

APPLICATION OF INVESTIGATIVE PSYCHOLOGY TO PSYCHODYNAMIC
AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT THEORIES: EXAMINING TRAITS AND
TYPOLOGIES OF SERIAL KILLERS

BY

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The thesis of Jordyn Smith, "Application of Investigative Psychology to Psychodynamic and Human Development Theories: Examining Traits and Typologies of Serial Killers," approved by her 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

To my husband, son and dog. Your continuous encouragement and loving support throughout my educational endeavors transformed my dreams into a reality.

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Application of Investigative Psychology to Psychodynamic
and Human Development Theories: Examining Traits and
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Serial killers are rare amongst the criminal population; therefore, few studies have been conducted regarding their behavioral traits as children. Previous theoretical research on serial killers identifies concentrated typologies of power and control, mission-oriented, visionary, and hedonistic. It is hypothesized that serial killers display certain psychological and behavioral traits in childhood due to extended exposure in trauma-prone environments, but differ between typologies based on situational circumstances of each murder. From an investigative psychological perspective, the lives of Ted

Bundy, Ted Kaczynski, David Berkowitz and Jeffrey Dahmer are examined through psychodynamic and human development theories to identify potential traits specific to their lives prior to murder. A historical analysis is used to thoroughly review, interpret and draw pointed conclusions regarding shared behavioral, psychological and environmental traits present during childhood. Based on identified common traits, the four serial killers will be placed into appropriate typologies and examined from a theoretical standpoint. Results indicate a significant overlap in behavioral, psychological and environmental traits after examining each participant's youth, but these traits are only considered contributing factors in predicting their future violent offenses. Additionally, these did not suggest the type of serial killer each participant became. While serial killers are rare in appearance, their behaviors are not foreign and their crimes are not unsolvable with assistance from historical cases and applied research.

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Chapter 1

THE PROBLEM STATEMENT

Building an array of concise serial killer profiles introduces a more effective strategy to recognize these offenders earlier in their criminal career. While this criminal population is difficult to study given the rarity of the crimes, making accurate details of motive, victimology and crime scene specifics more challenging or unavailable altogether, it is crucial, for the sake of the innocent population, to scrutinize previously obtained information and project the potential development of future serial killers. In efforts to address this issue, researchers have attempted to categorize these violent offenders into specific typologies based on circumstances related to each murder. Several classifications have been identified in order to better understand this area of offenders: power and control, mission-oriented, visionary, and hedonistic. By successfully identifying, interpreting and analyzing serial killers through behavioral, psychological and environmental traits originating early in life, criminal profilers and other law enforcement professionals will be better equipped to recognize and

proactively detain or deter these violent criminals before they claim numerous lives and antagonize communities.

Problem Statement

Modern researchers have not accurately provided criminal profiles for all serial killers while using the four primary typologies: power and control, mission-oriented, visionary, and hedonistic. In response to this issue, consolidation and modernization of previous research will be completed to effectively address and realistically interpret behavioral, psychological and environmental traits of serial killers with reference to typology.

Purpose of the Study

Serial killers are rare amongst the criminal population; therefore, few studies have been conducted regarding their behavioral traits, as updated information is not continuously available. From an investigative psychological perspective, this study will examine four specific serial killers through the use of psychodynamic and human developmental theories to identify potential traits specific to serial killers prior to their murderous rampages. Based on common traits determined through analysis of the subject's childhood, each of the four serial killers will be placed into appropriate typology and

examined from a theoretical standpoint. It is important to note that psychodynamic and human developmental theories are chosen for this study to examine the effects of different experiences on the human psyche and to corroborate stages in life with behaviors exhibited during that timeframe, which allows the complexities of serial killer behavior to be analyzed in fragments; introducing additional theories would expand the scope of the study and shift the focus of this research.

Research Questions/Objectives

This study will directly address three research questions: (1) As children, are serial killers exposed to certain traumas that encourage their futures as violent criminals? (2) Do serial killers possess specific, identifiable traits as children that can be used to predict their future violent behavior? (3) If specific, identifiable traits do emerge through research analysis, are these traits indicative of serial killer typology (power and control, mission-oriented, visionary, and hedonistic)? The objective of this study is to identify overlapping behavioral, psychological and environmental traits to conclude if these generate potential serial killers. Results are expected to uncover a combination of

common traits likely to produce serial killers with regard to the four primary typologies: power and control, mission-oriented, visionary, and hedonistic.

Delimitations

Based on the method of research, data collection was confined to archival data because of limited available resources, thus excluding any data collection practices requiring contact with living subjects. Furthermore, subjects were required to have a significant amount of archived information available, as subjects were chosen for this study based on their personal and criminal backgrounds. More specifically, they were selected based on known behavioral traits spanning from birth to adulthood, which were discovered by researching their psychological, emotional, sexual, physical and environmental backgrounds. Additionally, they were selected for their motives and crimes committed during their lives as serial killers. Moreover, subjects were required to be male, as female traits are presumably different and would involve a different comparative approach. Other than gender specificity, there were no demographic conditions or specific interest in victimology, provided they murdered a minimum of three victims to legally claim serial killer

status. Individuals not in accordance with these criteria were disqualified from the study. Within the scope of these conditions, 16 qualified subjects were identified and listed under their appropriate typology established by previous researchers. Once each typology had a minimum of three subjects listed, one subject was randomly chosen from each typology and four final subjects were identified. This study is restricted to the in-depth analysis of Ted Bundy, Ted Kaczynski, David Berkowitz and Jeffrey Dahmer in an effort to produce effective and efficient results. This study will not produce a criminal profile for each of the four subjects or typologies, but will identify potential traits valuable to the creation of such profiles.

Assumptions

This study relies on the accuracy of previous research findings pertaining to the personal, family and criminal history of Ted Bundy, Ted Kaczynski, David Berkowitz and Jeffrey Dahmer. Moreover, this study trusts the original analysis provided by researchers, mainly Ronald M. Holmes and James DeBurger, as the four typologies used are based on their classification of serial killer behavior. Given the narrow parameters available to collect information, it is assumed the databases used are properly

maintained and updated with articles that do not reflect the work of anyone other than the specified author(s).

Lastly, researcher bias presumes serial killer traits have been identified in other studies and certain generalizable traits are applicable to these offenders as a population rather than specifically to their typology.

Definition of Key Terms

Epigenetic principle. The psychosocial strength gained at each stage of Erik Erikson's life cycle model has a unique period of particular significance (Kail & Cavanaugh, 2016).

Hedonistic serial killer. Murdering individuals for the sexual arousal accompanied by the act (Holmes & DeBurger, 1985).

Human development theory. Eight stages of psychosocial development endured by all individuals regarding the process of identity formation and establishment of self-concept; based on Erik Erikson's life cycle model (Knight, 2017).

Mission-oriented serial killer. Offenders with the belief that it is their duty to eliminate certain individuals or groups based on personal perceptions of these individuals or groups (Holmes & DeBurger, 1985).

Power and control serial killer. Murdering individuals to achieve power and control over them before attaining sexual satisfaction (Holmes & DeBurger, 1985).

Psychodynamic theory. Explanation of "human behavior in terms of intrapsychic processes and the repetition of interpersonal patterns that are often outside of an individual's conscious awareness and have their origins in childhood experiences" (Holtz, 2007, p. 185).

Serial killer. Murdering three or more people, either single-handedly or with a partner, over an extended time period with intervals of normality between murders, signifying premeditation for each murder (Miller, 2014).

Trait. A unique characteristic or quality separating one individual from another (Trait, 2014).

Typology. Specific category within the serial killer population (Miller, 2014).

Visionary serial killer. Murdering individuals based on visions or voices instructing the murderer to kill specific people or groups of people (Holmes & DeBurger, 1985).

Organization of Remainder of Study

The remainder of the study proceeds with a review of previous literature pertaining to psychodynamic and human

development theory, serial killer typologies, and the personal, family and criminal histories of Ted Bundy, Ted Kaczynski, David Berkowitz and Jeffrey Dahmer. The literature review section is followed by a chapter detailing the historical method through which the study was conducted, identifying research techniques and specific methods used to reach reliable findings. Results are discussed in a separate chapter to adequately process information produced from the study and formulate accurate conclusions based on an overall analysis. The final chapter reflects on the outcomes generated from the study and provides recommendations, limitations and direction for future studies of similar topics.

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Investigative psychology, commonly referred to as criminal profiling, is a necessary tool for modern criminological analysis, and while it is applicable to most criminals, it is considerably underdeveloped in terms of serial killers. Previous researchers established a list of generic traits commonly found in these violent offenders to create an overall profile. A more in-depth examination of such traits, behavioral tendencies and personal backgrounds of these criminals, however, introduces more specific typologies underlying the profile of a serial killer. For the purposes of this study, the term *serial killer* is used in alignment with the Federal Bureau of Investigation definition, which is the "unlawful killing of three or more victims by the same offender(s), in separate events" (Morton, 2005, p. 9). Yet to adequately investigate the behavioral, psychological and environmental traits of these offenders, analysis must start during infancy and be comprehended from a psychological perspective based on Sigmund Freud's psychodynamic theory and Erik Erikson's supplemental theory of human development, to bridge the gap

from infancy to criminality. The aim of this study is to thoroughly dissect the lives of four serial killers: Ted Bundy, Ted Kaczynski, David Berkowitz and Jeffrey Dahmer, through a psychodynamic and human developmental lens to uncover overlapping traits and correlate them with the four serial killer typologies: power and control, mission-oriented, visionary, and hedonistic.

Psychodynamic Theory

To properly understand psychodynamics, Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytic theory must first be introduced, as the former is an expansion of the latter (Penman, 2014). Psychoanalytic theory signifies a turning point in the evolution of psychological, psychiatric and social work history (Holtz, 2007). This theory was a concept established by Freud in the early 19th century to reflect a therapeutic treatment method seeking insight into an individual's repressed memories through their personality (O'Driscoll, 2014). Personality, in this case, refers to the psyche and its three parts: id, ego and superego. While these are not physical constructs of the human brain, psychoanalysts began using them to interpret the human mind and cognitive processes because they provided an analytical perspective of behavioral traits within individuals

(McLeod, 2016). A current version of psychoanalytic theory diverts from the inner conflicts of the psyche, however, and concentrates on the "trauma, abuse, deprivation and deficit" (Carveth, 2017, p. 16) of the individual. An extension of this approach, psychodynamic theory, "attempts to explain human behavior in terms of intrapsychic processes and the repetition of interpersonal patterns that are often outside of an individual's conscious awareness and have their origins in childhood experiences" (Holtz, 2007, p. 185). While this theory significantly overlaps psychoanalytic theory because it focuses on personality in terms of an individual's conscious and unconscious state of mind, the primary distinction lies in the childhood experiences responsible for shaping an individual's behavioral traits. The work of Heinz Hartmann and Erik Erikson are primarily responsible for expanding Freud's psychoanalytic theory into psychodynamics, not only to further contemplate the role of the psyche on human behavior, but to also provide a different perspective on the id, ego and superego. Together, Hartmann, Erikson and other psychoanalysts explained this new model with four categories: drive theory, ego psychology, object relations theory and self-psychology (Hingley, 2001; Holtz, 2007).

Before introducing the four-part model of psychodynamic theory, however, a brief overview of psychoanalytic theory is necessary to understand the progression from one to the other.

Id. The id is the first part of psychoanalytic theory, a psychological concept developed by Freud after his experience with psychoanalysis introduced him to the different dynamics of the human psyche (Segrist, 2009). Overall, the id provides structure to a larger framework within the unconscious state of mind, retrieving repressed memories through self-analysis (Plaut, 2005). According to Saul McLeod (2016), "the id is the primitive and instinctual part of the mind that contains sexual and aggressive drives and hidden memories" (p. 1). This refers to the biological aspects of an individual's personality originating at birth. For instance, throughout life, the id remains constant because it is not influenced by external factors, is unaffected by logic and resides in the unconscious state of mind. It is responsible for emotional responses operating in the unconscious part of the psyche while "impulses, feelings, and fantasies" serve as their conscious counterparts (Goldwater, 2010, p. 150). Lack of maturity within the id allows individuals to behave

impulsively and irrationally, as the id seeks pleasure and is displeased when not immediately gratified (McLeod, 2016). Although this occurs in the unconscious portion of the psyche, it is the psychologists' task to bring unconscious thoughts to the forefront and expose applicable conflicts (Paniagua, 2008). As a single entity, without the influence of its equivalents, ego and superego, analysis of the id provides psychoanalysts with an interpretation regarding the inner functions of individual and collective human behavior (Plaut, 2005). Identifying the irrationality and impulsivity within the id unearths repressed memories and allows psychoanalysts to begin mediating the problem and establishing a connection between human behavior and previous experiences. A commonly used example to explain the function of the unconscious id is the task of riding a bicycle. Most individuals learn this activity during childhood, but eventually dismiss this hobby as years pass. Through the unconscious id, adults can remember the process without relearning how to ride a bicycle; thus, the id repressed the memory until it was needed (Plaut, 2005). The purpose of introducing the id into this study is to emphasize the role *repressed* or *previous* experiences play in *future* behavior, an important factor in criminal conduct

that will be addressed in subsequent sections. Although the id is a vital part of the human psyche, the next component, the ego, is of equal value.

Ego. Once the id is established at birth, it remains consistent throughout an individual's lifetime because it is uninfluenced by its surroundings or logical reasoning (McLeod, 2016). In contrast, the second stage of the human psyche, the ego, serves as a figurative bridge by connecting the id with external factors. Essentially, the ego is burdened with overseeing the illogical decisions of the id and creating a compromise. For example, before acting rashly, the ego considers external forces by interpreting potential outcomes of the behavior in question. If the behavior produces negative consequences, the ego regulates the id by attempting to minimize the urgent need for pleasure, thus reducing irrational or impulsive behavior (McLeod, 2016). The primary purpose of the ego, therefore, is to "mediate the continuous conflict among the id, superego, and demands of reality" (Segrist, 2009, p. 51). Segrist's statement suggests the unconscious id is motivated by pleasure and the conscious ego attempts to steer this unruly force in an ethically bound and realistic direction. Consequently, when the ego fails to

regulate the id, the individual acts irrationally, impulsively or illogically (McLeod, 2016). A common example of this is criminal behavior, which will be discussed further in the study. Furthermore, as depicted by Eugene Goldwater (2010), the ego is the "information center" (p. 150) through which internal and external information is stored and processed. More specifically, information is received from within the individual and its surroundings, saved as a memory and cognitively processed at a future time. Each of these steps is primarily done in a conscious frame of mind (Goldwater, 2010; Segrist, 2009). The ego is an important factor in this study because it is heavily influenced at an early age and must regulate the pleasure-seeking id, which is driven by irrational and impulsive motives. More specifically, serial killers exhibit behavior indicative of a fractured or impaired ego and are unable to suppress their violent compulsions to murder; therefore, the ego must be examined to expose the traumas and traits severely impacting this portion of the serial killer psyche. To complete his theory on the human psyche, however, Freud introduced a third phase to the structural model, the superego.

Superego. Unlike the id, which originates at birth, the superego is introduced between ages three and five (McLeod, 2016). In general, the superego is considered a portion of the ego dedicated to various forms of rules (Goldwater, 2010). This separate division in the psyche exists predominantly for rules because they are necessary for survival. In other words, without having to consciously process every decision, the human mind is able to keep the body alive and functioning due to the superego. These rules may be naturally ingrained, self-taught, duplicated from others or simply learned through observation, but they are both consciously and unconsciously received and processed by the superego to avoid overwhelming the cognitive functions of the psyche (Goldwater, 2010; Segrist, 2009). Therefore, an impaired superego, whether a result of genetic history, substance abuse or injury, may lead to unethical or criminal behavior (Goldwater, 2010).

When Freud originally introduced his model of the id, ego and superego in 1923, the superego was directly linked to the conscience and moral function of the psyche (Carveth, 2017). In the 1960s, however, psychiatrists and psychoanalysts became skeptical of this connection and argued there was a distinct difference between the

conscience and superego, as the two are known to conflict. For instance, while the superego is centered on persecutory guilt and shame, the conscience is a product of reparative guilt and healing. Although a separation of the two is widely accepted by today's psychoanalysts, the purpose, necessity and value of the superego is debatable, as most professionals within this field disagree on its application to psychoanalysis (Carveth, 2017). The purpose of introducing this debate is not to initiate doubt regarding the importance of the superego, but to clarify its role. Within the scope of this study, the superego is used as Freud originally intended: to process rules without conscious effort. Applying this function to research on serial killers, it is perceived that negative childhood experiences significantly influence the killers' developing superegos, which gradually ingrain and duplicate deviant rules through repeated exposure to unhealthy environments and behaviors. Basic knowledge of Freud's id, ego and superego are required for this study because they encompass psychoanalytic theory in general, whereas the exact premise of each part and their current acceptance within psychology is not. In summary, the id provides motivation, passion and impulsivity; the ego provides reason, information and a

realistic perspective; and the superego provides morality, rule-following and values to the overall concept of the human psyche (Carveth, 2017; Goldwater, 2010; McLeod, 2016). A firm understanding of psychoanalytic theory is crucial to understanding psychodynamics, as the continuous conflict between the id, ego and superego are the foundation of the latter theory (Segrist, 2009).

Drive theory. From the core of Freud's id, ego and superego came the four categories of psychodynamics: drive theory, ego psychology, object relations theory and self-psychology (Harris & Lane, 2006; Hingley, 2001; Holtz, 2007). Drive theory is the foundation of psychodynamics, a Freudian concept "that drives, biologically-based impulses that seek gratification, play a critical role in determining human behavior" (Holtz, 2007, p. 185) and is manifested within the unconscious id. Originally, Freud viewed sex and self-preservation as the pivotal drives within the human psyche; however, Freud later expanded these to include destruction and aggression. Decades later, Fred Pine reiterated Freud's notion of drive theory, claiming these drives are "unconscious sexual [and] aggressive impulses and structural conflicts" within the personality (Harris & Lane, 2006, p. 364). From both Freud

and Pine's perspectives, the sexual drive matures over the course of a lifetime, beginning with nonsexual tendencies during infancy, such as sucking while eating, but gradually, the sexual drive develops with personality and individuals are driven by bodily pleasures. Conflict arises, however, when external obstacles imposed by an individual's environment suppress the primary drives. In relation to psychoanalytic theory, Freud placed the id at the center of these drives, as it is the motivation; the ego builds from the id in response to these external obstacles, as it is the reasoning, and the superego originates during infancy while the child absorbs parental realities, as it is the morality that matures with age. When these driving forces overtake the ego and become conscious, conflict ensues between them, the ego and superego. This explains individual motivation for criminal behavior. If an individual unsuccessfully represses unlawful motives, the motive evolves into a conscious thought and consumes the psyche until the thought is satisfied (Holtz, 2007). Today, drive theory has evolved into more in-depth concepts and serves as a foundation for current psychodynamic theories such as ego psychology, object relations theory and self-psychology.

Ego psychology. Freud's theories of psychoanalysis and psychodynamics influenced a number of future theorists, who expanded his ideas of the id, ego and superego to encapsulate more than Freud's original intent (Holtz, 2007). For instance, over time, theorists added numerous responsibilities to the role of the ego, including "judgment, reality testing, thought processes, regulating internal and external stimuli, regulating self-esteem, and organizing the conflicting aspects of the personality" (Holtz, 2007, p. 187); this is a much broader interpretation of the ego compared to Freud's notion that it merely derived from the id (Holtz, 2007). Several of these theorists were Anna Freud, Heinz Hartmann and Erik Erikson, each of whom significantly contributed to the revitalization of the ego and human development. For example, Anna Freud, daughter of Sigmund Freud, introduced nine defense mechanisms embedded within the ego: regression, reaction formation, undoing, introjection, identification, projection, turning against the self, reversal, and sublimation (Gabbard, 2014). The purpose of defense mechanisms is to protect the ego against natural reactions imposed by the id. Regression, for instance, allows the individual to revert to a previous stage of

development to escape conflicts arising in their current stage of development; thus, while the id demands the ego to confront the conflict, regression interferes and allows the ego to retreat. Although the use of these mechanisms varies between individuals, all individuals use a combination of them, which stem from the unconscious portion of the ego and are an important component of personality. Anna Freud's impact on psychodynamic theory transformed the process through which psychological health is examined in clinical practice and research, opening ego psychology to further refinement. Hartmann provided the next important enhancement by concentrating on the nondefensive characteristics of the ego. This perspective of ego psychology concerns the conflict-free portion of the ego. Hartmann asserted that regardless of the id and other conflicts, there are ego functions developed at birth that continue to thrive (Gabbard, 2014). Furthermore, Erikson expanded upon Freud's psychosexual model with eight stages of psychosocial development, a perspective currently known as human development theory, which will be discussed in the following sections. Together, these modifications changed psychodynamic theory into an "intrapsychic phenomenon to include the significance of reality or the environment in

individual development" (Holtz, 2007, p. 187). In essence, these theorists evolved psychodynamic theory into a well-rounded concept of internal and external forces influencing the human psyche. According to Harris and Lane (2006) and Holtz (2007), the ego serves as the functionality of the psyche by imposing growth, adaptation and mastery of an individual's environment. Therefore, an unstable ego may cause a disruption in the growth of an individual's psyche and further lead to conditions responsible for the emergence of psychodynamics, personality disorders (Bornstein, 2006). In turn, characteristics of personality disorders are often linked with criminal behavior because the psyche lacks a sufficient supply of ego strength, which is responsible to "carry out reality-testing functions and deal effectively with impulses" (Bornstein, 2006, p. 341). Ego psychology is an important aspect of psychodynamic theory and a significant factor in the subsequent category, object relations theory.

Object relations theory. This portion of psychodynamic theory observes the relationship between children and their primary caregivers with specific interest in their level of attachment (Holtz, 2007). More specifically, the concept of object relations "refers not only to the real relationships

with others, but also to the internal mental representations of others and to internal images of self as well" (Flanagan, 2002, p. 128). Holtz (2007) asserted that the internal images described in this theory begin in the constructs of the human psyche as "experiences, ideas, and memories" (p. 188), establishing an emotional base for personal relationships to build upon. Internalization is the key factor in this theory and is influenced by several factors including childhood experiences, motivations, necessities and observations. Together, these create self-representation (Holtz, 2007).

Theorists primarily credited for shaping this perspective include Melanie Klein, Donald Winnicott, Michael Balint and Ronald Fairbairn (Gabbard, 2014). Klein analyzed the mother-infant relationship in the first year of life and posited that the infant undergoes a series of emotional cycles directed toward the mother. The purpose of these cycles is for the infant's fantasy-like perspective of the mother to be internalized with realistic feelings of fear, safety, concern, guilt and restitution. Winnicott's perspective focused on the role of the mother. He created the term *good-enough mother* to identify the minimum level of participation needed from the mother to provide the

infant with a normal development. Relatedly, Balint attributed the term *basic fault* to encompass a feeling described by his patients as a perpetuating empty void. Balint connected this empty void to the mother's failure to adequately provide for them in infancy. Fairbairn also concentrated on the mother's influence. He argued that the struggles endured by his schizoid patients were rooted in their mothers' failure to create loving experiences and demonstrate genuine love toward them as children. Collectively, these theorists claim the internal drives within an individual are object-seeking, rather than pleasure seeking (Gabbard, 2014). Additionally, Hingley (2001) reinforces the importance of primary relationships between child and caregiver, as this connection satisfies the natural-born desire for empathetic relationships with others beginning in infancy. Hingley (2001) further concludes that children with an increased deficit of empathetic relationships will carry this unfulfilled desire into adulthood and continue to form poorly constructed relationships. This lack of affection during the first five years of life plays a significant role in potential criminal behavior later in life because it leaves a portion of the psyche underdeveloped (Findlay, 2011). Object

relations theory is important to psychodynamic theory because it emphasizes the attachment factor in childhood experiences, which significantly contributes to the behavioral development of the individual, on a conscious and unconscious level. This becomes an important aspect of future criminality, as this study will subsequently examine.

Self-psychology. Building from object relations theory, self-psychology was mainly driven by Heinz Kohut, a psychoanalyst during the mid-20th century, who digressed from Freud's psychoanalytic theory and focused on the frailty of the human psyche rather than its function (Holtz, 2007; Penman, 2014). Through his work, he observed severe psychological vulnerability in his patients, which Kohut deemed fragmentation, and discovered unresponsive relationships with their parents during childhood. These realizations led to the development of self-psychology (Holtz, 2007; Strozier, Strug, Pinteris, & Kelley, 2017). A more extensive review of self-psychology provides a three-pronged concept regarding self-object, which individuals need to create a complete image of the self. First, individuals need mirroring self-objects, who are others who feed an individual's self-confidence through praise and

admiration. Second, idealized self-objects are those who reflect a safe and welcoming atmosphere with whom individuals feel comfortable. Lastly, there are partnering self-objects, those with whom individuals bond and who reflect similarities to be like them (Holtz, 2007). Self-objects are important throughout a lifetime because they are directly involved with an individual's incorporation of emotionality into self-experience. Furthermore, they mark a different perspective on Freud's psychoanalytic theory, as self-psychology moves toward a combined internal and external focus of self-perception and acceptability (Penman, 2014). In congruence with Kohut's exploration of self-psychology, Harris and Lane (2006) reinforced that this category of psychodynamic theory is more aligned with an experience's effect on the psyche. In other words, different exposures, practices or incidents have varying levels of impact depending on the individual. This impact, whether positive or negative, is then incorporated into the individual's psychological development and overall sense of self. Researchers continue to support the concept that self-psychology is "based on a holistic concept of the self as an independent center of initiative, connected without most central ambitions and ideals, and considers body and

mind as unified in space and time" (Strozier et al., 2017, p. 361). While Kohut presented self-psychology as a four-part model, including self, self-object, fragmentation and self-object transferences, the concept of self-psychology remains largely about the importance of the self and self-objects (Penman, 2014).

The purpose of the four psychological theories is to provide a more clinical-based experience, rather than Freud's theoretical perspective, in order to adequately incorporate therapeutic observations into an individual's unique psyche (Harris & Lane, 2006). In regards to criminal behavior, psychodynamic theory is crucial because, just as Freud hypothesized, "variations in early childhood experiences may lead to 'fixation,' to continued preoccupation with the conflicts and issues characteristic of a particular developmental phase, and to the formation of a 'character type' that represents an indirect expression of these conflicts and issues later in life" (Bornstein, 2006, p. 340). As Erikson's eight stages of human development are reviewed in the next section, Freud's hypothesis regarding the impact of childhood experiences on future behavior becomes clearer, particularly when these experiences are linked to criminal behavior.

Psychodynamic theory and criminal behavior. Freud's psychodynamic theory provides a direct insight into the lives of criminal offenders. Specifically focusing on the correlation between psychodynamic theory and serial killers, Freud's analysis of the id, ego and superego directly links to the desires, morals and realities underlying their behaviors and motives (Findlay, 2011). Through this framework, Freud identified the crucial role of the ego, the mediator between the id and superego. In the absence of the ego, however, the id and superego clash, allowing desires and realities to become one. Thus, "behavior that lies outside what society regards as acceptable— be it 'abnormal' or 'criminal'—is the result of abnormal development of the psyche" (Findlay, 2011, p. 3). This Freudian perspective reiterates the importance of the first five years of life because the psyche is determined during this period. Additionally, this theory supports the argument that criminal behavior expressed *later* in life is rooted in the behavioral, psychological and environmental traumas experienced *early* in life, given their effects on the psyche's development (Findlay, 2011).

The superego is the primary connection between psychodynamic theory and criminal behavior, as it is the

"moral regulator of behavior" (Findlay, 2011, p. 3). This portion of the psyche is established around five years old; therefore, environmental experiences are critical to the superego's growth and maturity. For example, if the superego fails to intervene by "punish[ing] the ego with anxiety when an immoral act is contemplated and with guilt if the act is carried out," the individual's ability to prevail over tempting antisocial behavior dissolves (Findlay, 2011, p. 3). Environmental experiences and traits are the driving influences because a weak superego is usually linked to unstable familial relationships (Findlay, 2011).

