PSYCHOPATHY AND NARCOTERRORISM: A COMPARATIVE HISTORICAL

ANALYSIS OF PABLO ESCOBAR AND "EL CHAPO" GUZMAN

BY

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The thesis of Mikael Rollins, "PSYCHOPATHY AND NARCOTERROR-ISM: A COMPARATIVE HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF PABLO ESCOBAR AND "EL CHAPO" GUZMAN," approved by his Committee, has been accepted and approved by the Faculty of the School of Behavioral Sciences, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Forensic Psychology.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to Tina Cabriales, my mother.

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Psychopathy and Narcoterrorism: A Comparative Historical

Analysis of Pablo Escobar and "El Chapo" Guzman

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This study analyzes the psychosocial aspects of narcoter-

rorism reflected by two of the most notorious drug lords in

recent Columbian and Mexican history: Pablo Escobar and

Joaquin "El Chapo" Guzman. It questions whether the psycho-

logical factors which influenced and shaped their criminal

identities are, in fact, based entirely on psychoanalytic

theory (narcissism, borderline personality, etc.) or if

they are also products of cultural ideology. This research

examines the social and political concept of "narcoculture"

as the main premise to view the context in which criminal

psychopathy may be fostered and developed. As part of a

historical analysis of the narcoculture phenomenon, Escobar

and "El Chapo" will be analyzed, diagnosed and compared in order to clarify the psychological and cultural parallels that reflect a distinct psychological profile. By referencing psychological, social, political, and cultural studies, the aim of this project is to reveal specific psychological characteristics as correlates of extreme and violent criminal behavior.

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Chapter 1

THE PROBLEM STATEMENT

As an area of intensive psychological study, the construct of psychopathy continues to be the subject of extensive research. Though its etiology remains an elusive objective for scientists, the main focus of the construct has primarily centered on its behavioral and personality characteristics. Lack of conscience, empathy, remorse, the inability to emotionally connect or respond with others at any meaningful level are all features that reflect what the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorder (DSM-5) defines as Antisocial Personality Disorder.

Interestingly, though much of the existing literature has focused on the neurology of psychopathy (Kiehl, 2005), significantly less amount of research has been applied toward the psychosocial or cultural aspects of the construct as a notable core factor. What, for example, are the personal and social conditions which may have played an integral part in the provocation and development of psychopathic behavior? What are the psychological and social mechanisms which allows the criminal psychopath to become a successful psychopath (Gao & Raine, 2010); that is, someone

who can successfully operate with impunity from both legal and governmental forces? From this perspective, the case studies of Pablo Escobar and Joaquin "El Chapo" Guzman can be more readily examined as individuals whose psychological profiles cannot be analyzed in isolation. Given what may logically be perceived as their strongly supportive personal and cultural environments, both Escobar and "El Chapo's" pathology can be regarded as uniquely fostered and even encouraged. Understanding the connection between psychopathic violence and cultural influence is key toward developing a more comprehensive view of the outlying factors that perpetuate antisocial conduct.

Understandably, though the prevalence of psychopathic motivations and behavior are well documented among the general prison population, the prevalence among successful psychopaths who are able to socially integrate and even thrive in a conducive environment remains an issue deserving of further research. The topic of this paper is to examine the psychological and historical context of two subjects who embody the psychopathic condition and the narco-culture which supports it.

Problem Statement

Criminal behavior has largely been seen by many researchers as a syndrome strongly associated with narcissism and psychopathy (Hogan & Hogan, 2001). Behaviors which reflect manipulation, coercion, and intimidation show that such behavior is clearly based on psychological profiles which "ignore reality, overestimate personal capabilities, and disregard the views of others" (Padilla, et al., 2007). As a process, destructive personalities focus on dominance and on that particular individual's needs rather than the needs of the greater social group. Moreover, destructive outcomes are not entirely the result of destructive persons, but actually products of willing followers and conducive environments. Within this context the relevance of this study focuses on the psychopathology of criminal drug lords who have increasingly been elevated to extreme levels of social and cultural status. Their success and their ability to openly operate as pathological figures reflects the need to understand the psychological dynamic that exists between them and the environment within which they thrive. Pablo Escobar and "El Chapo" Guzman are both criminals who have reached almost mythical dimensions as both charismatic and brutally violent men.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the current study is to present a psy-cho-historical comparative analysis of the psychopathic traits (narcissism, manipulativeness, grandiosity) of Pablo Escobar and "El Chapo" Guzman. Historic and psychological research indicate that a composite of socio-political, cultural, and personal factors impact the possible onset and development of psychopathy. This research initially focuses on each psychopathic subject, Escobar and "El Chapo" as separate case studies and then together analyzed in order to compare their various similarities and differences within the context of narcoterrorism. The concepts of psychopathic narcissism, political paranoia, and cultural ideology are explored in these offenders as psychological constructs from which to base our current understanding of terrorist behavior.

Research Questions/Objectives

The objectives of this study are to provide a psychological comparative reference to better understand the pathology that influenced such violent psychopathic criminal behavior. It is hypothesized that psychopathy reflected in extreme psychological narcissism, political paranoia, and

cultural ideology will be factors in the psychological pro-
files of Pablo Escobar and "El Chapo" Guzman. This histori-
cal analysis will be used to test the hypothesis that psy-
chopathic personalities share distinct traits and charac-
teristics that, when socially accepted, promote cultural
phenomenon of narcoculture. The research will show that the
type of psychopathic personalities which Escobar and Guzman
embodied perpetuated a particular social and cultural iden-
tity both for themselves and for the population that sup-
ported them. This identity, for many, provided security and
power despite the human carnage and psychological devasta-
tion which has resulted in decades of sustained extreme vi-
olence and terrorist-like tactics involved in drug traf-
ficking in their respective countries. Although Escobar and
Guzman are distinct personas from two different cultures
and two different points in time, it is proposed that they
both share common psychopathic traits and characteristics
that serve them to destabilize national and social equilib-
rium, and to reinforce their own narcissistic pathology. In
order to clarify this point, the development of the hypoth-
esis that if psychopathic behavior is able to flourish in a
particular cultural context (such as narcoculture), then
the potential threat against others increases exponential-

ly. This hypothesis may provide psychological insight into the type of approaches that narco states and forensic professionals can explore regarding the influence of a drug culture that directly shapes a sense of personal and social identity.

Delimitations

This research was conducted within the following parameters:

1. Only two criminal subjects, one from Columbia and one from Mexico were included in this research for comparative purposes.

2. This research process was modeled within a historical philosophical framework which, in effect, places a limit on the overall empirical of the subject matter context.

3. Narcoterrorism and psychopathy are relatively new topics. This had an impact on the amount of information available for this project.

Assumptions

The following assumptions of this study include:

1. Prior research on subjects Escobar and Guzman has yielded significant psychological information to warrant further study.

2. The acknowledged pathology of subjects like Escobar and Guzman signifies how psychological reference plays a major role in determining the motivation of psychopathic behavior and reasoning.

Definition of Key Terms

Antisocial Personality Disorder is defined as the personality disorder characterized by impairments in personality (self and interpersonal) functioning and the presence of pathological personality traits. Diagnosis of APSD requires the following criteria to be met: significant impairments in personality functioning and impairments in interpersonal functioning (DSM-5, 2013).

Cartels are drug trafficking organizations. Though in constant flux, the last decade has witnessed the strength of four dominant cartels in Mexico: the Sinaloa Cartel ("El Chapo"), Los Zetas, Tijuana/AFO, Juarez/CFO, Beltran Leyva, Gulf, and La Familia Michoacana. The major Columbian cartels during Escobar's timeframe were the Medellin Cartel which was rivaled by the Cali cartel and Los Pepes (Beitell, 2015).

Criminal psychopath/Neuroscience cites the particular neurological traits that have been scientifically detected by approximately two decades of imaging the brains of psy-

chopaths in prison (fMRI). The primary issue that has sur-
faced because of the current neurological research on crim-
inal psychopathy is whether or not (given the evidence of
brain impairment in psychopathic subjects) psychopathic
criminals should be held responsible for their actions
(Kiehl & Hoffman, 2011).

Criminological Theory is the examination of why people
commit crime as well as patterns of criminal activity. So-
cial control theory states that people develop the motiva-
tion and the skills to commit crime through the people they
associate with; biological genetic and evolutionary theo-
ries target mental illness and possible brain impairment
for aggressive criminal behavior. Psychopathy as the uni-
fied theory of crime is the best explanation for antisocial
behavior (DeLisi, 2009).

Cultural Identity is the identity or feeling of be-
longing to a group; part of a person's self-perception, of-
ten related to nationality, ethnicity, religion or social
class. The manifestation of a particular social reality,
cultural identity is dynamic and perpetually evolving.

