



# The King of Norway: negative individuation, the hero myth and psychopathic narcissism in extreme violence and the life of Anders Behring Breivik

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**Abstract:** The paper discusses negative individuation and the hero myth as developmental concepts. It is suggested that in negative individuation healthy psychological development is hindered and goes astray. Aggression then becomes the central psychic system. Repressed anger is the core element in psychopathic narcissism (Diamond) and malignant narcissism (Kernberg). Both Diamond and Kernberg extend narcissistic personality structure to antisocial, psychopathic personality in an effort to better understand extreme violence. According to Freud, love (libido) and hate (the death drive) are the major motivational systems in the human psyche. In contrast to Freud, Jung sees libido as a life force in general, not simply as a sexual drive. Jung writes about evil and the shadow but does not present a comprehensive theory of the negative development of an individual's life. The concept of negative individuation connects the shadow and the death drive with psychopathology, psychiatry and psychotherapy. In this paper, I explore these concepts in the light of contemporary affect theory according to Kernberg. I also ask how ideology is tied to extreme violence and how it is possible that narcissistic personality structures can lead to such radically different outcomes as were manifested in the lives of Anders Behring Breivik and Steve Jobs.

**Key words:** psychopathic narcissism, malignant narcissism, hero myth, negative individuation, aggression, shadow, death drive, Anders Behring Breivik

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## Introduction

This paper explores 'negative individuation' as a developmental concept. Individuation, according to C.G. Jung, means the lifelong development of personality—not only spiritual development during the second half of a life. 'Negative individuation' therefore describes psychic development which is hindered or goes radically wrong and which may then become destructive. Negative individuation may also create symbols of its own and seek meaning from ideologies or religions. It has its roots in early development, in object relations and in affects. Narcissistic and antisocial personality structures may result from negative

individuation, and anger becomes the main content of the psyche. With their concepts of psychopathic narcissism (Diamond 2012a) and malignant narcissism (Kernberg 1992, p. 67) Diamond and Kernberg extend narcissistic personality disorder to antisocial personality disorder. These two personality disorders are so deeply linked with aggression that it is possible to talk about them as being anger disorders (see Psychopathic/malignant narcissism below).

The concepts of the shadow and the death drive are central in negative individuation. I will discuss the shadow and the death drive in light of contemporary affect theory, and how they are connected to contemporary object relations theory as presented by Otto Kernberg.

First, I will discuss the archetypal hero myth as it is presented in Jung's *Symbols of Transformation* (1912/1956/1956). This myth contains his view of libido development. Thus, the hero myth is a developmental myth about transition through the various phases in psychological development. It is about the transformation of psychic energy throughout life. The hero myth is based on affect theory, and has its roots in Freud's theories of drives (1920/1955/1955), which he formulated in 1920. Affects are the primary building blocks of the drives. The power of the drives, the death drive and libido—even the drive for individuation, as Jung has put it—derive from affects.

In their psychodynamic theories, Freud offers the death drive and Jung the shadow to understand violence and anger in human nature. Existential analyst Rollo May's (1969) concept of the 'daimonic' provides a non-dualistic tool to understand the unconscious and drives as having the capacity to be both destructive and creative at the same time. Perhaps, therefore, even individuation itself is a psychic process that is not either positive or negative by nature, but both. Understood as an archetypal process of development, individuation has destructive and creative possibilities present at all times in the psyche.

Finally, I will explore how an ideology can become connected with psychopathic narcissism and how they may together become a destructive combination. Along these same lines, it is also important to raise the question about evil, its origins, nature, meanings, and how to deal constructively with this psychic phenomenon in clinical situations. With this paper, I would like to begin a fuller discussion about the psychopathology of a disturbed individuation process. Jung writes about repressed individuation, which may 'happen' to an individual 'in a negative form' (1959/1959, para. 125). Later, Marie Louise von Franz refers to this paragraph when she mentions individuation, which takes place 'in a negative form' (1990, p. 137; see also the section below on negative individuation). I would propose the term 'negative individuation' as a new formulation and clinical description.

### The hero myth

Jung's *Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido* was first published in 1912, and edited several times after that (1912/1956). As is well known, its publication led to a break in the relationship between Jung and Freud.

The fantasies and visions of Miss Miller are the focus of the text. Jung never met Miss Miller, a young woman apparently driven mad by her unconscious material, but this material became the basis of Jung's study on the hero myth. Freud thought that the unconscious was primarily motivated by two drives, or drive groups: the life drive and the death drive (see, for example Freud 1923/1959). Sexuality and destructiveness summarized all unconscious motives for Freud. Jung's psychological theory was not as dualistic. For Jung, libido was psychic energy in general, and the unconscious could be the source of transformation, inspiration—and destruction.

The hero myth can be seen as a developmental myth in that, in a psychological transition from a previous stage to a new one, an individual needs the strength and courage of a hero. It is about separation from the parental figures and the development of personality. Jung points out that the hero myth has a different meaning when we are speaking about a young person, or a person who is in the second half of life (Jung 1956, para. 681). In the first half of life, the hero myth is about separation and independence. In the second half of life, it is necessary to integrate the contra-sexual elements to keep libido alive. Then the heroic task concerns the connection of the conscious and unconscious mind. At this stage, the mother-symbol no longer reaches back to the beginnings, but points towards the unconscious as the creative matrix of the future. 'Entry into the mother' then means establishing a relationship between the ego and the unconscious. Here Jung connects the hero myth and individuation, because **the main goal of individuation is to achieve co-operation between the ego and self—or the unconscious** (Jung 1956, para. 459).

Neumann (1970, p. 319) sees the hero as a representative of the ego, 'the ego-hero', and the development described in the hero myth mainly as the development of the ego. Because the hero is a godlike figure, he is a self-symbol too (Jung 1956, para. 611).