Psychodynamic theory also encompasses the effects of a deviant and strong superego. The deviant superego, while determined to be normal in developmental terms, is highly influenced by the same-sex parent (Findlay, 2011). Therefore, if the child's superego develops normally, but their same-sex parent behaves in a deviant or criminal manner, the superego is likely to find those behaviors acceptable as well. In addition, a strong superego is also capable of producing criminal behavior. For instance, a strong superego may prevent an individual from expressing expected antisocial behaviors, which often includes

violence or threatened violence, because that individual perceives deviant behavior as normal and does not foresee the danger. Consequently, an unhealthy accumulation of these behaviors leads to deviance within the psyche and results in impulsive actions. Under these circumstances, "aggression or sexual desire could build up over time until it becomes strong enough to overwhelm the ego and is expressed suddenly and violently as murder or rape" (Findlay, 2011, p. 3). In this statement, Findlay (2011) stresses the importance of venting aggressive or sexual emotions before they accumulate and cause an explosion of irrational behavior, as this leads to impulsive and violent criminal activity.

The use of psychodynamic theory to explore the realms of criminal behavior, serial killer behavior in particular, is a fruitful source of realistic insights on multiple levels. For instance, Blackburn (1971) observed that offenders incarcerated for exceptionally violent assaults were less likely to have previous convictions and rated lower on hostility scales than offenders incarcerated for moderately violent assaults. Rather than limiting psychodynamic perspective to the confines of the superego, Blackburn uses this approach to assess criminal behavior in

general. Although the practice of this theory has suffered amongst psychologists due to the difficulty of providing quantifiable conclusions, the psychodynamic perspective continues to shed light on the significant correlation between childhood experiences and future offenses (Blackburn, 1993). The lives of Ted Bundy, Ted Kaczynski, David Berkowitz and Jeffrey Dahmer will exemplify psychodynamic theory in realistic terms through behavioral, psychological and environmental traits originating in early life.

Human Development Theory

Founded by Erik Erikson in 1950, human development theory remains one of the most dominant psychodynamic perspectives regarding psychosocial progression (Kail & Cavanaugh, 2016; Slater, 2003). The premise of this theory is that "personality development is determined by the interaction of an internal maturational plan and external societal demands" (Kail & Cavanaugh, 2016, p. 13). This concept is generally based on conflicts between an individual's internal and external environment, a perspective heavily influenced by Freud's psychoanalytic theory pertaining to the id, ego and superego. Perhaps Erikson's most significant objection to psychoanalytic

theory, however, was Freud's notion that personality becomes a static entity once established in the first five years of life (Slater, 2003). Based on this objection, Erikson created a life cycle containing eight stages of development individuals experience throughout a lifetime. These eight stages include: basic trust versus mistrust, autonomy versus shame, initiative versus guilt, industry versus inferiority, identity versus identity confusion, intimacy versus isolation, generativity versus stagnation and integrity versus despair (Hamachek, 1990; Kail & Cavanaugh, 2016; Knight, 2017; Marcia & Josselson, 2013). The stages begin at birth and continue until death, with each stage representing a different phase of life, except that the onset of the following stage relies on the influence and outcome of the previous stage (Hamachek, 1990). While these outcomes may be positive or negative experiences, they deliberately shape and prepare the individual for the next step. Maturation comes when crises occur, which Robinson, Demetre and Litman (2017) describe as events "when the person feels temporarily unable to cope, and seeks changes to their relationships, career or lifestyle as they seek new ways of coping" (p. 426). Each stage is riddled with crises of varying degrees that are

applicable to that time in an individual's life; hence, each stage is named according to the type of crisis an individual will experience. In reference to Erikson's psychoanalytical roots, this psychosocial theory derives from a psychodynamic perspective because it is grounded in Freud's concept of self, or ego, and Kohut's theory of fragmentation (Kail & Cavanaugh, 2016; Robinson et al., 2017). The underlying subject of this theory is personality development, as each stage builds on the previous one to create a complete version of the self; thus, the positivity or negativity that results from each crisis will guide the subsequent stage. Yet because this process occurs on a continuum, negative experiences from previous stages are not considered permanent and can be altered later in life if the correct perspective is taken (Ochse & Plug, 1986). Relatedly, Erikson's expansion of Freud's psychosexual stages explores further personality development during adolescence and crises during adulthood than Freud because the idea is embedded in the epigenetic principle (Marcia & Josselson, 2013; Slater, 2003). In essence, "each psychosocial strength has its own special period of particular importance" (Kail & Cavanaugh, 2016, p. 13). Although Erikson primarily focused on the first five stages

of human development before his death, each stage has been examined and analyzed by fellow psychoanalysts, psychologists, theorists and other professionals within the field, as he openly invited them all to do when he initially presented his diagram (Slater, 2003). Furthermore, each stage represents the age range within which an individual is presented with a primary challenge, or crisis, which must be overcome before progressing to the next psychological level (Kail & Cavanaugh, 2016). It is important to note that Erikson refers to a crisis as a normal life event signifying positive or negative life changes responsible for developing an individual's identity and sense of self (Knight, 2017; Ochse, & Plug, 1986). Additionally, after conquering each level, an individual gains a different adaptive strength necessary to confidently succeed in the future (Knight, 2017). In this study, human development theory is used to examine serial killer behavior in stages to detect which childhood experiences or developed traits had the most influence on the killers' criminal careers. Erikson's eight stages of psychosocial development are thoroughly reviewed in the following sections.

Basic trust versus mistrust. Most researchers support Erikson's eight-stage life cycle theory and have been working to empirically validate its concept for nearly five decades because it encompasses truth in individual growth (Marcia & Josselson, 2013). The first stage ranges from birth to one year and presents the crisis of basic trust versus mistrust. According to E. J. Erikson, J. M. Erikson and H. Q. Kivnick (1986), this stage is "...a sense of trust and a sense of mistrust: their balance, we claim, helps create the basis for the most essential overall outlook on life, namely hope..." (p. 33). In this statement, Erikson surmises that trust is the foundation for all future stages to be built upon; therefore, it is important to conquer this stage early in life. The purpose of this crisis is to develop a healthy balance of both trust and mistrust to decipher who is safe and who is not, thus establishing a connection between the infant and environment (Knight, 2017). As Erikson stated, *hope* is the strength, or virtue, to be gained during this period, and by *hope*, Erikson is referring to the "enduring belief in the attainability of fervent wishes, in spite of the dark urges and rages which mark the beginning of existence" (Capps, 2012, p. 272). A firm understanding of this virtue, and each subsequent

virtue, signifies the individual's growing maturity and signals the onset of the next stage (Batra, 2013). In contrast, a negative experience in this stage may offset the healthy balance of trust and mistrust, leading to poor personality development and lifelong impacts on the individual (Ginsburg, 1992). Negative experiences are possible in any stage, but Erikson did not believe these outcomes were permanent or irreversible. During this stage specifically, primary caregivers or parental figures are responsible for and dominate infant experiences, as they are dependent upon these authority figures to begin shaping their internal perception of self and external perception of the world (Ginsburg, 1992). This is vital to the study in that it determines the level of trust and attachment embedded in the individual. If an infant is denied basic attention from their primary caregiver or parental figure, their self and social perception will be affected by this deficit and this could potentially result in criminal behavior. While this study uses multiple theories to examine childhood traumas and traits possibly leading to criminal behavior, reviewing the outcome of basic trust versus mistrust starts the examination process at birth. As with each upcoming stage, the lesson learned during the

basic trust versus mistrust stage is carried into the remaining stages in the life cycle and will continue to improve with age.

Autonomy versus shame. The second stage is considered early childhood and focuses on the crisis of autonomy versus shame and doubt with *will* as the intended virtue, or strength (Knight, 2017). According to Capps (2012), *will* is "the unbroken determination to exercise free choice as well as self-restraint, in spite of the unavoidable experience of shame and doubt in infancy" (p. 273). This occurs during toddlerhood and ranges from one to two years, in which the individual develops a sense of willpower. As a learning mechanism, toddlers discover the extent of their willpower by misbehaving and testing boundaries (Ginsburg, 1992; Ochse & Plug, 1986). According to Knight (2017), part of this stage requires the child to confront "shameless willfulness [or] compulsion" (p. 4), which is overcome by learning personal and social boundaries. Thus, the purpose is to accomplish skills pertaining to independence, decision-making and doubt (Kail & Cavanaugh, 2016). Additionally, this stage uses lessons learned from the crisis of basic trust versus mistrust and the previously achieved virtue of hope to progress through the second

stage. Essentially, each stage promotes a different ego strength, which must be mastered to succeed in the following stage (Marcia & Josselson, 2013). To illustrate this concept, Marcia and Josselson (2013) provided a diagram indicating the crisis, or growth of individual development, according to each stage in the life cycle (see Appendix A). Furthermore, this diagram represents a predetermined sequence of life stages, which is applicable to all individuals. The sequence of life stages is an important aspect of Erikson's theory because it suggests all individuals progress through life in the same order, and while the theory does allow regression to occur, it is impossible to avoid a stage if an individual lives a full life (Slater, 2003). Therefore, while the completion of autonomy versus shame primarily depends on the individual's ability to decipher between the strengths and weaknesses of the crisis, the individual must also rely on their ego development from stage one (Batra, 2013). In relation to this study, stage two is important because it spans toddlerhood and introduces the concepts of misbehaving, independence and decision-making. Without guidance and appropriate boundaries established by the primary caregiver or parental figure, the child will not learn to decipher

between acceptable and unacceptable behavior, leading to improper self and social development. While negative experiences and traits acquired during this stage are irreversible in their lasting effects on the child, they are often indicative of future misconduct if ignored. The process of gaining and using ego strengths, however, applies to each of the subsequent stages, as life is a continuous cycle of ego maturation.

Initiative versus guilt. After conquering the crisis of stage two, individuals transfer into the initiative versus guilt stage, also known as the play age (Knight, 2017). Typically, this stage occurs between ages three and six, until the virtue of *purpose* is mastered (Batra, 2013; Kail & Cavanaugh, 2016; Ochse & Plug, 1986). For the intentions of Erikson's life-span theory, *purpose* is "the courage to envision and pursue valued goals uninhibited by the defeat of infantile fantasies, by guilt and by the foiling fear of punishment" (Capps, 2012, p. 273). As children enter the play age of toddlerhood, their egos develop drastically in order to branch out of their comfort zone and try new concepts, thus taking the initiative to try regardless of potential failure, or guilt (Cross, 2001; Kail & Cavanaugh, 2016). This signifies a transitional

period in which a child progresses from exploiting “generally willful behaviors” to a more developed sense of “understanding, planning and purpose” associated with different responsibilities (Ginsburg, 1992, p. 97). To assist with this transition, the basic family structure steadily guides a child through the conflicts of inhibition and ruthlessness linked to initiative and guilt (Batra, 2013; Knight, 2017). Moving from innocent boundary testing in stage two to knowingly committing an act in stage three is a significant psychological development that creates a foundation for future behavior. For example, behavior in this stage is demonstrated through independence, as a child begins to understand its ability to exert power and take control of situations. This is primarily expressed in an innocent manner, such as directing playtime or other social interactions; however, the behaviors adapted during this time frame mature with a child and may become more serious in nature as adolescence and adulthood unfold. These adapted behaviors, if negative, are often expressed through criminality. In relation to this study, a thorough analysis of this stage exposes the behavioral, psychological and environmental factors responsible for influencing the subjects from three to six years of age. By identifying

these factors, a person's path to becoming a serial killer is traceable, as certain traits and traumatic experiences apply purpose to behavior in subsequent stages.

Industry versus inferiority. The fourth stage, known as industry versus inferiority, is also the final stage of ego development during childhood (Knight, 2017). Recognized as the school age, this crisis is experienced from 6 to 12 years of age before the child enters adolescence (Batra, 2013; Kail & Cavanaugh, 2016). The challenge throughout this six-year period is "to learn basic skills and to work with others" (Kail & Cavanaugh, 2016, p. 13). To successfully complete this challenge, the child seeks *competence* as the fourth virtue in life, a concept described by Capps (2012) as "the free exercise of dexterity and intelligence in the completion of tasks, unimpaired by infantile inferiority" (p. 273). The virtue associated with this stage also marks a defining period in the maturation process from childlike tendencies to adolescent cognition. Encouraged by his/her social environment, meaning neighborhood and school, the child is likely to overcome immature propensities of narrow virtuosity and inertia, making an effortless transition into the subsequent stage (Batra, 2013; Knight, 2017). In

contrast to the childlike curiosities of the previous stages, this six-year period is lined with more adult-like interests corresponding to the "utensils, tools, and weapons used by big people" (Erikson, 1985, p. 26), hence, the desired virtue of competence and transition into adolescence. This directly addresses the study's objectives because it focuses on the construction of adult interests during childhood. Children begin acting on learned behavior, representing their environment and psychological makeup, which indicates how it will be construed during adulthood. The effect of these traits and experiences on an individual as they mature are a significant focus of this study. Relatedly, children will begin to separate from others during this period, as their social and cognitive abilities develop at varying rates, a process highly contingent on their significant relationships (Batra, 2013; Cross, 2001). At the close of this stage, children mature into adolescents and enter the remaining four stages of the life cycle, which are pertinent to their personal identity.

Identity versus identity confusion. The fifth stage of Erikson's life cycle is arguably one of the most important because it initiates the journey of self-discovery and personal identity (Kail & Cavanaugh, 2016). Of the eight

stages, Erikson covered this portion in significant detail before his death, leaving fellow psychoanalysts and theorists to fill in the remaining gaps of his theory (Marcia & Josselson, 2013). This section of the life cycle focuses on the crisis of identity versus identity confusion and unfolds during adolescence (Kail & Cavanaugh, 2016; Ochse & Plug, 1986). While most research does not specify the age range associated with adolescence, Hamachek (1990) suggests this crisis occurs from 12 to 20 years of age and Batra (2013) suggests 10 to 26. Furthermore, this stage is coupled with the virtue of fidelity, or "the ability to sustain loyalties freely pledged in spite of the inevitable contradictions of value systems" (Capps, 2012, p. 273). In contrast, fanaticism or repudiation are also amongst the tendencies associated with this crisis, but are conquerable depending on the individual's drive to surpass the crisis (Knight, 2017). According to Kail and Cavanaugh (2016), the struggle between identity and identity confusion challenges the individual "to develop a lasting, integrated sense of self" (p. 13). Supporting the individual through this part of the journey are peers and various leadership models (Batra, 2013). Given that Erikson focused on identity versus identity confusion more than any other stage in the

life cycle, it is recognized as the most pivotal for personality development (Ochse & Plug, 1986). Specifically, he realized at this point that each stage is present within the other stages throughout the life cycle, allowing previous stages to be modified if necessary and future stages to be foreseen. This allows individuals to strengthen previous virtues or anticipate upcoming crises and emotionally and psychologically prepare their life accordingly. Since this stage is centered on personality development, it is a crucial time to explore in this study because it initiates the transition from adolescence to adulthood. For serial killers, this period is significant to the physical onset of their murderous rampages, as their longtime fantasies transform into realities and the impact of their childhood experiences and acquired traits unravel their innocent personalities. Nonetheless, it is in the subsequent struggle between intimacy and isolation that their violent behavior is exposed.

Intimacy versus isolation. Following the fifth stage, which is heavily directed toward personality identification and ego development, is the crisis of intimacy versus isolation (Batra, 2013; Capps, 2012; Kail & Cavanaugh, 2016; Knight, 2017; Slater, 2003). This is the stage of

young adulthood, developing between the ages of 18 and 40 (Batra, 2013). From this point in the timeline, the rate at which individuals move through each stage will vary, as ego maturity and personality development are not as straightforward in the latter three stages. For instance, the sought-after virtue in this phase is *love*, which is illustrated in various forms and is shaped over time. According to Capps (2012), Erikson perceived love as the "mutuality of devotion forever subduing the antagonisms inherent in divided function" (p. 273). This concept reflects the inner constructs of a more established ego and individual comfortable with his or her identity. To conquer this crisis requires a high level of ego strength, as the struggle between promiscuity and exclusivity is strong at the onset of this stage (Knight, 2017). The defining relationships responsible for the outcome of this struggle, and ultimate acquisition of love, are "partners in friendship, sex, competition, [and] cooperation" (Batra, 2013, p. 258). Of equal importance to this crisis are the behavioral expressions and attitudes proposed by author Don Hamachek. In a detailed list, Hamachek (1990) offers the differing perspectives of an individual shaped by intimacy versus an individual shaped by isolation. Overall, those

supported with a sense of intimacy are more aware of their personal identity, more accepting, more trusting, able to confidently establish emotional bonds, find satisfaction in closeness or aloneness, more committed to the success of intimate relationships, perceive significant others as a symbol of love and physical attraction, and are not fearful of emotional connections. Their general attitude is embedded with trust and confidence in those through which they interact. In comparison, those overwhelmed with a sense of isolation have the opposite perception of these behaviors and attitudes, which is dominated by trust and commitment issues, lack of confidence and sense of identity, as well as difficulty forming healthy emotional bonds (Hamachek, 1990). Unlike the previous stage focused on discovering one's personal identity, this stage primarily concentrates on sexual clarity and the depth of emotional attachment to others (Marcia & Josselson, 2013; Slater, 2003). Obtaining love is part of a lifelong struggle affecting the subjects in this study and is considered a contributing factor in their future violence. Furthermore, the crisis in this stage is vital to the study's objectives because it observes the final transition from adolescence to adulthood, or more applicable, innocent

bystander to serial killer. At this point in the subjects' life cycles, the behavioral, psychological and environmental traits and traumas they were exposed to as children will be reflected in their lives as serial killers and further influence their typologies. Without a strong sense of self established in the previous stage, overcoming the current crisis of intimacy and isolation may prove difficult and ultimately require readjustment if the initial attempt is unsuccessful (Ochse & Plug, 1986).

Generativity versus stagnation. Just prior to the final stage is the crisis of generativity versus stagnation experienced during adulthood (Batra, 2013; Capps, 2012; Kail & Cavanaugh, 2016; Knight, 2017; Slater, 2003). This stage is frequented by self-absorbed tendencies while attempting to adapt *care*, the seventh virtue (Knight, 2017). More specifically, from 30 to 65 years of age, individuals learn to care through "divided labour [sic] and shared household responsibilities" (Batra, 2013). Additionally, this virtue is defined as the "widening concern for what has been generated by love, necessity, or accident; it overcomes the ambivalence adhering to irreversible obligation" (Capps, 2012). The purpose of this stage is to continue moving through life, continuously

strengthening and maturing the ego rather than remaining stagnant. Furthermore, the challenge associated with this phase is a direct reflection of the seventh virtue, as the individual is faced with "commit[ting] to another in a loving relationship" (Kail & Cavanaugh, 2016, p. 13). This challenge also delivers the core pathology of the seventh stage, rejectivity; an unwelcome side effect often resulting from love (Batra, 2013; Knight, 2017). In a similar regard to the previous stage, Hamachek (1990) described the behaviors and attitudes of individuals experiencing generativity as concern for others' well-being and the future of the world, involvement in activities or events promoting a cohesive world for future generations, desire to procreate, care for their children and children of others, and interest in societal contributions by living purposeful lives. These behaviors identified by Hamachek (1990) are highlighted by generous attitudes geared toward productivity and creativity. Contrastingly, however, those occupied by stagnant behaviors are self-focused and are not concerned with future generations, expressing attitudes located on the receiving end of relationships (Hamachek, 1990). The route of behaviors and attitudes an individual uses ultimately persuades the end result of the stage,

which may be a positive or negative outcome. The purpose of the crisis, and minor integrated challenges within each stage, is to "bring an intensive questioning of one's current lifestyle, beliefs and understandings" to produce "higher levels of integration and wholeness, via stable periods punctuated with unstable periods" (Robinson et al., 2017, p. 426). Exclusively pertaining to generativity versus stagnation, Erikson stated, "Generativity, then, is primarily the concern in establishing and guiding the next generation, although there are individuals who, through misfortune or because of special or genuine gifts in other directions, do not apply this drive to their own offspring" (Erikson, 1963, p. 266-267). In essence, to positively conquer the seventh crisis, generativity must overshadow stagnation, allowing older generations to develop and care for younger generations (Batra, 2013). Although this stage is of equal significance to Erikson's life cycle theory, it does not impact the outcome of this study because its concepts are not applicable to the research objectives. This section was included for informative purposes and to provide a complete evaluation of the life cycle theory.

Integrity versus despair. The final stage in Erikson's life cycle, integrity versus despair, is deemed old age and

coupled with *wisdom*, the eighth virtue (Batra, 2013; Capps, 2012; Knight, 2017; Marcia & Josselson, 2013). While this stage represents the remaining years of an individual's life, this period is considered late life and typically begins between 55 and 60 years of age (Batra, 2013; Kail & Cavanaugh, 2016). Strategically placed in the final stage, wisdom is defined as a "detached concern with life itself, in the face of death itself" (Capps, 2012, p. 273), a strength gained only after navigating through the final life crisis. Also suited for this stage, the relationships necessary to guide individuals to the end of the cycle are encompassed by mankind, in the most general sense, as individuals lose sight of differentiating factors and begin embracing others with welcoming attitudes (Batra, 2013). The challenge, therefore, is "to view one's life as satisfactory and worth living," a time of personal reflection (Kail & Cavanaugh, 2016, p. 13). During this reflection period, individuals achieve a state of internal and external completeness because they developed their ego by conquering and learning from previous crises (Hamachek, 1990). Ideally, individuals entering this period are greeted with successful conclusions to lifelong objectives, the ability to build from personal history and practice

healthy detachment from unnecessary clutter in life, and all without separating from their values and beliefs. Furthermore, individuals are now fully integrated into their self-perceptions and societal relationships, pursuing the remainder of their days in the presence of desired company and activities. They begin to appreciate the life they have built throughout the previous seven stages and relish in life's fruitful gifts, delivered in eight virtuous forms. Only deep-rooted despair has the power to hinder this final advancement in life (Marcia & Josselson, 2013). The summarizing thought to conclude Erikson's eight-stage theory is an observation providing keen insight into the underlying purpose of the life cycle concept: "it is through this last stage that the life cycle weaves back on itself in its entirety, ultimately integrating maturing forms of hope, will, purpose, competence, fidelity, love and care, into a comprehensive sense of wisdom" (Erikson, Erikson & Kivnick, 1986, p. 55-56). This stage examines qualities in life that remain foreign to the subjects in this study because they died prematurely or are currently imprisoned. The inclusion of this stage in the study is to create a comprehensive outline of Erikson's theory only, as

the concepts discussed do not pertain to the study's objectives.

Human development theory and criminal behavior. Erik Erikson's life cycle theory is appropriately condensed in a statement by Knight (2017), which states that the "eight stages of psychosocial development is a comprehensive theory of not only the processes of how an individual develops throughout the life cycle but a theory of identity formation and the process of establishing a coherent sense of self" (p. 2). The description further explains that "in each of the eight developmental stages there is a pair of opposing psychological tendencies, which need to be balanced" (Knight, 2017, p. 3). As previously examined, the opposing psychological tendencies Knight is referring to are the crises Erikson proposed for each stage. In fact, these same concepts of personality and ego development apply to all individuals, including hardened criminals like Ted Bundy, Ted Kaczynski, David Berkowitz and Jeffrey Dahmer. Using this theory to analyze these serial killers provides insight into the underlying reasons for their violent behavior, as the foundation of criminal traits originates during Erikson's first stage of infancy.

Researchers are now connecting criminal behavior to other areas in life, hypothesizing that lack of success in life, in addition to potential physical and mental health difficulties, also contribute to criminal behavior (Piquero, Farrington, Nagin, & Moffitt, 2010). By examining each stage as it pertains to individual serial killers, behavioral, psychological and environmental traits emerge early in the developmental process as predictive of future violence. Studies have identified links between life failure and childhood risk factors by "identifying distinct developmental trajectories of offenders from childhood to adolescence to adulthood and investigating how assorted risk and protective factors differentiate among trajectory classifications" (Piquero et al., 2010, p. 152). Thus, by applying relevant stages and using a retroactive lens to assess the lives of Bundy, Kaczynski, Berkowitz and Dahmer, commonly observed traits are likely to have important correlations with the predictive value of future serial killers. The lives of these four criminals are well documented and their vicious crimes highly sensationalized by relentless media coverage, but the connection this research is attempting to establish is the influence early behavioral, psychological and environmental traumas had on

their careers as serial killers. A study conducted by Simpson, Griskevicius, Kuo, Sung and Collins (2012), argued that "high levels of stress tend to undermine healthy development, resulting in emotionally and behaviorally dysregulated psychological functioning" (p. 674). This argument suggests an overly stressful lifestyle hinders healthy psychological development. Together, Simpson et al.'s (2012) argument and Erikson's life cycle theory identify an important concept, that children exposed to repeated traumas are more likely to transition into adult violent offenders than those not exposed to repeated traumas. Additional studies on personality development and criminal behavior suggest a relationship between these two entities, arguing the overwhelming influence of experiencing repeated traumas on becoming an adult violent offender (Blonigen, 2010). In the same realm of research, Jo and Zhang (2012) exposed the connection between early life traits and deviance found in criminal behavior. The following sections will display the lives of Bundy, Kaczynski, Berkowitz and Dahmer in chronological sequence. Additional chapters will further depict their lives through the application of psychodynamic and human development theories to emphasize the behavioral, psychological and

environmental links between their pre and post lives as serial killers with a further examination linking them to their specific serial killer typology.

Serial Killer Typologies

Modern researchers have only been able to loosely define the constructs of serial killer typologies because the serial killer is a category of criminals rarely studied (Hickey, 2013). While a number of typologies exist, defined according to research parameters and objectives, the most commonly used in studies were introduced by Ronald Holmes and James DeBurger in the mid-1980s as: power and control, mission-oriented, visionary, and hedonistic. These were created based on motives and victim characteristics (Holmes & DeBurger, 1985). For the purposes of this study, the categories introduced by Holmes and DeBurger will be used; however, the premise of these categories will be expanded to include behavioral, psychological and environmental traits of the serial killer.

Power and control. The first typology recognized by Holmes and DeBurger (1985) is the power and control serial killer. A number of studies have supported Holmes and DeBurger's research, concluding that this type of killer prefers to have power and control over their victim above

sexual satisfaction (Myers, Husted, Safarik & O'Toole, 2006). Also known as control-oriented, the killer enjoys having power over his victim's fate. This plays into the motivational aspect of the murder as the victim begs for his or her life, allowing the killer to control destiny. One significant component not typically connected to this typology is the killer's desire for media attention. High profile attention from the media allows the killer to interfere in the lives of many, as individuals are terrified of becoming the next victim (Simons, 2001). This attraction, however, is merely a plus for the killer. The true excitement rests in the murder and preceding events, perceived as a form of expressive rather than instrumental violence as found in other typologies (Fox & Levin, 1998). Although this type is not considered psychotic since these killers are aware of societal laws, they may be described in connection with psychopaths or sociopaths due to their complete lack of remorse for the world around them (Holmes & DeBurger, 1985). This emotionless demeanor allows them to continue killing without attachment to their victims and appear in control of their mental well-being.

Mission-oriented. The second typology established by Holmes and DeBurger (1985), involves the mission-oriented

serial killer. Offenders placed in this category are similar to visionary killers in that they believe they need to eliminate certain individuals or groups of individuals. In contrast, however, they do not have visions or hear voices compelling them to do so. In fact, they believe it is their duty to remove specific people from the world based on their perception of these groups. For example, a mission-oriented killer may consider drug addicts, prostitutes, or the homeless population unworthy of life; therefore, he tries to exterminate them from the general population (Holmes & DeBurger, 1985). This category may also include religious fanatics or political extremists who murder populations to support their cause or beliefs (Miller, 2014). These beliefs lead these killers to portray an element of pride during interrogation and appear to be in complete control of their mental and physical state during the crime (Holmes & DeBurger, 1985).

Visionary. Unbeknownst to the majority of the population, there are multiple typologies that a serial killer may fall under. Ultimately, each type of serial killer is attempting to achieve personal gratification through murder, but the behaviors by which they do so differ drastically, placing them into various categories

(Holmes & DeBurger, 1985). Visionary killers murder individuals based on visions or voices instructing them to kill a certain individual or group of people. During mental evaluations, offenders describe these experiences as being possessed by God or demons encouraging them to commit these violent crimes. Unlike other typologies, this category of serial killers may be deemed psychotic, as they operate under the influence of hallucinations and become dangerously delusional to the point of murdering others (Holmes & DeBurger, 1985). After a number of murder cases involving visions or voices, mental health professionals agree that psychosis is a significant factor in the killer's actions. The detachment between these offenders and reality also explains the chaotic crime scenes they leave behind, which usually contain a plethora of usable evidence for incrimination (Taylor, Lambeth, Green, Bone, & Cahillane, 2012). Furthermore, it is also common for defense attorneys to claim insanity for these serial killers given their states of mind during the crime (Miller, 2014). This is rarely applicable in court cases, but the unique circumstances of a visionary serial killer give this defense tactic better odds than any other typology.

