonality.	Paranoid anxiety.	Destructive bad object.	86,100, 101

10

When the spirits were commanded to leave S felt a great force exit his body. His body felt cold, but emptied of possessing demons. Despite feeling exhausted S took delight in the experience of being free from possessing forces.	[Hypnotic suggestion of the exorcism facilitated the defensive expulsion, via the fantasy of projection, of the destructive subpersonality].	Free of possessing forces.	Gratification.	Defensively expelled demonic force [destructive subpersonality].	87,88,89, 90
S's Christian conversion was facilitated by the gratifying and emotionally overwhelming experience of being loved by others for the first time.	[Internalisation of loving others facilitates identification with a benign God, rather than a malevolent Satan].	Loved child of God.	Gratification.	Loving God and Christian family.	103,104
After leaving the cult S, having witnessed evidence of a vicious attack on a cult defector, lived in fear of Satanists who threatened to kill him unless he returned.	[Realistic fear based on experience of having seen a savage revenge attack on a satanic defector].	Potential victim of physical attack.	Terror.	Avenging attackers.	105,106
S's faith in God's love and protection helped him to overcome his fear of satanic retribution.	[Faith in the love and protection of an idealised object helps S overcome his fear of satanic retribution].	Loved, protected child.	Safety.	Omnipotent protective father figure.	107
Christianity enabled S to overcome his hatred and destructiveness, which have been replaced by a radiant sense of internal warmth and love. S is now able to love others, including his parents.	[Identification with idealised paternal object (God) leads to the formation of a good subpersonality, thereby replacing S's former hatred with love].	Loved and loving part-self.	Gratification.	Perfectly loving parental figure.	109,111, 116

11

After leaving Satanism S experienced his friends and family as loving him for the first time. He has established many intimate friendships, and can now communicate with his family, after previously experiencing them as critical and prohibitive.	[Withdrawal of destructive projections and faith in the security of a good internal object results in positive transactions with those S previously felt alienated from].	Loved.	Gratification.	Loving parental objects.	110,112, 115
S has a zest for life, and is enthusiastically committed to serving God.	[S experiences himself to be an animated and committed child of God].	Lively child of God.	Animation.	Idealised paternal part-object	113