The biographies of Steve Jobs and Anders Behring Breivik have aspects in common with the hero myth, which is typified by Heracles, an archetypal hero figure. The first created Apple computers, and the second killed 77 people in Norway. Heracles is a Greek god whose story includes unusual birth, extreme violence, super heroic deeds, the experiences of both sexes and the hatred of Hera, the mother figure. In Greek myth, the unusual birth of the hero tells that he is something other than an ordinary man. There is something mysterious in his birth and childhood. He might be half god, like Heracles, or he is the chosen one, like Steve Jobs. He creates himself. He is his own father. **The real father was missing in both Jobs's and Breivik's lives.**

Anders Breivik was born in Oslo in 1974. He lived his first year in London with his parents. His father was a diplomat and his mother was a nurse. They divorced when Anders was one year old. His father fought for his custody but failed. Later **Breivik wrote in his manifesto that, in a case of divorce, children should be given to the father rather than to the mother** (Breivik 2011). This suggests feelings of resentment that he was left with his mother.

When Breivik was 3–4 years old his mother contacted a psychiatrist, but the material is not public (Husby & Sørheim 2011). When he was 22 years old, he became isolated from his friends and moved in with his mother to save money. He made ‘a couple of millions’ but his computer programming business later went bankrupt. According to forensic psychiatrists, his illness started at that time. Breivik himself wrote that before he was 22 years old he was good, but after that he was brilliant; his radicalization process began then (Breivik 2011). He then started to plan the terrorist strike which he carried out on July 22, 2011.

Breivik left a powerful bomb in the centre of Oslo. He then drove to the Island Utøya, where 536 young people had gathered for the Labour party’s annual summer camp. He killed 69 people stating that there were no civilians on the island. He said his victims were multiculturalists and Marxists and thus enemies. He did it because he loved Norway. He called himself a ‘Marxist hunter’. His weapons were named according to ancient Scandinavian mythology. He believed himself to be a member of the Knights Templar. He wanted to be a perfect knight, and his final, grandiose, goal was to become king of Norway. These thoughts can be interpreted as the traits of the narcissistic personality structure, or psychotic, as Husby and Sørheim did in the first psychiatric statement (Husby & Sørheim 2011).

Steve Jobs was born in 1955 (Isaacson 2011). His mother, Joanne Schieble, fell in love with Abdulfattah Jandal, who came from Syria and was Islamic. Joanne’s family did not accept the marriage, so she decided to give the baby up for adoption. Privately, she found a lawyer and his wife, but they did not want to adopt a boy. Then she found Paul and Clara Jobs. Clara could not have a child of her own. The adoption was not agreed even when the baby had already moved to the new parents. Joanne signed the papers only after the adoptive parents promised to pay for Steve’s education.

Steve Jobs was abandoned, chosen and extraordinary. His adoptive parents talked about the adoption openly. They proudly said that they chose Steve.

When Steve was 23 years old, he also abandoned his first child. He was exactly the same age as his biological father had been when he was born. The mother of his child said that Steve was ‘full of broken glass’. His friends have stated that the theme of abandonment was the central theme in his life. Steve denied this. He said that his adoptive parents were his real parents ‘1000 per cent’. There is a mythological theme of dual parents in the life of Steve Jobs. He eventually married in 1991.

Steve Jobs wanted to change the universe. He wanted to leave a sign. Jobs wanted to revolutionize the computer business. He wanted to combine creativity and technology. Breivik wanted to revolutionize Norwegian society.

According to his colleagues, Jobs was known for ‘false reality’, his ability to manipulate reality and other people. It was like a state of mind around him. He had a polarized and polarizing black-and-white view of other people: they were either gods or assholes, and it could change quickly. He was famous for his

anger attacks. In this we may recognize signs of narcissism, as well as the idealization-devaluation and rage frequently found in borderline personality disorder.

In 2011, Steve Jobs died as one of the richest men in the world.

It is not possible to compare archetypal or mythological material with individual psychology, but when individual psychology expresses collective material, we can reflect on it with the help of the myth. The hero myth can be understood as an 'unconscious drama seen only in projections' (Jung 1956, para. 611), and as background material in individual psychology.

Anders Breivik's relationship to his mother seems to have had a central meaning in his psychological development. He called his mother his Achilles heel, and hoped that she would not come to court because she was the only person that might provoke emotions in him (Husby & Sørheim 2011). His mother had wished that Anders would become a doctor or a policeman.

The hero Heracles is the son of Zeus and his mother is the mortal woman Alcmene. Zeus made love to her after disguising himself as Amphitryon, her husband. Amphitryon came home later the same night, and he also made love to Alcmene, who thus became pregnant by two men. She gave birth to twins, a mortal son, Iphicles, and a god, Heracles.

The whole life of the Greek hero Heracles was influenced by the hatred that the goddess Hera, Zeus' wife, felt for him. From the beginning, she wanted to prevent his birth. Heracles was brought to her as a baby and she did not recognize him. She nursed him but Heracles sucked so hard that it hurt Hera. She pushed him away. Her milk sprayed across the heaven and formed the Milky Way. But Heracles got a little taste of divine milk and thus acquired supernatural powers. When Heracles and his human brother were eight months old, Hera sent two snakes to their bedroom. Heracles killed the snakes and played with them as if they were toys.

The hero often needs to fight with a dragon. The dragon is most often symbolically seen as the mother figure, or the dreadful unconscious. At the same time it is the obstacle and the object of longing, the good object that is missing. Jung interpreted the incest wish metaphorically, contradicting Freud. 'The incest wish is the wish never to grow up, to live in a Garden of Eden forever... The hero is the archetypal energy that kills the dragon (i.e., the incest wish) and frees the princess (i.e., the soul) for the sake of going forward in life' (Stein 2006a, p. 207).