Escobar, Pablo was the notorious drug lord of the Me-
dellin cartel in Columbia through the 1980s and early
1990s. His primary narcotic for distribution was cocaine,

supplying the United States in the mid 1980s with more than 15 tons of cocaine each day netting the cartel $420 million dollars a week. His crimes included drug trafficking, smuggling, assassinations, bombings, bribery, racketeering, and money laundering. His cartels rivals gangs were the Cali Cartel, Los Pepes, the Columbian Government and the United States Government. He was named in Forbes Magazine as one of the wealthiest and most influential global figures from 1987-1993 with a cash flow of at least $3 billion dollars. He offered to pay the Columbian national debt in exchange for amnesty from his home country. Escobar was killed in 1993 by police and military forces(Bowden, 2015).

Grandiose Narcissism is a condition associated with social-dysfunction and marked by deceitful and manipulative interpersonal style. It refers to an openly arrogant and superior presentation of one's persona. This condition appears to relate the construct of psychopathy and is characterized by disinhibition (problematic impulse control), meanness (callousness, antagonism) and boldness (social dominance and emotional resiliency) (Schoenleber et at., 2011).

Guzman, Joaquin "El Chapo" is based in Mexico, heading the powerful and internationally recognized Sinaloa Cartel

whose main source of business is drug trafficking. Narcotics that Guzman trafficked include marijuana, cocaine, ecstasy, heroine, crystal methamphetamine. His criminal career which includes drug trafficking, smuggling, murder, and money laundering began in 1989 and continues to the present. His cartels rivals are Los Zetas, Gulf Cartel, Beltran/Leyva Cartel, the Mexican Government, and the United States Government. By 2014 Guzman had exported more than 500 tons of cocaine to the U.S. alone. He was named one of Forbes most powerful and wealthy individuals from 2009-2011, estimating his rough worth at approximately $1 billions dollars. He was arrested in 2014 only to escape in 2015. He was recaptured in January 2016(Beith, 2010)

Narcissism is often related to personality traits which typically characterize psychopathy and Machiavellianism. This condition involves personal manipulativeness, selfishness, and an extremely inflated view of one's own importance and talents (Schoenleber et at., 2011).

Narcoculture is a subculture that has emerged as a result of the dominating drug cartels throughout Mexico. What separates this subculture from other drug related subcultures throughout the world is that Mexican narcoculture has developed its own form of cultural identity through dress,

music, literature, film and religious beliefs— particularly among lower class, uneducated youth. Narcoculture manifests itself differently depending on the distinct part of Mexico which participates in it. Its expansion infiltrated the dominant culture (Campbell & Hansen, 2014).

Narcocultural Identity is the composite of affective, cognitive, and behavioral aspects of identity which refer to the emotions and behavior attached to cultural identity in particular situations.(Bieth, 2010).

Narcoterrorism is the composite of violent acts as pure acts of terrorism without an ideological objective; the use of drug trafficking to advance the objectives of a certain governments and terrorist organizations; terror aimed at challenging the state directly; degree of violence include public bombings, summary executions, burning of bodies and beheadings; targets of violence include govern-ment and law enforcement officials, judges, politicians, and ordinary citizens. Narcoterrorism is responsible for massive drug related homicides (Pacheco, 2009).

Narcoviolence is notably extreme; victims are tortured and killed in brutal and barbaric ways, often in order to make a point. Whether such extreme violence is instrumental and in proportionate (that is, calculated to achieve maxi-

mum results by way of intimidation or gratuitously expres-
sive the work of psychopaths and/or ex-police and mili-
tary). The result is an unprecedented form of extreme, ran-
dom, and targeted brutally sadistic violence. From this
perspective, narcoviolence can be characterized as "terror-
ism" (Knight, 2013).

Psychopaths. Manipulative, callous, remorseless, im-
pulsive, irresponsible individuals who persistently violate
the rights of others across the lifespan (Harpor & Hare,
1994).

Psychopathy. A hierarchical construct encompassing four facets of
its key features: Affective (lack of empathy), Interpersonal
(grandiosity), Lifestyle (impulsivity), Antisocial (delinquency).
Based on research conducted with criminal samples using the Psy-
chopathy Checklist-Revised (PCL-R, 1991-2003)

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

"There is a synergy between the violent criminals'
personality traits, lifestyle, and observed behavior that
dovetails so exquisitely that it is as if their criminality
is wrapped up in a box. That box is psychopathy"(DeLisi &
Vaughn, 2008, p. 164). Psychopathy, as defined by Cleckley
(1941), Hare and Neuman (2008), is a clinical construct
usually referred to as a personality disorder described as
a constellation of interpersonal, affective, lifestyle, and
behavioral characteristics that result in antisocial behav-
ior (as defined by the DSM-5, 2013, Antisocial Personality
Disorder is a pervasive pattern of disregard for and viola-
tion of the rights of others occurring since the age of 15
years, as indicated by 3 or more of the following: failure
to conform with the social norms, reckless disregard for
the safety of self and others, lack of remorse). Presenting
a clearly urgent and ethical challenge to both mental
health professionals and law enforcement, criminal psychop-
athy encompasses a definitive spectrum of characteristics

and behaviors that reflect a significant need for further research. Though diagnosing psychopathy has become more accurate and empirically based, the general understanding of its causes, development, and often violent manifestations continue to be under scrutiny (Kiehl, 2005). Certainly, from a neurological view, the psychopathic brain has been shown to be different than a normal brain (Kiehl, 2008); ongoing research has revealed that the moral circuitry of the brain's regions which require the linkage of particular emotional and cognitive exchanges are impaired enough to provoke morally inappropriate to extreme and violent behavior (Gao, et al., 2009). Aside from what can clearly be seen as a neurobiological dysfunction, however, psychopathic criminal behavior must also be recognized within the context of culture and how its role can impact ideology and particular behaviors and perceptions (Brannon et al., 2001).

The phenomenon of extreme, violent criminal behavior and the role of cultural identity can be seen as what is referred to as narcoculture and narcoterrorism. For the purpose of this study, cultural identity was defined as the feeling of belonging to a group; it is part of a persons self-conception and self-perception. Narcoculture was es-

sentially characterized as a subculture which has developed as a result of widespread drug cartels throughout Mexico; its focus was to celebrate and romanticize drug violence. Narcoterrorism is a term made in the 1980s by Peruvian president, Fernando Belaunde Terry an attempt to give a name to two specific types of terrorism: global drug dealers who use terrorist tactics to maximize and sustain profits or terrorists who use the distribution of drugs to support their organizations (White, 2006). Narcoterrorism remains a term which reflects an ongoing Latin American crisis. To this day, it can be understood as an attempt by narcotic traffickers to change or influence the policies of a government or a society through violence and intimidation.This was graphically observed in Columbia during the 1980s-90s and continues to be a significant issue in Mexico. From a psychological standpoint, the socio-political construct of Narcoterrorism can most accurately be understood through the people who have embodied its core ideology. This research focused on the role of psychopathy in understanding the narcoterrorist. The process involved examining individual personality, cultural identity, and its impact on terrorist behavior. The objective of this study was to present a historical analysis of Columbia's Escobar

and Mexico's "El Chapo" using the construct of psychopathy as a context to best explain their execution of extreme violence, narcissism, and charismatic influence.

The following literature review examined the construct of psychopathy as it relates to narcoterrorism, both as a neurological dysfunction and as a theory of criminal behavior. In its broadest sense, this study attempts to bridge a gap between psychopathy, narcoculture, and the iconic figures that have emerged from a particularly unique political and social context of the late 20th and early 21st century. Though basing criminology on social and cultural factors has been a standard procedure in the ongoing attempts to understand the motivations of crime, what this project hoped to emphasize was the construct of psychopathy as the key and driving force in the type of personalities which have thrived because of an increasingly supportive culture of acceptance and even encouragement. Understanding the psychological factors that promote and foster psychopathic personalities within cultures of sustained narcoviolence is the objective which this work sought to examine. However, given the limited amount of empirically based literature on the connections between psychopathy and narcoterrorism, the following literature review will serve primarily as a fo-

cused body of reference intended to highlight the most relevant and salient points regarding the hypothesis of this research.

Psychopathy

Dilisi (2009) proposed that psychopathy can be seen as "the purest and best explanation of antisocial behavior." He believes that because this pathology so succinctly reflected the core of anti-social, deviant, and criminal behavior, it must be acknowledged as a type of unified theory of crime. Though the author concedes that there are many theories which explain the potential causes of crime, they tend to result in very general or very narrow interpretations of particular types of criminal behavior. Psychopathy, on the other hand, can be understood as a construct entirely consistent and intrinsic; there is no mistaking what it means. This study further argues that psychopathy affectively addresses both dimensional and categorical approaches regarding anti-social behavior and criminal personalities.