Hedonistic. The next type of serial killer commonly discussed in research is the hedonistic type (Holmes & DeBurger, 1985; Miller, 2014). In general terms, this type commits murder for the sexual arousal accompanied by the act. Thus, the actual murder is often suspended because the killer takes pleasure in making the victim suffer through painful and torturous acts. Outside of Holmes and DeBurger's research, the hedonistic type can be found under other names, including the "psychopathic sexual sadist" or "serial sexual homicide perpetrator" (Miller, 2014). Recent studies subcategorize the hedonistic type into three sections: hedonistic, sexual, and sadist. Hedonistic serial killers murder in exchange for personal gratification, but the sexual arousal achieved through the violent physical torture and eventual death of the victim adds the sexual and sadistic components to the typology, creating the two remaining subcategories (Ioana, 2013). Cannibalism and mutilation of the deceased victim are also common characteristics, as most hedonistic serial killers also identify with necrophilia (Miller, 2014). Necrophilia is a type of paraphilia, or intense and persistent sexually arousing fantasies focused on inappropriate partners, in which the killer engages in sexual intercourse with the

victim's corpse (Aggrawal, 2009; DSM-5). The definitions and names for this type may vary depending on the study, but each is founded on Holmes and DeBurger's original hedonistic type.

Ted Bundy

Early life. Ted Bundy, born Theodore Robert Crowell on November 24, 1946, led an unusual life from his first breath (Ramsland, 2013). Immediately after his birth, the child's grandparents obtained full legal guardianship over him, raising both his mother and himself as their own children. This meant that from a young age, Ted and his mother, Louise, were presented to society as brother and sister. This severely abnormal family structure contributed substantially to Ted's emotional functioning, to be examined later in the text, as he believed Louise to be his sister throughout the early stages of his life. Then in 1950, Louise and Ted relocated from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania to Tacoma, Washington, where Louise was wed to John Bundy, thus giving the young child what would eventually become one of the most significantly feared names in American history: Ted Bundy (Ramsland, 2013).

As a child of only four years during the cross-country move, Bundy still had years of social and emotional

development to face before his criminal life would begin. According to psychologists, Bundy reported his childhood as ordinary, claiming that he was surrounded by responsible adults who had attempted to instill faith and strong moral values in him (Ramsland, 2013). From a psychological perspective, however, Bundy had had a difficult upbringing beginning with his grandfather's harsh parenting style. At the age of five, Ted Crowell officially became Ted Bundy, adopting his stepfather's last name, since his biological father was a serviceman whom Bundy had never known. As a young boy, Bundy was intellectually savvy and received good grades, but often fell victim to school bullies and social insecurities. This caused Bundy to rebel against societal laws at a young age, resulting in petty theft and deceit (Greig, 2005). Although the bullying and illegal misconduct as a boy are seemingly insignificant footnotes of his childhood, in retrospect, they appear to be the humble beginnings of his criminal career.

Bundy's college years were a pivotal moment in his life, as the events that unfolded during his time there seem to have secured his fate. While attending the University of Puget Sound, Washington, Bundy began dating Stephanie Brooks (Greig, 2005). Brooks is described to have

been a dark-haired beauty who was supported by her family's Californian wealth. Overly-attached and heavy with deep-rooted insecurities, Bundy fixated on the relationship while Brooks grew distant. By the end of her college career, Brooks had terminated her relationship with Bundy, leaving him shattered. As is typical of many college students suffering from a broken heart, Bundy allowed his devastation to postpone progress in his educational studies. Needless to say, he eventually mended his broken heart and transformed it into a reason to succeed. He quickly became the model citizen that most of his friends had known him to be before he became a criminal. His newfound efforts in the study of psychology, his enthusiastic alignment with the Republican Party, his helpful service of providing advice on a suicide hotline, and the support of a new girlfriend all pointed to the impression that Bundy had at last gotten his life in order. In 1973, however, within the timeframe of his new relationship with Meg Anders, Bundy went to visit and rekindle previous ties with Brooks, who had been residing in California. Shortly after reconnecting, Bundy and Brooks began to discuss marriage and future plans, while Meg Anders patiently awaited her boyfriend's return. Then,

seizing the perfect opportunity to avenge his formerly broken heart, Bundy executed his plan and abruptly ceased all communication with Brooks in order to satisfy his yearning for payback (Greig, 2005). As he entered his late twenties, Bundy's life as a model citizen would take an unexpected turn as he began to transform into the vicious serial killer he is known as today.

Life as a serial killer. Ted Bundy is allegedly "one of the most savage and unpredictable killers in the nation's history," according to Jim A. Kuypers (1990, p. 1). His murderous actions began in February 1974 and continued until his conviction in July 1979 (Ramsland, 2013). Over the course of four years, Bundy viciously attacked and killed thirty or more women across Washington, Colorado, Utah, Oregon, and Florida, all crimes to which he would confess just days prior to his execution (Saltzman, 1995). His first victim was Lynda Ann Healy from Seattle, with five more women to be abducted in the several months following (Greig, 2005). Unfortunately, Bundy's trail grew cold from that point, as there were no witnesses or bodies for law enforcement to extract evidence from. July 1974, however, marked a turning point, when Bundy made the mistake of gaining the attention of several witnesses

within close range while abducting two females from Lake Sammamish in Washington. At that moment, law enforcement had learned Ted's name and had thus acquired a vague description of a man with an arm sling. Although law enforcement did not realize it at the time, they had also discovered his strategy of luring victims to his vehicle. As with most of his murders, Bundy had approached the two females at the lake with an injured arm, asked for their help with a task near his car, then proceeded to knock them unconscious after they had arrived at his vehicle. The new information attached to the disappearance of these two victims set a search in motion. Law enforcement sought public help and received a number of alleged leads. Regrettably, one lead they decided to dismiss was an anonymous call from Meg Anders, Bundy's girlfriend at the time. She expressed her concerns pertaining to Bundy's unusual behavior, which included violent sexual acts and bondage. As was customary of any leads, law enforcement conducted a brief background check, only to find Bundy was a model citizen heavily involved in the Republican Party. After several more bodies of his victims surfaced in the next few months, Bundy set his sights on Utah, leaving

Washington to sift through the crime scenes he had created (Greig, 2005).

October in Utah was a whirlwind for Bundy, as he committed three murders in a mere month (Greig, 2005). Within this time, however, Bundy made a vital error: during one of the attacks, Bundy's intended victim escaped after a brief struggle near his vehicle. Unfazed by this mistake, Bundy quickly found a new victim who was not able to escape. The year was 1975, and Bundy had moved his homestead from Utah to Colorado, producing four additional victims in just a few months along the way. Soon, however, Bundy's previous error would come back to haunt him (Greig, 2005). By the end of 1975, law enforcement officials had arrested Bundy for carrying burglary apparatuses, which consequently allowed his prior escapee to positively identify him in a lineup (Ramsland, 2013). Already in custody for attempted kidnapping, Bundy therefore gained several more charges in connection with the Colorado victims. Yet in 1977, Bundy managed to escape custody on two separate occasions before he was captured indefinitely. The first escape from Pitkin County Law Library proved insignificant and only lasted eight days. Conversely, his second escape, this time from Garfield County Jail, came

with a price. Upon his arrival in Tallahassee, Florida, Bundy was able to commit three additional murders before at last being recaptured (Ramsland, 2013). Now successfully charged and convicted of first-degree murder, Bundy, who represented himself in court, was unable to argue his innocence (Greig, 2005). A verdict was reached in July 1979; Bundy was given the death penalty by way of the electric chair. During his time spent in prison, Bundy ultimately confessed to having murdered thirty women, although evaluating psychologists and law enforcement speculate a higher number. Regardless of his death row status and reputation as a serial killer, however, Bundy managed to gain an enthusiastic female fan base, which included one female with whom he would eventually exchange marital vows. Approximately ten years after his 1979 conviction and a number of failed appeals, Ted Bundy died in an electric chair on January 24, 1989 (Greig, 2005).

Ted Kaczynski

Early life. Theodore John Kaczynski, more commonly known as Ted or Teddy, is far removed from the average violent offender. Born on May 22, 1942 to blue-collar parents Wanda and Theodore R. Kaczynski, Ted was intellectually stimulated from the onset (McFadden, 1996).

Much of his time was spent alone or with his mother in their Evergreen Park suburban home just outside Chicago, reading and covering material well beyond that intended for toddlers (Leeper, Carwile, & Huber, 2002; McFadden, 1996; Sheptoski, 2016). Rarely interacting with other children, doing extracurricular activities or participating in sports, Ted was often isolated by his mother's drive to provide intellectual success beginning in infancy. This type of upbringing withheld Ted from excelling socially or maintaining friendships deeper than acquaintanceships. Although this did not initiate immediate consequences, it is apparent through his odd behavior as an adult that he was deeply affected by this aspect of his childhood. In retrospect, the wedge placed between Ted and his peers at a young age is a significant contributing factor to a lifelong struggle with industrial society, as his negative social interactions with peers molded his negative perceptions of society. Retracing back to Ted's infant years, however, there was a specific incident prior to his solitary childhood that is also responsible for his withdrawn behavior expressed throughout his lifetime. At nine months old, Ted experienced a severe allergic reaction, causing a week-long hospitalization visit with

minimal contact from the outside world. Due to strict hospital policies, Theodore and Wanda Kaczynski were only able to visit their son twice for a one-hour period. Upon returning home from the hospital, Ted's demeanor changed completely. The once "smiling, happy, jovial kind of baby" became unresponsive and "showed little emotions for months" (McFadden, 1996, p. 8).

In 1949, another notable event occurred in Ted's childhood, the arrival of his younger brother, David (McFadden, 1996). This was bittersweet for Ted, as he had been the center of his parent's world for seven years. Immediately after David was born, the family dynamic Ted had once known abruptly changed as his parents focused their attention away from him and onto his baby brother. For instance, on one occasion while his mother and brother were still in the hospital, Ted was left alone in the waiting room for a prolonged period while his father and grandmother visited Wanda and David. No children were allowed in the maternity ward, hence the reason he was left in the lobby, and Ted became emotionally distraught. Even though this time of loneliness resonated deeply with Ted, the resentment he held for his brother was shallow and short-lived, but his behavior and emotional expression

remained noticeably different. While Theodore and Wanda did not favor one child more than the other, Ted was no longer receiving the direct attention he enjoyed, therefore significantly altering his behavior at a young age (McFadden, 2996).

In 1952, the Kaczynski family moved from their home within the city to the suburbs of Chicago where they resided for the remainder of Ted's childhood. Even with two children, the Kaczynskis did not partake in social gatherings and are remembered as a "serious family who read books all the time" (McFadden, 1996, p. 9). Ted in particular is remembered as "skinny and self-absorbed...strictly a loner" (McFadden, 1996, p. 9). Rather than playing with neighborhood children or fellow classmates, Ted preferred literature and travelling to science and art museums with his mother and younger brother. At 10 years old, his advanced intellectual development was apparent to his fifth-grade teachers and he was encouraged to enroll in more challenging classes at a higher-grade level. Although this was meant as a reward for his academic success, Ted found himself falling further into social isolation and believing he was "valued only for his intellect" (McFadden, 1996, p. 10).

From preadolescence to adolescence, Ted's socially awkward demeanor only grew worse (McFadden, 1996). He used his younger brother's social competence to compensate for his lack thereof, and even though David's group of friends were much younger, those were his only social interactions. High school intensified the situation, regardless of his efforts to be socially accepted. While at Evergreen Park Community High School, Ted was an active member of the band, along with the math, coin, biology and German clubs. Despite his efforts, classmates and club members perceived Ted as either an outsider or did not acknowledge him at all. At this critical age, Ted far surpassed his classmates intellectually, a curse rather than a blessing for an already socially inept teen (McFadden, 1996). Simultaneously, his home environment was in inter-relational shambles for Ted when he moved into the attic, at which point he was able to further "isolate himself from the family whenever he wanted" given "his preference to stay alone [and] avoid human interactions" (Faktorovich, 2016, p. 65). Regardless of Ted's preferred isolation, David was fond of his older brother and remains so to this day (Faktorovich, 2016). Ted's deficiency in social relatability and familial contact, however, would later

prove detrimental to his successful career and reaffirm his negative perspective of societal values.

From 1958 to 1967, Ted aggressively pursued higher education, receiving his bachelor's from Harvard University, and his master's and doctorate in math from the University of Michigan (Faktorovich, 2016; Sheptoski, 2016). Shortly thereafter, he began working for the University of California, Berkeley as a math professor. Ted's life appeared to be stable and progressing in a positive direction, until he unexpectedly left his teaching position after two short years. The year was 1971, and Ted was experiencing a life crisis, either a mental breakdown or change of perspective, depending on the source. He and his brother purchased a 1.4-acre lot on the outskirts of Lincoln, Montana, where he resided until his capture in 1996. Isolating himself from society, a familiarity he had known since childhood, Ted built a basic 10 by 12-foot cabin without the comfort of running water or electricity (Huagh, 2012; Sheptoski, 2016). The purpose of this abrupt lifestyle change was to remain off the grid and hidden from a mindless society and advanced technology for which he held a burning hatred. This marked the end of Ted's innocent life. Armed with a typewriter and junkyard bomb-

making equipment, he was soon to embark on a murder streak that would haunt the public and puzzle FBI profilers for nearly two decades (Sheptoski, 2016).

Life as a serial killer. Kaczynski sent his first bomb through the mail on May 25, 1978, at 36 years of age (Sheptoski, 2016). Over the course of the next 17 years, he repeatedly antagonized the public with random bomb attacks on what appeared to be miscellaneous victims. It was later discovered Kaczynski targeted a particular group of individuals because of the industries they represented. By adopting this strategy to send his message, he "tried to induce crises by attempting to blow up an airliner and by sending parcel bombs to 'punish' persons he considered the 'power-holding elite of industrial society,' including scientists and high-ranking executives in advertising or public relations" (Guimond & Maynard, 1999, p. 8). His objective was simple: "Initiat[e] a cycle of violence that would destroy not only existing institutions but the morality and ideology upon which they are based," a motive that would not be revealed until the release of his manifesto in 1995 (Guimond & Maynard, 1999, p. 7). Kaczynski's first bomb detonated on May 25, 1978, and final bomb detonated on April 24, 1995, resulting in three deaths

and twenty-three severe injuries during his 17-year reign as an active serial killer. The seriousness of his crimes, lengthy periods of silence and overall lack of forensic evidence pressed the FBI to create a task force dedicated to unveiling his identity. Kaczynski quickly earned the moniker *Unabomber* for his initial attacks on universities and airlines, horrific crimes cementing his place in United States history (Sheptoski, 1996).

The story of Ted Kaczynski, the serial bomber, began in 1978 and continued for 17 years, causing a series of twelve bomb attacks that plagued the country (Sheptoski, 1996). On May 25, 1978, the first bomb was opened at Northwestern University in Illinois, leaving one injured. The second bombing, nearly a year later on May 9, 1979, detonated at Northwestern's Technology Institute, also leaving one injured. On November 15, 1979, another bomb was discovered on an American Airlines flight departing from a Chicago airport, causing twelve passengers to suffer smoke inhalation. Fortunately, the plane was able to conduct an emergency landing at Dulles International Airport and the bomb resulted in no fatalities. The next bomb was opened on June 10, 1980, at the home of an airline executive in

Illinois, leaving him seriously injured, but alive (Sheptoski, 1996).

The following three bombings were directed at universities, one in Utah on October 8, 1981, another in Tennessee on May 5, 1982 and one in California on July 2, 1982 (Sheptoski, 1996). Specifically targeted were the University of Utah, Vanderbilt University and University of California at Berkeley. Of the three bombings, only the University of California at Berkeley claimed one injury. The next three years brought peace, as Kaczynski remained on the sidelines before unleashing another stream of terror on the nation (Sheptoski, 1996).

On May 15, 1985, Kaczynski struck the University of California at Berkeley once again, leaving another victim injured (Sheptoski, 1996). Just under one month later, on June 13th, he planted a bomb at the Boeing Company in Auburn, Washington, but was unsuccessful in his attempt, as no injuries were reported. Later that same year, on November 15th, a bomb exploded in Ann Arbor, Michigan resulting in two injured. The final bombing in 1985 occurred on December 11th in Sacramento, California. This marked the most important attack to date, as it claimed the life of an innocent bystander outside of a computer store

(Sheptoski, 1996). Kaczynski did not attack again until February 20, 1987, another significant moment in the Unabomber case. On this particular occasion, a passerby mentally noted Kaczynski's actions and physical appearance as he placed a package outside of a computer store in Salt Lake City, Utah. The physical description given by the eye witness, "a man in a hooded sweatshirt and aviator sunglasses" (Sheptoski, 1996, p. 8), remains famous to this day, although it contributed minimally to the actual case. After this development, Kaczynski waited patiently for six years before exposing his hatred on society once again (Sheptoski, 1996).

On June 23, 1993, Kaczynski broke his silence by sending a bomb to the home of a genetics professor in California, injuring him severely (Sheptoski, 1996). A computer scientist at Yale University met the same fate the following day (Blume, 2000). The final two attacks resulted in two fatalities; December 10, 1994, at the home of an advertising executive in Caldwell, New Jersey, and the other on April 25, 1995, at a timber company in Sacramento, California. After the first attack in 1993, however, Kaczynski broke his silence with more than violence. In an effort to justify his actions, Kaczynski wrote a letter to

the *New York Times* labeling himself an anarchist. This was the first written communication from Kaczynski, but certainly not the last. On June 24, 1995, Kaczynski sent a letter and manuscript to the *New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *Time* attempting to negotiate. *Penthouse* also received a letter and manuscript, but if *Penthouse* was the only source of publication, one final bomb would be detonated. His terms were simple: publish the manuscript in full within three months and the bombings would discontinue (Sheptoski, 1996).

Kaczynski's fate was sealed after the *Washington Post* obeyed his orders and published his 37,000-word manifesto, or *Industrial Society and Its Future* as it was aptly named, in full on September 19, 1995 (Sheptoski, 1996). This public display of hatred for industrial society allowed his brother, David, to recognize the writing style and inform the FBI of Kaczynski's identity. After his capture in 1996, the following two years consisted of "battl[ing] lawyers (the government's and his own), judges, psychiatrists, and the legal system itself, fighting to defend himself as a sane man in order to profess his seemingly sane view of the world - a view that justified his crimes as part of a greater good to protect society against the evils of

technology" (Huagh, 2012, p. 4). The outcome of this two-year battle resulted in Kaczynski diagnosed with paranoid schizophrenia, accepting a guilty plea bargain for life in prison without the possibility of parole in exchange for removing the death penalty (Wardle, 2003). He currently resides at the United States Penitentiary, Administrative Maximum (ADX) in Florence, Colorado where he will eventually perish (Sheptoski, 1996). A statement given by Kaczynski summarizes his outlook on life in prison after a reporter asked if he was "afraid of losing his mind," to which he replied:

No, what worries me is that I might in a sense adapt to this environment and come to be comfortable here and not resent it anymore. And I am afraid that as the years go by that I may forget, I may begin to lose my memories of the mountains and the woods and that's what really worries me, that I might lose those memories, and lose that sense of contact with wild nature in general. But I am not afraid they are going to break my spirit. (Interview with Ted Kaczynski, 1999)

David Berkowitz

Early life. Richard David Falco was born on June 1, 1953 to parents Elizabeth Broder and Joseph Kleinman (Bonn, 2014; Sanders, 2002). Elizabeth used the surname from her previous marriage to Tony Falco to hide Joseph's identity as the true biological father, as she was Joseph's mistress and Richard was the product of infidelity. In an attempt to cover up his unfaithfulness, Joseph allegedly threatened to abandon Elizabeth, forcing her to place Richard in the care of a New York state adoption agency only days after his birth. Within days, however, Richard was adopted by a hardworking, middle class Jewish couple residing in the Bronx, Nathan and Pearl Berkowitz. In an effort to make Richard their own, they legally changed his name to David Richard Berkowitz (Bonn, 2014; Sanders, 2002).

David was raised without siblings and quickly fell into the role of a troubled child (Bonn, 2014; Sanders, 2002). Although observed by educators as highly intelligent, David displayed minimal interest in school and instead, turned to petty theft, pyromania and bullying at a young age. His hyperactive and surly behavior did not mesh well with his school environment; therefore, he developed an aggressive attitude, causing him to repeatedly misbehave

in school and relentlessly provoke fights with classmates. Regardless of his minor criminal activities and lack of interest in school, David did not gain the attention of law enforcement until he began his career as a serial killer at the age of 23 (Bonn, 2014).

In 1958, Nathan and Pearl informed David that he was adopted and further explained that his biological mother passed away giving birth to him (Bonn, 2014). The effects of this fabricated story resonated deep within David and were the source of his psychological and emotional guilt for years. Until he discovered the truth about his biological roots at the age of 21, David blamed himself for the death of his mother and feared his biological father would return to murder him for the circumstances surrounding his birth. Although Nathan and Pearl treated David well and did not intend to cause harm, the lie they implanted in David at five years old had an enormous effect on his life from that moment. He continuously dwelled on these thoughts, questioning why his father abandoned him and if his father hated him for the death of his mother. These thoughts haunted young David for years and ignited a yearning within him to find a sense of identity (Bonn, 2014).

When David was 14 years old, he was emotionally shaken again with the death of his adoptive mother, Pearl (Bonn, 2014; Greig, 2005). After she died from pancreatic cancer, David felt utterly lost and alone, sending him into an abrupt downward spiral. He began failing classes and completely shut himself off from the rest of the world. Four years after Pearl's death, Nathan remarried. This caused unbearable tension in the already strained relationship with David's adoptive father; therefore, when Nathan and his new wife moved to Florida in 1971, David remained in New York at the age of 18 (Bonn, 2014; Greig, 2005).

Longing for a sense of personal direction and self-identity, David joined the army in 1971, hoping to discover his purpose in life while fighting with his comrades in Vietnam (Bonn, 2014; Greig, 2005). This filled David with pride and his low feelings of self-worth were diminishing as he learned to be an expert marksman prior to receiving his assigned post. To David's dismay, however, he was stationed in South Korea, which resulted in a three-year state of boredom for the young soldier. Yet it was during his stint in South Korea that David had his first and only sexual encounter. In an interview with Scott Bonn (2014),

David recalled the incident with a Korean prostitute as “humiliating,” revealing that he contracted a venereal disease from her as well (Greig, 2005). After three years in the service, David was honorably discharged and once again struggled to find his self-purpose, “feeling more lonely and unfulfilled than ever before” (Bonn, 2014, p. 100).

The next chapter in David’s life was a self-defining period, indicating the beginning of the end of his innocent life. Upon returning to the Bronx in 1974, David researched his biological roots tirelessly, still under the impression that his birth mother was deceased (Bonn, 2014). To his surprise, however, he not only discovered she was alive, but also discovered the existence of a half-sister, Roslyn. An impromptu family reunion unfolded, in which David learned the truth about his biological father. The circumstances surrounding David’s illegitimate birth weighed heavily on his psychological and emotional state, as Joseph Kleinman was already deceased, and the brief communication with his mother quickly fizzled. Although David remained in contact with Roslyn for a lengthier period of time, that line of communication also fizzled as time went on (Bonn, 2014).

Over the next year, David held employment as a security guard and numerous other positions, but remained at odds psychologically and emotionally (Bonn, 2014; Greig, 2005). His feelings of guilt and hopelessness morphed into rage, causing David to embark on a dark path responsible for his fame today. These emotions festered after his discharge from the army and David quickly found his purpose within the boundaries of Satan and the occult. In November 1975, David's rapid descent into evil emerged in a letter to his adoptive father:

The world is getting dark now. I can feel it more and more. The people, they are developing a hatred for me. You would not believe how much some people hate me. Many of them want to kill me. I do not even know these people, but still they hate me. Most of them are young. I walk down the street and they spit and kick at me. The girls call me ugly and they bother me the most. The guys just laugh. Anyhow, things will soon change for the better.

(Greig, 2005, p. 114)

This snippet of David's letter to his father is an example of his mental instability, and by the end of 1975, "isolation, fantasies, and paranoid delusions had

progressed to the point that [he] lost touch with reality" (Bonn, 2014, p. 100). In 1976, David relocated from the Bronx to Yonkers, and it is here that the Son of Sam was born (Bonn, 2014).

Life as a serial killer. "Now that I've got you, who have I got?" These famous words were spoken by arresting officer, John Falotico, as he held suspected serial killer, David Berkowitz, at gunpoint (McSweeney, 1982). This was a monumental moment for New York law enforcement, as it signified "the end of the longest, largest-scaled manhunt in the history of the New York Police Department" (McSweeney, 1982, p. 192). After 13 months of sleepless nights, coffee-fueled shifts and relentless pressure from the public to capture the "44-Caliber Killer" terrorizing the city, NYPD officers were finally able to breathe a sigh of relief as David Berkowitz, who came to be known as the Son of Sam, replied to Officer Falotico, "You know...I'm Sam...Sam...David Berkowitz" (McSweeney, 1982, p. 192). This direct confession resolved any suspicions held by officers on the scene, as they had only acquired two witnesses placing a man fitting the description of Berkowitz near crime scenes during the 13-month investigation (Hickey, 2013; McSweeney, 1982).

David Berkowitz began his serial killer career in 1976, lasting just over one year and resulting in the death of six and severe injury of seven, mostly attacking unsuspecting victims sitting in parked vehicles (Bonn, 2014; Geberth, 1986; Greig, 2005). Retracing back to 1975, however, Berkowitz reached his breaking point the night of Christmas Eve. Unable to resist the demonic forces enticing him to kill, Berkowitz crept into the dark streets armed with a knife and located his first two victims. Both were female and both survived the vicious knife attack, but Berkowitz was never believed to be responsible even after he confessed in 1977; thus, his career as a serial killer ensued the following year (Bonn, 2014, Greig, 2005). July 29, 1976, Berkowitz claimed the life of Donna Lauria and injured Jody Valenti while they conversed in a parked vehicle in Queens. Unlike the 1975 attack, Berkowitz's weapon of choice was a .44-caliber pistol, which he shot five times that fateful night in July (Greig, 2005; Newton, 2006).

On October 23, 1976, Berkowitz wounded his next victim, Carl Denaro of Queens (Greig, 2005; Newton, 2006). Although this was the second attack, it sent New Yorkers into a state of panic when the bullet from Denaro's attack

was found to match the bullet from the Lauria investigation. Unfortunately, Berkowitz was barely getting started. November 26, 1976, two women were shot and severely injured after Berkowitz approached them on their stoop in Queens asking for directions. Again, the bullets were identical to those used in the Lauria and Denaro attacks and police were now under pressure to capture the loose gunman (Greig, 2005; Newton, 2006).

The following four incidents were fatal and occurred within close range of the previous attacks. January 30, 1977, Christine Freund died instantly from a gunshot wound while romantically engaged with her boyfriend in a parked vehicle (Greig, 2005; Newton, 2006). March 8th, just over one month later, Virginia Voskerichian immediately succumbed to her injuries to the face after being approached by Berkowitz while walking home. April 17th, only weeks later, Alexander Esau and Valentina Suriani were murdered in a parked vehicle while enjoying an intimate evening together. At this point, Berkowitz had killed five and injured four, not including the two victims from his knife attack in 1975. Unlike previous crime scenes, however, Berkowitz left a note addressed to NYPD Captain Joseph Borrelli in charge of the investigation, which read:

I am deeply hurt by your calling me a wemon hater [sic]. I am not. But I am a monster. I am the "Son of Sam" ...I am on a different wave length than everybody else—programmed to kill...Let me haunt you with these words; I'll be back! I'll be back! To be interpreted as—bang, bang, bang, bang, bang (Bonn, 2014, p. 102).