The hero is always in a state of longing. Although the dragon is seen consciously as the enemy and the obstacle on his way, in many cases the hero is in pursuit of good mothering—the counterpart of the dragon. The hero's victory over the 'mother' or over her daemonic representative (the dragon) is never anything but temporary. On the mythological level, the qualities of the mother are very much related to the life of a hero. Hera is the real source of the mighty deeds performed by Heracles (Jung 1956, para. 540). The mother is the daemon who challenges the hero to his deeds and places in his path the poisonous serpent that threatens to strike him.

The hero myth is also a myth of the transformation of libido, i.e., the life force. When the night sea journey is made, libido regresses. The journey begins from the west and ends in the east. During the journey, the hero may use fire to destroy the monster. The fire symbolizes consciousness. The night sea journey is not only about a dangerous regression—there are also great treasures to be found. The risk for the ego is to disappear. According to Jung, the regression of libido can be seen as a depression. It is like an involuntary introversion. It is a relapse into the past caused by a depression in the present. Jung says that the content of a depression should therefore always be made conscious: ‘This can only be done by consciously regressing along with the depressive tendency and integrating the memories so activated into the conscious mind—which was what the depression was aiming at in the first place’ (Jung 1956, para. 625).

The psychologist Stephen Diamond describes a particular type of projective identification in which a person unconsciously communicates repressed anger through antisocial behaviour. He also sees the inner battle against depression lying behind these violent, evil acts. The hero often fights against depression. In this description, the hero myth and the negative development of personality connect closely with narcissistic and antisocial personality disorders, and the death drive.

In the case of antisocial personality disorder, manipulative, hurtful and aggressive behavior serves the subconscious purpose of causing others to experience the same feelings of fear, rejection, victimization, terror and betrayal, as did the perpetrator during childhood. It is a sadistic sort of projective identification, an unconscious or semiconscious acting out of anger toward parents, world, God, and self. (...)

It has been suggested and substantiated by research that those suffering from antisocial personality disorder—particularly what is called ‘primary psychopathy’—seek extraordinary levels of stimulation and seem not to learn from experience. Regarding the latter trait, I would argue that this can be said of all neurotic conditions: neurosis is, by definition, a state in which one cannot learn from experience because one is not fully conscious of that which is being experienced. It is a state of unconscious ‘acting out,’ which is itself a defense mechanism—a repetition compulsion as Freud called it—for avoiding consciousness of that which drives it. So long as the underlying affects, complexes and conflicts remain unconscious, the neurotic behavior repeats itself ad infinitum. As to the sociopath’s seeking stimulation beyond the norm, I believe this is at least in part due to a chronic depressive condition, concealed and warded off by a defensive reaction formation, i.e., the sociopathic persona or ‘false self.’ In order to avoid sinking into this perennial depressive quicksand, constant intense stimulation is required, inducing the addictive excitement and adrenaline rush of law breaking, risk-taking, intoxication, enrage and violence.

(Diamond 2003, pp. 30–32)

While Diamond does not directly mention the death drive here, he refers to Freud’s concept of repetition compulsion, which is one of the self-destructive functions of the death drive (see page 664 for further discussion). He criticizes

both Freud and Jung for the unfortunate fact that ‘resentment, anger and rage found so insignificant a place in their theories and treatment of the psyche’ (Diamond 2003, p. 28). The death drive may express itself as an unconscious identification with the source of the trauma. That source can be personal or transpersonal. An individual identifies with a perpetrator and projects the role of victim. Their world, or ‘Weltanschauung’, becomes exclusively a relationship between a perpetrator and a victim (Kernberg 2012). And typically, anger or rage motivates that ‘Weltanschauung’.

At the end of *Symbols of Transformation*, Jung writes about sacrifice. Breivik felt also that he sacrificed his life on Utøya. In Christianity, it is the hero himself (Christ) who dies. There are also other kinds of sacrifices, as Jung points out: the maiden to the dragon, first-borns, animals, self-castration, of which the milder version is circumcision. By sacrificing these valued objects of desire, pleasure and possession, libido is given away in order that it may be regained in a new form. In the egoless act of sacrifice, consciousness surrenders its power and possessions in the interests of the unconscious (Jung 1956, para. 671).

### Psychopathic (malignant) narcissism

According to forensic psychologist Stephen Diamond, narcissistic wounding underlies and drives both narcissistic and antisocial personality disorders. He calls the pathological and potentially deadly combination of narcissistic and antisocial traits psychopathic narcissism. Both narcissistic and antisocial personality disorders can be best understood as ‘anger disorders resulting from the chronic denial or repression of rage since early childhood’ (Diamond 2012b).

The psychoanalyst Otto Kernberg introduced the concept of the malignant narcissism syndrome in 1984. He found a group of patients who stand somewhere between narcissistic personality disorder and antisocial personality disorder. The syndrome of malignant narcissism is defined by the combination of a narcissistic personality disorder, antisocial behaviour, ego-syntonic aggression or sadism directed against others or expressed in a particular type of triumphant self-mutilation or attempts at suicide, and a strong paranoid orientation (Kernberg 1992, p. 23).

This is a dimension of antisocial behaviour that links narcissistic personality disorder with antisocial personality disorder on a spectrum of psychopathology. From a clinical perspective, the first indication of the possible existence of an antisocial personality disorder (APD) is the presence of a narcissistic personality disorder (NPD) (Kernberg 1992). The dimensional link between these personality disorders was missing in DSM-III-R, and DSM-IV-TR does not require the presence of NPD to diagnose APD. Kernberg and other clinicians (Winnicott, Kohut, Fromm, Diamond) have related hostility, anger and rage to narcissistic personality disorder. Hatred is always a core affect of severe personality disorders.