It is considered categorical primarily because of the way it is scored on the Psychopathy Checklist- Revised (PCL-R; Hare, 1991, 2003); it is considered dimensional because of the spectrum which the disorder reflects from ado-

lescence to adulthood. The author credits the current research community for focusing on a dimensional/continuous understanding of psychopathy which is the most significant indicator of all types of anti-social behavior. What this means is that, though traditionally, psychopathy has been treated as a taxon (grouping subjects into psychopath/non-psychopath) more recent research has found that psychopathic traits are continuous in nature. This is significant insofar as the implications for research on the etiology and assessment of psychopathy is concerned. In any event, psychopaths are not delusional psychotics; they are, in fact, completely rational and aware of what they are doing and why. Psychopathic behavior is thus a consequence of free choice. The author concludes that this is the primary reason why the construct of psychopathy should be considered the unified theory of crime.

From neurological perspectives, psychopathy has been examined as a personality disorder rooted in serious brain disturbances. Kiehl (2005) developed the idea that psychopathy has a strong neurological foundation. In identifying the specific deficits in the psychopathic brain, the most significant appears to be an impaired amygdala which involves the production and regulation of emotions (Blair et

al., 2005). So, for example, when brain imaging studies show non-psychopathic subjects' amygdala's responding when even thinking about a morally questionable action, psychopathic subjects remain neutral and completely unaffected. In step with the amygdala dysfunction is that most psychopathic persons have "normal" reasoning capacities, but are simply "not motivated to act on moral beliefs" (Roskies, 2003, 2006). This means that psychopaths cannot learn from their mistakes because, for them, even the most basic forms of moral judgements are incomprehensible despite what is often their higher-than-average levels of executive processing (Hirstein et. al, 2014). Within this neurobiological context of morality, psychopathy can be best understood as a disorder which is the result of many damaged brain circuits which overlap with other various brain regions that control a variety of behavioral processes (Pascual et al, 2013). Specifically, the frontal lobe, the parietal lobe, the temporal lobe and insula, and the subcostal structures are all areas, which when taken together engage in moral judgement and in the mediation of emotions used during moral processing.

    Given this highly complex area of study, neuroscientists are increasingly researching brain regions through

fMRI technology. In ongoing attempts to investigate how subjects determine right from wrong, what is being consistently revealed is both the neurocognitive model from which the moral brain may be examined in terms of deficits in cognition and emotional processing (Kiehl, 2005) and the neurobiological model which suggest that abnormalities in brain structure and function cause immoral and even criminal behavior. Understanding the neuroanatomical role of moral-decision making is increasingly providing evidence that there is an "intrinsic morality network" (Mendez, 2009) within the brain itself. Moral Neuroscience is thus a significantly growing area of study that delineates morality itself as a complex structure of emotional and cognitive processes that, when taken together, reveal the whole of what constitutes the moral brain. The construct of psychopathy, therefore, in relation to the neuroscience of morality, is particularly striking as researchers are methodically "connecting the dots" regarding what has traditionally been viewed as a psychological construct comprised of a constellation of emotional, interpersonal and behavioral traits related to antisocial behavior (Cleckley, 1976; Hare, 2003) with a neurobiological model primarily characterized by a lack of moral empathy and behavioral control

"while leaving general cognition intact" (Souza et. al, 2008). From this relatively recent developing understanding of psychopathy as a neurobiologically rooted disorder, particular social phenomenons have emerged that merit a closer examination of how cultural influence may play a role in fostering psychopathic criminal activity. Given the context of neurological damage and diminished capacity to control violent and impulsive behavior, how can psychopathy be reconciled with civilized society? More significantly, how does psychopathy flourish given a cultural framework which condones and supports it?

Moral depravity is very often linked to abnormalities in neurocognitive function. Harenski et. al (2010) examined the concept of aberrant neural processing in the moral decision-making process in criminal psychopaths. The scientific objective of the research was to provide information about neurobiological abnormalities in the moral decision-making process of psychopaths using functional magnetic resonance imagery. The main hypothesis was supported by the results which revealed that psychopaths showed reduced activity in brain regions which are known to be involved in the processing of moral decisions. Pablo Escobar clearly reflected this hypothesis by repeatedly using terror to in-

fluence Colombian politics to suit his expectations such as demanding a no-extradition clause and granting amnesty to drug lords. When these demands failed, Escobar proceeded to order the executions of thousands of people, including judges, police, journalists, and ordinary Colombian citizens.

Aharoni et., al, (2014), various researchers argued that psychopathic offenders can demonstrate normal knowledge and recognition of morally wrong acting and behavior. Though the traditional rationale for psychopathic impulsiveness and general antisocial behavior has been that psychopathic subjects are neurologically damaged and therefore unable to comprehend the meaning of "wrongfulness." Aharoni, et., al, (2014) suggested that psychopaths can, in fact, distinguish normal moral wrongfulness. The scientific objective of the study was to explain the "independent contribution in a psychopathy on moral classification accuracy, excluding other confounding factors," (Aharoni, et., al, 2014). Escobar further illustrated this point of moral indifference by masterminding the bombing of a Colombian jet liner in 1989 that killed more than 100 people. He knew what he was doing was wrong by any moral standard, but he chose to do it anyway. The results of the study revealed

evidence that moral reasoning deficiencies among psycho-
pathic subjects is not a significant argument for reduced
responsibility in psychopathic individuals on the premise
of not knowing or comprehending "right" from "wrong." The
results showed that psychopaths do understand moral "wrong-
fulness" under forced-choice conditions. The authors con-
clude by citing several limitations of the study. The first
acknowledged that the results were limited by the proce-
dures it used. Also, it was possible that other conditions
co-morbid with psychopathy could have provided different
results.

Narcoterrorism/History/Psychology

Pacheco (2009) examined the concept of Narcoterrorism
by addressing its politicoeconomic as well as psychosocial
factors. The historical and psychological objectives of the
research were to provide information about Mexican cartels
and the anarchy that has ensued over a relatively recent
period of time and which has entirely threatened a society
consumed by state corruption and relentless violence. The
author's focus was on the analyzing Mexico's structural and
social identity problem in light of the state's inability
to establish any form of social order. The author's driving

questions include examining how Narco violence has developed into Narcoterrorism, understanding who the main actors are and how their behavior has evolved, study the psychological impact of Narcoterrorism on the Mexican population, and research how that populations' perception of Narcoviolence and Narcoterrorism has influenced its cultural framework. The study concludes by making reference to past Italian and Spanish criminal organizations (Basque Terrorism, Sicilian Mafia) which must be acknowledged as structures which were largely challenged because of very specific measures designed to sever the psychological and social hold on the culture within which it operated.

Campbell and Hansen (2014) posed the question on whether or not Mexico has become a failed state because of its increasingly violent degree of terrorist tactics. The study focused on the concept of Narcoterrorism as a type of political framework whose members (Cartel and corrupt government officials) seek to overwhelm and dominate economic and social control over particular regions. The study also questioned whether the label of "terrorist" could be applied to what has traditionally been perceived as a Drug Trafficking Organization (i.e. organized crime). The overall purpose of this project was to understand and catego-

rize the distinct forms of Narcoviolence in Mexico and to objectively scrutinize the ongoing violence within the context of existing literature. Interestingly, this article was not entirely empirically based; most of the research was conducted through ethnographic field work on drug trafficking. Through extensive interviews with "narcos," victims of narcoviolence, human right's activists, politicians and law enforcement, Campbell has spent over two decades conducting a long-term participant-observation in the cities of Juarez and El Paso- both which experienced an extreme degree of drug-related homicides. Given the nature of Narcoculture to intimidate and provoke fear as well as the focus on killing people for specific reasons, the authors concluded that Narcoviolence can indeed be classified as terrorism.

In this paper, the case studies of Pablo Escobar and "El Chapo" Guzman were set and analyzed within the context of the narcoculture of Mexico's and Columbia's organized crime and drug trafficking organizations. It was hypothesized that psychopathic personalities and characteristics of drug cartels exist primarily because of specific cultural glorification; this culture, in fact, could not exist without the type of direct or indirect support it receives

from systemically corrupt governmental and police agencies which often carry out violent assignments mandated by specific cartels (Beittel, 2015). The widespread impunity which is repeated and undeniably reflected in the ongoing struggle with drug related violence is particularly significant in Mexico.

Pablo Escobar

Pablo Escobar was the notorious drug lord of the Medellin cartel in Columbia through the 1980s and early 1990s. His primary narcotic for distribution was cocaine, supplying the United States in the mid-1980s with more than 15 tons of cocaine each day netting the cartel $420 million dollars a week. His crimes included drug trafficking, smuggling, assassinations, bombings, bribery, racketeering, and money laundering. His cartels rival gangs were the Cali Cartel, Los Pepes, the Columbian Government and the United States Government. He was named in Forbes Magazine as one of the wealthiest and most influential global figures from 1987-1993 with a cash flow of at least $3 billion dollars. He offered to pay the Columbian national debt in exchange for amnesty from his home country. Escobar was killed in 1993 by police and military forces(Bowden, 2015).