This note was the first of several addressed to policemen or press close to the investigation, named the "Son of Sam" case after Berkowitz repeatedly identified himself as such in each correspondence (Newton, 2006).

Attacks resumed on June 26th and July 31st in Queens and Brooklyn, with two oblivious couples as targets (Newton, 2006). The first resulted in two severe injuries, but no fatalities. The second couple was not as fortunate. Stacy Moskowitz died instantly from a gunshot wound to the head, while her date permanently lost his vision from a gunshot wound. This was the final attack committed by Berkowitz. An eyewitness near the final attack noted a man hurriedly getting into a vehicle that police officers had recently cited with a parking ticket. With this information, police discovered the car was registered to David Berkowitz and upon investigation, found a semiautomatic rifle and note

scrawled with Son of Sam penmanship in plain view.

Berkowitz was arrested immediately after surfacing from his apartment on August 10, 1977 (Bonn, 2014; Greig, 2005; Newton, 2006).

Early psychiatric evaluations diagnosed Berkowitz with paranoid schizophrenia suffering from delusions after claiming his neighbor's demonically possessed dog forced him to kill (Hickey, 2013). One doctor, however, asserted Berkowitz was "sane and capable of understanding that his actions had been criminal" (Newton, 2006, p. 18). The court accepted this diagnosis, deeming Berkowitz sane to stand trial, and sentenced him to 365 years in prison after Berkowitz pled guilty (Greig, 2005; Newton, 2006). With four decades of prison experience currently under his belt, Berkowitz resides at Sullivan Correctional Facility in New York as an allegedly changed man. He is now known as the "Son of Hope" and claims to be a deeply religious man, ashamed and regretful of his violent actions during that 13-month streak of terror (Bonn, 2014).

Jeffrey Dahmer

Early life. On May 21, 1960, Lionel and Joyce Dahmer welcomed their first child into the world, Jeffrey Lionel Dahmer (Greig, 2005; Newton, 2006). Lionel and Joyce were

middle class, hardworking parents who convincingly portrayed a healthy and stable relationship to fellow community members. Behind closed doors, however, they deeply struggled for stability and argued tirelessly. Lionel was a chemist, whose job required extensive hours away from home, and Joyce was a housewife, frequently nervous, emotionally vulnerable and uncommitted to her newborn son (Greig, 2005; Masters, 1993). Often alone with Jeffrey, Joyce refused to breastfeed and repeatedly denied motherly affection to her developing child. Furthermore, her unrelenting need for Lionel's attention during his brief periods at home deprived Jeffrey of obtaining important fatherly influence. Joyce's behavior continued to interfere with Jeffrey's upbringing into his toddler years and when he was in first grade, she battled anxiety, grew addicted to her medication and attempted suicide. Although she was unsuccessful and remained physically present, she suffered psychologically and her tense and neglectful demeanor strongly shaped Jeffrey's excessively introverted personality, as she was his primary caretaker and influential figure (Masters, 1993). This toxic home environment, bred by a broken family dynamic, robbed

Jeffrey of attention and positive role models throughout his childhood.

By six years old, Jeffrey had undergone a hernia operation, become an older brother, relocated with his family from Wisconsin to Ohio, and developed an unusual interest in dead animals (Greig, 2005; Newton, 2006). At eight years old, Jeffrey was molested by a boy in his Ohio neighborhood, but this incident went unreported (Newton, 2006). From this pivotal point in Jeffrey's youth, he exerted minimal effort toward social adjustment or acceptance and instead, relied on himself for entertainment. At ten years old, for example, Jeffrey found entertainment conducting tests on dead animals, a hobby that grew more peculiar and intricate into his teenage years. Most notably, Jeffrey gathered roadkill and proceeded to experiment by "decapitating rodents, bleaching chicken bones with acid, nailing a dog's carcass to a tree and mounting its head on a stake" (Newton, 2006, p. 59).

His teenage years marked another drastic shift in behavior, which emerged from his withdrawn personality and inappropriate interests. As a fourteen-year-old freshman in high school, Jeffrey began consuming alcohol on a regular basis (Norris, 1992). Despite this disturbed behavior,

however, Jeffrey was well-mannered and perceived as highly intelligent by staff members. Throughout his high school years, Jeffrey retained few friends and strategically used humor and pranks to socialize, but his consistent drinking and lack of effort toward education caused him to further withdraw from social activities and his grades began to decline. In concurrence with this behavioral shift, Jeffrey became aware of his homosexuality and frequently engaged in homosexual necrophiliac fantasies (Masters, 1993; Montefiore, 2008). In these fantasies, he exerted dominance over his partners and raped their unconscious bodies (Masters, 1993).

By Jeffrey's high school graduation in 1978, Lionel and Joyce were preoccupied in a divorce and moved into separate homes without their eldest son, which allowed Jeffrey the freedom to drink heavily (Greig, 2005; Masters, 1993; Newton, 2006). This signified a dangerous time in Jeffrey's life as he was now a legal adult without parental restraints and his sexual fantasies were able to become a reality.

Following graduation, he claimed the life of his first victim and immediately returned to a life of normalcy (Newton, 2006). Barely 18 years old, the reality of murder

gave Jeffrey a brief period of clarity (this incident will be discussed in more detail in the subsequent section). In August 1978, Jeffrey attended Ohio State University for three months before dropping out because of his excessive drinking (Greig, 2005; Norris, 1992). After this meager attempt at college, Jeffrey was forced to join the military when his father and new stepmother grew tired of his alcohol-induced lifestyle. While in the United States Army, Jeffrey served as a combat medic and was considered a satisfactory soldier by his superiors. Although he enlisted for six years, he was honorably discharged after two because of his heavy alcohol consumption. Subsequent to a brief and unsuccessful attempt to live alone in Miami Beach, Florida, Jeffrey landed at home with his father and stepmother in Ohio. In December 1981, however, Jeffrey was sent to live in West Allis, Wisconsin with his grandmother after his drunken state sparked problems with family and law enforcement. Life with his grandmother was peaceful for the first year; Jeffrey attended church, found employment, and voluntarily did chores around the house. Nevertheless, by the close of 1982, Jeffrey was fired and continued to live off his grandmother for the next two years (Masters, 1993; Norris, 1992).

From 1982 to 1986, Jeffrey built his criminal record and expanded his sexual knowledge. He was charged with two counts of indecent exposure after he was caught exposing himself in public on two separate occasions (Greig, 2005; Newton, 2006). In both cases, Jeffrey's father paid for legal representation, resulting in reduction of the second charge to disorderly conduct, penalizing Jeffrey with a one-year suspended sentence and counseling (Greig, 2005; Newton, 2006). While he accrued criminal charges, Jeffrey became a member of Wisconsin's gay bathhouses where he partook in several sexual encounters. These experiences gave Jeffrey a newfound sexual confidence and birthed his strategy to drug his victims before sexually engaging their unconscious bodies. After 12 different complaints of similar circumstances, however, Jeffrey's membership to the bathhouses was withdrawn and he was forced to continue this practice in hotels (Norris, 1992; Masters, 1993). The following year, September 1987, Jeffrey consolidated his homosexual necrophiliac tendencies and began a four-year streak of rape, murder and mutilation (Greig, 2005; Newton, 2006).

Life as a serial killer. In 1978, Jeffrey Dahmer killed for the first time, turning his homosexual

necrophiliac fantasies into a reality (Montefiore, 2008; Newton, 2006). Within days of his high school graduation, Dahmer lured his first victim— a hitchhiker by the name of Steven Hicks. After drinks, casual conversation and intercourse at Dahmer's parents' residence, where Dahmer resided alone, Hicks attempted to leave. This attempt was interrupted when Dahmer struck him over the head with a barbell and proceeded to strangle, dismember and bury his corpse in the woods nearby. Nine years passed before Dahmer murdered again, his second violent homicide triggering the cold-blooded serial killer that once lay dormant inside his lust-filled sexual fantasies (Greig, 2005; Montefiore, 2008; Newton, 2006).

From September 1987 to August 1991, Dahmer claimed the lives of at least 15 males, adults and adolescents between the ages of 14 and 31 (Montefiore, 2008). Steven Tuomi was the second victim whom Dahmer met at a gay bar in Milwaukee (Greig, 2005; Newton, 2006). After a sexual encounter at a nearby hotel room, Dahmer *allegedly* awoke to find Tuomi dead with no recollection of the actual murder. Regardless, Dahmer placed Tuomi's body in a suitcase, returned to his grandmother's residence and engaged in further sexual conduct before dismembering the body. The two subsequent

victims were James Doxtator and Richard Guerrero. Doxtator was a 14-year-old Native American boy murdered in January 1988, and Guerrero was a Mexican adolescent murdered in March that same year. At this point, Dahmer was living with his grandmother, until she abruptly evicted him for inappropriate alcohol consumption and the overwhelming stench of his poor hygiene radiating from his living quarters. Dahmer soon found his own apartment and next victim (Greig, 2005; Newton, 2006).

The 13-year-old Laotian boy Dahmer attracted to his new living space believed he was modelling nude for cash, but Dahmer drugged and sexually assaulted him as originally planned (Greig, 2005; Newton, 2006). In contrast to his previous violent crimes, Dahmer was not violent with this particular victim. The boy was safely recovered after his parents directed the police to Dahmer's residence. Dahmer was then convicted for sexual assault and sentenced to one year in prison, of which he served 10 months. While awaiting his prison sentence, Dahmer murdered his fourth victim, Anthony Sears. Upon release from prison in mid-1990, Dahmer snapped and embarked on a murderous rampage resulting in at least 12 more victims (Greig, 2005; Newton, 2006).

From June 1990 to July 1991, Dahmer grew more intense, impatient and bizarre in his killing rituals (Greig, 2005; Newton, 2006). Edward Smith was murdered in June 1990; Raymond Smith in July; Ernest Miller and David Thomas in September; Curtis Straughter in February 1991; Errol Lindsey in April; and Anthony Hughes in May. With seven more victims added to his list, Dahmer restructured his murderous technique in an attempt to create *zombies*. This involved drilling into the victims' skulls while they were alive and pouring acid in the open wound. The purpose was to produce "half-humans who would be his playthings" (Greig, 2005, p. 26), although this experiment failed with each attempt. Dahmer's next victim is noteworthy because he nearly escaped Dahmer's deadly clutch. Konerak Sinthasomphone, brother of the 13-year-old Laotian boy Dahmer previously sexually assaulted, appeared in the street naked, confused and beaten. Unfortunately, Sinthasomphone did not speak English and Dahmer convinced police the two were lovers. Sinthasomphone was then murdered upon returning to Dahmer's apartment. The remaining four victims were killed within days of each other: Matt Turner on June 30, 1991; Jeremiah Weinberger on July 7th; Oliver Lacy on July 15th; and Joseph Brandehoft on

July 19th. Dahmer's final known victim, Tracy Edwards, halted the gruesome parade when he escaped and returned with police. Within Dahmer's apartment, police recovered the dissected body parts belonging to 11 victims stored in acid vats and the refrigerator; his altar; and prized skulls. It was discovered Dahmer also partook in cannibalism, but evidently this was not part of his normal ritual (Greig, 2005; Newton, 2006).

On August 22, 1991, Dahmer was formally charged with 15 counts of murder to which he pled guilty by reason of insanity (Greig, 2005; Newton, 2006). The jury was not convinced and Dahmer received 15 consecutive life sentences, giving him a minimum sentence of 936 years. After two years in custody and refusing to be placed in solitary confinement for protection purposes, Dahmer was murdered by a fellow inmate who struck him over the head with an iron bar (Newton, 2006).

Chapter 3

METHOD

Participants

This study used archival data on four participants. While each participant was a Caucasian male between the ages of 18 and 36 when the first murder was committed, the only demographic feature required was gender. Females were not included. Participant parameters included identification as a serial killer as specified by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and significance of information available, as archival data was the only obtainable form of information. Additionally, each participant was required to be classified under a different typology: power and control, mission-oriented, visionary, or hedonistic. It is important to note that preliminary research identified four serial killer typologies frequently used or referenced in most studies of this subject, which determined the typologies used in this study. The collection of sources was required to provide extensive background information tracing back to infancy, homicide details and personal qualities to properly classify each participant and complete the study focusing

on behavioral, psychological and environmental traits. Data on these offenders spanned more than seven decades, encompassing an important 54-year timeframe from the oldest participant's birth to the last participant's imprisonment, a period representative of emerging serial killers with various typologies requiring intricate analysis. Although a number of other infamous serial killers existed during this period, participants were ultimately chosen at random from a condensed list of 16 qualified candidates. Individuals, or data pertaining to the individuals, not meeting these criteria were removed from the list and disqualified from the study.

Design

A historical analysis design was used to thoroughly examine the theory that serial killers display certain psychological and behavioral traits in childhood due to extended exposure in trauma-prone environments, but differ between typologies based on the situational circumstances of each murder. For organizational purposes, two checklists were created to strategically maneuver the archival data and to establish uniformity in the research used per participant. The first checklist included 20 trait-related items separated into three categories: behavioral,

psychological and environmental, using traits associated with serial killers as a population (see Appendix B). It is important to note these items were selected using psychodynamic and human development theories surrounding prominent traits from infancy to adulthood. The second checklist included 31 typology-related items separated into four categories: power and control, mission-oriented, visionary, and hedonistic, with each category identifying traits present in the participants that are specific to their known typology (see Appendix C). Finalized checklist items were based on abnormal traits or experiences surfacing in childhood that could influence the subject's future as a serial killer. In addition, an inter-rater reliability (IRR) assessment was conducted to demonstrate the degree of consistency amongst checklist items, as these items were used to analyze data and interpret results. IRR was calculated at .611 (61%), which translates to substantially reliable data according to the Landis and Koch scale (Landis & Koch, 1977). Furthermore, an overall data analysis was completed in which significant and nonsignificant traits were identified from the participants' lives. *Significant* traits include any trait present in three (75%) or four (100%) of the participants

and *nonsignificant* traits include any trait present in one (25%) or two (50%) of the participants.

By using this organizational strategy, each checklist was aligned with a different portion of the research, creating a seamless transition into the data analysis section of the study.

Procedure

The objective of this study formulated after archival data inefficiently represented common behavioral, psychological and environmental traits of serial killers with specific exploration of their early lives and reference to their known typologies. Given the nature of the research, a historical analysis design was chosen with four participants. Each participant was recruited using identical guidelines for uniformity purposes. Refer to the Participants section for more specific information on the inclusion and exclusion criteria used to qualify participants for this study.

After the objectives, design and participants were determined, the perspective through which the study was organized and participants were examined was chosen. Dominant research on human developmental theories revealed Sigmund Freud's Psychodynamic Theory and Erik Erikson's

Life Cycle Theory as the most contributing and applicable theories to the purpose of this study. Both were selected because of their behavioral, psychological and environmental premises with respect to individual growth and lifelong impact of traumatic events. In addition, each theory was used to evaluate the traits of participants and further corroborate the findings of its counterpart. More specifically, Psychodynamic Theory was discussed according to its four primary categories: drive theory, ego psychology, object relations theory and self-psychology. Similarly, Life Cycle Theory was discussed according to its eight stages: basic trust versus mistrust, autonomy versus shame, initiative versus guilt, industry versus inferiority, identity versus identity confusion, intimacy versus isolation, generativity versus stagnation and integrity versus despair.

With a theoretical foundation established, the next step was to gather information on each participant. The order in which participants were researched is irrelevant, but the organization of incoming data was identical for each. All sources were processed and critiqued prior to incorporating the information into the study; these included books, peer reviewed articles, podcasts and

documentaries. Research on each participant concluded when new sources failed to provide relevant or different information from that previously gathered. During the extensive research phase, two checklists were simultaneously created to differentiate between traits and typology. The *traits* checklist was used to designate incoming information into four categories: behavioral, psychological, environmental and miscellaneous. Likewise, the *typology* checklist placed incoming information into four categories: power and control, mission-oriented, visionary, and hedonistic. A total of 20 items were documented for the *traits* checklist and 31 items for the *typology* checklist. The use of checklists in this study is two-fold. First, the *trait* checklist provided a concise overview of behavioral, psychological and environmental traits indicative of serial killer behavior prior to murder. Second, the *typology* checklist recognized traits specific to typology and behavior as a serial killer. Once the research portion was exhausted of relevant material and the two checklists were complete, interpretation and analysis of findings ensued to evaluate the objectives.

Data Analysis

Previous studies have categorized serial killers into multiple typologies based on differentiating factors specific to the offender and crime. This study employed a similar premise, but with specific regard to behavioral, psychological and environmental traits emerging prior to a life of murder. By conducting a historical analysis, collected information relied on archival data to thoroughly explore the study's objectives. Given the substantial amount of documentation on each participant, both a trait and typology checklist were established to strategically interpret incoming data. Prior to including an item on either checklist, however, information was structurally coded to verify it corresponded with previously identified information on each of the checklists. This ensured a more efficient and effective method to recognize data relevant to the study and provided more reliable results.

Chapter 4

RESULTS**Results**

The purpose of this study was to address three research questions: (1) As children, are serial killers exposed to certain traumas that encourage their future as a violent criminal? (2) Do serial killers possess specific, identifiable traits as children that can be used to predict their future violent behavior? (3) If specific, identifiable traits do emerge through research analysis, are these traits indicative of serial killer typology (power and control, mission-oriented, visionary, and hedonistic)? These questions were evaluated from an investigative psychological approach, specifically using psychodynamic and human development theoretical perspectives. In this chapter, the lives of four well-known serial killers are analyzed separately for a clear interpretation of individual traits and typology. Further clarity is provided by exploring psychodynamic and human development theory according to their main concepts.

Ted Bundy

Bundy's life was scrutinized from birth to prison for evidence of 28 behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits (see Appendices B and C). For data analysis purposes, gathered information was organized into 12 categories: (1) drive theory, (2) ego psychology, (3) object relations theory, (4) self-psychology, (5) basic trust versus mistrust, (6) autonomy versus shame, (7) initiative versus guilt, (8) industry versus inferiority, (9) identity versus identity confusion, (10) intimacy versus isolation, (11) generativity versus stagnation, and (12) the power and control typology. The presence of 6 or more categories in one trait is considered significant and strongly correlated to the participant; the presence of 4 or 5 categories in one trait is considered moderately correlated to the participant; and the presence of 3 or less categories in one trait is considered insignificant and weakly correlated to the participant.

The following traits were significant and strongly correlated to Bundy's life: withdrawn, difficulty with intimacy, cognitive impairment and negative life-altering events. Moreover, the following traits were moderately correlated to Bundy's life: failure to conform to social

norms with respect to lawful behaviors as indicated by repeatedly performing acts that are grounds for arrest, deceitfulness, lack of remorse, manipulative, chronic feelings of emptiness, psychological abuse, socially inept, friendless, motive (typology-specific), expressive violence, aggressive and callous. Lastly, the following traits were insignificant and weakly correlated to Bundy's life: substance abuse, intelligent, inability to cope with rejection, easily irritable, physical abuse, sexual abuse, neglect, victim of bullying, organized, desire for media attention, manipulative (typology-specific) and victims are strangers. With these results, Bundy was recognized under the power and control typology, as the following evidence from his life indicates.

Drive theory. This theory is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to review quotes from a unique perspective focusing on aggressive and sexual traits. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and drive theory.

The following quote is an example of failure to conform to social norms, lack of remorse and difficulty with intimacy from the *trait* checklist.

"By the time he finished high school, Ted was a compulsive masturbator and a night-prowling voyeur, twice arrested by juvenile authorities on suspicion of burglary and auto theft" (Newton, 2006, p. 30).

The subsequent quote indicates chronic feelings of emptiness and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

Around this time he met a young, pretty woman called Stephanie Brooks, who had long dark hair worn in a center parting. Stephanie was from a moneyed California family and she and Bundy went out together for a time. However, while Bundy became obsessed with her, she found him lacking in ambition and, when she left college, she broke off with him. Bundy was devastated. (Greig, 2005, p. 126)

The next quote demonstrates substance abuse and cognitive impairment from the *trait* checklist.

I think you could make a little more sense of much of this if you take into account the effect of alcohol. It's important. It's very important as a trigger. When this person drank a good deal, his inhibitions were significantly diminished. He would find that his urge to engage in voyeuristic behavior or trips to the

[adult] book store would become more prevalent, more urgent. On every occasion when he engaged in such behavior, he was intoxicated. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2000, p. 76)

The following illustrates cognitive impairment from the *trait* checklist and motive, expressive violence, aggression and callousness from the *typology* checklist.

[The mood] somehow evolved basically along...was stimulated...by cultural kinds of mechanisms, but a point was reached where this entity— this condition, as it were— began to try to justify itself, to create rationalizations for what it was doing, perhaps to satisfy the rational, normal part of the individual. One element that came into play there was anger, hostility...Let's say it was more of a...high degree of anticipation, of excitement, of arousal. It was like an adventuristic kind of thing...However, with increasing regularity, what was once just a high state of arousal, of anticipation, became an almost frenzied desire to...receive the kind of gratification that was being sought. And it was just an escalation of the desire to fulfill. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2000, p. 82)

The subsequent quote reveals motive, expressive violence, aggression and callousness from the typology checklist.

..We may have a situation here where the [killer] is *seeking* to satisfy certain urges— unconsciously or whatever— but it's the absence of this *fulfillment*, to use a different word, that we would expect to drive him to, in fact, out again and again in that kind of futile exercise. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2000, p. 243)

The next example shows substance abuse from the *trait* checklist.

"To several people, Bundy described a malignant being— an 'entity'—that emerged from him when he was tense or drunk" (Ramsland, 2013, p. 21).

The following quote is recognized as cognitive impairment from the *trait* checklist.

"...Bundy explained to me, the disordered self, the thing inside Ted that impelled him to kill, knew his victims through a warp of twisted perception" (Michaud & Aynesworth, 1999, p. 21).

Ego psychology. This theoretical perspective is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to examine quotes through a method centering on psychological

defense mechanisms and ego strength. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and ego psychology.

The consequent quote is identified as deceitfulness from the *trait* checklist and motive and manipulation from the *typology* checklist.

Ted Bundy is a striking contrast to the general image of a 'homicidal maniac': attractive, self-assured, politically ambitious, and successful with a wide variety of women. But his private demons drove him to extremes of violence... (Newton, 2006, p. 30)

The subsequent quote is determined as desire for media attention from the *typology* checklist.

It would take almost a decade to see justice done. Ted stalled his execution with repeated frivolous appeals that went as far as the US Supreme Court in Washington. Between legal maneuvers, he passed time with media interviews... (Newton, 2006, p. 32-33)

The next excerpt shows psychological abuse, neglect, victim of bullying and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

I have to tell you. These kinds of innocuous admissions about always being concerned that I was underweight...not liking team sports and being traumatized by not making the hardball team. Whatever it is. Observations about my mother and not communicating in a way that was satisfactory for me. I've really never discussed this with anyone before. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2000, p. 23)

The following passage corresponds to withdrawal, difficulty with intimacy, social ineptness and friendlessness from the *trait* checklist.

A lot of my pretensions about being a scholarly type, a person interested in serious studies, was really a defense mechanism. I was accused on a couple occasions of being aloof, arrogant, and snobby. But it was just this defense mechanism to protect my somewhat introverted nature. I used that to compensate for my outright fear of socializing. Maybe, also, it was a way to protect myself, because I couldn't achieve those kinds of social goals that I wanted. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2000, p. 24)

The subsequent quote is an example of deceitfulness, manipulation and cognitive impairment from the *trait*

checklist and manipulation and victims are strangers from the *typology* checklist.

Bundy described that part of him that was fascinated by sexual violence as "the entity," or "the disordered self." It was the "Ted" that fantasized schemes, at first purely as an exercise in imagination, for isolating victims. He "posited" that "the entity" led "this personality" to experiment with disabling automobile distributor caps or letting the air out of tires. Then the girl or woman would be alone and in need of help, grateful for the appearance of a friendly stranger... At this stage, he said, the hunting was all mental, a game. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2000, p. 73)

The next quote references lack of remorse and cognitive impairment from the *trait* checklist and callousness from the *typology* checklist.

The survival took precedence over the remorse...with increasing effectiveness. When, in fact, it would almost seem this individual, recognizing the emotional trauma...the guilt and remorse he had...on it *and* on the normal individual, began to condition mentally, condition out guilt; using a variety of mechanisms.

Saying it was justifiable, it was acceptable, it was necessary, and on and on. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2000, p. 83)

The following indicates deceitfulness and manipulation from the *trait* checklist.

"During these interviews, [Detective] Keppel noted Bundy's paranoia and grandiosity, especially as Bundy described how superior he'd felt eluding law enforcement" (Ramsland, 2013, p. 21).

Object relations theory. This theory is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to interpret quotes based on the depth of relationship between the primary caregiver and participant. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and object relations theory.

The consequent excerpt is a negative life-altering event from the *trait* checklist.

"...Family members describe [Ted's grandfather] as a bitter racist and wife beater, who also enjoyed kicking dogs and swinging cats through the air by their tails" (Newton, 2006, p. 30).

The next quote reveals psychological abuse, neglect and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

[My dad] never came to my football games. My mom didn't like it because it cost money. I didn't have that parental stamp of approval. My dad never played baseball or basketball or football with me. We never threw the ball around. I was never trained in the basic sports skills. So I was all on my own. I attempted to get on the school basketball team and a couple of baseball teams, but I failed. It was terribly traumatic for me. I just didn't know what to do. I thought it was something personal. I always thought I should do better. It was a source of some agony. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2000, p. 22-23)

The succeeding quote demonstrates neglect and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

"Eventually he discovered the humiliating fact that he was a bastard" (Ramsland, 2013, p. 19).

The following illustrates difficulty with intimacy from the *trait* checklist.

"Emotionally...Ted seemed a severe case of arrested development...he might as well have been a twelve-year-old,

and a precocious and bratty one at that" (Ramsland, 2013, p. 20).

The consequent quote is recognized as difficulty with intimacy, psychological abuse, neglect and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

"Bundy described his mother, and [psychiatrist] Lewis decided that his relationship with Louise had been superficial and cold" (Ramsland, 2013, p. 25).

The next passage is perceived as difficulty with intimacy, psychological abuse and neglect from the *trait* checklist.

Like most mothers, it was Louise, not Johnnie, who took the direct hand in raising the Bundy family. "We didn't talk a lot about real personal matters," said Ted. "Certainly never about sex or any of those things. There's this logjam of feeling in her that she doesn't open up and explain." (Michaud & Aynesworth, 1999, p. 61)

Self-psychology. This theoretical perspective is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to concentrate on the participant's self-perception and self-awareness. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent

corresponding traits between that quote and self-psychology.

The following quote is an example of difficulty with intimacy, chronic feelings of emptiness, psychological abuse, neglect, social ineptness and friendlessness from the *trait* checklist.

It was not so much that there were significant events (in my boyhood), but the *lack* of things that took place was significant. The *omission* of important developments. I felt that I had developed intellectually but not socially. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2000, p. 23)

The subsequent quote indicates withdrawal and difficulty with intimacy from the *trait* checklist.

Maybe I didn't have the role models at home that could've aided me in school...But I felt alienated from my old friends. Not that they didn't like me, but they moved into broader spheres, and I didn't. Whether the guys had cars or jobs or big bank accounts or fancy clothes—whatever it was—I didn't seem to be able to grasp a lot of that. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2000, p. 23)

The next quote demonstrates cognitive impairment from the *trait* checklist.

I think that at last I have perspective. And a sort of self-confidence. It may be borne, in part, out of this immense publicity. I don't know. I'm recognized in a terribly bizarre kind of way. I feel immune. I feel nobody can hurt me. I'm not sure why I feel that way. Maybe I would have reached this new perspective without being in prison...I feel comfortable, so much more confident when I talk to people. I know who I am.
(Michaud & Aynesworth, 2000, p. 32)

Stage 1: Basic trust versus mistrust. The first stage is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to view the participant's initial level of trust in their primary caregiver. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and stage one: basic trust versus mistrust.

The following quote is an example of neglect and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

"Born Theodore Robert Cowell in November 1946 at a home for unwed mothers in Vermont, Ted never knew his

father, described vaguely by Louise Cowell as a serviceman she dated several times" (Newton, 2006, p. 30).

The subsequent quote indicates cognitive impairment, psychological abuse and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

"Poverty forced Louise and her newborn son to live with her strict Methodist parents in Philadelphia, where Ted spent the first four years of his life pretending Louise was his sister" (Newton, 2006, p. 30).