Pathological narcissism is surely one of the most pervasive, insidious human evils and is highly correlated with rage. We now know that pathological narcissism stems from inadequate, insufficient or traumatic parenting (or surrogate parenting) prior to five years of age, during the pre-Oedipal period; that deprivation or emotional trauma during this delicate developmental milestone renders severe psychic wounding in children, resulting in distorted perceptions of both themselves and the world.

(Diamond 2003, p. 29)

Patients with **malignant narcissism**, in contrast to antisocial personality proper, still have a limited capacity for loyalty to and concern for others or for feeling guilty; they are able to conceive of other people as having moral concerns and convictions; and they may have a realistic attitude toward their own past and in planning for the future. **Their ego-syntonic sadism may be expressed in a conscious ideology of aggressive self-affirmation. The paranoid orientation is manifest in their grandiose experience of others as ‘idols, enemies or fools in an exaggerated way’** (Kernberg 1992, p. 78), much like the Muslims and Multiculturalists in Breivik’s ideology. In Jungian terms, this might be called the shadow projection. Some malignant narcissists also present rationalized antisocial behaviour (Kernberg 1992, p. 78). It can be observed in all kinds of fundamentalist and extremist movements, and connected to different ideologies. I have used Steve Jobs as a positive example in this paper. Although his personality structure was primarily narcissistic, he could transform his narcissistic rage mainly into creativity. He was able to maintain close relationships. **His grandiose fantasy of changing the world was a positive one. Jobs chose creativity over destructiveness. In the case of Anders Behring Breivik, the narcissistic fantasy was destructive.** He was able to act out his fantasy through his extreme ideology. Breivik chose evil over good. But both were equally driven by the daimonic, i.e., by their rage.

### The death drive

Aggression as a major motivational system is always present in the mind, based on the integration of primary negative affects. However, it deserves the designation of the death drive only when aggression becomes dominant, and when its main objective is the achievement of ‘de-objectalization’, the elimination of the representations of all significant others and, in that context, the elimination of the self as well (Kernberg 1992, p. 214).

**The affects are ‘the primary psychobiological building blocks of drives and the earliest motivational systems’** (Kernberg 1992, p. 8). They are ‘instinctive’ structures, ‘biologically given, developmentally activated, psycho-physiological patterns’ (ibid., p. 5).

In the hero myth, the object of libido was both needed and desired. Its destruction is also needed and desired. An extreme form of hatred demands



the physical elimination of the object, and may be expressed in a murder or a radical devaluation of the object that may become generalized in the form of symbolic destruction of all objects (*ibid.*, p. 23).

Freud described five types of fundamental functions in the death drive. These are: repetition compulsion, sadism and masochism, negative therapeutic reaction, suicide in severe depression, and destructive and self-destructive developments in group processes and their social implications (Freud in Kernberg 2012, pp. 206–16). These self-destructive functions create a major motivational system within the psyche.

In contrast to the acuteness of rage reactions, the cognitive aspect of hatred is chronic and stable. The primary aim is to destroy the object. Hatred is not always pathological: as a response to an objective, real danger, hatred is a normal elaboration of rage aimed at eliminating that danger. Unconscious motivation, however, may intensify hatred. When it is a chronic character predisposition, hatred always reflects the psychopathology of aggression. Hatred derives from rage, the primary affect around which the drive of aggression clusters. When it involves overwhelming dominance directed against the self as well as against others, we may correctly call it the death drive (Kernberg 1992, 2012).

I have proposed that affects are the hardwired, instinctive components that are organized under the influence of intrapsychic developments into two overall drives as hierarchically supra-ordinate intrapsychic motivational systems, namely, libido and the death drive. The integration of all positive or rewarding affects into libido and of all the negative or aversive affects into the aggressive drive would then determine the overall motivational system that is involved in unconscious intrapsychic conflict and constitutes the dominant motivational system of psychological functioning in normality and pathology.

(Kernberg 2012, pp. 193–194)

Under what circumstances will aggression become the dominant unconscious motivational system? Kernberg answers that there is evidence of genetically determined dominance of negative affect activation and inadequate cognitive contextualization of an affect. Insecure attachment may significantly contribute to negative affect activation. Also traumatic experiences in infancy and disorganized family structures are related to severe personality disorders (Kernberg 1992, p. 215). However, some patients do not have that particular kind of background.

The syndrome of malignant narcissism (Kernberg 1992), destructive narcissism (Britton 2003; Steiner 2009), pathological organization (Steiner 1993), negative narcissism (Green 1983), psychopathic narcissism (Diamond 2012b) and negative individuation (Virtanen 2011) seem to describe the same phenomenon: a combination of intense aggressive affect (the death drive) and the particular structuralization of the internalized object relations of narcissistic personalities. This dangerous combination may turn the aggression into a dominant motivation of the unconscious. The fantasy of certain kinds of destruction starts to emerge.

Thus, the fantasy typically has a symbolic meaning. The destructive fantasy is connected to an individual's personal history and/or to a certain kind of ideology; the content of the fantasy is not coincidental. It often develops during a long period of time: several months as has been reported in school shootings (Virtanen 2011), and in Breivik's case it took several years. School shooters choose the school as their stage to express their anger. They usually have a need to document their act and philosophy (van Gerven Oei et al. 2009).

Nationalism, fascism, any kind of religious fundamentalism and liberal capitalism are ideologies that give scope to act out the death drive. Destructive and self-destructive developments in group processes and their social implications were included in Freud's description of the death drive. Cultural and social problems with violence and organized violence in our history and present situation show that the problem of the death drive, aggression, the shadow, the daimonic or evil cannot be ignored in the theory of analytical psychology, or, clinically, in psychotherapy.