El Chapo

Joaquin "El Chapo" Guzman is based in Mexico, heading the powerful and internationally recognized Sinaloa Cartel whose main source of business is drug trafficking. Narcotics that Guzman trafficked include marijuana, cocaine, ecstasy, heroine, crystal methamphetamine. His criminal career which includes drug trafficking, smuggling, murder, and money laundering began in 1989 and continues to the present. His cartels rivals are Los Zetas, Gulf Cartel, Beltran/Leyva Cartel, the Mexican Government, and the United States Government. By 2014 Guzman had exported more than 500 tons of cocaine to the U.S. alone. He was named one of Forbes most powerful and wealthy individuals from 2009-2011, estimating his rough worth at approximately $1 billions dollars. He was arrested in 2014 only to escape in 2015. He was recaptured in January 2016. Of particular interest to this study is the construct of psychopathy as it applies to historical figures who, until recently, were able to commit mass atrocities to maintain their power generated by a global drug trade which rendered Escobar and El Chapo two of the wealthiest men in the world. Specifically, this study searched for displays in these subjects of common psychopathic behavioral traits, such as a disregard for

laws and social norms, a failure to feel remorse or guilt, a tendency to demonstrate violent behavior and a pattern of disregard for the rights of others. Nevertheless, despite their lack of remorse or concern for others, they were and continue to be figures of overwhelming charismatic appeal whose ability to manipulate and perpetuate mass murder and violence elevated them to celebrity status within a culture deeply influenced by the lure of Narco power(Bieth 2010). In an extensive research project conducted by the Congressional Research Service (2015), the historical and current state of Mexico's drug trafficking situation is examined. The article opens with a summary of Mexico's efforts to fight drug traffickers but have really only succeeded in motivating further organization to flourish. Overall, since 2006, there have been four dominant drug trafficking organizations (DTO's) known as the Tijuana/Arrelano Felix organization (AFO), the Sinaloa Cartel, the Juarez/Vicente Carillo Fuentes organization (CFO) and the Gulf Cartel. Over the past decade, however, several more groups have now been identified by the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) as increasing in their strength and influence. They are referred to as Sinaloa, Los Zetas, Tijuana/AFO, Juarez/CFO, Beltran Leyva, Gulf, and La Familia Michoacana.

The general estimation of homicides linked to these groups has been calculated as at least 80,000 since 2006. Though the Mexican government no longer publishes data on such drug-related homicides, it is clear that other violent crimes such as kidnapping and extortion has increased as well. This research study provides an overall background on drug trafficking and violent crime in Mexico by identifying the major DTO's and trying to determine how the general structure of organized crime is changing.

According to Campbell, the "worsening perception of insecurity in Mexico" continues to grow in light of the still high rates of extreme violence and crime. The types of violence now linked with Mexico's DTO's often includes beheadings, dismemberment, severe torture, executions of a key figure's family members or even children. The scale and nature of the violence not only appears extreme, but significant because it reflects a shift in the type of tactics which drug cartels are increasingly willing to employ; tactics which often reflect a type of terrorist mentality and which are of significant concern to the U.S. who happens to be the major recipient of Mexico's illegal drug trade and distribution. As a major producer of heroin, marijuana, and methamphetamine, bound for the United States, the Interna-

tional Narcotics Control Strategy Report further reports that Mexico is also the main trafficking route for South American cocaine destined for the United States from Peru, Columbia, and Bolivia.

Campbell cites Sinaloa as the most powerful DTO in Mexico. Controlling up to 60% of the country's drug trade, it also has a significant presence in some additional 50 countries, including Europe, Africa, and Asia. Its most dominant leader, however, was arrested in 2014. His name is Joaquin "El Chapo" Guzman, and he is considered to be the most wanted criminal in Mexico. His brazen escape from prison in 2015 proved to be an enormous setback for the Mexican government's image of ongoing corruption, though his list of arrests and escapes are numerous. On June 10, 1993, Mexico announced the first arrest of Guzman in Guatemala. Despite being in prison, however, Guzman continued to run his drug empire given the privilege and priority afforded to him as the most powerful drug lord in Mexico. The maximum security prison where he was housed, therefore, simply became his new base of operations. In 2001, Guzman escaped from maximum security with the assistance of prison personnel which he had bribed. He simply jumped out of a laundry basket and into a trunk of a Chevy Monte Carlo. In

2014, Guzman is once again arrested; this time in Mazatlan, Mexico, where authorities now regarded him as "the most powerful drug trafficker in the world". In July of the following year, 2015, Guzman escapes again through an elaborate tunnel system from Mexico's top security prison. Six months later in January, 2016 he is once again recaptured in Sinaloa, Mexico, after a shoot-out with Mexican marines. While riding this thesis, Guzman was extradited to the United States in January, 2017. Facing charges of firearms, drug trafficking, conspiracy, kidnapping and murder, Guzman, if convicted, is likely to spend the rest of his life in prison.

From a psychological standpoint, a profile developed by the Mexican attorney general's office characterized him as "egocentric, narcissistic, shrewd, persistent, tenacious, meticulous, discriminating and secretive." Responsible for over half of the illegal narcotics that cross into the United States every year, Guzman has been described by the United States Treasury Department as "the world's most powerful drug trafficker", making him the most wanted fugitive in the world. The United States alone offered $5 million dollars reward for information regarding his whereabouts.

Guzman's methodical ability to operate his business at such a high level generally added to the general public's intrigue about his apparent invincibility. Who this man was and how he thought and what he believed made him a topic of much psychological and legal scrutiny. How could he, despite his international status remain as obscure and yet as manipulative as he was? Extending his drug business into more than 50 countries, Guzman increasingly developed a Robin Hood-like reputation which was captured in Mexican ballads called "narcocorridos" serving mainly to glorify drug traffickers. These ballads generally portray Guzman as an outlaw who remains strong in the face of ongoing adversity and distinctly calm amid extremely violent conditions. This, in itself, shows a type of pathology that could only be diagnosed as distinctly psychopathic; in a retrospective study of psychopathy by Raine et. al., (1990) the researchers reported psychophysiological factors which could be detected at age 15 were predictive of criminality by age 24. Remarkably, psychopathic criminals had significantly lower heart rates and skin conductance activity and more slow frequency electroencephalographic activity than non-criminals. In sum, Guzman embodies an extreme form of anti-social personality disorder which is essentially psychopa-

thy characterized by egocentricity, lack of remorse, lack of empathy, manipulativeness, emotionally shallow feelings and impulsivity.

As a narcoterrorist psychopath, Guzman has historically been at the helm of trafficking illegal drugs which typically involved brutal crimes such as murder (in the form of beheadings, dissolving of corpses, mutilations, etc.) torture, kidnapping and generally terror. His ability to openly display his pathology seems a remarkable testament to the time and place of which he is part. Sadistic and vicious criminal behavior is not only accepted in much of Mexico, but literally admired because it is construed as a fight and attack against a corrupt government. In other words, society would rather honor the "bad guys" because at least they are being honest about being bad; the "good guys" are just pretending since in the minds of most of the Mexican citizenry, they are as corrupt as the cartels themselves. Guzman's narcoculture can, therefore, be seen as a profoundly emotional reaction to decades of deception, corruption, and ill treatment by the government towards its own people. Guzman symbolized a form of liberation and defiance and retribution.

Guzman himself was a master of creating and selling his own image. Who he had made up was an outlaw with who took from the establishment and often gave to the poor. His reputation and legend was clearly on the minds of those who chose to perpetuate the mythical qualities he had come to embody. He became a figure who was larger than life. This type of narcoterrorist psychopath seems to fall into a distinct category that is clearly not part of the norm. What, after all, does society think of man who is at once, a murdering, drug trafficker without a conscience yet perceived as a benevolent, charitable and honorable man who cared about the poverty-stricken people of Mexico? The answer: a very powerful and very wealthy psychopath who had the resources to manipulate and finance anything that anyone could possibly imagine.

One of the most fascinating accounts of El Chapo Guzman were the psychological sessions that occurred in 1995 when he was incarcerated in Module III, Section I, Level A, Room 307. What emerged from these sessions was a psychological profile of what former DEA Chief of Operations Michael Braun called "the most ruthless organized crime leader on the face of this earth". The official assessment of El Chapo Guzman reads as follows: "Guzman is a subject who

presents himself as a being with confidence in himself:

egocentric and narcissistic, with a grandiose feeling of

his own importance, giving him expectations of special

treatment"(Thompson, 2014, Par.6), the report continues to

state Guzman was "sensitive to criticism" and that he pre-

sented an "egodystonic aggression subject to the mechanism

of denial, according to/depending on the surrounding condi-

tions". He exhibited an ability to "stay in control" and

displayed "leadership qualities". El Chapo Guzman is cur-

rently imprisoned in a high security federal jail in New

York. He is housed in a windowless cell where he spends 23

hours a day in solitary confinement. He is not permitted to

have any visitors, including his wife. He is not allowed to

call anyone except his lawyers. He is also never allowed to

go outside although he permitted one hour of exercise each

day. Guzman has pleaded not guilty to charges of running

massive drug trafficking operations that generated billions

of dollars and caused thousands of deaths.