The next passage illustrates neglect and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

"His mother, Louise Cowell, had become pregnant by a serviceman who had disappeared before Ted was born" (Greig, 2005, p. 126).

The following quote is an example of cognitive impairment, psychological abuse and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

"[Louise] and her baby lived with her strict parents in Philadelphia, and in an effort to avoid scandal the family pretended that Ted was actually his grandparents' child, and that his mother was in fact his sister" (Greig, 2005, p. 126).

Stage 2: Autonomy versus shame. The second stage is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to observe the degree of self-control expressed by the participant. After thoroughly reviewing Bundy's life, however, there were no traits to support this stage.

Stage 3: Initiative versus guilt. The third stage is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to assess the participant's level of power and control expressed through social interactions. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and stage three: initiative versus guilt.

The subsequent excerpt indicates cognitive impairment from the *trait* checklist.

...It is clear that something troubled Ted in those days. Early one morning, when he was barely three, Ted's 15-year-old aunt awoke to find him lifting her blankets, slipping butcher knives into the bed beside her. 'He just stood there and grinned,' she recalled. (Newton, 2006, p. 30)

The next quote demonstrates a negative life-altering event from the *trait* checklist.

"In 1950, Louise and Ted moved to Tacoma, Washington, where she met and married John Bundy in May 1951" (Newton, 2006, p. 30).

The following is an example of withdrawal, difficulty with intimacy, chronic feelings of emptiness, social ineptness and friendless from the *trait* checklist.

"Ted was uneasy about Johnnie Bundy, and about himself. As far back as he could remember of his days as a boy in Tacoma, [Ted] chose to be alone" (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2000, p. 21).

The subsequent quote is recognized as a negative life-altering event from the *trait* checklist.

"Just before his fourth birthday, Teddy and his mother left Philadelphia to join her uncle and his family in Tacoma, Washington. Ted told us that the move upset him" (Michaud & Aynesworth, 1999, p. 56).

The next passage illustrates withdrawal, difficulty with intimacy and chronic feelings of emptiness from the *trait* checklist.

[Ted] hated Tacoma at first. After Philadelphia, the Puget Sound mill town seemed raw and impermanent to him—just a jumble of ugly brown and gray buildings on a hillside jutting out into the frigid salt water of

Puget Sound. Ted would outgrow his initial distaste for his new home, but he never got over an arrogant disdain for anything he regarded as common. This attitude was linked to how he felt about himself, his deep self-doubt, and also to his later conviction that life had wronged him. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 1999, p. 57)

Stage 4: Industry versus inferiority. The fourth stage is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to trace the participant's developing traits of independence. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and stage four: industry versus inferiority.

The following is an example of intelligence and easy irritability from the *trait* checklist, and expressive violence and aggression from the *typology* checklist.

"Despite good grades in school, Ted's file was filled with notes from his teachers alluding to his explosive and unpredictable temper" (Newton, 2006, p. 30).

The consequent quote reveals failure to conform to social norms, deceitfulness, difficulty with intimacy, manipulation, intelligence, victim of bullying and social

ineptness from the *trait* checklist, and manipulation from the *typology* checklist.

Bundy was a bright child who consistently achieved good grades in school. However, he was not an easy mixer. He was bullied when he was young and later, while becoming more apparently gregarious, he also acquired a reputation for petty theft and lying.

(Greig, 2005, p. 126)

The next passage shows withdrawal, difficulty with intimacy and friendlessness from the *trait* checklist.

Ted's early habit of isolation no doubt contributed to his later inability to integrate himself socially. Of course, as he revealed in a television interview...as a boy he was already roaming his neighborhood and picking through trash barrels in search of pictures of naked women. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2000, p. 22)

The following is an example of deceitfulness and manipulation from the *trait* checklist.

..As a boy, [Ted] listened to the radio and practiced talking like the actors. Highly observant, he also imitated the successful boys at school. These skills helped him to overcome his shyness, he said. They also helped him become a predator. (Ramsland, 2013, p. 20)

The subsequent quote indicates physical abuse and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

...[Ted] was definitely upset by his second-grade teacher, who he described as a doctrinaire Catholic named Miss Geri... Teddy Bundy, a Protestant, felt Miss Geri discriminated against him; and he vividly recollected the day she broke a ruler over his knuckles for having socked a classmate in the nose during a playground scuffle. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 1999, p. 59)

The next excerpt is identified as a negative life-altering event from the *trait* checklist.

At home, Ted felt deprived. He was jealous of his cousin John, Uncle Jack's boy, and contemptuous of his own family's modest station in life. Ted told [Michaud] he was mortified by the sensible Ramblers Johnnie drove, so much so that he recalled being "humiliated" to be seen in them. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 1999, p. 59)

Stage 5: Identity versus identity confusion. The fifth stage is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to identify traits illustrating a growing sense of self in the participant. The behavioral,

psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and stage five: identity versus identity confusion.

The consequent quote demonstrates withdrawal, difficulty with intimacy, social ineptness and friendlessness from the *trait* checklist.

"In high school, [Ted] would be characterized as shy to introverted" (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2000, p. 23).

The following is an example of cognitive impairment and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

There were all kinds of things happening to me mentally. I felt inferior, in part because of the money thing. My family didn't have money problems per se, but I was always envious of the kids who lived in all those brick houses where the executives and doctors lived. I felt kind of deprived, at a disadvantage to those people who had the money, the successful parents, all the goodies. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2000, p. 25)

The subsequent quote shows easy irritability from the *trait* checklist and aggression from the *typology* checklist.

There was also the matter of Teddy's temper. Behind his house in the field of Scotch broom, the boys played guerrilla war games...One afternoon in the heat of combat, Warren caught Teddy just below the eye with the clotty, fibrous root that formed the nose of the fern missile. In an instant, Teddy was on top of Warren, his fist cocked. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 1999, p. 60)

The next quote reveals easy irritability from the *trait* checklist and expressive violence, aggression and callousness from the *typology* checklist.

Ted's short fuse got him into other boyhood scrapes, too. At Boy Scout camp, he shoved a plate in another scout's face for having hatcheted [sic] a small tree. On another scout outing, he tangled with a kid named John Moon. "Bundy hit him over the head with a stick...It was a very deliberate attack on another person." The way John Mood described it, he was attacked from behind. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 1999, p. 60)

The consequent passage is identified as easy irritability from the *trait* checklist and expressive

violence, aggression and callousness from the *typology* checklist.

"It was real easy to see when Ted got mad. His eyes turned just about black...It didn't have to be a physical affront, either. Someone would say something, and you could just see it in his face" (Michaud & Aynesworth, 1999, p. 60).

The following is an example of withdrawal, difficulty with intimacy, cognitive impairment, inability to cope with rejection and social ineptness from the *trait* checklist.

As Bundy matured physically, he developed into a well-coordinated athlete, and a handsome young man. Yet the mental maturity was not there, and never would come.

Ted was extremely self-conscious. He considered himself too skinny to compete with the bigger boys.

(Michaud & Aynesworth, 1999, p. 61)

The subsequent quote indicates psychological abuse and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

Ted's cousin John taunted him about his illegitimacy...Bundy at first angrily refused to believe his cousin and would not believe him until John produced the birth certificate himself...Bundy was

furious with his mother for causing him such humiliation. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 1999, p. 62)

The next quote illustrates physical abuse and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

A couple of times I thought [Ted's] dad was going to kill him. The anger was there, you know. Back then, John Bundy was a wiry little sucker, well-muscled. I remember one particular occasion at their lake place. He was out cutting wood or something. Ted was, I guess, showing off for me—smart assin'. John took a swing at him. If he would have connected, he would have laid Ted flat on his ass. He had a temper as quick as Ted's. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 1999, p. 64)

The following is an example of difficulty with intimacy and chronic feelings of emptiness from the *trait* checklist.

"The first sign of serious problems in Ted's inner world was a sudden and complete halt to his social development. It was a quiet crisis, easily missed by others, but acutely perplexing, and painful, to him" (Michaud & Aynesworth, 1999, p. 64).

The subsequent quote demonstrates difficulty with intimacy and social ineptness from the *trait* checklist.

He could have been a really strong influence on a lot of people if he had had the self-confidence to go along with the intellect. It seemed to me that he was just tongue-tied in social situations. It didn't have to be girls; meeting new friends, meeting new people from another school was a difficult thing for him to do. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 1999, p. 64-65)

The next excerpt reveals difficulty with intimacy and social ineptness from the *trait* checklist.

Ted Bundy had but a single date throughout his three years at Woodrow Wilson High School in Tacoma. He told me that he would have liked to go out more, but he never could tell if a girl liked him, so he assumed she did not. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 1999, p. 65)

Stage 6: Intimacy versus isolation. The sixth stage is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to dictate the participant's understanding of intimate, loving relationships with other people. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and stage six: intimacy versus isolation.

The following is an example of intelligence from the *trait* checklist.

"...Ted was enrolled at the University of Washington, working part-time on a suicide hotline. Behind the new civic-minded facade, however, Ted's morbid fantasies were building toward a lethal flash point" (Newton, 2006, p. 30).

The subsequent quote demonstrates a negative life-altering event from the *trait* checklist.

"Convicted on two counts of murder in July 1979, he was sentenced to die in Florida's electric chair" (Newton, 2006, p. 32).

The next passage indicates intelligence from the *trait* checklist.

"After high school he attended the University of Puget Sound in Washington" (Greig, 2005, p. 126).

The following is an example of motive from the *typology* checklist.

The police put out a description of the man called Ted and various calls came in. One of these was an anonymous call from Meg Anders, saying she thought the man might be her boyfriend Ted Bundy, who was starting to alarm her with his interest in violent sex and bondage. (Greig, 2005, p. 128)

The subsequent excerpt reveals cognitive impairment from the *trait* checklist.

I'm very aware of them myself. Maybe it's not quite accurate to use the term "mood swings," but it is hard for me to understand what happens. That is, to anticipate them or look back and try to determine some pattern...It's just changes...I'm not motivated to do anything! I just consume huge volumes of time, really, without doing a thing. I'm not particularly depressed. There's just no momentum. There's no desire to do anything...It became part of my character, of my facade, that I would conceal these periods of inactivity, as it were. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2000, p. 26)

The next quote illustrates manipulation and intelligence from the *trait* checklist.

"Highly insecure, Bundy sought to raise his status. He graduated college with honors, dated a classy young woman, and comported himself so well during a political campaign that some friends thought he'd run for office" (Ramsland, 2013, p. 19).

The following is an example of deceitfulness and manipulation from the *trait* checklist.

The way [Ted] moved projected confidence. He seemed to be in control of his world. Kendall, a divorcee supporting a child, was so certain that fame and fortune were in Bundy's (and her) future that she allowed him to use her for financial support. Whenever she caught him in lies, he quickly made her believe that *she* was to blame. (Ramsland, 2013, p. 20)

The consequent quote indicates expressive violence and aggression from the *typology* checklist.

About a week before the Lake Sammamish abductions, Bundy had seemed odd to [his girlfriend]. He inexplicably pushed her out of a raft into icy water and made no move to help her. "His face had gone blank, as though he was not there at all. I had a sense that he wasn't seeing me." (Ramsland, 2013, p. 20)

The next excerpt demonstrates a negative life-altering event from the *trait* checklist.

He talked about a picture in his mind of a guy coming into a room and seeing his wife or companion on the floor cleaning an oven. Tears rolled down [Bundy's] cheeks when he reported this story. He was referring to his girlfriend having an abortion. Ted reported

strong mixed feelings about it. (Ramsland, 2013, p. 24)

The following is an example of deceitfulness, difficulty with intimacy and manipulation from the *trait* checklist.

Ted's critical challenge from his teen years onward was the perfection and maintenance of a credible public persona, his mask of sanity. Lacking true adult emotions, he had to put on the look of normalcy while inside him the tumult raged unabated. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 1999, p. 66)

The subsequent passage indicates withdrawal, difficulty with intimacy, chronic feelings of emptiness, inability to cope with rejection and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

"Ted's brother Glenn recalled that [his ex-girlfriend] 'screwed him up' for a while. He came home and seemed pretty upset and moody. I'd never seen him like that before. He was always in charge of his emotions" (Michaud & Aynesworth, 1999, p. 69).

The next quote shows failure to conform to social norms, deceitfulness and lack of remorse from the *trait* checklist.

"Stealing, especially shoplifting, came naturally to Ted. The unsocialized child within him wanted things—expensive, shiny things such as rich people owned—and Ted had no adult compunctions about acquiring them illegally" (Michaud & Aynesworth, 1999, p. 70).

Stage 7: Generativity versus stagnation. The seventh stage is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to examine the participant's dedication to their surrounding environment through personal contributions. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and stage seven: generativity versus stagnation.

The following is an example of a negative life-altering event from the *trait* checklist.

"Ted's luck and life ran out on January 24, 1989, when he was executed in the state of Florida" (Newton, 2006, p. 33).

Stage 8: Integrity versus despair. The eighth stage is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to examine the participant's personal perspective of life satisfaction or regret. This stage, however, is not applicable as the participant is deceased.

Power and control. This typological perspective is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to represent typology-specific traits revealed through the participant's actions. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and the power and control typology.

The subsequent quote reveals deceitfulness and manipulation from the *trait* checklist, and manipulation and victims are strangers from the *typology* checklist.

"With his chameleon-like ability to blend, his talent for belonging, Bundy posed an ever-present danger to the pretty, dark-haired women he selected as his victims" (Newton, 2006, p. 30).

The next quote indicates deceitfulness and manipulation from the *trait* checklist, and organized, manipulation and victims are strangers from the *typology* checklist.

Passersby remembered seeing [the victim] in conversation with a man who carried one arm in a sling, and he was overheard to introduce himself as "Ted"...Detectives turned up other female witnesses who were themselves approached by Ted...In each case, he had

asked for help securing a sailboat to his car.

(Newton, 2006, p. 31)

The following illustrates lack of remorse from the *trait* checklist, and aggression and callousness from the *typology* checklist

"On October 18, 17-year-old Melissa Smith vanished in Midvale; her body, raped and beaten, would be unearthed in the Wasatch Mountains nine days later" (Newton, 2006, p. 32).

The subsequent quote is an example of deceitfulness and manipulation from the *trait* checklist, and manipulation from the *typology* checklist.

They might have noticed that a suspect from Seattle, one Ted Bundy, was attending school in Utah when the local disappearances occurred, but they were looking for a madman rather than a sober, well-groomed student of the law who seemed to have political connections in Seattle. (Newton, 2006, p. 32)

The next passage indicates motive, aggression, callousness and victims are strangers from the *typology* checklist.

"... [Bundy] was a sadist and necrophile who confessed to the murders of more than thirty women and may

conceivably have murdered as many as a hundred" (Greig, 2005, p. 126).

The following is an example of deceitfulness and manipulation from the *trait* checklist, and motive, expressive violence, aggression, organized, manipulation, callousness and victims are strangers from the *typology* checklist.

Typically, a victim - always a young woman with long dark hair in a center parting - would be walking back to her student dorm, or out in the park. She would be approached by a personable, tousle-haired young man with his arm in a cast. He would explain that he needed help lifting something into his car. The nice young woman would offer to help the nice young man and she would follow him to his car. She would then disappear forever, or would be found in the woods, her body raped and sodomized, her head staved in by a furious assault with a blunt instrument. (Greig, 2005, p. 126)

The subsequent excerpt demonstrates motive, aggression and callousness from the *typology* checklist.

"The game was clearly up for Bundy. However respectable his exterior, it was all too plain that

underneath was an appalling sexual sadist and murderer” (Greig, 2005, p. 129).

The next quote illustrates organization from the *typology* checklist.

“Cold-blooded psychopaths, such as Ted Bundy...who target women typically plan their crimes meticulously in advance” (Bonn, 2014, p. 32).

The following is an example of motive from the *typology* checklist.

I think that initially this individual perceived just the bluff...where the victim would be under his control, as it were. And the killing of the victim, we would expect, would have seemed a rather extreme act—but one that the individual considered necessary to eliminate the possibility of his getting caught. I think we see a point reached...where the control, the possession aspect, came to include...within its demands, the necessity...for purposes of gratification—the killing of the victim...that perhaps it came to be seen that the ultimate possession was, in fact, the taking of the life. And then the purely, the physical possession of the remains. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2000, p. 125)

The subsequent passage shows victims are strangers, from the *typology* checklist.

[The victims] had a tendency to just fit the general criteria of being young and fairly attractive...and alone. Too many people have bought this crap that all the girls were similar—hair about the same color, parted in the middle, close to same height...but if you look at it, almost everything was dissimilar: time, place of disappearance, physical description...all of it. Physically, they were almost all different.

(Michaud & Aynesworth, 2000, p. 158)

The next quote indicates manipulation and intelligence from the *trait* checklist, and organization and desire for media attention from the *typology* checklist.

Ted was resourceful, intelligent, and relentless; he was forever hunting, always perfecting his approach to his victims. He chose ways to dispose of their bodies with infinite care, and he assiduously studied how police investigations are conducted in order to further reduce his chances of being caught. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2000, p. v)

The following is an example of deceitfulness and manipulation from the *trait* checklist, and manipulation from the *typology* checklist.

"Bundy duped her into believing in his innocence for quite a while..." (Ramsland, 2013, p. 19).

The subsequent quote demonstrates manipulation from the *trait* checklist.

"Bundy had a way of winning people to his side. Many even funded his legal fight" (Ramsland, 2013, p. 20).

The next excerpt illustrates lack of remorse and substance abuse from the *trait* checklist, and callousness from the *typology* checklist.

Bundy told [Agent William Hagmaier] that serial murderers go through a developmental process. The early days are experimental, involving errors. They reach their peak skill after mastery has buffered them from feeling anything. However, Bundy admitted, he drank a lot to facilitate the killing. (Ramsland, 2013, p. 21)

The following is an example of deceitfulness, lack of remorse and manipulation from the *trait* checklist, and motive, expressive violence, organization, manipulation,

callousness and victims are strangers from the *typology* checklist.

His MO was to first select an appropriate disposal site—something that provided privacy. Then he went trolling for a victim that matched his sexual preferences: he preferred college girls who seemed to come from good backgrounds...He would often drive for hours as he looked for such women. He'd even made dry runs, letting some go. Once he spotted a target, he'd fake an injury or a need for assistance (something he devised from a psychology course). Once at the car, he'd retrieve a crowbar he'd laid out and strike the girl to render her unconscious. He would handcuff and place her in the passenger side, from which he'd removed the seat. Although he most often killed his victims by ligature strangulation during a sexual act, sometimes he'd bludgeon them. In several cases, he beheaded the corpse with a hacksaw, or removed the hands. He considered that, once dead, they belonged to him. "They are part of you," he stated. "You feel the last bit of breath leaving their body, you're looking into their eyes. A person in that situation is God!" (Ramsland, 2013, p. 21)

The subsequent quote reveals motive, expressive violence and callousness from the *typology* checklist.

One victim was found with her brain exposed from a blow to her forehead. He had sodomized the other dead girl with a Clairol hair spray bottle. Evidence showed that at the moment of her death, he bit at her right nipple, nearly tearing it from her breast. Then he rolled her over and sank his teeth twice into her left buttock, leaving a jagged wound. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 1999, p. 11)

The next passage indicates motive, expressive violence, organization and callousness from the *typology* checklist.

He often drove hundreds of miles with their dead or unconscious bodies in his car, and then stripped and dumped the girls at pre-selected forest sites. Sometimes he returned several times to visit their remains and to relive what he'd done to them. By the time most of them were found, they were totally decomposed. Their skulls (if he didn't keep them as souvenirs) as well as their skeletons...were often strewn for several hundred yards. What little soft-tissue evidence was left suggested rape and

mutilation. The victims' caved-in skulls attested to his incredible fury. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 1999, p. 12-13)

The following is an example of failure to conform to social norms, deceitfulness and lack of remorse from the *trait* checklist, and expressive violence and callousness from the *typology* checklist.

"Once the assumption of guilt was made, nearly all the classic criteria of Antisocial Personality Disorder were identified and duly noted in him; violence, disregard for truth and social norms, thieving, impulsivity, inability to feel guilt or remorse..." (Michaud & Aynesworth, 1999, p. 13).

Ted Kaczynski

Kaczynski's life was studied from birth to prison for evidence of 28 behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits (see Appendices B and C). For data analysis purposes, gathered information was organized into 12 categories: (1) drive theory, (2) ego psychology, (3) object relations theory, (4) self-psychology, (5) basic trust versus mistrust, (6) autonomy versus shame, (7) initiative versus guilt, (8) industry versus inferiority, (9) identity versus identity confusion, (10) intimacy

versus isolation, (11) generativity versus stagnation, and (12) mission-oriented typology. The presence of 6 or more categories in one trait is considered significant and strongly correlated to the participant; the presence of 4 or 5 categories in one trait is considered moderately correlated to the participant; and the presence of 3 or less categories in one trait is considered insignificant and weakly correlated to the participant.

The following traits were significant and strongly correlated to Kaczynski's life: withdrawn, difficulty with intimacy, cognitive impairment, chronic feelings of emptiness, easily irritable, socially inept, friendless and negative life-altering events. In addition, the following traits were moderately correlated to Kaczynski's life: intelligent, psychological abuse, prideful and close-minded. Finally, the following traits were insignificant and weakly correlated to Kaczynski's life: failure to conform to social norms with respect to lawful behaviors as indicated by repeatedly performing acts that are grounds for arrest, deceitfulness, lack of remorse, manipulative, substance abuse, inability to cope with rejection, physical abuse, sexual abuse, neglect, victim of bullying, motive (typology-specific), desire for media attention,

instrumental violence, organized, callous, and victims are strangers. With these results, Kaczynski was recognized under the mission-oriented typology, as the following evidence from his life indicates.

Drive theory. Drive theory is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to review quotes from a unique perspective focusing on aggressive and sexual traits. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and drive theory.

The following quote is an example of a negative life-altering event from the *trait* checklist.

"At that time, Ted asked me if his brother could fire him," Ms. Tarmichael said. "I replied that David could fire him and told him I, as David's manager, would support David's decision." Ted, regarding himself dismissed, walked off. After Ted's dismissal, with tensions between the brothers continuing, David...moved back to Texas. (McFadden, 1996, p. 33)

The subsequent excerpt represents motive and instrumental violence from the *typology* checklist.

"He killed due to 'an inner psychological need.' In other words, Kaczynski's actions were attributed to illness" (Sheptoski, 2016, p. 1).

The next quote indicates cognitive impairment, inability to cope with rejection, easy irritability and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist, and close-mindedness from the *typology* checklist.

He was quite angry—never raised his voice—but he was enraged, and he was trembling...He told [Professor Saari] that these highfalutin' Ph.D.'s had dismissed him from their offices. I guess they had looked over his manuscript and summarily dismissed him. What happened next made a deep impression on the professor. "I'll get even," Mr. Kaczynski said, shaking with rage. (McFadden, 1996, p. 31)

The following is an example of cognitive impairment and easy irritability from the *trait* checklist, and close-mindedness from the *typology* checklist.

"In her evaluation [forensic psychiatrist] Sally Johnson wrote that Kaczynski 'has intertwined his two belief systems, that society is bad and he should rebel against it, and his intense anger at his family for his perceived injustices" (Chase, 2000, p. 60).

Ego psychology. This theoretical perspective is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to examine quotes through a method centering on psychological defense mechanisms and ego strength. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and ego psychology.

The subsequent passage reveals withdrawal, difficulty with intimacy, social ineptness and friendlessness from the *trait* checklist, and prideful from the *typology* checklist.

There were softball games in which David and boys his age were joined by his brother, who felt comfortable among children five, six and seven years younger.

David recalled a brother who found it painful to err, who berated others for minor lapses, who shut himself up in his bedroom for days at a time, and who seemed incapable of sympathy, insight or simple connection with people. (McFadden, 1996, p. 5)

The next quote shows difficulty with intimacy and easy irritability from the *trait* checklist.

"There were times...when in an effort to help, [David] dared ask Ted about his sense of injury. It only made his brother angrier, and he backed off" (McFadden, 1996, p. 5).

The following is an example of withdrawal, difficulty with intimacy and chronic feelings of emptiness from the *trait* checklist.

The issue of being able to control how much he let a person in, and for how long—it was important to him...In that sense, the very remoteness of the cabin was as much a means of controlling the access of others as it was a symbol of freedom. (McFadden, 1996, p. 5)

The subsequent excerpt indicates close-mindedness from the *typology* checklist.

Just after graduation...Teddy dated a girl once or twice but ended the relationship by expressing exasperation with her Catholic beliefs. It was typical of Ted...that he would seize upon some pretext for finding fault, and then use it as an excuse to cut off communication. (McFadden, 1996, p. 13)

The next quote reveals lack of remorse, withdrawal, difficulty with intimacy, cognitive impairment and easy irritability from the *trait* checklist.

David saw the decision to quit mathematics as part of a pattern in his brother's life. "He was a person who seemed capable of closing doors on things, on people, on stages of his life...That cutting himself off was

part of what he was about. At some point, it happened with me. At some point, it happened with our parents.”

(McFadden, 1996, p. 22)

The following is an example of cognitive impairment from the *trait* checklist.

“On January 17, 1998, court-appointed psychiatrist Dr. Sally Johnson of the Bureau of Prisons reported that Kaczynski was a paranoid schizophrenic, but competent to stand trial” (Sheptoski, 2016, p. 11).

The subsequent passage refers to difficulty with intimacy, inability to cope with rejection, easy irritability and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

“[Ted] had an interest in a member of the opposite sex, and to have him go back to this kind of angry, inappropriate behavior—to the family it was embarrassing, adolescent kind of behavior” (McFadden, 1996, p. 33).

Object relations theory. This theory is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to interpret quotes based on the depth of relationship between the primary caregiver and participant. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed

prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and object relations theory.

The next quote identifies intelligence, social ineptness, friendlessness and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

It was...apparent that Teddy was far ahead of his classmates, and his school let him skip a grade, further isolating the friendless boy, placing him with a new group of older children and reinforcing the message he had heard all his life—that he was valued only for his intellect. (McFadden, 1996, p. 10)

The following is an example of chronic feelings of emptiness, psychological abuse and neglect from the *trait* checklist.

Almost certainly Kaczynski felt discouraged because, while he was growing up, his parents held expectations that were above what he could realistically achieve. They always seemed to discourage his efforts by saying that he could do better, rather than encouraging what he had done. Kaczynski felt neglected by this attitude and believed that his parents did not have his best interests at heart. As an adult, Kaczynski blamed his parents for his fate; however, he ultimately blamed

society, because according to his world view it was society that told parents what to expect from children. (Leeper et al., 2002, p. 172)

The subsequent excerpt shows easy irritability from the *trait* checklist, and close-mindedness from the *typology* checklist.

His parents urged him to get a job, not to make money but to give him something to do, to ease his mind. But the effort failed...the parents' efforts were interpreted by their brooding son as unwarranted intrusions, pressure to conform to a world he hated. (McFadden, 1996, p. 23)

The next quote references withdrawal, difficulty with intimacy, chronic feelings of emptiness, inability to cope with rejection, easy irritability and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

...They went apple-picking and afterward went to his parents' home and baked a pie. That was when she told him she did not want to see him again... "Ted did a total shutdown," retreating to his room...He also wrote an insulting limerick about [her], made copies and posted them in lavatories and on walls around the factory. (McFadden, 1996, p. 33)

The following is an example of cognitive impairment and easy irritability from the *trait* checklist, and prideful from the *typology* checklist.

"At that time [Ted] decided to end his relationship with me, end communicating with me," David said. "It was an extremely angry, total surprise to me. He tended to view me as someone who was easily manipulated by others and for some reason he had gotten the notion that [my girlfriend] was a manipulating female who was using me." (McFadden, 1996, p. 37)

Self-psychology. This theoretical perspective is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to concentrate on the participant's self-perception and self-awareness. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and self-psychology.

The subsequent passage reveals withdrawal, difficulty with intimacy, cognitive impairment, chronic feelings of emptiness and easy irritability from the *trait* checklist.

Ted built his walls of physical and psychological separation...he cut himself off from a society in

turmoil, from parents who he said cared more about his brain than his happiness, and from a brother who, by marrying, came to represent a kind of betrayal.