### The shadow

Evil for Jung is a category of conscious thought, a judgement of the ego, as Stein points out in his introduction to *Jung on Evil*: 'To be ethical is work, and it is the essential human task' (Stein 1995, p. 10). 'Evil is not rooted in reality itself; it is a category of judgement that can lead 'to scientific investigation and political action' (Stein 1995, p. 11). The ethical work is to increase awareness of personal and collective shadow motivations, take back or recollect the shadow projections, and consciously test the validity of moral judgements. The burden to make the judgements is put upon ego consciousness: 'The source of what we perceive as evil, then, is a mixture of psychological content (the shadow) and psychological dynamics that allow for, encourage, or require shadow enactments' (Stein 1995, p. 14).

The concept of the shadow is also connected with Jung's theory of the unconscious in general and with Jung's typology—I'm thinking of the inferior function here. Like the unconscious, the shadow has a personal and a collective aspect. It mainly represents the personal unconscious but it also has an archetypal, collective element (Jung 1959, para. 19). The personal shadow develops in early object relations. It is a portion of the natural whole self that the ego deems bad or evil, for reasons of shame, social pressure, and family and societal attitudes to certain aspects of human nature (Stein 1995, p. 9). The shadow personifies everything that the subject refuses to acknowledge about him or herself and that still always thrusts itself upon him or her directly or indirectly—for example, inferior traits of character and other incompatible tendencies (Jung 1939/1959, para. 513).

Like the death drive, the concept of the shadow must be seen in the context of contemporary object relations theory and affect theory. Otherwise,

these concepts are too open and metaphorical, almost poetic descriptions of psychic functions.

In Jungian typology, the shadow is equated with the inferior function, which is the least differentiated and conscious function. Jung says that the inferior function is identical with the dark side of personality, which is the door into the unconscious. In the early days of psychoanalysis, it can be seen that the unconscious represents evil in human nature: mental illness, sexuality, destruction, and the death drive. Already in *Symbols of Transformation*, Jung presented a more positive view of the unconscious. It could be dangerous, but it was also transformative and creative.

So defined, the unconscious depicts an extremely fluid state of affairs: everything which I know but of which I am not at the moment thinking; everything of which I was once conscious but have now forgotten; everything perceived by my senses, but not noted by my conscious mind; everything which involuntarily and without paying attention to it, I feel, think, remember, want and do; all the future things that are taking the shape in me and will sometime come to consciousness: all this is content of the unconscious. These contents are all more or less capable, so to speak, of consciousness, or were once conscious and may become conscious again in the next moment.

(Jung 1946/1960, para. 382)

The shadow, consisting of everything that is 'not me', the other, can be a source of creativity. It can also be easily projected on to the outer world, on to a group of people or a nationality. In a classical Jungian analysis, the shadow aspects of the patient are the first to be confronted.

It is possible for a person to identify him or herself with the shadow, i.e., the inferior, undeveloped parts of his or her personality. I would suggest that this happens in negative individuation. An idea or an image from the unconscious takes over the individual's ego and conscious identity and creates a psychotic inflation or depression (Stein 1995, pp. 13–14). Rollo May called this 'daimon possession' and defined the 'daimonic' as

any natural function which has the power to take over the whole person. Sex and eros, anger and rage, and the craving for power are examples. The daimonic can be either creative or destructive and is normally both. When this power goes awry, and one element usurps control over the total personality, we have 'daimon possession', the traditional name through history for psychosis. The daimonic is obviously not an entity but refers to a fundamental, archetypal function of human experience—an existential reality.

(May 1969, p. 123)

Every human being has an experience of the daimonic, and is capable of experiencing the daimonic (Diamond 1996). The daimonic is our archetypal birthright. But the term 'daimonic' does not refer only to the peak experiences, passions, the strong

emotions; it can also be the attitude or dominating state of mind and, as such, is closely connected to psychopathology and the basic structures of personality. An individual can be possessed by passion as well as by an ideology, belief or philosophy.

The archetypes can 'overcome and possess people and create in them possession, compulsions, and psychotic states' (Stein 1995, p. 3). This is what happens when the ego gets boosted by an ideology or higher values than itself. It becomes inflated and ready to sacrifice itself because of these beliefs. Jung calls this perilous state of mind a 'mana personality' (Jung 1917/1953, para. 388). 'Mana personality' is Jung's concept of possession by autonomous, collective content that the ego cannot control or assimilate. It is very similar to Rollo May's concept of the 'daimonic', or the identification with the shadow or the dark side of personality. When Stein describes the experience of 'mana personality' as 'energy flow, strong sense of meaning and ego inflation', it is possible to see the similarities with narcissistic traits.

The regression of psychic energy to primitive levels of the collective unconscious constellates a compensatory archetypal symbol, which galvanizes the will and brings about a new flow of energy into the system, along with a strong sense of meaning and purpose. But this is also often accompanied by ego inflation and identification with primitive energies and impulses. What is created is a 'mana personality'.

(Stein 1995, p. 13)

David Hewison writes about the archetypes, which are 'not "mediated" or worked through, but are experienced in their strong impact on the individual who can then become tangled up in them, without being able to muster sufficient resistance to the emotional maelstrom that then ensues' (Hewison 2003, p. 688).

Neuroses are never only individually experienced—they happen socially. Post-Jungian studies are often concerned with social or cultural complexes. Jung himself referred to the Second World War and the Nazis when talking about the shadow identifications that can also occur on a collective level.

The appearance of the Wotan archetype in the collective consciousness of the German nation could be interpreted as a psychological compensation for a national mood of humiliation and loss of self-worth, the archetypal basis for a sort of narcissistic rage reaction.

(Stein 1995, p. 13)

Shadow aspects are usually projected outside. This projection has an enormous psychic power (as do all the other archetypal projections), and the shadow may be felt like an alien, autonomous power beyond the ego's control. 'Projections change the world into the replica of one's own unknown face' (Jung 1959, para. 17).

An archetypal shadow is connected with the problem of evil. In *Aion*, Jung emphasizes several times that 'human nature is capable of an infinite amount of evil' and that 'there are things which are very dangerous in human nature' (ibid., para. 97).