Chapter 3

METHOD

Methodology

The previous chapters demonstrate the probability that psychopathic personality and criminal behavior are clearly interconnected. Though theories which explain criminal behavior are often based on biological, genetic or psychological factors that may influence the motivation to commit crime, most do not entirely recognize psychopathy as a construct which directly reflects a unified theory of crime (DeLisi, 2009). Understanding the key characteristics and personality traits of the psychopathic personality can help to explain the behavior of criminals who are able to control and manipulate not only other individuals but entire nations, economies, and cultures. Narcoculture, in particular, appears to have emerged such as culture. Defined as a supportive system for the drug trade in Lain American countries, Narcoculture not only excuses extreme violence and illicit drug-related actions but actually supports and condones this type of criminal behavior by glorifying the men who reflect serious psychopathic criminal intent.

Participants

The goal of this study was to analyze the similarities in psychopathic criminal behavior within a historical context, focusing on Pablo Escobar and "El Chapo" Guzman, both of whom were supported by the psychosocial phenomenon of Narcoculture. The subjects in this study, therefore, are the individual journal articles selected by the researcher which will be used to support the argument of psychopathy as the primary context for the case studies on Escobar and "El Chapo".

Instruments

A checklist of 20 items based off of the PCL-R criteria was created to assess the archival data on El Chapo and Pablo Escobar to see whether or not the Western concept of psychopathy fit.

Design

A historical analysis was used to examine the behaviors and experiences of selected individuals with psychopathic tendencies and characteristics to test whether or not they fit the Western notion of psychopathy. There were two key psycho-historical constructs of interest in this study. The first is the overall psychopathological connec-

tion between extreme violence and anti-social personality disorder. This would include the specification of severity regarding psychopathic behavior as well as the overall level of cognitive and emotional dysfunction. The second is the level of cultural influence on psychopathic criminal behavior exhibited in the Narcoculture which supports it, measured by speculation through evidence of shrines and public adulation.

Procedure

The study selected articles drawn from specific scholarly journals such as the Journal of Abnormal Psychology, The Journal of Forensic Psychiatry and Psychology, The Journal of Personality Disorders and The American Journal of Psychiatry. The study utilized items based on the PCL-R. The test contains 20 items that rate an individual's personality and lifestyle. Like the PCL-R, each item was scored from 0-2. Any items evaluated that did not have sufficient data to score was eliminated. For this checklist, up to five items may be eliminated. The levels of psychopathy was rated similarly to those on the PCL-R, with mild psychopathy between 10 and 19, moderate psychopathy between 20 and 29, and severe psychopathy above 30.

Chapter 4

RESULTS

Results

This section reflects and affirms the hypothesis that the psychopathic behavior exhibited by both Escobar and "El Chapo" was able to flourish in a very specific cultural context which represents their pathology. The data upon which these results are based relies on the literature written about these subjects—none of which is scientifically driven to develop a premise of psychopathy. This study, therefore, attempts to connect extremely violent and even sadistic behavior with the basic tenets of psychopathy and with the environmental conditions which fostered its growth. Since direct interviews were not possible, these results were based on the overall psycho-historical analyses which has thus far been produced by various authors and researchers. The following application of the PCL-R based items of Escobar and "El Chapo" provide the context for their psychological profiles which indicate psychopathy.

Factor I – Pablo Escobar

Item 1. Glibness, Superficial Charm **(Facet I, Interpersonal).** Consistently, friendly and polite; portrayed himself as "Robin Hood" savior to destitute communities in Columbia, giving money, building churches, schools, homes, sports, stadiums; "Escobar was a folk hero to residents and glorified by Colombians" (Cruise, 2015, ch. 4, p. 14). Escobar was able to convince people that his role as a drug lord did not diminish from his capacity to demonstrate his philanthropy to the lower socio-economic public which both supported and idolized him. "What distinguished him from his peers was his ambition and his charisma" (Cruise, 2015, ch. 1, p. 2). Escobar reflected "shallow emotions and the ability to turn on the insincere charm when needed" (Dawson, 2013, p. 83). (Score: 2). This score was given because of multiple of examples and no contradictory information was provided.

Item 2. Grandiose Sense of Self **(Facet I, Interpersonal).** Reveled in celebrity status; enjoyed media attention and notoriety related to his actions and persona; had unlimited capacity for violence; by 1989 was named by Forbes as one of the wealthiest men in the world. Escobar created his own world; "one way or another Escobar always got what he want-

ed" (Cruise, 2015, ch. 2, p. 7); was a self-styled God whose ethics solely benefitted him and whose terrorist tactics were justified as part of his drug trafficking. Escobar was a man who "somewhere along the way, began to see himself as a great man. His words and ideas assumed historical importance and his ambition grew (Bowden, 2015, p. 28). (Score: 2). This score was given because of multiple of examples and no contradictory information was provided.

***Item 4. Pathological Lying* (Facet I, Interpersonal).** Most of his life based on criminal activity and evading the truth in pursuit of his own goals. (Score: 2). This score was given because of multiple of examples and no contradictory information was provided.

***Item 5. Conning/Manipulative* (Facet I, Interpersonal).** Convincing an entire group/cartel to commit extreme violence on his behalf. Ruthless and ambitions, Escobar manipulated people through words and actions; either people complied with his demands or they were killed—He was famously known for his notorious phrase, "Plata o Plomo"— (silver or lead, i.e., money or bullets) (Cruise, 2015, ch. 3, p. 10). "Escobar also had to ability to sway his public image…" (Cruise, 2015, ch. 3, p. 9). (Score: 2). This score was

given because of multiple of examples and no contradictory information was provided.

Item 6. Lack of Remorse/Guilt **(Facet 2/Affective).** Escobar was aware and intent on committing his crimes with complete disregard for anything or anyone. He often justified his actions by aligning his status to one of supreme power. The most heinous crimes were treated as events to be proud of like the bombed airliner or the kidnapping and murder of DEA agent, Enrique Camerena of Mexico. "He built a reputation for violence and brutality. His main means of collecting debt from those who did not take him seriously was kidnapped for ransom" (Cruise, 2015, ch. 3, p. 8). (Score: 2). This score was given because of multiple of examples and no contradictory information was provided.

Item 7. Shallow Affect **(Facet 2, Affective).** Showed no real concern for others who did not contribute to his drug empire. "Having people killed did not move Escobar's conscience; to him it was all business and used it for his own benefit" (Cruise, 2015, ch. 3, p. 9). Used people and viewed them as pawns in his grand scheme of power and acquisition. His Medellin cartel had an " unimaginable amount of money to use for bribing practically anyone; if the bribe did not work, they resorted to violence and murder.

Escobar and his cartel were virtually untouchable" (Cruise, 2015, ch. 3, p. 12). (Score: 2). This score was given because of multiple of examples and no contradictory information was provided.

***Item 8: Callous/Lack of Emotion* (Facet 2, Affective).** Ordered the deaths of over 1000 police officers, 200 court officials, 40 judges, 3500 civilians; he further ordered the bombing of Avianca Flight #203, killing 110, many of which were children; total estimate of deaths reach approximately 60,000 (Dawson, 2013, p.165). Early on, Escobar "discovered in himself an ability to remain calm, deliberate, even cheerful when others grew frightened and unsteady" (Bowden, 2015, p. 19). Escobar "grew accustomed to ordering people killed. It fed his growing megalomania and bred fear" (Bowden, 2015, p. 20). (Score: 2). This score was given because of multiple of examples and no contradictory information was provided.

***Item 16. Failure to Accept Responsibility* (Facet 2, Affective).** Escobar always felt misunderstood and driven to crime because of his perception of social misfortune as a young man growing up in poverty. He blamed everyone from the Columbian government to the U.S. government for his "unjust" persecution. In a radio interview conducted in Co-

lumbia, a journalist asked Escobar: "Of what do you re-
pent?" He answered: "All human beings make mistakes, but I
don't repent anything" (Bowden, 2015, p. 162). (Score: 2).
This score was given because of multiple of examples and no
contradictory information was provided.

Item 11. Promiscuous Sexual Behavior. "Escobar seemed to
have a preference for young girls…" (Dawson, p. 169). He
was also known to have on his payroll a group of young men
called "Los Senuelos" (which means those who trap a person)
who were in charge of getting young virgins between ages of
13 and 15 by offering them money and gifts. "Spared no ex-
pense in recruiting young women- the younger the better- to
satisfy his sexual appetite"(Bowden, 2015, p. 29). After
using them for a few days, he would have the girls murdered
for fear that they would divulge his whereabouts. It is es-
timated that forty-nine girls were killed this way. (Score:
2). This score was given because of multiple of examples
and no contradictory information was provided.