(McFadden, 1996, p. 4)

The next quote refers to difficulty with intimacy, social ineptness and friendlessness from the *trait* checklist.

As Teddy entered his teens, his social handicaps were increasingly apparent. David said his brother sometimes joined him and his friends in a softball game on the playground, even though they were far younger. The same thing happened later in life, too. "The contacts were through me in a sense," David said. "The important thing was the relationship with me, or I'm the buffer. That made him feel safe." (McFadden, 1996, p. 11)

The following is an example of difficulty with intimacy and easy irritability from the *trait* checklist.

Ted said he had developed a heart arrhythmia that "made him fear for his life." It had been brought on by anger... "Ted did not have a real good grip on his own emotions, and this was clearly an example of an effect, the way his emotions became something he could

not control. Clearly, he was afraid of the way his heart would beat when he got angry. He couldn't control it. The only way he could control it was by eliminating the trigger." (McFadden, 1996, p. 38)

The subsequent excerpt identifies psychological abuse, victim of bullying and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

"Murray subjected his unwitting students, including Kaczynski, to intensive interrogation—what Murray himself called 'vehement, sweeping, and personally abusive' attacks, assaulting his subjects' egos and most-cherished ideals and beliefs" (Chase, 2000, p. 50).

Stage 1: Basic trust versus mistrust. The first stage is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to view the participant's initial level of trust in their primary caregiver. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and stage one: basic trust versus mistrust.

The following is an example of psychological abuse, neglect and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

"David and his parents had long worried over Ted's anger and wondered at its origins...How Ted at 9 months had been hospitalized and denied almost all contact with his parents..." (McFadden, 1996, p. 4).

The subsequent passage indicates psychological abuse, neglect and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

But when [Ted] was only 9 months old, an unusual medical problem arose...The infant Teddy developed a severe allergy and was hospitalized for a week. "There were rigid regulations about when parents could and couldn't visit," David said. He recalled that on two occasions, his parents were allowed to visit him for one hour. After Teddy came home, "he became very unresponsive," David said. "He had been a smiling, happy, jovial kind of baby beforehand, and when he returned from the hospital, he showed little emotions for months." (McFadden, 1996, p. 8)

Stage 2: Autonomy versus shame. The second stage is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to observe the degree of self-control expressed by the participant. After thoroughly reviewing Kaczynski's life, however, there were no traits to support this stage.

Stage 3: Initiative versus guilt. The third stage is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to assess the participant's level of power and control expressed through social interactions. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and stage three: initiative versus guilt.

The following is an example of withdrawal and difficulty with intimacy from the *trait* checklist.

"The Kaczynski boys were never seen outside playing with other children; instead their mother kept them inside and encouraged them to study...By the age of three, Kaczynski was an isolated little boy" (Leeper et al., 2002, p. 170).

Stage 4: Industry versus inferiority. The fourth stage is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to trace the participant's developing traits of independence. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and stage four: industry versus inferiority.

The subsequent passage illustrates psychological abuse, neglect and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

David and his parents had long worried over Ted's anger and wondered at its origins...How Ted at 7 years had been left alone to sob in a hospital lobby while his father and grandmother went to the maternity ward where David had been born. (McFadden, 1996, p. 4)

The next quote demonstrates cognitive impairment and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

While bookish, Teddy was remembered by an aunt as affectionate. But the aunt...said she saw a change after David was born on Oct. 3, 1949. Teddy was 7 then, and the aunt said he seemed crestfallen at having to share the attention his parents had lavished upon him.

(McFadden, 1996, p. 8)

The following is an example of difficulty with intimacy and friendlessness from the *trait* checklist.

"In 1952, when Ted was ten, his parents moved the family from Chicago to Evergreen Park—in order...to provide him with a better class of friends" (Chase, 2003, p. 165).

The subsequent excerpt shows difficulty with intimacy, chronic feelings of emptiness, victim of bullying, friendlessness and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

"He would never be accepted by his new classmates, who were at least a year older. The bigger boys bullied and teased him. The girls ignored him. He sank to the lowest social level, where he remained" (Chase, 2003, p. 163).

The next quote indicates prideful from the *typology* checklist.

...Children with inferiority feelings want to exclude stronger children and play with younger and weaker children to gain a sense of superiority. Kaczynski would often play with David, his younger brother, and David's friends, who were also younger than Kaczynski. (Leeper et al., 2002, p. 170)

The following is an example of lack of remorse and manipulation from the *trait* checklist.

...Pampered individuals have difficulty when they encounter situations in life where others do not cater to their wishes and desires, because they have been trained to expect such treatment. They then may have a tendency to distance themselves from society and view society as their enemy. Kaczynski's family pampered him from childhood through adulthood. Kaczynski could not stand noise, so his father would give up watching nightly news programs when Kaczynski came to

visit...David and Wanda Kaczynski sent approximately \$17,000 during the years that Kaczynski occupied his Montana cabin. When Kaczynski would write asking for money, either David or his mother would send it...The pampered child's goal was to be the center of attention and care of the family... (Leeper et al., 2002, p. 172)

The subsequent passage identifies psychological abuse, neglect and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

If a pampered child experiences a waning of attention as he or she grows older, feelings of neglect may, consequently, result. The major event that may have influenced Kaczynski's feelings of neglect was the arrival of his younger brother. He most likely felt "dethroned" and threatened by the attention that his younger brother elicited from his parents. After David's birth, Kaczynski's father and grandmother left him alone in the hospital lobby while they went to visit the newly born baby. When they came back to the lobby they found Kaczynski terribly upset and in tears. (Leeper et al., 2002, p. 172)

The next quote reveals difficulty with intimacy, intelligence, social ineptness and friendlessness from the *trait* checklist.

At the age of 10, Kaczynski was given the Stanford-Binet by a school psychologist, and he scored at the genius level of 170...However, a member of Kaczynski's high school math club remarked, "Ted was technically very bright, but emotionally deficient"...Kaczynski's intellect apparently kept him from having social contact with others...his intellect was a social burden. (Leeper et al., 2002, p. 173)

Stage 5: Identity versus identity confusion. The fifth stage is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to identify traits illustrating a growing sense of self in the participant. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and stage five: identity versus identity confusion.

The following is an example of withdrawal, difficulty with intimacy, intelligence, chronic feelings of emptiness, social ineptness and friendlessness from the trait checklist.

"From the seventh grade onward, Ted felt increasingly outcast. He retreated into books. The harder he worked, the more his isolation grew" (Chase, 2003, p. 163).

The subsequent excerpt refers to difficulty with intimacy, friendlessness and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

Ted also said he had never had a real friend in all his life and recalled a painful incident in gym class when he was 16. The kids had picked out their sides and he was the odd man out. Nobody picked him.

(McFadden, 1996, p. 39)

The next quote illustrates intelligence from the *trait* checklist.

"Teddy skipped another grade and after only three years, graduated high school in 1958, and won a scholarship to Harvard. He was only 16" (McFadden, 1996, p. 13).

The following is an example of psychological abuse and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

During Kaczynski's sophomore year at Harvard, in 1959, he was recruited for a psychological experiment that, unbeknownst to him, would last three years. The experiment involved psychological torment and humiliation... The Harvard study aimed at psychic

deconstruction by humiliating undergraduates and thereby causing them to experience severe stress.

(Moreno, 2012, para. 2)

The subsequent passage demonstrates intelligence from the *trait* checklist.

"A Harvard graduate with a Ph.D. in Mathematics from the University of Michigan who was briefly an Assistant Professor at the University of California, Berkeley..."

(Guimond & Maynard, 1999, p. 3).

The next quote identifies withdrawal and difficulty with intimacy from the *trait* checklist.

"Throughout high school he continued to isolate himself from peers and at times even family members. David explained that Kaczynski would shut himself up in his bedroom for days, refusing to come downstairs" (Leeper et al., 2002, p. 170).

The following is an example of withdrawal, difficulty with intimacy and social ineptness from the *trait* checklist.

Kaczynski continued to isolate himself during his college years. For example, at Harvard he refused to talk with his suitemates and preferred to live in a solitary manner. One suitemate said that Kaczynski

"was extreme in avoiding socialization. He would almost run to his room to avoid a conversation if one of us tried to approach him." (Leeper et al., 2002, p. 170)

The subsequent passage shows withdrawal, difficulty with intimacy, easy irritability and social ineptness from the *trait* checklist.

"Concerned over his social development, the Kaczynskis consulted school guidance counselors, but never took Teddy to a psychiatrist or psychologist...Teddy often went into moody depressions, retreating to his bedroom for days on end, coming down only for meals" (McFadden, 1996, p. 13).

Stage 6: Intimacy versus isolation. The sixth stage is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to dictate the participant's understanding of intimate, loving relationships with other people. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and stage six: intimacy versus isolation.

The next quote references intelligence from the *trait* checklist.

Theodore John Kaczynski had been a brilliant mathematician at the University of California Berkeley

long ago, when he was only 25. But after teaching two years and publishing papers that dazzled his peers and put him on a tenure track at one of the nation's most prestigious universities, he quit in a tailspin of disillusionment with mathematics—the sole passion of his life, suddenly dead. (McFadden, 1996, p. 1)

The following is an example of withdrawal, difficulty with intimacy, cognitive impairment, chronic feelings of emptiness, easy irritability, social ineptness and friendlessness from the *trait* checklist, and callousness, prideful and close-mindedness from the *typology* checklist.

“The inability to cope with people, the misreading of intentions, the obsessions and rigidities, the anger lurking behind the calm eyes—deteriorated at last, leaving someone even his family did not recognize...” (McFadden, 1996, p. 2).

The subsequent excerpt demonstrates withdrawal and difficulty with intimacy from the *trait* checklist.

“Ted and his brother David..bought 1.4 acres of land near Lincoln, Montana in 1971. This is where Kaczynski later built his 10 x 12-foot cabin, in which he lived with no electricity or running water” (Sheptoski, 2016, p. 7).

The next quote illustrates withdrawal, difficulty with intimacy, intelligence and cognitive impairment from the *trait* checklist.

Ted Kaczynski, a Harvard-educated math genius and one-time Berkeley professor, gave up his life as a promising academic and moved to the woods in rural Lincoln, Montana. There, he built his own home—the infamous shack—and lived off “what he could grow or kill,” shunning the technological world of computers, electricity, and even running water. (Haugh, 2012, p. 3)

Stage 7: Generativity versus stagnation. The seventh stage is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to examine the participant’s dedication to their surrounding environment through personal contributions. After thoroughly reviewing Kaczynski’s life, however, there were no traits to support this stage.

Stage 8: Integrity versus despair. The eighth stage is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to examine the participant’s personal perspective of life satisfaction or regret. This stage, however, is not applicable as the participant is in prison.

Mission-oriented. This typological perspective is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to represent typology-specific traits revealed through the participant's actions. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and the mission-oriented typology.

The following is an example of withdrawal, difficulty with intimacy, intelligence and friendlessness from the *trait* checklist, and organization from the *typology* checklist.

"It suited a man who had always been alone, this genius with gifts for solitude, perseverance, secrecy and meticulousness...but never love, never friendship" (McFadden, 1996, p. 1).

The subsequent excerpt indicates withdrawal, difficulty with intimacy, intelligence and friendlessness from the *trait* checklist, and motive, instrumental violence, callousness and victims are strangers from the *typology* checklist.

It is a funereal portrait of loneliness, obsession and contradictions—a Harvard degree at 20, but no one to call a friend; rising success in one of the nation's

top mathematics departments, then total retreat from society; a concern for humanity and nature that led finally...to a one-man war against technology, and the cold calculation of the death of strangers. (McFadden, 1996, p. 3)

The next quote illustrates desire for media attention from the *typology* checklist.

"Before his arrest, he demanded that the Washington Post and the New York Times publish a 35,000-word manifesto called 'Industrial Society and Its Future,' a document that expressed his philosophy of science and culture" (Moreno, 2012, para. 3).

The following is an example of motive from the *typology* checklist.

Kaczynski believes that the Industrial Revolution was the front of human enslavement. "The system does not and cannot exist to satisfy human needs," he wrote.

"Instead, it is human behavior that has to be modified to fit the needs of the system." The only way out is to destroy the fruits of industrialization, to promote the return of "WILD nature," in spite of the potentially negative consequences of doing so.

(Moreno, 2012, para. 4)

The subsequent passage shows desire for media attention from the *typology* checklist.

"There may also be a craving for attention in such cases, demonstrated by...Kaczynski's correspondence with the media" (Newton, 2006, p. 25).

The next quote identifies desire for media attention from the *typology* checklist.

"Also, in June 1993, the Unabomber communicated for the first time in a letter to *The New York Times*, in which he described himself as an anarchist" (Sheptoski, 2016, p. 9).

The following is an example of motive, desire for media attention, instrumental violence and organization from the *typology* checklist.

The Unabomber sent his 37,000-word manuscript to both *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* on June 24, 1995. In accompanying letters, he said that if his full manuscript was published by one of the newspapers within three months, he would stop his bombing campaign. The article, titled "Industrial Society and Its Future," called for a worldwide revolution against industrialization and technology. Over the course of 232 paragraphs Kaczynski argued that modern technology

had forced humans to live and behave in ways that were increasingly removed from natural patterns of human behavior, thereby causing numerous problems, from psychological alienation to environmental destruction.

(Sheptoski, 2016, p. 9)

The subsequent excerpt reveals motive, desire for media attention, callousness, prideful and closed-mindedness from the *typology* checklist.

Over the next two years, [Kaczynski] battled lawyers...judges, psychiatrists, and the legal system itself, fighting to defend himself as a sane man in order to profess his seemingly insane view of the world—a view that justified his crimes as part of a greater good to protect society against the evils of technology. (Haugh, 2012, p. 4)

The next quote refers to motive, desire for media attention, instrumental violence, organization and prideful from the *typology* checklist.

Kaczynski aspired to achieve a personal set of grandiose goals: revenge, attention, and power. By isolating himself from society, he could establish the first requisite for grandiosity—imaginary glory...Kaczynski also sought attention from society and

the media. He had a grandiose sense of his own importance and was motivated by the thrill of playing cat-and-mouse games with his pursuers at the FBI...Kaczynski's need for recognition and power was apparent [when] Kaczynski sent a 35,000-word personal and political manifesto to *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and to *Penthouse* magazine.

Kaczynski's grandiose view of himself, as well as his antisocial and antiscientific view, is evident in his manifesto, which was directed against industrial society and modern civilization...In the manifesto, Kaczynski stated that if it were published, the Unabomber would stop the killings...Because Kaczynski decided whether the bombings stopped or continued, he had the power he sought over the rest of the country. (Leeper et al., 2002, p. 171)

David Berkowitz

Berkowitz's life was examined from birth to prison for evidence of 27 behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits (see Appendices B and C). For data analysis purposes, gathered information was organized into 12 categories: (1) drive theory, (2) ego psychology, (3) object relations theory, (4) self-psychology, (5) basic

trust versus mistrust, (6) autonomy versus shame, (7) initiative versus guilt, (8) industry versus inferiority, (9) identity versus identity confusion, (10) intimacy versus isolation, (11) generativity versus stagnation, and (12) visionary typology. The presence of 6 or more categories in one trait is considered significant and strongly correlated to the participant; the presence of 4 or 5 categories in one trait is considered moderately correlated to the participant; and the presence of 3 or less categories in one trait is considered insignificant and weakly correlated to the participant.

The following traits were significant and strongly correlated to Berkowitz's life: difficulty with intimacy, chronic feelings of emptiness and negative life-altering events. Furthermore, the following traits were moderately correlated to Berkowitz's life: cognitive impairment, easily irritable, socially inept and friendless. Finally, the following traits were insignificant and weakly correlated to Berkowitz's life: failure to conform to social norms with respect to lawful behaviors as indicated by repeatedly performing acts that are grounds for arrest, deceitfulness, lack of remorse, withdrawn, manipulative, substance abuse, intelligent, inability to cope with

rejection, psychological abuse, physical abuse, sexual abuse, neglect, victim of bullying, motive (typology-specific), suffer from hallucinations, delusional, impulsive, callous, disorganized and victims are strangers or related. With these results, Berkowitz was recognized under the visionary typology, as the following evidence from his life indicates.

Drive theory. Drive theory is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to review quotes from a unique perspective focusing on aggressive and sexual traits. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and drive theory.

The following is an example of difficulty with intimacy, inability to cope with rejection and easy irritability from the *trait* checklist.

"A virgin at the time of his arrest, Berkowitz was prone to fabricate elaborate lies about his bedroom prowess, all the while intent upon revenge against the women who habitually rejected him" (Newton, 2006, p. 18).

The subsequent excerpt indicates difficulty with intimacy, inability to cope with rejection, chronic

feelings of emptiness and psychological abuse from the *trait* checklist.

...Berkowitz personally told [Robert Ressler] the real reason he killed was because he felt resentment toward his mother and other women who had rejected and hurt him throughout his life. Berkowitz allegedly admitted that he had long contemplated killing women in order to strike back at a world he believed had harmed him. Moreover, Ressler claimed that Berkowitz found killing women to be sexually arousing. According to Ressler, Berkowitz told him that "following [each] shooting [it was] like I was walking on air—a mental orgasm, if not a physical one." (Bonn, 2014, p. 104)

The next quote identifies difficulty with intimacy, chronic feelings of emptiness, easy irritability, psychological abuse and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

I was filled with anger and rage toward [my biological mother] ...I was getting a very powerful urge to kill most of my natural family...I want to be a lover to women, but I want to destroy them too...I'm no saint myself but I blame them for everything. (Fishman, 2006, p. 4)

The following is an example of cognitive impairment, easy irritability, psychological abuse and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

Forensic anthropologist Elliot Leyton, PhD, has described Berkowitz's discovery that his birth mother was alive and that he was born out of wedlock as the "primary crisis" of his young life, which effectively shattered his sense of identity. Upon discovering the truth about his origin, Berkowitz's feelings of guilt and shame over being responsible for his mother's death were replaced by rage over having been deceived and abandoned by his birth parents. Berkowitz's rage was given direction as well as an illicit purpose through his growing interest in Satanism.. (Bonn, 2014, p. 100)

Ego psychology. This theoretical perspective is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to examine quotes through a method centering on psychological defense mechanisms and ego strength. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and ego psychology.

The following is an example of cognitive impairment from the *trait* checklist.

"...[David's] criminal infamy boosted his otherwise fragile ego and gave him a twisted sense of identity and purpose" (Bonn, 2014, p. 107).

The subsequent excerpt refers to difficulty with intimacy, chronic feelings of emptiness, social ineptness and friendlessness from the *trait* checklist.

His failing, the one that underpinned all others, was an intense loneliness, a vulnerability. David had once inventoried his problems: "A series of rotten jobs, to a rotten social life and a horrifying feeling of becoming an old bachelor or a dirty old man. I had no woman in my life...I felt like worthless shit." He "thirsted," as he put it, for normal relationships with people. (Fishman, 2006, p. 4)

The next quote demonstrates difficulty with intimacy, cognitive impairment, chronic feelings of emptiness, easy irritability and friendlessness from the *trait* checklist.

"...David Berkowitz...stated that [his] strange and bizarre fantasies thrived in youthful isolation, masturbation, and powerful feelings of anger and rage" (Bonn, 2014, p. 87).

Object relations theory. This theory is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to interpret quotes based on the depth of relationship between the primary caregiver and participant. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and object relations theory.

The next quote indicates difficulty with intimacy, chronic feelings of emptiness and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

“‘I loved her very much,’” David [said] during an interview, sobbing. She died of cancer when David was 14. ‘After Mother’s death,’ he said, ‘I lost the capacity to love’” (Fishman, 2006, p. 4).

The following is an example of chronic feelings of emptiness, neglect and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

“Abrahamsen argues that adoption was the initial wound. ‘He’d lost the love that should have been given him,’ he concluded. The death of his mother was the second, again by a woman” (Fishman, 2006, p. 4).

The subsequent passage identifies inability to cope with rejection, psychological abuse, neglect and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

Many serial killers are actually insecure individuals who are compelled to kill due to a morbid fear of rejection. In many cases, the fear of rejection seems to result from having been abandoned by their mothers in early childhood. Infamous serial killers who were rejected or abandoned by their mothers include David Berkowitz... (Bonn, 2014, p. 75)

The next quote indicates chronic feelings of emptiness, psychological abuse, neglect and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

"In 1975, the year before the shootings began, David's feelings of abandonment intensified. He launched a 'personal hunt' for his real mother... 'I first realized I was an accident, a mistake, never meant to be born-unwanted'" (Fishman, 2006, p. 4).

Self-psychology. This theoretical perspective is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to concentrate on the participant's self-perception and self-awareness. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent

corresponding traits between that quote and self-psychology.

The following is an example of social ineptness and friendlessness from the *trait* checklist.

“David grew into a big, awkward boy who found it hard to make friends” (Greig, 2005, p. 114).

The subsequent excerpt demonstrates chronic feelings of emptiness and friendlessness from the *trait* checklist.

Berkowitz grew up feeling extremely lonely and longing for a sense of purpose and meaning in his life. He thought that perhaps he might find that by serving his country in the war with Vietnam, so he joined the US Army in 1971. (Bonn, 2014, p. 100)

The next quote illustrates manipulation from the *trait* checklist.

The decision of a serial killer to hunt and kill in New York can also be seen as both pragmatic and smart. New York City offers anonymity to a serial killer due to its immense size and population density that enable a criminal to easily blend into the crowds and disappear...David Berkowitz hid effectively in plain sight in his working-class Yonkers, New York, neighborhood during his reign of terror in 1976 and

1977. Throughout his murderous rampage and until his capture, he also basked in the New York media spotlight as the unknown Son of Sam serial killer. (Bonn, 2014, p. 34)

Stage 1: Basic trust versus mistrust. The first stage is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to view the participant's initial level of trust in their primary caregiver. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and stage one: basic trust versus mistrust.

The following is an example of negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

"At the root of [his] trouble was adoption...At a few days old, he was adopted by Pearl and Nathan Berkowitz, a modest, childless Jewish couple who lived in a one-bedroom Bronx apartment" (Fishman, 2006, p. 4).

Stage 2: Autonomy versus shame. The second stage is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to observe the degree of self-control expressed by the participant. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent

corresponding traits between that quote and stage two: autonomy versus shame.

The subsequent excerpt reveals negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

"David's hardworking father, who owned a hardware store, was often absent" (Fishman, 2006, p. 4).

Stage 3: Initiative versus guilt. The third stage is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to assess the participant's level of power and control expressed through social interactions. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and stage three: initiative versus guilt.

The following is an example of psychological abuse and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

Morbid thoughts about death and his adoption haunted Berkowitz during his youth. At the age of five, he was told that he was adopted. At that time, Berkowitz was also told by his adoptive parents that his biological mother had died during child birth. That was a lie. Berkowitz grew up feeling responsible and guilty for his biological mother's death... (Bonn, 2014, p. 99)

The subsequent passage references negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

"Berkowitz also wondered why his father had abandoned him after his mother's death. He thought that perhaps his biological father had given him up for adoption because he hated him" (Bonn, 2014, p. 99).

Stage 4: Industry versus inferiority. The fourth stage is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to trace the participant's developing traits of independence. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and stage four: industry versus inferiority.

The following is an example of failure to conform to social norms, lack of remorse, intelligence, social ineptness and friendlessness from the *trait* checklist.

He "hated school and would run home every day" after the final bell sounded. Although he was above average in intelligence, Berkowitz was hyperactive and surly, so he lost interest in school at an early age and became obsessed with petty theft, bullying his peers, and pyromania. (Bonn, 2014, p. 99)

The subsequent excerpt indicates failure to conform to social norms and lack of remorse from the *trait* checklist.

He frequently got into fights and acted out in school. Although Berkowitz claims to have started more than 1,000 fires during his adolescence he was never in trouble with the law prior to becoming a serial killer at the age of twenty-three. (Bonn, 2014, p. 99)

The next quote demonstrates cognitive impairment and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

"Morbid thoughts about death and his adoption haunted Berkowitz during his youth" (Bonn, 2014, p. 99).

Stage 5: Identity versus identity confusion. The fifth stage is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to identify traits illustrating a growing sense of self in the participant. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and stage five: identity versus identity confusion.

The following is an example of intelligence, chronic feelings of emptiness and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

His adoptive mother tragically died of pancreatic cancer when David was fourteen. His mother's death deeply affected him and his previously good grades in school started to slip. Then his father married again, to a woman who did not take to David. (Greig, 2005, p. 114)

The subsequent excerpt identifies difficulty with intimacy, cognitive impairment, chronic feelings of emptiness, social ineptness, friendlessness and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

"He was devastated by [his adoptive mother's] death and became severely depressed. Berkowitz viewed his mother's death as a conspiracy designed to destroy him. He began to fail in school and spent most of his time alone" (Bonn, 2014, p. 99).

The next quote shows negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

"When Nathan Berkowitz remarried in 1971, Berkowitz resented it and fought with his adoptive father's new wife. Nathan and his new wife moved to Florida that same year, leaving eighteen-year-old Berkowitz behind" (Bonn, 2014, p. 99).

Stage 6: Intimacy versus isolation. The sixth stage is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to dictate the participant's understanding of intimate, loving relationships with other people. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and stage six: intimacy versus isolation.

The following is an example of cognitive impairment and easy irritability from the *trait* checklist, and delusional from the *typology* checklist.

[In 1974] ...he was starting to nurse increasingly violent fantasies about women and his overall mental state was declining rapidly...He wrote to his father in November 1975 that: "The world is getting dark now. I can feel it more and more. The people, they are developing a hatred for me. You would not believe how much some people hate me. Many of them want to kill me. I do not even know these people, but still they hate me. Most of them are young. I walk down the street and they spit and kick at me. The girls call me ugly and they bother me the most. The guys just laugh..." (Greig, 2005, p. 114)

The subsequent quote demonstrates failure to conform to social norms, lack of remorse and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist, and callousness from the *typology* checklist.

"Michael Carr invited David to a nearby park...a meeting place for a Westchester affiliate of a satanic network called the Process Church of the Final Judgment...The group got into small-time arson and animal sacrifices, and then it escalated" (Fishman, 2006, p. 5).

The next passage illustrates difficulty with intimacy and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

"It was also during this time that David, who was extremely awkward with women, had his only sexual experience, with a Korean prostitute who left him with a venereal disease" (Greig, 2005, p. 114).

The following is an example of failure to conform to social norms from the *trait* checklist, and victims are strangers from the *typology* checklist.

"When not engaged in stalking female victims, Berkowitz reportedly was an accomplished arsonist: a secret journal listed details of 300 fires for which he was allegedly responsible around New York" (Newton, 2006, p. 18).

The subsequent passage indicates delusional from the *typology* checklist.

"Before long, he became obsessed with Satan and the occult. By 1975, isolation, fantasies, and paranoid delusions had progressed to the point that Berkowitz lost touch with reality" (Bonn, 2014, p. 100).

Stage 7: Generativity versus stagnation. The seventh stage is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to examine the participant's dedication to their surrounding environment through personal contributions. This stage was not applicable, however, as the participant is in prison.

Stage 8: Integrity versus despair. The eighth stage is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to examine the participant's personal perspective of life satisfaction or regret. This stage, however, is not applicable as the participant is in prison.

Visionary. This typological perspective is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to represent typology-specific traits revealed through the participant's actions. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each

quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and the visionary typology.

The following is an example of motive, suffering from hallucinations and delusional from the *typology* checklist.

"Berkowitz believed he was surrounded by demons urging him to kill, and he felt increasingly powerless to resist them" (Greig, 2005, p. 114).

The subsequent excerpt identifies delusional and callousness from the *typology* checklist.

"After nearly three months without an attack, he wrote *Daily News* columnist Jimmy Breslin: 'I'm still here like a spirit roaming the night. Thirsty, hungry, seldom stopping to rest'" (Fishman, 2006, p. 1).

The next quote reveals delusional from the *typology* checklist.

"The terror intensified when the killer began to leave notes for the police and to write to the newspapers - strange, rambling letters in which he referred to himself as the 'Son of Sam'" (Greig, 2005, p. 114).

The following is an example of motive, suffering from hallucinations and delusional from the *typology* checklist.