## Negative individuation

Individuation means the lifelong development of personality. Jung wrote about two major stages of life: the first half of life and the second. The ego structure and the persona are created in the first part of life in which the biggest task is adaptation to the outer world. The second part is more about the search for meaning. Stein writes: 'Entering the stage of centring and integration means gradually abandoning the previous collective definitions of identity and persona and assuming an image of self that emerges from within' (Stein 2006a, p. 210).

Neumann (1970, pp. 397–418) writes about three stages of life: the matriarchal stage, the patriarchal stage and the individual stage. Stein defines these stages as containment/nurturance, adapting/adjusting, and centring/integrating. These developmental stages have typical features and problems. The two major crises are located in the transitions between these stages, the first in adolescence and early adulthood and the second at midlife (Stein 2006a, p. 199).

What has been written about negative individuation before? Marie-Louise von Franz (1990) writes about negative individuation as petrification in fairy tales. In her interpretation the statues are symbols of psychological development that has stopped. The human psyche lives in and from relatedness.

Being normally, naturally, and rightly related to our surrounding group is one of the necessities of the process of individuation.... Jung always points out that the process of individuation, being the strongest urge in man, always pushes its way through in every human being, but if it is not attended to consciously then it takes place in a negative form. For instance, instead of finding the philosopher's stone within oneself, one becomes petrified, i.e., transformed into the philosopher's stone in a negative form. Instead of being dissolved in the bath of the unconscious for renewal, one is dissolved in the unconscious in the form of a dissociation. One could say, therefore, that the process always takes its course, but whether it is destructive or positive depends on our conscious attitude.

(von Franz 1990, p. 137)

As von Franz describes it, then, the individuation process is a double process: it happens in both relatedness and in being inwardly solidified. In negative individuation, however, both these processes are severely disturbed. The grandiose self is created in isolation.

David Hewison describes the force of anti-individuation. It is an attack on psychological growth; not merely a regression, but a perversion of normal development. The force is 'violent, greedy and envious, ruthless, murderous and predatory, without respect of truth, persons or things' (Bion 1965, p. 102). Hewison writes that

anti-individuation is concerned not with the opening up to a developmental deintegrative-reintegrative experience but with the defending against it—at all costs. Rigid states of ego consciousness are attained and clung to like a rock in a sea storm

in order not to get swept up in an experience. Somatic sensations take the place of mental images as things cannot be held in the mind. The ego is swept to one side and unreflective action occurs in order to discharge a painful feeling state. The world becomes viewed as a simple black and white place where some things are by definition 'good', and others, 'bad'; ambiguity and ambivalence cannot be tolerated. Gratitude, concern and mourning cannot occur.

(Hewison 2003, p. 688)

According to him, anti-individuation can be the result of many factors:

the innate physical and emotional constitution of the baby—how much experience they can bear; the 'fit' between them and the mother/ environment—how much they have to bear; then the later opportunities for reworking their past in new relationships and settings and whether these can be made use of in a new way.

(*ibid.*, pp. 688-89)

Also, here Hewison links negative development with early, infantile relations. If individuation is understood from a developmental point of view, the negative form of it combines psychopathic (malignant) narcissism and the hero myth. The passage from the containment stage to adulthood demands the appearance of the hero. The transition typically takes place between 12–21 years, but in western societies there is a tendency to prolong this period. The most important obstacle to this transition is the incest wish that I have already mentioned: 'An identification with a hero figure frees the ego from the pull towards regression and towards the comfortable earlier dependency on the mother' (Stein 2006a, p. 207).

When there are traumas in early relationships, this vital transition may fail. The necessary identification with the hero is then never realized. The incest wish is unchallenged, the ego remains embedded in the mother, and the infantile dependency on the nurturing environments continues. Fantasy is more real than reality.

In this context, Stein refers to personality disorders. Borderline personality disorder, for example, is about endlessly repeating the drama of separation from the mother, with currently significant maternal others. Narcissistic personality disorder is also derived from being stuck in the containment stage of individuation: significant others are expected to adore and mirror the subject. The core of narcissism is to cut off the relationship to the object, to the other (Symington 1993, p. 39).

What happens to a man between the years from 20–30 who has not managed the difficult transition to adulthood? Individuation is repressed, as Jung says. The person may stay harmless, but he never faces the real world. He has his potentialities but everything stays as potential. He lives in his fantasies, which may be sexual, ideological or religious. This negative individuation is embodied

in the personality of the *puer* or *puella aeternus*., the eternal child. The fantasy world compensates his regressed being in a real world. If the personality structure is narcissistic or antisocial, anger or rage may turn the infantile fantasies to destructive ones.

Donald Kalsched writes about the archetypal defences and how the inner world can become organized around defensive purposes at the expense of personality development and individuation. 'Instead of individuation and integration of mental life, the archaic defense engineers dis-incarnation (dis-embodiment) and dis-integration in order to help a weakened anxiety-ridden ego to survive ...' (Kalsched 1996, p. 38).

Negative individuation creates its own symbols; it expresses itself mainly in destructive symbols. School shooters leave manifestos and videos behind them (van Gerven Oei et al. 2009; Virtanen 2011). The destructive act itself may be symbolic, as in the bizarre Aurora shootings in Colorado, 2012, when 24 year old James Holmes killed 12 and wounded 58 persons, including children, in a movie theatre. He identified himself with the Joker character in the Batman stories (Diamond 2012b). Negative individuation also seeks its fulfilment, its self-realization, which is twisted, perverse and sometimes dangerous. When healthy individuation is frustrated or blocked, it turns negative because the innate drive toward individuation needs expression. If positive expression is hindered then negative expression takes its place.