Item 17. Short Marital Relationships. Married to one woman
but was famous for having a multitude of mistresses and
constant affairs. Despite his affairs, Escobar felt strong-
ly about his family and remained married to the same woman
his entire life. He would refer to his wife and children as

"my best treasure" (Bowden, 2015, p. 161). However, "he always did exactly what he pleased and would, more often than not, kill anyone who dared oppose him" (Dawson, 2013, p.170). (Score: 0). Does not fit criteria for this specific item.

Factor II: Social Deviancy

Item 3. Need for Stimulation **(Facet 3, Lifestyle)**. At the height of his power, Escobar brought in $60 million dollars per day. Despite his personal net worth of close to $3 billion dollars, controlling 80% of the global cocaine market, he liked being known as a "hero" to the Medellin Community. "He always believed that he was somehow attuned to the masses of his countrymen, that they loved and supported him. He was, if anything, an ugly caricature of his country, unthinkably rick in natural resources but violent, stoned, defiant, and proud…" (Bowden, 2015, p. 47). Escobar's need for activity and adulation propelled him to give as much as he received, building schools, hospitals, sport stadiums, etc., creating a deep loyalty between the poor and himself. His entire lifestyle reflected a never-ending need for stimulation and attention. "Escobar lived an extravagant life and could buy literally anything… whatever he could not purchase with cash, he got through threats"

(Cruise, 2015, ch. 2, p. 7). "His primary estate was an outrageous blend of the erotic, exotic, and extravagant. He enjoyed speed, sex, and showing off, and he craved an audience" (Bowden, 2013, p. 27). (Score: 2). This score was given because of multiple of examples and no contradictory information was provided.

***Item 9. Parasitic Lifestyle* (Facet 3, Lifestyle).** Escobar's early life was defined by a series of crime ranging from auto-theft to selling fake lottery-tickets to stealing tombstones and reselling them to smugglers from Panama. He did not have a steady "regular" job but did not appear to rely on anyone but himself for financial stability. (Cruise, 2015, ch. 1, p. 2) Despite his criminal lifestyle, Escobar appeared to regret the lack of a formal education; "He would fill shelves in his homes with stacks of unread classics and would talk sometimes of wanting to earn a higher degree" (Bowden, 2015, p. 18). (Score: 0). Although he earned his way illegally throughout most of his life, he never relied on anyone for financial resources.

***Item 10. Poor Behavioral Controls* (Facet 4, Antisocial).** Escobar, in fact, exercised what outwardly appeared to be very good self-control, designed to convince everyone around him that he was "the boss". However, the fact that

he was charged with the bombing of the World Trade Center building in 1993 which killed 6 and injured more than 1000 civilians, reflects his extreme lack of self-control. He was often quoted as saying "life is full of surprises, some good, some not so good." Escobar "wanted to gain power and wealth but he preferred to take the illegal route. He had been successful in his small crimes and started making a name for himself for his ruthlessness and confidence" (Cruise, 2015, ch. 1, p. 2). (Score: 2). This score was given because of multiple of examples and no contradictory information was provided.

***Item 12. Early Behavioral Controls* (Facet 4, Antisocial).** Escobar's early life was defined by a series of crime ranging from auto-theft to selling fake lottery tickets to stealing tombstones and reselling them to smugglers from Panama. His intent was to make money one way or another disdaining his early and modest upbringing as the son of a farmer and schoolteacher: Escobar "realized that Medellin had serious potential to become a massive drug industry" and he simply acted on it. (Cruise, 2015, ch. 1, p. 3) (Score: 2). This score was given because of multiple of examples and no contradictory information was provided.

Item 13. Lack of Realistic Long Term Goals. Escobar's lack of formal education did not impede his ambitions and long-term goals to expand his drug trafficking empire. For example, from 1987 to 1993, Escobar met his goal by making the Forbes list of The World's Billionaires richest man in the world. He appeared to have a keen business sense despite his general depravity: "There is a time to fight and there is a time to be clever." Escobar "became the representation of a commoner who cashed in on the immorality of an affluent society and exploited corrupt government officials in order to reallocate wealth among the poor" (Cruise, 2015, ch. 4, p. 14). (Score: 0). He was determined and had long term goals therefore, not fitting this criteria.

Item 14. Impulsivity (Facet 3, Lifestyle). Escobar's behavior was methodical and calculating; his murders were often planned and deliberate, depending on the type of political message he wanted to send to his enemies and the other cartels. The manner in which he had people killed also reflected a purposeful meaning (i.e. bombings, torture, removing enemies' eyeballs with hot spoons, etc.). Despite his ongoing crime rampage, he believed in his lifestyle as one of necessity and admiration. Escobar would go on to "announce his war against the government and pushed to veto

extradition. At this point, he had already ordered the murder of numerous judges and their respective families…" (Cruise, 2015, ch. 3, p. 12). (Score: 1). Although he was methodical and calculating, he also demonstrated outbursts of anger and impulsive violence.

***Item 15. Irresponsibility* (Facet 3, Lifestyle).** Escobar's systemic criminal career demonstrates a lack of any type of responsible behavior. Blamed for the deaths of more than 4000 people (including presidential candidate, Rodrigo Lara Bonilla), and for the usual order of 2-3 bomb attacks per day, Escobar demonstrates a stark example of his irresponsibility which can be seen through one of his proclamations to the general public: he would pay anyone who would kill a policeman. He believed in those who would do anything for him. When asked by radio journalist in an interview, "Do you accept that they say you are a drug dealer or a criminal, or don't you really care?" Escobar answers: "My conscience is clear…" (Bowden, 2015, p. 162). (Score: 2). This score was given because of multiple of examples and no contradictory information was provided.

***Item 18. Juvenile Delinquency* (Facet 4, Antisocial).** Escobar's links to crime began as a teenager. "He started his criminal career by stealing tombstones and reselling them

to smugglers coming from Panama" (Cruise, 2015, ch. 1, p. 2). At this time, Escobar played a big role in the control of Columbia's smuggled cigarette market. (Score: 2). This score was given because of multiple of examples and no contradictory information was provided.

***Item 19. Revocation of Conditional Release* (Facet 4, Antisocial).** In 1991 Escobar surrendered to the Columbian government in exchange for the removal of the threat of extradition; "I prefer to be in the grave in Columbia, than in a jail cell in the United States." Part of the deal also included allowing Escobar to build his own luxury prison called "La Catedral" which was basically guarded by his friends. The "prison" came complete with a casino, spa, nightclub, and many women. In 1992, Escobar escaped when the government attempted to move him to a real prison. The manhunt lasted 16 months. He was killed in a firefight with police in 1993; "By definition, he was a ruthless criminal. However, to the people who supported him, he embodied a protector" (Cruise, 2015, Conclusion, p. 30). (Score: 2). This score was given because of multiple of examples and no contradictory information was provided.

Factor I – "El Chapo" Guzman

Item 1. Glibness, Superficial Charm **(Facet 1, Interpersonal).** Consistently friendly, soft-spoken, Guzman portrayed himself not only as one of the most notorious drug lord in Mexico (and perhaps even the world) but he always symbolized a type of savior for destitute people of his country. Seen as a type of "Robin Hood", "Chapo" actually had a charming side" (Beith, 2011, p. 7) providing resources to struggling communities and supporting them when their own government would not. Able to manipulate and convince people of his sincerity, "Chapo is a charmer, a man with a reputation" (Beith, 2011, p. 61). Despite his disregard for publicity, he is regularly recognized "as a man of the people who understands their problems, and gives them money" (Beith, 2011, p. 79). (Score: 2). This score was given because of multiple of examples and no contradictory information was provided.

Item 2. Grandiose Sense of Self **(Facet 1, Interpersonal).** Although Guzman did not display outward signs of wealth (preferring a ball cap and simple clothes), nor did he revel in any type of media attention, he still enjoyed a type of "infamy and near-mythical status…living like a king behind bars" (Beith, 2011, p. 78). Guzman did reveal that he

was very "egocentric…making sure everyone always knew who was boss" (Beith, 2011, p. 58). After being recognized by Forbes magazine as one of the world's wealthiest man, a resident from a Mexican community did not care about that, citing that what mattered was that "Chapo is like a god; omnipotent, outside the law, outside of Mexico. He's every-where and nowhere at the same time" (Beith, 2011, p. 157). El Chapo's sense of grandiosity was developed by his own self-perception and by his public narco-adulation. (Score: 2). This score was given because of multiple of examples and no contradictory information was provided.