In his prison diaries, David seems completely mad at moments. He reported a dog spoke to him, channeling a

6,000-year-old man named Sam whom he sometimes identified with Sam Carr, a neighbor and dog owner. "[Sam] told me [to kill] through his dog, as he usually does," David wrote. He worried that his condition would worsen. "I may, one day, evolve into a humanoid or demon in a more complete state," he said. (Fishman, 2006, p. 3)

The subsequent passage indicates difficulty with intimacy, chronic feelings of emptiness and easy irritability from the *trait* checklist, and suffering from hallucinations and delusional from the *typology* checklist.

Everything now makes sense. His longings, his isolation, and his serial disappointments with girls were real. They were also, he once described, "a spell to turn people away from me and create a situation of isolation, loneliness, and personal frustration, as part of [the Devil's] master plan. The speaking dogs were real too..." He believed that dogs really did communicate with him, though now he knows it was another satanic trick. (Fishman, 2006, p. 5)

The next quote demonstrates motive, suffering from hallucinations and delusional from the *typology* checklist.

The demons are real. I saw them, felt their presence, and I heard them. You get into a state that is so far gone your own personality is dissolved...and you take on these demonic entities...It was like another person was in me...doing a lot of directing. I struggled, but things became overwhelming. I lost my sense of myself. I was taken over by something else, another personality. (Fishman, 2006, p. 6)

The following is an example of callousness from the *typology* checklist.

"Berkowitz—who fantasized about a bizarre satanic cult—confessed to killing six people and wounding seven others in New York between 1976 and 1977" (Montefiore, 2008, p. 239).

The subsequent excerpt illustrates impulsiveness, disorganization and victims are strangers from the *typology* checklist.

"He was a lone gunman who killed without warning or apparent reason; his victims were young women and couples, shot dead as they sat in their cars or walked down the street" (Greig, 2005, p. 114).

The next quote refers to motive and suffering from hallucinations from the *typology* checklist.

The "Sam" referred to in his letters was a neighbor, one Sam Carr, whose Labrador retriever was allegedly possessed by ancient demons, beaming out commands for Berkowitz to kill and kill again. On one occasion he had tried to kill the dog, but it was useless; demons spoiled his aim, and when the dog recovered from its wounds, the nightly torment had redoubled in intensity. (Newton, 2006, p. 18)

The following is an example of motive, suffering from hallucinations, delusional and disorganization from the *typology* checklist.

Visionary killers almost always fall into the FBI's disorganized category of serial killers because of the mental illness that typically drives their offenses...In handwritten letters he sent to the police and press prior to his arrest, Berkowitz claimed that Satan was ordering him to kill. (Bonn, 2014, p. 79)

The subsequent passage identifies deceitfulness and manipulation from the *typology* checklist.

[David's] outrageous, direct communication with the police and news media received massive exposure and critical analysis. A panic of epic proportions was ignited when the first Son of Sam letter was released

to the public. Forensic psychologists who were involved in the case observed that serial killers often derive satisfaction by outsmarting their observers and pursuers. By manipulating the news media, law enforcement authorities, and the public, serial killers enjoy a feeling of power, control, and domination. (Bonn, 2014, p. 103)

Jeffrey Dahmer

Dahmer's life was assessed from birth to prison for evidence of 28 behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits (see Appendices B and C). For data analysis purposes, gathered information was organized into 12 categories: (1) drive theory, (2) ego psychology, (3) object relations theory, (4) self-psychology, (5) basic trust versus mistrust, (6) autonomy versus shame, (7) initiative versus guilt, (8) industry versus inferiority, (9) identity versus identity confusion, (10) intimacy versus isolation, (11) generativity versus stagnation, and (12) hedonistic typology. The presence of 6 or more categories in one trait is considered significant and strongly correlated to the participant; the presence of 4 or 5 categories in one trait is considered moderately correlated to the participant; and the presence of 3 or

less categories in one trait is considered insignificant and weakly correlated to the participant.

The following traits were significant and strongly correlated to Dahmer's life: difficulty with intimacy, chronic feelings of emptiness, psychological abuse, neglect, socially inept, friendless and negative life-altering events. Additionally, the following traits were moderately correlated to Dahmer's life: failure to conform to social norms with respect to lawful behaviors as indicated by repeatedly performing acts that are grounds for arrest, withdrawn, cognitive impairment, easily irritable and callous. Lastly, the following traits were insignificant and weakly correlated to Dahmer's life: deceitfulness, lack of remorse, manipulative, substance abuse, intelligent, inability to cope with rejection, physical abuse, sexual abuse, victim of bullying, motive (typology-specific), need for stimulation increases between murders, sadistic, necrophilia organized, manipulative (typology-specific) and victims are strangers. With these results, Dahmer was recognized under the hedonistic typology, as the following evidence from his life indicates.

Drive theory. Drive theory is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to review quotes from a unique perspective focusing on aggressive and sexual traits. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and drive theory.

The following is an example of cognitive impairment, psychological abuse and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

"...His parents had a troubled marriage. Dahmer described himself as surrounded by arguing parents at home and 'arrogant jerks' in school" (Martens, 2011, p. 497).

The subsequent excerpt shows easy irritability from the *trait* checklist.

"Dahmer claimed that during adolescence he was prone to violent fits of anger and occasional rage and said that his deceitful behavior at home was frequently reprimanded" (Martens, 2011, p. 498).

The next quote reveals cognitive impairment, easy irritability, psychological abuse and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist, and callousness from the *typology* checklist.

...His father's strict demands and his mother's unpredictable and argumentative behavior, toward both his father and himself, angered him; he also spoke of their frequent arguing during a long predivorce period. He had private fantasies about the destruction of himself and others who came too close. His anger became thus self- and other-directed. (Martens, 2011, p. 498)

The following is an example of chronic feelings of emptiness, cognitive impairment, inability to cope with rejection, easy irritability and social ineptness from the *trait* checklist.

He was unable to express his anger openly for fear of retaliation. That inability may have been an expression of his deep feelings of inadequacy (lack of effective coping skills and an associated lack of social capacities) and inferiority, as well as a lack of external locus of control. He stated that he had never enjoyed sports, always thinking that the other guys were better than he. He was envious of them and at times felt so angry that he had thoughts of killing them. (Martens, 2011, p. 499)

The subsequent passage demonstrates motive and necrophilia from the *typology* checklist.

...Dahmer wanted company. Whether his urge to kill was driven by a longing for simple companionship or sex, Dahmer killed for it. He wanted to be with them. He wanted to keep them with him. As his obsession grew, he began saving and consuming body parts. (Martens, 2011, p. 501)

The next quote refers to lack of remorse, difficulty with intimacy, chronic feelings of emptiness, easy irritability, neglect, social ineptness and friendless from the *trait* checklist, and callousness from the *typology* checklist.

Dahmer believed that he was unlovable and unacceptable, and this was linked to his sadistic use and killing of others. These dead bodies could not reject or leave him. His belief in his unlovability [sic] was closely intertwined with the belief that (1) no one was or would be interested in him (this was also his long-lasting experience); (2) he had no chance of a close, intimate, and lasting relationship; (3) he was a worthless outcast and his presence was experienced by other people as a burden and as

annoying; and (4) he must be ready to accept the most limited quality of social-emotional and sexual life.

(Martens, 2011, p. 510-11)

Ego psychology. This theoretical perspective is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to examine quotes through a method centering on psychological defense mechanisms and ego strength. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and ego psychology.

The following is an example of withdrawal, difficulty with intimacy, cognitive impairment, social ineptness and friendlessness from the *trait* checklist, and callousness from the *typology* checklist.

He reported that he was apathetic, that he experienced no normal emotions, and that he felt he was an outcast (not belonging to the family or other social network). There is no evidence that Dahmer ever developed an intimate deep relationship. He seemed to trust no one. In grade school the other kids noticed that Dahmer never had any sympathy for others. He reported that he was unable to develop adequate social interactions.

(Martens, 2011, p. 498)

The subsequent excerpt indicates difficulty with intimacy, cognitive impairment, chronic feelings of emptiness, inability to cope with rejection, social ineptness and friendlessness from the *trait* checklist.

Dahmer mentioned that his acts of violent sadism arose from a deep feeling of inferiority (and associated shame), helplessness, and fear of (1) being left alone again (the equivalent of destruction and death) along with (2) the fatal consequences of social-emotional deficits (with an associated lack of social interaction skills) and moral incapacities. (Martens, 2011, p. 507)

The next quote identifies lack of remorse, difficulty with intimacy, chronic feelings of emptiness, easy irritability, neglect, social ineptness and friendlessness from the *trait* checklist, and callousness from the *typology* checklist.

[Dahmer] hated himself (and experienced a severe lack of self-respect/esteem), and he felt a deep envy toward other persons who were popular and were socially and emotionally successful. The combination of envy, self-hate, and deep-rooted frustration (because Dahmer could not develop such a level of

attractive behavior and character, despite enormous efforts) resulted in an explosive mix of frustration, anger, hate, and severe lack of respect for other people's lives. (Martens, 2011, p. 511)

The following is an example of psychological abuse, neglect and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

Joyce's hypersensitivity, depression, and need for arguments were increasing. She would make a fuss over trivia in order to earn the pleasure of reconciliation with her husband. She began to take pills to calm herself down, and double the dosage when they failed to give her the peace she desired. There was even an occasion when she may have tried to commit suicide with an overdose of Seconal, but it is just as likely that she threw them down her throat without proper care. She then turned to Equanil three times a day. Joyce was progressively becoming a desperate woman, and her consumption of medicines would increase alarmingly over the next few years. (Masters, 1993, p. 37)

The subsequent passage reflects neglect from the *trait* checklist.

Jeff sometimes saw his father hit his mother when she was screaming and he felt she needed to be calmed... The domestic scene was by no means unusual or malignant... The teacher's report from the school at Ames stated...she thought Jeff felt neglected. (Masters, 1993, p. 37)

Object relations theory. This theory is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to interpret quotes based on the depth of relationship between the primary caregiver and participant. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and object relations theory.

The following is an example of psychological abuse from the *trait* checklist.

"Joyce was highly strung, while Lionel worked long hours; the pair argued a great deal but to all appearances this was still a normal family household" (Greig, 2005, p. 24).

The subsequent excerpt illustrates psychological abuse and neglect from the *trait* checklist.

"His mother suffered from hysteria, depression, suicidal ideation, and psychosomatic illnesses" (Martens, 2011, p. 497).

The next quote demonstrates psychological abuse, neglect and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

"Both were, in different ways, self-centered people - Lionel devoted to his career and his study, with a tendency not to notice emotional fragility, Joyce dedicated to impinging her needs upon the world and having account taken of them" (Masters, 1993, p. 31).

The following is an example of psychological abuse, neglect and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

"Jeff's early emotional development is naturally not recorded, yet it is noticeable how often, as an adult, he has said that he is not good at coping with disappointment" (Masters, 1993, p. 33).

The subsequent passage indicates psychological abuse and neglect from the *trait* checklist.

"As for his mother, she appeared to have 'switched off' and was cherishing her own separate refuge in sedatives...The threads which bound mother and son, never

very strong, had virtually worn away to nothing" (Masters, 1993, p. 47).

Self-psychology. This theoretical perspective is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to concentrate on the participant's self-perception and self-awareness. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and self-psychology.

The next quote identifies psychological abuse, neglect and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

"...The ferocious arguments between his parents (later divorced) clearly demonstrated to Dahmer that home was no safe haven for a child" (Newton, 2006, p. 59).

The following is an example of negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

"At age ten Jeffrey felt guilty about his mother's mental disorders, because he believed that he was the cause of her suffering. This provoked in him frustration, depression, and feelings of self-hate" (Martens, 2011, p. 498).

The subsequent passage reveals difficulty with intimacy, cognitive impairment, psychological abuse,

neglect and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

[Dahmer] was severely neglected and rejected. He experienced no warmth and love, and he developed no real bond with his parents, who were mainly concerned with their own marriage problems; furthermore, his mother was severely mentally disordered. As a consequence, he felt that he had no right to exist and he felt superfluous. This became even worse when his younger brother was born, because his brother got all the parental attention. (Martens, 2011, p. 509)

The next quote indicates withdrawal, cognitive impairment and psychological abuse from the *trait* checklist.

Jeffrey Dahmer was becoming progressively more withdrawn, remote, private. The combined inheritance of his father's aloofness and his mother's morose sensitivity were beginning to cancel his own personality, to negate it, as it were, before its development was complete. Like his mother, he was dangerously self-centered; like his father, he was unnaturally reticent. He became silent and broody as a result. (Masters, 1993, p. 38)

The following is an example of withdrawal, difficulty with intimacy, cognitive impairment, chronic feelings of emptiness, psychological abuse, neglect and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

[Jeff] blamed himself for his mother's illness. He had known for as long as he could remember that she had been depressed following his birth, and that he had therefore caused the illness. He also must have caused every relapse. He could not articulate his pain, for fear of tipping his mother over the edge again. He had to keep to himself, say little and do less, to protect her, to keep a little calm in the house. The more she saw of him the worse it would be for her. His brother David said, "[Jeff] never learned to be open with his feelings of frustration...he went out to the forest by himself and cut down trees for firewood." They could hear him slamming against tree trunks from inside the house. It sounded like vented anger...but it was more likely the solace of utter isolation. Jeff quite simply felt he did not belong, and that if he were to belong he would only do harm. (Masters, 1993, p. 44)

Stage 1: Basic trust versus mistrust. The first stage is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B

and C) to view the participant's initial level of trust in their primary caregiver. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and stage one: basic trust versus mistrust.

The following is an example of negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

"... [Dahmer] scared us by having correctional casts on his legs from birth till four months, but all was fine" (Masters, 1993, p. 32).

Stage 2: Autonomy versus shame. The second stage is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to observe the degree of self-control expressed by the participant. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and stage two: autonomy versus shame.

The subsequent excerpt identifies psychological abuse, neglect and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

"Joyce did not take well to breast-feeding. Keeping to the demanding schedule made her irritable and nervous, so

she gave it up and bound her breasts" (Masters, 1993, p. 33).

Stage 3: Initiative versus guilt. The third stage is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to assess the participant's level of power and control expressed through social interactions. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and stage three: initiative versus guilt.

The following is an example of social ineptness and friendless from the *trait* checklist.

When Jeff went to nursery school in Ames, he was, says his mother, very shy. This is a word she would have cause to use many times in the future...He did not care for school in the slightest. It seemed he had difficulty relating to other boys, that he did not quite know how to belong; he was awkward, ill at ease. He had trouble getting his boots on and off, and the teacher would not help him. The frustration made him cry. (Masters, 1993, p. 34)

The subsequent passage shows negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

"At the end of 1963, he was treated for an ear infection and mild pneumonia, and his parents were told that an eye would have to be kept on his hernia condition - an operation might become necessary" (Masters, 1993, p. 34).

The next quote reflects easy irritability and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

As a child he displayed shy, impulsive, and angry (tantrums) behavior. At age four, Jeffrey had a double hernia, and required surgery. He suffered so much pain that he asked his mother if the doctors had cut off his penis. (Martens, 2011, p. 498)

The following is an example of chronic feelings of emptiness and neglect from the *trait* checklist.

When Jeffrey was five years of age his brother David was born and for the first time he felt neglected because his mother was too self-involved (as a result of her diseases) and his father was too involved in studying for his doctorate. Jeffrey had to share the sparse attention of his parents with his brother. (Martens, 2011, p. 497)

The subsequent excerpt establishes failure to conform to social norms from the *trait* checklist.

The temptation to be naughty with impunity by throwing bricks through the windows of empty houses, and then running for one's life, was too much to resist, and one day the police came to the Dahmers' door to complain that young Jeff was one of a gang of tearabouts. (Masters, 1993, p. 36)

The next quote demonstrates deceitfulness and manipulation from the *trait* checklist.

In a crack in one of the deserted buildings Jeff found a hornets' nest. He told a little black neighborhood boy to put his hand in there and see what he found, there might be ladybugs. The boy obliged and was seriously stung, running home to tell his mother he had been bitten by ladybugs. (Masters, 1993, p. 36)

Stage 4: Industry versus inferiority. The fourth stage is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to trace the participant's developing traits of independence. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and stage four: industry versus inferiority.

The following is an example of withdrawal and friendlessness from the *trait* checklist.

"...Aged six, following a hernia operation and the birth of his younger brother David, he became withdrawn. He remained solitary and friendless throughout his childhood" (Greig, 2005, p. 24).

The subsequent excerpt identifies withdrawal, cognitive impairment, chronic feelings of emptiness, social ineptness and friendlessness from the *trait* checklist.

Between age six and eight Jeffrey's family moved three times to other towns, and that provoked confusion, alienation, and feelings of restlessness in him. He remained unattached during his childhood and never really bonded with anyone. Jeffrey was rarely interested in anything. During the years of elementary school he was socially isolated, and he had only superficial friends. He was regarded by other children as odd and bizarre. (Martens, 2011, p. 498)

The next quote shows negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

"So Lionel borrowed money from the bank and they bought 4480 West Bath Road and took up residence in 1968. It was their third move in two years, and their sixth address since marriage" (Masters, 1993, p. 41).

The following is an example of negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

"In 1968, he was sexually molested by a neighbor boy in rural Bath Township" (Newton, 2006, p. 59).

The subsequent excerpt demonstrates failure to conform to social norms from the *trait* checklist.

"By age 10, Dahmer was 'experimenting' with dead animals: decapitating rodents, bleaching chicken bones with acid, nailing a dog's carcass to a tree and mounting its head on a stake" (Newton, 2006, p. 59).

The next quote portrays difficulty with intimacy and social ineptness from the *trait* checklist.

"At Eastview Junior High School Jeff made a number of friends on a superficial level... He did not fit readily into a gang or group [and he] did not appear to enjoy group activity very much" (Masters, 1993, p. 41-2).

The following is an example of difficulty with intimacy, psychological abuse and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

Lionel was not as attentive as some men, but then neither was he a philanderer. "It just didn't seem like the parents really liked each other too much," recalled Jeff. "It made me feel on edge, unsure of the

solidity of the family. I decided early on I wasn't ever going to get married [be]cause I never wanted to go through anything like that." (Masters, 1993, p. 43)

The subsequent excerpt demonstrates a negative life-altering event from the *trait* checklist.

"David Dahmer confirms that the atmosphere in the house was bad, and that a good deal of shouting and hurling of objects occurred" (Masters, 1993, p. 43).

Stage 5: Identity versus identity confusion. The fifth stage is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to identify traits illustrating a growing sense of self in the participant. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and stage five: identity versus identity confusion.

The following is an example of a negative life-altering event from the *trait* checklist.

With one neighborhood boy, Eric Tyson, [Dahmer] did have some desultory physical exploration. At ten, Eric was three years younger than Jeff, but somewhat precocious in his appetites. Significantly, it was Eric who took the initiative and Jeff who merely

acquiesced. They had often been together, fishing and hiking, and they had a treehouse or fortress to which they sometimes repaired. It was there that Eric suggested they undress. The two boys touched and kissed and caressed, but went no further. They met here on three or four occasions, until the fear of discovery made them desist. (Masters, 1993, p. 47)

The subsequent passage indicates substance abuse from the *trait* checklist.

“What was not known until later is that Jeff, from about the age of fourteen according to his brother, had started drinking” (Masters, 1993, p. 47).

The next quote reflects substance abuse, easy irritability and friendlessness from the *trait* checklist.

“Dahmer reported...that at age fourteen he started to drink alcohol in order (1) to cope with his despair over his lack of interaction with his fellows, and (2) to expel compulsive, violent, sexual thoughts (he feared his own aggression)” (Martens, 2011, p. 499).

The following is an example of difficulty with intimacy and chronic feelings of emptiness from the *trait* checklist.

"He reported...that at the age of fifteen he stole a shop-window dummy and lay with it in bed when his parents were not at home" (Martens, 2011, p. 499).

The subsequent excerpt illustrates substance abuse from the *trait* checklist.

When he was sixteen, Jeff grew even further apart from his colleagues at school...He was more and more morose, sullen, uncommunicative; and more and more drunk...It was now that he made a new friend...Jeff Six was also sixteen and was one of Revere High School's suppliers of marijuana. He met Dahmer during the lunch period one day and offered him a smoke. From then on they would drink and smoke together every day... (Masters, 1993, p. 51)

The next quote identifies psychological abuse, neglect and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

Jeffrey's parents did not appear to notice his troubles, as by this time they were locked in an acrimonious divorce. During the summer of 1978, just as Jeffrey was due to graduate, they both moved out of the house, leaving Jeffrey there alone. (Greig, 2005, p. 24)

The following is an example of failure to conform to social norms and substance abuse from the *trait* checklist.

“Dahmer appeared to enjoy army life, but he was soon discharged for habitual drunkenness” (Greig, 2005, p. 24).

The subsequent passage references substance abuse from the *trait* checklist.

“By the time of his high-school graduation, he had also become a heavy drinker” (Greig, 2005, p. 24).

The next quote demonstrates withdrawal, chronic feelings of emptiness, easy irritability, victim of bullying, social ineptness and friendlessness from the *trait* checklist.

Dahmer...did not think highly of himself during childhood and adolescence. That was probably the beginning of the low self-esteem that he later claimed to experience. He described himself as a loner who frequently became upset with classmates and others who teased him, but who never got into fights. He was unable to express his anger openly for fear of retaliation. (Martens, 2011, p. 499)

The following is an example of withdrawal, difficulty with intimacy, chronic feelings of emptiness, social ineptness and friendlessness from the *trait* checklist.

"He felt attracted to men, and helpless and frustrated in his desire to change his sexual orientation and his social timidity. As a consequence, he was basically withdrawn and sad" (Martens, 2011, p. 499).

Stage 6: Intimacy versus isolation. The sixth stage is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to dictate the participant's understanding of intimate, loving relationships with other people. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and stage six: intimacy versus isolation.

The subsequent passage shows withdrawal, difficulty with intimacy, substance abuse, chronic feelings of emptiness and negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

"His parents divorced when he was eighteen. He was drinking more and more and becoming more depressed and socially/emotionally isolated. He felt emotional death" (Martens, 2011, p. 500).

The next quote reveals substance abuse from the *trait* checklist.

At college his drinking (mostly beer) increased, and he felt isolated and lonely. He was shy and somewhat

uncomfortable when having to start new social relationships (in general). After a semester at college, at his father's suggestion, he joined the army..While overseas, he drank heavily—a six- or twelve-pack of beer a night, and at times other alcoholic drinks. (Martens, 2011, p. 500)

The following is an example of substance abuse from the *trait* checklist.

At his father's suggestion, he moved to Milwaukee to live with his paternal grandmother..At first, he limited his drinking mostly to weekends, but eventually he began to drink more. He went to local taverns and often got drunk, returning home between 2 and 3 A.M., or occasionally staying out all night. (Martens, 2011, p. 500)

The subsequent excerpt reflects failure to conform to social norms from the *trait* checklist.

“In 1982, Dahmer was arrested for indecent exposure, and then again in 1986” (Greig, 2005, p. 24).

The next quote indicates failure to conform to social norms from the *trait* checklist.

“On three occasions he was arrested for drunkenness and jailed overnight. He was fired from his job at the

city's blood plasma bank after one year because of poor performance" (Martens, 2011, p. 500).

The following is an example of negative life-altering events from the *trait* checklist.

While in a public library quietly reading a book, one of the library patrons handed him a note inviting him to have sex with him downstairs in the library bathroom. Even though he had dismissed the offer, he claimed that the episode changed his life for the worse. (Martens, 2011, p. 501)

The subsequent passage establishes callousness, organization, manipulation and victims are strangers from the *typology* checklist.

Dahmer began going to porno bookstores, gay bars, and Chicago bathhouses. At the bathhouses he started his homosexual behavior again and, wanting to be in control of the relationship, began to give his occasional sexual partners drinks containing dissolved sleeping pills. He sodomized his partners and left the locale when they were still asleep for fear of being sodomized himself, to which he had previously agreed. (Martens, 2011, p. 501)

The next quote demonstrates intelligence from the *trait* checklist.

"[Dahmer] appeared to have a high level of intelligence. He showed reflective capacity and unimpaired and rational thinking" (Palermo, 2008, p. 92).

Stage 7: Generativity versus stagnation. The seventh stage is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to examine the participant's dedication to their surrounding environment through personal contributions. This stage, however, is not applicable as the participant is in prison.

Stage 8: Integrity versus despair. The eighth stage is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to examine the participant's personal perspective of life satisfaction or regret. This stage, however, is not applicable as the participant is deceased.

Hedonistic. This typological perspective is used in relation to both checklists (see Appendices B and C) to represent typology-specific traits revealed through the participant's actions. The behavioral, psychological, environmental and typological traits listed prior to each quote represent corresponding traits between that quote and the hedonistic typology.

The following is an example of sadism from the *typology* checklist.

"...At an early age, Jeffrey developed a fascination with dead animals" (Greig, 2005, p. 24).

The subsequent passage indicates lack of remorse, cognitive impairment, inability to cope with rejection and easy irritability from the *trait* checklist, and motive and necrophilia from the *typology* checklist.

He stated that he had never enjoyed sports, always thinking that the other guys were better than he. He was envious of them and at times felt so angry that he had thoughts of killing them. In this context he developed his first necrophilic fantasies (dead bodies could not reject him), and he discovered his homosexual desires. (Martens, 2011, p. 499)

The next quote references difficulty with intimacy, chronic feelings of emptiness and friendlessness from the *trait* checklist, and motive, sadism and necrophilia from the *typology* checklist.

"At age seventeen he had necrophilic and violent sexual fantasies (characterized by total control of another person in combination with lust), which were brought about

by frustration with his social-emotional failure and loneliness" (Martens, 2011, p. 499-500).

The following is an example of motive, callousness and victims are strangers from the *typology* checklist.

There had been a jogger who regularly passed in front of the Dahmer residence...Jeff eyed him daily. The man had the sort of healthy impressive physique which he wanted to touch...He wanted to have the man entirely in his command, an unresisting object for his veneration. He wanted, in fact, to capture him...He would somehow have to attack the man and knock him unconscious. Then he would drag him into the woods and lie with him there, next to him, on top of him. He would be able to kiss him without the man ever knowing. One day he took a baseball bat and waited at the side of the road for the jogger to pass. He was ready to put the plan into action...On that particular day [the jogger] did not pass, and the troubled boy returned to the house with his baseball bat and his fantasies. (Masters, 1993, p. 55)

The subsequent excerpt identifies deceitfulness and lack of remorse from the *trait* checklist, and sadism,

necrophilia, manipulation and victims are strangers from the *typology* checklist.

[Dahmer] usually picked his victims up in gay bars, sometimes offering them money and drink. He would then slip them a drug, kill them, indulge in necrophilia, then dismember them. He preserved their body parts in jars, boiled their heads so he could keep their skulls as trophies, and ate strips of their flesh.

(Montefiore, 2008, p. 101)

The next quote portrays lack of remorse from the *trait* checklist, and motive, callousness, sadism and victims are strangers from the *typology* checklist.

Dahmer reported that his first killing occurred when he was eighteen: he gave a handsome boy who was stripped to the waist a ride and took him home. He could not stand the idea of being abandoned, and he experienced an irresistible desire to take complete control over this situation. When the boy wanted to take leave of him, Dahmer murdered and sexually abused him. This first homicide act was a sudden and impulsive act, and Dahmer reported that he felt very aroused, upset and restless afterward. (Martens, 2011, p. 501)

The following is an example of manipulation, inability to cope with rejection and easy irritability from the *trait* checklist, and callousness and victims are strangers from the *typology* checklist.

"His victim was hitchhiker Steven Hicks, whom Dahmer took home for a drink and some laughs. When Hicks tried to leave, Dahmer crushed his skull with a barbell, strangled him to death, then dismembered and buried his corpse" (Newton, 2006, p. 59).

The subsequent passage portrays lack of remorse from the *trait* checklist, and motive, callousness, necrophilia, manipulation and victims are strangers from the *typology* checklist.

"[Jeffrey's] first victim that year was Steven Tuomi, whom he met in a gay bar. He murdered Tuomi in a hotel, put the body in a suitcase, took it home, had sex with it and then dismembered it" (Greig, 2005, p. 24).

The next quote demonstrates failure to conform to social norms, deceitfulness and manipulation from the *trait* checklist, and manipulation and victims are strangers from the *typology* checklist.