## Discussion

Anders Behring Breivik was sentenced to at least 21 years in prison on August 24, 2012, after the court declared that he was sane throughout his terrorist act that killed 77 people and injured 242. According to the court, and despite the initial findings of forensic psychiatrists, Breivik was not insane, not psychotic. He was mentally fit enough at the time of the crime to be held criminally responsible for the attacks. Ultimately, the court interpreted Breivik's far-right views as not psychotic but shared by other people, too. The primarily political nature of his act was thus recognized. At the same time, evil came closer to ourselves. It did not come from outside, from the 'other'. What happened on Utøya challenged psychiatry, democracy, and the whole judicial system in a way that has almost never before been seen. The most important conclusion is ethical: we make the monsters.

From my point of view, Kernberg's and Diamond's theories about malignant and psychopathic narcissism explain the personality structure of the mass murderer quite well. Breivik's case is not so much about a psychotic or a non-psychotic act—it is about a political act, about an ideological expression. Our societies cannot hide behind psychiatric diagnoses—which, in this case, are contradicting each other. We must confront the ideology also.

Certain kinds of personality structures may be supported by ideologies that seem to cure the narcissistic wound. An extreme ideology coupled with low self-esteem may cause inflation of the ego. Ideology is the answer to the narcissistically wounded ego—the pain, frustration, fury and hatred find an explanation and reason. And, most importantly, ideology helps the wounded ego to find an enemy. Extreme ideology is what fills their existential vacuum and provides some sense of meaning and purpose.

Extreme right-wing movements see the multiculturalists and Islam as enemies. The devaluation of the other and the denial of the subjectivity of the other are the ideological elements of psychopathology. Narcissistic rage demands the destruction of the enemy. The less blatant forms of this mechanism are accepted in the business world, and even in personal relationships as, for example, in hostile divorce situations. On the national level, they are accepted in warfare. We are so encircled with our system that we cannot see its destructive mechanisms.

Not every process of individuation, therefore, is good. But negative individuation is not extensively discussed in the Jungian tradition, although Jung wrote much about evil and the shadow. The concept of the shadow is an inadequate concept to address severe personality disorders. It works well in the framework of normal psychological development or individuation. But the shadow is more a cultural concept than a psychopathological one—much like the death drive. Analytical psychology must revise its views according to contemporary neuropsychological and early attachment research. Otherwise it becomes merely a dogma. If the Jungian view of human beings gets further away from its roots in psychopathology and becomes identified with New-Age beliefs, it cannot be considered the basis of a serious clinical and psychotherapeutic method.

Parental figures play a central role in the hero myth. Heracles is mainly struggling with the mother figure. It seems that masculine development is especially difficult today in our societies. It would be too facile to refer to the missing fathers in Breivik's and in Jobs's life, or to refer to the divorce rates of our time. Maybe it is possible to say that parental figures are central because the hero myth is a developmental myth. It describes a developmental inner process that is always traumatic. There is always something wrong in parenthood. We do not live in a perfect world, and this is why we have a myth of the hero who must overcome the difficulties and seemingly impossible tasks. He must address sexuality, aggression and ageing. He has to confront the outer world and the inner world. He has to confront violence, and he knows about loss and sickness. The hero myth describes the creative transformation of the life force.

Affect theory is a complicated and broad field which I cannot cover sufficiently in this paper. Nor can I discuss deeply enough how psychopathic narcissism is combined with the negative development of masculinity, or how it is expressed in the development of femininity. I do not write about the role of fantasy in object relations theory and its functions in the early developmental stages.



The hero myth is seen as it is presented in Jung's *Symbols of Transformation*. The mythic structure of the hero is discussed through Heracles although there would have been other possibilities too. Achilles, a half god, had to live with young women and was dressed in women's clothing to escape the destiny prescribed by his mother's will. Or, for a more complex picture of the individuation process, it would have been possible to look at Hephaistos, a crippled god, as a symbol of incomplete individuation (Stein 2006b).

At the end of this writing process, I had a dream about Breivik. His punishment was to be cooked alive in a big, alchemical, iron pot, like in the fairy tales. Norwegian society tries to deal with the mass murderer by detailed, transparent judicial process and forensic psychiatry. But Breivik is a part of our inner subjective world symbolizing the destruction of trust and of the continuity of life. He also symbolizes the potential for destroying our close relationships and the daimonic capacity for evil. We need to 'cook' him, transform him into something else, something new, something helpful in understanding pathological narcissism and the destructive shadow.

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#### TRANSLATIONS OF ABSTRACT

L'article traite de l'individuation négative et du mythe du héros en tant que concepts de développement. J'y propose que, dans l'individuation négative, le développement psychologique sain est entravé et devient déviant. L'agressivité devient alors le mécanisme psychique central. La colère réprimée est l'élément essentiel du narcissisme psychopathique (Diamond) et du narcissisme pervers (Kernberg). Diamond et Kernberg étendent tous deux la structure des personnalités narcissiques aux personnalités antisociales, psychopathiques, afin de mieux comprendre la violence extrême. Selon Freud, l'amour (libido) et la haine (la pulsion de mort) sont les systèmes les plus motivants de la psyché humaine. A l'opposé de Freud, Jung considère la libido comme une force vitale en général, pas seulement une pulsion sexuelle. Jung écrit sur le mal et l'ombre, mais ne propose pas de théorie complète du développement négatif de la vie d'un individu. Le concept d'individuation négative relie l'ombre et la pulsion de mort avec la psychopathologie, la psychiatrie et la psychothérapie. Dans cet article, je revisite ces concepts à la lumière de l'actuelle théorie de l'affect de Kernberg. Je me demande aussi comment l'idéologie est liée à la violence extrême et comment il est possible que la structure des personnalités narcissiques puisse mener à des effets aussi radicalement différents, tels qu'on l'a vu dans les vies de Anders Behring Breivik et de Steve Jobs.