Item 4. Pathological Lying **(Facet 1, Interpersonal).** When El Chapo was arrested the first time in 1993, he told re-porters, "I'm a farmer". His lying was based on his need to control and to defer the truth. (Score: 2). This score was given because of multiple of examples and no contradictory information was provided.

Item 5. Conning/Manipulative **(Facet 1, Interpersonal).** "Chapo certainly had a way with people…on both sides of the law" (Beith, 2011, p. 62). As a boss who rarely met with his extended employees, his orders could direct an entire group/cartel to commit extreme violence on his behalf. He was able to control people through sheer will and clear ob-

jectives: "When Donald Trump calls you into the boardroom, you might lose your job. But when Chapo Guzman calls you in, you might lose your life. In other words, his business is crime" (Federal Drug Agent-Grayson, 2009, p. 57). Additionally, El Chapo surpassed most all other drug lords by his extreme methodology regarding the transport of narcotics: "…Chapo has shown enormous ingenuity in smuggling drugs into the biggest market on Earth" (Grayson, 2009, p. 57). (Score: 2). This score was given because of multiple of examples and no contradictory information was provided.

Item 6. Lack of Remorse/Guilt **(Facet 2/Affective)**. El Chapo was always aware of the necessity to exercise extreme violence in order to control his drug trafficking operation. Power and success meant doing what needed to be done regardless of personal relations or sentiments; "he was greedy…and his thirst for dominance had spurred him to take risks beyond those of his predecessors and rivals. He thinks big" (DEA-Beith, 2011, p. 72). Doing so required using people without regard for their rights as human beings. For example, under his direction, cheap disposable labor was often brought in to work for weeks in special underground tunnels designed to smuggle drugs. These people were desperately poor, uneducated, and unable to turn down any

opportunity to work. When the job was done, however—a task that often took weeks or even months—Chapo had them killed" (Beith, 2011, p. 73). The same type of scenario played out in 2009, in Juarez, when after storming a drug rehab center, Chapo's assassins lined up seventeen recovering addicts against a wall and opened fire. This occurred once it became clear to the DEA and Mexican authorities that addicts could actually help them with information. Chapo could not take that chance. (Score: 2). This score was given because of multiple of examples and no contradictory information was provided.

Item 7. Shallow Affect **(Facet 2, Affective).** "Chapo is a 'seducer'" with no genuine concern for others who did not contribute to his drug empire. He used people as he needed and yet because "of his seductive style, everyone within his network identifies with him, trusts him, and the group structure remains permanent; at any time, Chapo can instill both solidarity and terror" (Beith, 2011, p. 156). El Chapo became a man who did not need to answer to anyone. (Score: 2). This score was given because of multiple of examples and no contradictory information was provided.

Item 8. Callous/Lack of Emotion **(Facet 2, Affective).** When he was arrested in 2014, he told a well-known Mexican jour-

nalist that he had killed approximately three thousand people. One graphic example of Chapo's extreme level of callousness is reflected in the Nuevo Laredo Massacre (2012): 14 members of Los Zetas (a rival cartel) were decapitated— "authorities found nine of the victims, including four women, hanging from an overpass leading to the main Highway. (Associated Press, 2014, par. 2) (Score: 2). This score was given because of multiple of examples and no contradictory information was provided.

***Item 16. Failure to Accept Responsibility* (Facet 2, Affective).** El Chapo believed that his "responsibility" needed to be solely directed toward his objectives as a business man with global influence. Though he would often explain the desperate state of his poverty as a young person and the need to exploit his financial possibilities in order to save himself from a bad situation, Chapo did not accept his role or responsibility as a man who influenced the violent state of his country. In a rare interview with Sean Penn, El Chapo is asked: "Do you think you are responsible for the high level of drug addiction in the world?" El Chapo replies: "No, that is false, because the day I don't exist, it's not going to decrease in any way at all" (Penn, 2016).

(Score: 2). This score was given because of multiple of examples and no contradictory information was provided.

Item 11. Promiscuous Sexual Behavior. Though El Chapo was known as a romantic, he was also known as a subject who consistently engaged with prostitutes despite his many marriages. It was reported that during his first imprisonment, "reports of abuse and rape during Chapo's stay abounded" (Beith, 2011, p. 13). (Score: 2). This score was given because of multiple of examples and no contradictory information was provided.

Item 17: Short Marital Relationships. El Chapo has been married 4 times. His most recent marriage was in 2007 to an 18 year old beauty queen crown winner. "According to the Mexican newspaper, *La Razon*, Chapo has been seriously involved with 7 women with whom he has had 18 children" (De Graaf, 2016, par. 6). (Score: 2). This score was given because of multiple of examples and no contradictory information was provided.

Factor II: Social Deviancy

Item 3. Need for Stimulation **(Facet 3, Lifestyle).** El Chapo's life reflected his ongoing and relentless need for increased power despite the risks. From a cultural angle, most of his fellow citizen's condoned his lifestyle because

they felt that "Narcos lived outside a system of law that, in the minds of most Mexicans didn't look out for them" (Beith, 2011, p. 193). (Score: 2). This score was given because of multiple of examples and no contradictory information was provided.

***Item 9. Parasitic Lifestyle* (Facet 3, Lifestyle).** El Chapo's early life was defined by his need to break from the poverty of his life growing up in rural Mexico. Although he did not have a "regular" job, his ambition to succeed made him extremely self-reliant. (Score: 0). He did not demonstrate a parasitic lifestyle and did not rely on anyone else's financial resources.

***Item 10. Poor Behavioral Controls* (Facet 4, Antisocial).** Interestingly, El Chapo went through intensive psychological testing and counseling in prison in 1995. He was diagnosed with antisocial personality disorder. The psychological assessment concluded that during the course of his therapy, his "capacity for introspection was increasing" (Beith, 2011, p. 14). (Score: 2). This score was given because of multiple of examples and no contradictory information was provided.

***Item 12. Early Behavioral Controls* (Facet 4, Antisocial).** Part of El Chapo's job was to employ "Sicarios", or kill-

ers. His intent was to do things "methodically, with less fanfare but with unyielding ambition…determined never to return to the poverty from which he had emerged" (Beith, 2011, p. 56). (Score: 2). This score was given because of multiple of examples and no contradictory information was provided.

Item 13. Lack of Realistic Long Term Goals. Despite El Chapo's lack of education (he was taught up to the third grade) his ambition was boundless: "From the outset, Chapo knew his goals and the ways in which he would achieve them" (Beith, 2011, p. 67). His strengths were in planning, organization, and negotiation, despite his overall disregard for any type of human obstacle. (Score: 2). This score was given because of multiple of examples and no contradictory information was provided.

Item 14. Impulsivity (Facet 3, Lifestyle). El Chapo's behavior was methodical and calculating. If he had to kill someone, it was usually for a reason, or to send some type of political message. "Chapo may have got angry when betrayed, but he never let his temper get the better of him." A psychological report during his time in prison stated: "revenge is not something that he exacts with the immediacy of an impulsive person. His vision is to hurt his adversary

using his weaknesses to produce the most possible harm"
(Beith, 2011, p. 58). (Score: 1). Although methodical and
calculating, El Chapo was prone to violent and impulsive
outbursts.

***Item 15. Irresponsibility* (Facet 3, Lifestyle).** El Chapo's
criminal career reflects a complete lack of responsible be-
havior. "Bodies were dumped in full view of children walk-
ing to school. Corpses were found headless, trousers pulled
down for full shaming effect (their genitals and buttocks
in full view), their feet trussed up. Sometimes limbs were
left scattered near the sight; sometimes they were found on
the other side of town. On occasion, bodies were hung from
overpasses in full view of drivers on their way to work in
the morning…the word on the streets were that gang members
working for El Chapo were responsible for these mur-
ders"(Bowden, 2014 p. 170-173). (Score: 2). This score was
given because of multiple of examples and no contradictory
information was provided.

***Item 18. Juvenile Delinquency* (Facet 4, Antisocial).** El
Chapo's connection to crime began as a teenager when he
first started growing and selling marijuana. He soon landed
a job with a local drug boss; it was clear that El Chapo
"was blessed with an entrepreneurial spirit and a penchant

for sheer brutality" (Beith, 2011, Prologue XVII). (Score: 2). This score was given because of multiple of examples and no contradictory information was provided.

***Item 19. Revocation of Conditional Release* (Facet 4, Antisocial).** In 2001, El Chapo escaped from prison. His second arrest was in 2014. His second escape was in 2015. His third arrest was in 2016. El Chapo was recently extradited to the United States where he faces charges of drug trafficking, murder, kidnapping and money laundering. "Six separate indictments across the United States lay out wide-ranging cases against Guzman and others" (Gast, et al., 2017, par. 7). (Score: 2). This score was given because of multiple of examples and no contradictory information was provided.