He lured a thirteen-year-old Laotian boy [to his apartment], offering to pay him for a nude modeling

session. He drugged the boy and fondled him but did not become violent...He was sentenced to a year in prison for sexual assault. (Greig, 2005, p. 24-5)

The following is an example of motive, need for stimulation, callousness, sadism and necrophilia from the *typology* checklist.

In the end he was committing a murder almost every week, and his treatment of his victims was becoming even more bizarre. He was obsessed with the notion of creating zombies - half-humans who would be his playthings. To this end he drilled holes in his victims' skulls while they were still alive, and dripped acid into their heads. (Greig, 2005, p. 25-6)

The subsequent excerpt indicates callousness and sadism from the *typology* checklist.

In order to have total control over his victims, he tried to make zombies of them. He gave them alcohol in which sleep-inducing drugs were dissolved. When his victims fell asleep he made a hole in their heads and squirted acid in their brains. But this purpose failed, and he murdered them all. (Martens, 2011, p. 501)

The next quote reflects motive from the *typology* checklist.

"[Dahmer] explained that he did not hate his victims at the time of the murder, but that his acts were the result of feelings of lust in combination with an intense need for total control of his situation" (Martens, 2011, p. 502).

The following is an example of difficulty with intimacy, chronic feelings of emptiness, social ineptness from the *trait* checklist, and necrophilia from the *typology* checklist.

Dahmer declared after his arrest that he felt an intense and unstoppable desire to consume the flesh of his victims. He experienced this urge as a way of incorporating the other person and achieving unification with him. It was used as a weapon against loneliness. In normal social-emotional interactions he failed to become close to the other and felt so unlovable that he was convinced that normal relationships were unreachable for him...He believed that this cannibalistic unification, which was characterized by a strong sexual dimension, was the

next-best solution to fulfill his basic need of close, intimate contact. (Martens, 2011, p. 502)

Summary

According to the results, there are a number of significant traits with strong correlations present in each participant. First, the individual assessment of Bundy indicated significant signs of withdrawal, difficulty with intimacy, cognitive impairment and negative life-altering events. These are closely followed by moderate correlations between Bundy's life and failure to conform to social norms with respect to lawful behaviors as indicated by repeatedly performing acts that are grounds for arrest, deceitfulness, lack of remorse, manipulative behavior, chronic feelings of emptiness, psychological abuse, social ineptness, friendlessness, motive (typology-specific), expressive violence, aggressiveness and callousness. Second, the analysis of Kaczynski exposed significant signs of withdrawal, difficulty with intimacy, cognitive impairment, chronic feelings of emptiness, easy irritability, social ineptness, friendlessness and negative life-altering events. A moderate connection was found between Kaczynski's life and intelligence, psychological abuse, prideful and close-mindedness. Likewise, the examination of Berkowitz

reflected significant signs of difficulty with intimacy, chronic feelings of emptiness and negative life-altering events. Moderate correlations were observed between Berkowitz's life and cognitive impairment, easy irritability, socially ineptness and friendlessness. Finally, the evaluation of Dahmer identified significant signs of difficulty with intimacy, chronic feelings of emptiness, psychological abuse, neglect, social ineptness, friendlessness and negative life-altering events. His life was further discovered to have moderate correlations with failure to conform to social norms with respect to lawful behaviors as indicated by repeatedly performing acts that are grounds for arrest, withdrawal, cognitive impairment, easy irritability and callousness.

Chapter 5

DISCUSSION

Analyzing serial killers from a behavioral, psychological and environmental perspective in combination with their victimology and crime scene specifics allows researchers to identify these criminals separately according to their motives. Holmes and DeBurger (1985) identified four categories in which serial killer motives are most often associated: power and control, mission-oriented, visionary, and hedonistic. Although the infrequency of convicted serial killers makes research difficult, it is important to continuously update each typological profile for more efficient and effective investigative results. The purpose of this study was to cross-examine the behavioral, psychological and environmental traits of serial killers concurrently with the four typologies to acknowledge serial killer characteristics and typological characteristics. More specifically, results from this research update and refine each typology to be inclusive of significant and insignificant traits discovered upon data analyzation. To

clearly address the results, each research objective will be individually discussed in the Conclusions section.

Information gathered on each participant was evaluated from an investigative psychological perspective and organized using psychodynamic and human development theories. Psychodynamic theory emerged from Freud's psychoanalytic theory, which concentrated on the purposes and functions of the id, ego and superego. Using this psychoanalytic foundation, psychodynamic theory investigates human behavior from four theoretical perspectives: drive theory, ego psychology, object relations theory and self-psychology. The combined premise of these four categories is to assess the roots of human behavior from different perspectives. For this study, it is important to understand the origin of certain traits within serial killers, as this ties their criminal actions and behaviors as adults to possible genetic predispositions, traumatic life experiences and/or repeated environmental exposures as children.

Human development theory follows a similar path to psychodynamic theory in that it, too, seeks to compartmentalize human behavior into different schools of thought for analysis. This theory is approached

chronologically from birth to death, identifying eight stages of change in the complete life cycle. More specific to this study, human development theory is used to uncover behavioral, psychological and environmental traits in serial killers and identify the point of origination for each trait. A crucial aspect of this research is recognizing when a trait develops in the participant and its long-term effect on the participant's future violent behavior. This allows researchers to understand the life-long role these traits have in creating a serial killer. Furthermore, researchers are able to trace these developed traits in adulthood to possible genetic predispositions, traumatic life experiences and/or repeated environmental exposures as children. Both psychodynamic and human development theories are applied in this study to thoroughly examine the young Ted Bundy, Ted Kaczynski, David Berkowitz and Jeffrey Dahmer and decipher the origins of their serial killer behavior with specific reference to their concluded typology.

The lives of each participant prior to becoming a serial killer was exhaustively researched and scrutinized for traits indicative of future violent behavior. Ted Bundy displayed *significant* signs of withdrawal, difficulty with

intimacy, cognitive impairment and negative life-altering events. Additionally, he displayed *moderate* signs of failure to conform to social norms with respect to lawful behaviors as indicated by repeatedly performing acts that are grounds for arrest, deceitfulness, lack of remorse, manipulative behavior, chronic feelings of emptiness, psychological abuse, social ineptness, friendlessness, motive (typology-specific), expressive violence, aggressiveness and callousness. These results suggest Bundy was psychologically impacted at a young age, which caused certain traits to develop as defense mechanisms. As an adult, he attempted to calculate and control every aspect of his life, from personal behavior to social interactions to intimate relationships, Bundy acted accordingly to achieve personal gratification.

Ted Kaczynski exhibited *significant* signs of withdrawal, difficulty with intimacy, cognitive impairment, chronic feelings of emptiness, easy irritability, social ineptness, friendlessness and negative life-altering events. Furthermore, he exhibited *moderate* signs of intelligence, psychological abuse, prideful and close-mindedness. These results suggest Kaczynski was isolated and lonely as a child. His struggle to bond with his family

and severe lack of social abilities at a young age secured his fate as an emotionally, socially and intellectually inaccessible adult. This ultimately molded his one-sided perspective of industrial society and strengthened his serial killer intentions.

David Berkowitz demonstrated *significant* signs of difficulty with intimacy, chronic feelings of emptiness and negative life-altering events. Moreover, he demonstrated *moderate* signs of cognitive impairment, easy irritability, social ineptness and friendlessness. These results suggest Berkowitz's early life experiences heavily contributed to a life of loneliness and isolation. In turn, Berkowitz secluded himself from healthy social interactions to the extreme of causing psychological damage.

Jeffrey Dahmer presented *significant* signs of difficulty with intimacy, chronic feelings of emptiness, psychological abuse, neglect, social ineptness, friendlessness and negative life-altering events. Likewise, he presented *moderate* signs of failure to conform to social norms with respect to lawful behaviors as indicated by repeatedly performing acts that are grounds for arrest, withdrawal, cognitive impairment, easy irritability and callousness. These results suggest Dahmer suffered from a

difficult home life, which significantly influenced his psychological, social and emotional development.

Consequently, he disconnected from those around him and used this seclusion to transform himself into a cold-blooded serial killer.

Conclusions

The outcome of this study aimed to address three research objectives: (1) As children, are serial killers exposed to certain traumas that encourage their future as a violent criminal? (2) Do serial killers possess specific, identifiable traits as children that can be used to predict their future violent behavior? (3) If specific, identifiable traits do emerge through research analysis, are these traits indicative of serial killer typology (power and control, mission-oriented, visionary, and hedonistic)? Providing answers to these questions identifies overlapping traits in serial killers and whether these traits are responsible for generating potential serial killers.

Research objective (1): As children, are serial killers exposed to certain traumas that encourage their futures as violent criminals? The first research question focuses explicitly on the environmental portion of the

trait checklist (see Appendix B) and the relationship between childhood trauma and adult violent offending. Based on the results, each participant was exposed to psychological abuse, neglect and negative life-altering events relative to object relations theory. Recall, object relations theory identifies the influential role of the primary caregiver in a child's life and the long-term effects of the caregiver's actions from infancy to adulthood. With a weak or damaged attachment to the primary caregiver, children are likely to mature with negatively-skewed opinions of themselves and those around them. These distorted opinions then serve as the foundation for additional personal relationships and contribute to the lack of affection within them. This theoretical perspective, in combination with the psychological abuse, neglect and negative life-altering events experienced by each participant at a young age, firmly support the social ineptness and friendlessness experienced during their adolescent years.

The social ineptness and friendlessness traits were discovered to be important to ego psychology during life stages industry versus inferiority and identity versus identity confusion, which examines the combination of

psychological defense mechanisms used by an individual and the strength of their ego. Specific to this study, the relationship between ego psychology and these life stages signified the frailty of the participants' egos during this age range, as they demonstrated weak and unstable egos through their severe social incompetence. Moreover, their psychological defense mechanisms blocked their ability to communicate and participate socially, thus, fueling an internal fear that drove their future violent activity. Due to the prominence and impact of these traits in early life through adolescence and the irrefutable evidence that each participant was exposed to environmental traumas, serial killers are considered to be affected by these early life experiences that encourage their future as a violent offender.

Research objective (2): Do serial killers possess specific, identifiable traits as children that can be used to predict their future violent behavior? This portion of the study concentrated on the behavioral and psychological traits from the *trait* checklist (see Appendix B). Results exposed the significance of 5 of 7 *behavioral* traits and 5 of 5 *psychological* traits. The high number of overlapping behavioral and psychological traits across participants

suggests more than one or two traits need to be present to be meaningful. Although the presence of these traits does not conclusively determine that a child will become a violent offender, there is an increased likelihood if combined with environmental traumas and a deterrent is not introduced.

Important theories connected to *behavioral* traits include ego psychology and life stages: industry versus inferiority, identity versus identity confusion and intimacy versus isolation (ranging from 6 to 40 years old). These traits include: failure to conform to social norms with respect to lawful behaviors as indicated by repeatedly performing acts that are grounds for arrest, lack of remorse, withdrawal, difficulty with intimacy and manipulation. This mixture of traits from childhood through adulthood creates a vulnerable ego and psychological breeding ground for violent fantasies, further influenced by environmental traumas. Of these traits, difficulty with intimacy was the most prevalent, which corroborates the participants' social and intimate struggles examined in the preceding section. It is also important to note the absence of deceitfulness and substance abuse within the behavioral traits. These are not strongly represented amongst the

participants, although they do exist to a marginal degree, which suggests they were not an influential aspect of their daily or criminal life. Substance abuse is noteworthy in particular, as this is typically thought to escalate violent and impulsive activities. Behaviorally, a weak or unstable ego causes an individual to enforce poor decisions by acting rashly without logical thinking or emotional control; thus, serial killer behavior is enhanced.

Similarly, important theories connected to *psychological* traits include drive theory, ego psychology, and life stages: industry versus inferiority, identity versus identity confusion and intimacy versus isolation (ranging from 6 to 40 years old). Psychological traits are separated from behavioral traits in that they are also connected through drive theory. These traits include: intelligence, cognitive impairment, chronic feelings of emptiness, inability to cope with rejection and easy irritability. The introduction of drive theory to ego psychology places more significance on the presence of these traits, as drive theory encompasses aggressive and sexual impulses. The concurrence of drive theory and ego psychology reduces to a frail ego with difficulty controlling aggressive and sexual impulses, a highly

dangerous combination. Additionally, although all participants' showed intelligence through varying forms, their cognitive impairment, chronic feelings of emptiness, inability to cope with rejection and easy irritability functioned as driving forces for violent behavior. As they entered adulthood with insufficient levels of affection, companionship and acceptance, they resorted to violent remedies. Regardless of the evidence, the existence of these traits does not definitively prove a serial killer will emerge; however, they do provide strong indications for potential criminal activity and suggest the individual should be monitored for additional warning signs.

Research objective (3): If specific, identifiable traits do emerge through research analysis, are these traits indicative of serial killer typology (power and control, mission-oriented, visionary, and hedonistic)? The third research question refers to the indication of serial killer typology through traits listed on the *trait* checklist (see Appendix B). While data from the study revealed a significant overlap of behavioral, psychological and environmental traits between participants of differing typologies, presence of these traits in adolescence does not conclusively indicate a serial killer will emerge. By

focusing on traits from the *typology* checklist, however, serial killer typology is evident through their behaviors and actions. First, as determined in Chapter Four, Bundy's traits are closely aligned with the *power and control* typology. This is important, as evidence from his life as a serial killer provides specific examples of the power and control requirements. Additionally, this distinction clarifies the typological boundary, allowing researchers to further refine typology-specific criteria and link other serial killers to this typology.

Second, Kaczynski's traits are closely aligned with the *mission-oriented* typology. This is analytically valuable because his behaviors and actions are unique from other serial killers, which place him under a separate category. By understanding the boundaries between typologies, researchers, analysts and other professionals are more likely to understand the serial killer's motive and subsequent moves.

Next, Berkowitz's traits are closely aligned with the *visionary* typology. This is noteworthy because his actions and behaviors reinforce the main premise of the visionary typology, which is the presence of auditory or visual hallucinations compelling murder. This suggests Berkowitz

transformed into a serial killer with minimal premeditation, as he was not compelled to murder unless he was suffering from severe hallucinations. This is further supported after examining his daily life, as typological traits did not exist on a regular basis. With this defining trait, researchers can easily identify visionary serial killers and follow other relevant traits to calculate the killer's next move.

Lastly, Dahmer's traits are closely aligned with the *hedonistic* typology. This is significant because the behaviors and actions associated with this typology, in particular, are more heinous than other typologies. For instance, self-gratification is a main component of hedonism, which often reduces the down-time between each murder because the serial killer is attempting to fulfill an intense desire. For analysts or profilers, this information assists an investigation by indicating specific traits to consider when establishing a suspect list. With four typologies determined, serial killers are likely to fall into one category based on the circumstances of each crime. This cannot be determined prior to committing the crime, however, and often requires several crime scenes to typologically categorize the killer.

Insignificant traits. Of equal importance is the lack of physical abuse, sexual abuse and bullying experienced by each participant. While evidence does not support the presence of these traits, their absence is analytically noteworthy. For instance, physical abuse, sexual abuse and falling victim to bullying are distressing experiences known to affect children as adults. Given the extreme level of violence surrounding serial killer actions, these childhood experiences are often assumed; however, they were not contributing traits for the participants. This suggests exposure to violent environmental traumas during childhood does not conclusively equate to future violent offending. Rather, results indicate lack of attention, affection and depth of relationship with primary caregivers as an influential factor in the childhood of serial killers. Data revealed that the connection between object relations theory and significant environmental traits is essential to a child's future as a violent offender, as the family unit is a powerful source of influence in early life. Additionally, severe emotional and psychological damage at an early age may lead to future attachment disorders, a strong underlying component for serial killer behavior.

These connections are further examined in the subsequent section.

Self-Report and Interpretation

Based on the information gathered to conduct this study and the psychodynamic and human development theories used, there was opportunity for the researcher to interpret the results from a scholarly perspective. Children exposed to multiple environmental traumas, including familial hardships, poor parental attachment or social fear, are likely to evolve into immature, socially-awkward and isolated adolescents. This originates from a damaged relationship with the primary caregiver during childhood and serves as the initial step toward future criminality. This perspective was derived using object relations theory.

Object relations theory. As previously discussed, the premise of this theory is the relationship between the primary caregiver and infant with particular attention to the degree of attachment (Holtz, 2007). This relationship is vital to the child, as it creates an emotional base for future intimate relationships to build from and heavily impacts empathetic growth (Hingley, 2001). In basic terms, this relationship emphasizes an individual's connection to others. Within this study, object relations theory was

observed to play a key role in each participant's childhood and adult life. The lack of affection, attention and overall bond between participants and their mothers was particularly noted. More specifically, the level of neglect and psychological abuse within their home lives directly affected other areas of life, from social interactions to intimate relationships. Without an emotional bond established at an early age, children mature with a sense of emptiness, withdrawal and struggle to create personal relationships. Through an object relations theory lens, the presence of these traits further insinuates the importance of attachment disorders within serial killers, as a poor emotional bond likely leads to future difficulty with attachment.

Attachment disorders. In brief, attachment disorders recognize a child's difficulty emotionally connecting with others. At the root of this disorder is the primary caregiver, typically the mother, who does not provide the child with adequate affection or attention. Based on results from this study, participants are likely to have developed varying levels of reactive attachment disorder (RAD) within the first five years of life. This diagnosis is driven by the neglect each participant experienced in

his home environment, as basic emotional needs were not met. Furthermore, each participant suffered from severe social deficiencies, causing them to internally withdraw without seeking help or properly bonding with others. Additionally, it is important to note that physical abuse, sexual abuse and suffering from bullying were not prominent factors in the participants' childhoods. The impact was found in their psychological and emotional abuse rather than physical or sexual abuse. Given RAD is only applicable to children, however, it is likely to have evolved into antisocial personality disorder (APD) as the participants entered adolescence and adulthood. Symptoms of APD are directly related to traits on the trait and typology checklists, which were recognized in each of the participants. Early attachment disorders and personality disorders are commonly perceived within serial killers after reviewing their personal history, which allows researchers to better understand the twisted minds of these criminals.

Recommendations

Parents. Extensive research revealed that the possession of specific, identifiable traits in children can be used to indicate future violent behavior. Therefore, if

a child possesses a blend of certain traits, the child should be monitored closely by their primary caregiver, school teachers and authority figures for unusual behavior. These traits include: failure to conform to social norms with respect to lawful behaviors as indicated by repeatedly performing acts that are grounds for arrest, deceitfulness, lack of remorse, withdrawal, difficulty with intimacy, manipulation, chronic feelings of emptiness, inability to cope with rejection and being easily irritable. If these traits surface simultaneously, they become warning signs that behavioral, psychological or environmental intervention is needed to reduce the internal long-term effects of these traits. The key factor to recognize these signs is parental involvement because attentive parents will understand their children's basic needs.

Psychologists. To a psychologist with a firm knowledge of serial killers, this study provides another perspective for them to critically analyze behaviors. The strategic application of theories to the lives of well-publicized serial killers generates an alternative process through which psychologists can evaluate these offenders and develop further research. Additionally, this study is approached from a behavioral, psychological and

environmental perspective, allowing psychologists to compare and contrast the consequences of numerous traits in an individual's life against other participants. Finally, it is important for psychologists to be cognizant of traits that are not necessarily factors in a serial killer's childhood, which include: physical abuse, sexual abuse and suffering from bullying. This is relevant to avoid misdiagnosing or generating an inaccurate criminal profile.

Law Enforcement. From another professional standpoint, this study is potentially useful for law enforcement personnel responsible for investigating the crimes and motives of serial killers. By following the offender's story created through evidence, crime scenes and witness accounts, law enforcement personnel can use certain aspects of this study to compare their facts and theories against participants in this study. This may help recognize typology, motive and other pertinent traits associated with their suspect profile. As with psychologists, it is important for law enforcement to understand that physical abuse, sexual abuse and suffering from bullying are not established childhood traits in serial killers, as this study found these traits insignificant to future violent offending.

Limitations

In an effort to produce effective, efficient and timely results, this study was conducted with several limitations. First, a historical analysis was used to extract common traits found amongst serial killers, beginning in childhood. While this approach was necessary given the rarity of this criminal population and difficulty in contacting them directly, data collection was restricted to archival data on each participant. Therefore, this study also relied on the accuracy of sources used. Second, the limited timeframe available to complete a study of this magnitude reduced the number of participants to four rather than covering a larger sample size. This made general conclusions regarding serial killer traits and typologies difficult to determine. Additionally, the behavior and experiences of each participant was analyzed from two theoretical perspectives, psychodynamic and human development theories. While these theories are well-known and thoroughly researched, the use of supplementary theories could allow for more comprehensive conclusions. Furthermore, participants were subject to numerous qualification standards, including: personal and criminal backgrounds, motives and crimes, gender, status as a known

serial killer, and available sources. Based on these specific qualifications, the pool of participants to draw from was minimal. Although these limitations do affect the outcome of the study, their impact does not alter the purpose of the study and are not considered detrimental to the results and conclusions drawn.

Future Research

Since Holmes and DeBurger (1985) presented their findings portraying four serial killer typologies, a number of additional studies have been conducted to expand on this criminal population. Although researchers are knowledgeable on serial killer behavior and mentality, new studies are crucial to continue exploring the vast gray area between the known and unknown. Therefore, there are several recommendations for future researchers to consider when conducting a study within this focus. First, use a large sample size by including as many participants as possible within the research qualifications. This produces more accurate results and reduces inaccurate generalizations applied to the serial killer population. Second, use a variety of methods to collect data, including interviews, questionnaires and archived sources to corroborate facts. Next, establish a detailed list of clearly-defined traits

to ensure an effective study is conducted and in-depth results are produced. Furthermore, allow enough time to complete a thorough study, lending sufficient time to schedule interviews, receive questionnaire responses and gather information from archived sources. Lastly, create broad participant qualifications within the scope of the study's qualifications to allow for a large sample size. By focusing on these recommendations, future research on serial killers will not repeat mistakes and limitations from present studies, continuously generating more efficient and effective results.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
LIFE CYCLE DIAGRAM

Appendix A

Life Cycle Diagram

Old Age							Integrity and Despair
Adulthood						Generativity and Stagnation, Self-absorption	
Young Adulthood					Intimacy and Isolation		
Adolescence				Identity and Identity Diffusion			
School Age			Industry and Inferiority				
Play Age		Initiative and Guilt					
Early Childhood	Autonomy and Shame, Doubt						
Infancy	Basic Trust and Basic Mistrust						

APPENDIX B
TRAIT CHECKLIST

Appendix B

Trait Checklist

BEHAVIORAL

Failure to conform to social norms with respect to lawful behaviors, as indicated by repeatedly performing acts that are grounds for arrest

- i.e., arson, petty theft, animal cruelty, indecent exposure.

Deceitfulness

- As indicated by repeated lying, use of aliases, or conning others for personal profit or pleasure.

Lack of remorse

- As indicated by being indifferent to or rationalizing having hurt, mistreated, or stolen from another.

Withdrawn

- Preference for being alone to being with others; reticence in social situations; avoidance of social contacts and activity; lack of initiation of social contact.

Difficulty with intimacy

- Marked impairments in developing close relationships, associated with mistrust and anxiety.

Manipulative

- Frequent use of deceit to influence or control others; use of seduction, charm, glibness, or ingratiation to achieve one's ends.

Substance abuse

- i.e., consuming excessive amounts of alcohol or illegal drugs.

PSYCHOLOGICAL

Intelligent

- College-educated or perceived by teachers as above-average.

Cognitive impairment

- i.e., ways of perceiving and interpreting self, other people, and events.

Chronic feelings of emptiness

- Emotionally isolated (i.e., lack of close relationships with significant others, family, or friends).

Inability to cope with rejection

- Unable to handle negative responses, causing vengeful behavior toward the person or entity (i.e., death or great bodily harm).

Easily irritable

- Hostile (i.e., persistent or frequent angry feelings; anger or irritability in response to minor slights and insults; mean, nasty, or vengeful behavior).

ENVIRONMENTAL

Psychological abuse

- Any acts of intentional humiliation, causing emotional conflict, or any act that could be psychologically damaging to the child (i.e., victim of bullying, severe lack of affection from primary caregiver, physical abuse, sexual abuse or neglect).

Physical abuse

- Causing or allowing any nonaccidental physical injury (i.e., striking a child in the head).

Sexual abuse

- Any illegal sexual act upon a child (i.e., incest, rape, fondling, indecent exposure, prostitution, or allowing a child to be used in any sexually explicit visual material).

Neglect

- Failing or refusing to provide adequate food, clothing, shelter, emotional nurturing, health care, or supervision in relation to the child's age and level of development.

Victims of bullying

- i.e., physically assaulted, humiliated, or coerced by a group or person as a form of intimidation.

Socially inept

- Avoid social interactions for fear of being ridiculed, humiliated, rejected or disliked.

Friendless

- Lack of close friends; social relationships primarily exist on an acquaintance level.

Negative life-altering events

- i.e., death of a loved one, divorced parents, or dysfunctional family dynamic.

APPENDIX C
TYPOLOGY CHECKLIST

Appendix C

Typology Checklist

POWER AND CONTROL

Motive: gain power and control over victim

- Establish domination; i.e., imprison, rape, torture, mutilate and murder the victim.

Expressive violence

- i.e., venting rage, anger, or frustration.

Aggressive

- Persistent or frequent angry feelings; anger or irritability in response to minor slights and insults; mean, nasty, or vengeful behavior.

Organized

- i.e., attention to detail, premeditated, and/or meticulous.

Desire for media attention

- Promote fear in communities to further exert their power and control; i.e., leaving a signature (mark or item) at each crime scene to taunt police and demonstrate their ability to constantly evade them, continuously murdering innocent individuals until their capture, communicating with press once in prison to remain in the media, etc.

Manipulative

- Frequent use of deceit to influence or control others; use of seduction, charm, glibness, or ingratiation to achieve one's ends.

Callous

- Lack of concern for feelings or problems of others; lack of guilt or remorse about the negative or harmful effects of one's actions on others.

Victims are strangers

MISSION-ORIENTED

Motive: remove specific individuals or groups from society

- Homosexuals, prostitutes, religious fanatics or those negatively impacting society.

Desire for media attention

- To promote their cause and validate their crimes; i.e., directly contacting the press or police via letters, phone calls, items intentionally left at crime scenes, etc. to explain the motive behind their violent behavior.

Instrumental violence

- Goal-oriented aggression; i.e., using murder (or other means intended to inflict great bodily harm) to publicize their cause.

Organized

- i.e., attention to detail, premeditated, and/or meticulous.

Callous

- Lack of concern for feelings or problems of others; lack of guilt or remorse about the negative or harmful effects of one's actions on others.

Prideful

- Having or showing arrogant superiority over those one views as unworthy, especially those they wish to remove from society; i.e., verbally or physically attacking those viewed as unworthy.

Closed-minded

- Having rigid opinions or a narrow outlook; unreceptive to new ideas or arguments.

Victims are strangers

VISIONARY

Motive: Obey visions or voices compelling them to murder

Suffer from hallucinations

- Visual or auditory; i.e., see or hear things that are not there.

Delusional

- False beliefs based on incorrect inference about external reality that persist despite evidence to the contrary; i.e., God or demons compelled them to murder.

Impulsive

- Acting on the spur of the moment in response to immediate stimuli; acting on a momentary basis without a plan or consideration of outcomes; difficulty establishing and following plans.

Callous

- Lack of concern for feelings or problems of others; lack of guilt or remorse about the negative or harmful effects of one's actions on others.

Disorganized

- Spontaneous and careless.

Victims are strangers or related

HEDONISTIC

Motive: sexual gratification (i.e., lust) driven by fantasies

- Sexual acts (rape, torture, mutilation, etc.) committed against the victim, dead or alive.

Need for stimulation increases between murders (causing the time between murders to decrease).

Callous

- Lack of concern for feelings or problems of others; lack of guilt or remorse about the negative or harmful effects of one's actions on others.

Sadistic

- Derive pleasure or sexual gratification from inflicting pain, suffering, or humiliation on others (sexual gratification depends on the level of torture and mutilation involved).

Necrophiliac

- Sexual attraction or sexual acts involving a corpse.

Organized

- i.e., attention to detail, premeditated, and/or meticulous.

Manipulative

- Frequent use of deceit to influence or control others; use of seduction, charm, glibness, or ingratiation to achieve one's ends.

Victims are strangers