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Der Beitrag diskutiert negative Individuation und den Heldenmythos als Entwicklungskonzepte. Es wird davon ausgegangen, daß in einer negativen Individuation gesunde psychologische Entwicklung gehemmt wird und verloren geht. Sodann wird Aggression zum zentralen psychischen System. Unterdrückte Wut ist das Kernelement des psychopathischen Narzißmus (Diamond) und des malignen Narzißmus (Kernberg). Beide, Diamond und Kernberg, erweitern das Konzept der narzißtischen Persönlichkeitsstrukturen

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auf antisoziale und psychopathische Persönlichkeiten im Bestreben um ein besseres Verständnis extremer Gewalttätigkeit. Nach Freud stellen Liebe (Libido) und Haß (Todestrieb) die Hauptmotivationssysteme der menschlichen Seele dar. Im Gegensatz zu Freud sieht Jung in der Libido eine generelle Lebensenergie, nicht nur einen sexuellen Trieb. Jung schreibt über das Böse und den Schatten, bietet aber keine umfassende Theorie der negativen Entwicklung im Leben des Einzelnen. Das Konzept der negativen Individuation verbindet den Schatten und den Todestrieb mit Psychopathologie, Psychiatrie und Psychotherapie. In diesem Artikel untersuche ich diese Konzepte im Lichte der gegenwärtigen Affekttheorie nach Kernberg. Desweiteren frage ich, wie Ideologie an extreme Gewalttätigkeit gebunden ist und wie es möglich ist, daß narzißtische Persönlichkeitsstrukturen zu so radikal unterschiedlichen Ergebnissen führen können, wie sie sich in den Leben von Anders Behring Breivik und Steve Jobs manifestierten.

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In questo lavoro vengono discussi l'individuazione negativa e il mito dell'eroe come concetti evolutivi. Si ipotizza che nella individuazione negativa lo sviluppo psicologico sano viene nascosto e si smarrisce. Quindi l'aggressione diviene il sistema psichico centrale. La rabbia repressa è l'elemento centrale del narcisismo psicopatico (Diamond) e del narcisismo maligno (Kernberg). Sia Diamond che Kernberg, nello sforzo di comprenderne meglio l'estrema violenza, associano la struttura di personalità narcisistica alla personalità antisociale e psicopatica. Secondo Freud l'amore (la libido) e l'odio (la pulsione di morte) sono i maggiori sistemi motivazionali nella psiche umana. Contrariamente a Freud, Jung vede la libido come una forza vitale in generale, non semplicemente come una pulsione sessuale. Jung parla del male e dell'ombra, ma non fornisce una teoria comprensiva di uno sviluppo negativo nella vita di un individuo. Il concetto di individuazione negativa connette l'ombra e la pulsione di morte con la psicopatia, la psichiatria e la psicoterapia. In questo lavoro esamino tali concetti alla luce dell'attuale teoria degli affetti secondo Kernberg. Mi domando inoltre in quale modo l'ideologia si leghi alla violenza estrema e come sia possibile che le strutture di personalità narcisistiche possano portare a risultati radicalmente diversi come si sono manifestati nelle vite di Anders Behring Breivik a Steve Jobs.

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Статья описывает негативную индивидуацию и героический миф как концепцию развития. Предполагается, что в негативной индивидуации здоровое психологическое развитие затруднено и сбивается с пути. Вследствие чего агрессия становится центральной психической системой. Вытесненный гнев является ядерным элементом психопатического нарциссизма (Даймонд) и злокачественного нарциссизма (Кернберг). И Даймонд, и Кернберг распространяют нарциссическую личностную структуру до антисоциальной, психопатической личности в попытках понять крайнюю жестокость. По Фрейдю любовь (либидо) и ненависть (инстинкт смерти) являются ведущими мотивационными системами в психике человека. В отличие от Фрейда Юнг видит либидо как жизненную силу в целом, а не просто как сексуальный драйв. Юнг пишет о зле и тени, но не дает полнообъемной теории негативного развития человеческой жизни. Концепция негативной индивидуации соединяет тень и инстинкт смерти с психопатологией, психиатрией и психотерапией. В этой статье автор исследует эти концепции в свете современной теории аффектов по Кернбергу. Автор также задается

вопросом о том, как идеология связана с крайней жестокостью и как могут нарциссические личностные структуры привести к таким разным жизненным проявлениям, как в судьбах Андерса Беринга Бревика и Стива Джобса.

En este trabajo se discute la individuación negativa y el mito del héroe como concepto de desarrollo. Se sugiere que en la individuación negativa el desarrollo psicológico saludable se ve obstaculizado y se pierde. La agresión se convierte entonces en el sistema psíquico central. La ira reprimida es el elemento básico de narcisismo psicópatico (Diamond) y del narcisismo maligno (Kernberg). Tanto Diamond y Kernberg amplían la estructura narcisista de la personalidad antisocial de personalidad psicopática, en un esfuerzo por entender mejor violencia extrema. Según Freud, el amor (libido) y el odio (la pulsión de muerte) son los principales sistemas motivacionales en la psique humana. A diferencia de Freud, Jung ve el libido como una fuerza de vida en general, y no únicamente como un impulso sexual. Jung escribe sobre la maldad y la sombra pero no presenta una teoría general de la evolución negativa de la vida del individuo. El concepto de individuación negativo conecta la sombra y la pulsión de muerte con la psicopatología, la psiquiatría y la psicoterapia. En este documento, se exploran estos conceptos a la luz de la teoría de los afectos de acuerdo a Kernberg. Me pregunto así mismo cómo la ideología puede estar vinculada a la violencia extrema y cómo es posible que las estructuras narcisista de la personalidad puede conducir a resultados radicalmente diferentes, como se manifiestan en la vida de Anders Behring Breivik y Steve Jobs.

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