Summary

As a clinical construct characterized by distinct antisocial behaviors, the Results section of this study has sought to prove the hypothesis that Pablo Escobar and El Chapo Guzman are both products of a narcoculture which enabled criminal narcoterrorist psychopathy. By applying the PCL-R based items to Escobar and Guzman, the intention of the section was to highlight and explain the specific aspects of each individual's personality and behavior in or-

der to reflect a comparable psychological antisocial disorder.

Additional measurable items that show how narcoculture both supported and revered psychopathic narcoterrorist behavior include a variety of social and religious actions. In fact, for both Escobar and Guzman, "Terror became art, a form of psychological warfare with a quasi-religious aesthetic" (Bowden, 2015, p. 14). These men were not simply criminals but rather regarded as "Robin Hood" type outlaws, who through extreme violence and charismatic appeal were able to manipulate public opinion, entire governments, and international drug trafficking. Though their level and type of barbaric violence impacted thousands of law enforcement and ordinary citizens alike, shrines have continuously marked the people's love and admiration for him. For Columbia and Mexico, Escobar and Guzman represented much more than common criminals; they symbolized strength, generosity, resistance and defiance. Because of these traits, the narcoculture within which they operated willingly sheltered and protected them and their interests.

The narcoterrorist psychopathic profiles of Escobar and Guzman reflect very complex and dangerous men within equally complex cultures. By examining their distinct yet

similar pathological profiles, the objective of this section was to provide a comparable reference of Escobar's and Guzman's psychopathic criminal behavior.

Chapter 5

DISCUSSION

The main goal of this study was to provide a comparative analysis and insight into the psychological parallels of psychopathy between Pablo Escobar and El Chapo Joaquin Guzman.Though psychopathy has not been tested against the culture itself, both of these men supported by strong cultural allegiance despite their positions as narcoterrorists. A significant portion of the Mexican and Columbian population not only supported Escobar and Guzman but held them in extremely high regard as the type of outlaws that managed to beat a system that had repeatedly failed them for generations. Escobar and Guzman were indeed bad men who did good things for the common people, and for this they were forgiven and even idolized. Concerning their remarkable celebrity status as criminal icons, these men symbolized both terror and hope; historically, this contradiction has been repeated through generations of Mexican and Columbian people for whom drugs and drug-trafficking has meant jobs and general security. Given the broad scope and extensive influence regarding the economic side of narcotics, the lure of monetary gain and/or personal safety, has se-

duced everyone from the common peasant to the respected politician to the upstanding police officer to the law abiding judge and government official. The Columbian Medellin cartel and the Mexican Sinaloa cartel had, through their immense power and political reach, created two of the biggest drug organizations in the world. Most significantly, however, it was their ability to cast a type of psychological spell on the people of their respective countries that has framed the psychological picture of criminal psychopathy and manipulation. Narcoculture could not exist without a significant amount of reverence for narcoterrorists. Clearly, the awe inspired by Escobar and Guzman combined with their direct monetary contributions to their respective societies created in both Mexican and Columbian cultures a distinct type of social identity. Escobar and Guzman were able to masterfully manipulate public opinion in their favor by filling in the vacuum created by the Mexican and Columbian states' failure to accommodate and provide for its own people. The Robin Hood archetype applied to Escobar and Guzman and their reward was loyalty from the people they "served". Social order would thus be the product of narco influence given the government's traditional unwillingness to recognize the ongoing social problems that

existed in these countries. Mexico and Columbia became narco states because of the government's inability to establish a structural social mechanism which could support and engage the population rather than alienate and ignore its needs. The psychopathic profiles of Escobar and Guzman interestingly possess the same characteristics of the narco states which they represent: a highly corrupt judicial system, a highly susceptible population which lacked educational or legitimate employment opportunities, and an unparalleled accessibility to local narcotics production and distribution. Escobar and Guzman were, in essence, psychological mirrors of their failed states just as perhaps the states were psychological mirrors of Escobar and Guzman they reflected each other as much as they supported need for identity and validation. The narcoculture which supported the narco trafficking phenomenon was basically inspired by a political and psychological gap; like so many societies of failed systems, cultures respond to tangible benefits and hope in whatever form it comes.

Conclusions

This study has sought to present a psycho-historical comparative analysis of the various psychopathic traits (narcissism, manipulativeness, lack of empathy, grandiosi-

ty) of Pablo Escobar and El Chapo Guzman. The results have shown the pathology which could possibly influence the type of violent psychopathic criminal behavior demonstrated by two of the world's most notorious drug traffickers. Characteristics such as extreme psychological narcissism, political paranoia, and cultural ideology all proved to be significant factors in the psychological profiles of Escobar and Guzman.

Recommendations

The intended relevance of this study was to show how the construct of psychopathy can be applied to the relatively recent historical development of narcoterrorism. Though psychopathy itself has been extensively researched (perhaps now more than ever), this current application of psychopathic behavior may be helpful in formulating a profile regarding psychopathic narcoterrorists. Characterized by both a willingness and drive to commit brutally vicious crimes without much, if any, sense of conscience or moral context, narco criminal psychopaths are deserving of further research. Given the global increase of terrorist activity since the 1980s, studies which seek to explore the various and increasingly widespread patterns of antisocial

behavior are indeed worthy of additional psychological in-quiry.

The value of such inquiry for psychologists exists in the potential of coming to a better understanding of the key roles of both genetic and environmental factors may contribute to psychopathic disorder. As it applies to nar-coterrorists psychopathic individuals, particular psychiat-ric objectives may include how culture and extreme personal narcissistic tendencies may apply to the development of such personalities.

Limitations

Concerning the potential limitations of the present study necessitates addressing the disadvantages of conduct-ing historical methods research. Though such research is clearly essential in addressing topics that cannot general-ly be measured with numerical data, it is often marked by particular deficits and limitations. To begin with, the process of interpreting past events in order to understand present behavior or to predict future events is problematic because such interpretation is inherently biased. What this author understood, for example, may not necessarily be what another understands from a particular source. Further the, interpretation of sources is not always empirically based.

Much of the source material obtained for this project was
based on prior research often compiled by authors who may
have been focused on the particulars of Mexican or Columbi-
an cartels rather than on Escobar and Guzman themselves.
Though literature on these subjects does indeed exist, the
extent of this literature is often limited to contemporary
journalistic accounts more than scientific empirically
based research. Additionally, the issue of accessibility
regarding the subjects as individuals which could be inter-
viewed or contacted was a limiting factor in this study.
Escobar is deceased and Guzman is currently in a United
States maximum prison. Accounts from others, therefore, ra-
ther than factual data comprise the essential nature of
historical data which is often either exaggerated or incom-
plete. The overall lack of control over various external
factors or threats to internal validity regarding histori-
cal analysis, however, has been compensated by this author
in an attempt to reconstruct, compare, and examine events
and patterns of criminal psychopathic behavior. Overall,
this research focused on two case studies which represented
and shared a distinct pathology, but future studies should
test whether this examination generalizes to other narco-
terrorists who are similarly characterized. Applying psy-

chological theory to criminal narcoterrorist psychopathy
might be useful for understanding how to approach underly-
ing criminal motivations and behavior.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

1. Factor I – Pablo Escobar

Item 1. Glibness, Superficial Charm (Facet I, Interpersonal).

Item 2. Grandiose Sense of Self (Facet I, Interpersonal).

Item 4. Pathological Lying (Facet I, Interpersonal).

Item 5. Conning/Manipulative (Facet I, Interpersonal).

Item 6. Lack of Remorse/Guilt (Facet 2/Affective).

Item 7. Shallow Affect (Facet 2, Affective).

Item 8: Callous/Lack of Emotion (Facet 2, Affective).

Item 16. Failure to Accept Responsibility (Facet 2, Affective).

Item 11. Promiscuous Sexual Behavior.

Item 17. Short Marital Relationships.

Factor II: Social Deviancy

Item 3. Need for Stimulation (Facet 3, Lifestyle).

Item 9. Parasitic Lifestyle (Facet 3, Lifestyle).

Item 10. Poor Behavioral Controls (Facet 4, Antisocial).

Item 12. Early Behavioral Controls (Facet 4, Antisocial).

Item 13. Lack of Realistic Long Term Goals.

Item 14. Impulsivity (Facet 3, Lifestyle).

Item 15. Irresponsibility (Facet 3, Lifestyle).

Item 18. Juvenile Delinquency (Facet 4, Antisocial).

Item 19. Revocation of Conditional Release (Facet 4, Anti-social).

Factor I – "El Chapo" Guzman

Item 1. Glibness, Superficial Charm (Facet 1, Interpersonal).

Item 2. Grandiose Sense of Self (Facet 1, Interpersonal).

Item 4. Pathological Lying (Facet 1, Interpersonal).

Item 5. Conning/Manipulative (Facet 1, Interpersonal).

Item 6. Lack of Remorse/Guilt (Facet 2/Affective).

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