

**A PSYCHOBIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF THEODORE ROBERT BUNDY**

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**in the Faculty of Health Sciences  
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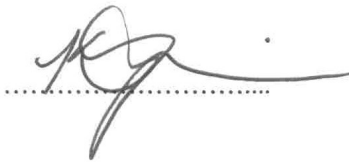
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### Photographs of Theodore Robert Bundy



Online Images retrieved from: [http://criminalminds.wikia.com/wiki/Ted\\_Bundy](http://criminalminds.wikia.com/wiki/Ted_Bundy)

## Acknowledgements

*“Owning our story can be hard but not nearly as difficult as spending our lives running from it. Embracing our vulnerabilities is risky but not nearly as dangerous as giving up on love and belonging and joy—the experiences that make us the most vulnerable. Only when we are brave enough to explore the darkness will we discover the infinite power of our light.” — Brené Brown (2010, p. 6)*

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### **Abstract**

This study is a psychobiographical study aiming to explore and describe the life of Theodore Robert Bundy, a serial killer who confessed to approximately 30 homicides committed in various states of America between 1974 and 1978. The study used Erik Erikson's theory of psychosocial development to examine Bundy's life and to understand his unique character and personality development. The subject was chosen based on interest value through purposive sampling and the study utilises a qualitative single case study approach. Archival data were collected from primary and secondary sources in order to enhance the trustworthiness and credibility of the study. All materials collected and analysed, were published and publically available. Data were analysed by first organising and reducing the information obtained, and then displaying it for a discussion of Bundy's life. Themes of discussion centred around Bundy's lack of resolution of psychosocial crises and the development of malignancies and maladaptations which impacted negatively on his later development and identity formation. The study emphasises the importance of psychobiographical research studies and the value of Erikson's theory of psychosocial development in understanding personality development. Recommendations for future research in this field were made in the hope of further uncovering and understanding personality and its development.

*Key Concepts:* Erik Erikson, maladaptations, malignancies, psychobiography, psychosocial development, serial killer, Theodore Robert Bundy.

## **Chapter One**

### **Introduction**

*“The purpose of a storyteller is not to tell you how to think, but to give you questions to think upon” (Sanderson, 2010, p. 234).*

#### **Chapter Preview**

This chapter introduces the research study and provides the reader with an orientation to the chapters that follow. The context of the research is briefly presented and described in addition to the aim of the study, and the research problem. The researcher then presents a brief passage of personal reflection of the study. Finally, an overview of the chapters in the study is provided.

#### **General Orientation to the Research Study**

The life and personality development of Theodore Robert Bundy is explored and described in this study. In order to holistically investigate the personality development of this perplexing individual, the study utilised a psychobiographical case study design and research methodology. A psychobiography is “a type of case study in which a researcher applies psychological theory to explain the life of an individual, usually an important historical figure” (Cozby, 2004, p.107). The researcher attempted to conceptualise and interpret the personality development of Theodore Robert Bundy by using the concepts and psychosocial stages from Erikson’s (1963) theory of psychosocial development. Erikson’s (1963) theory of psychosocial development will be used interchangeably with similar terminology such as Erikson’s (1963) psychosocial development theory throughout the study.

In order to create a psychological narrative of Theodore Robert Bundy’s life, the psychological theory was applied to the biographical data. As a result, a document study was undertaken to reconstruct Bundy’s life. The researcher predominantly refers to Theodore Robert Bundy as Bundy throughout the current study, and the two names are used

interchangeably. The materials that allowed for the biographical content of the life history of Theodore Robert Bundy to be reconstructed and analysed, predominantly consisted of published materials written on him such as his biography, *The Only Living Witness*, written by Stephen Michaud and Hugh Aynesworth (2012). The context of the research and the problem statement will now be presented.

### **Research Context and Problem Statement**

There has been an increasing interest in understanding psychologically motivated crimes, particularly those carried out by serial killers due to the complexity and extreme nature of their crimes (Keppel & Birnes, 2005). Research suggests that serial murder has been steadily increasing since the 1970s and a vast amount of research has been gathered since then (McClellan, 2006). In order to determine the personal significance of statistical research results yielded from the general population, psychobiographies apply the findings and knowledge gained at an individual level (Elms, 1994).

We are all capable of being aggressive, of containing unimaginable aggressive fantasies of torture, sadism and murder, but we are not all serial killers. In various ways, we manage to control our aggression, to not act out our violent fantasies. Serial killers, however, have lost the boundaries between the fantasy and reality. (Knight, 2007, p. 22)

The development of severe pathology in seemingly 'normal' people has created a sense of terror amongst the public, as identifying individuals who commit heinous and violent crimes are difficult to detect. In the case of Bundy, Wright (2013) writes: "The figure of Bundy is both horrifying and compelling precisely because his appearance and his day-to-day performance of normality are so completely at odds with the accounts of his monstrous behaviour" (p. 148). Therefore, by studying a particular individual's life, the researcher is able to provide idiographic interpretations of the individual's experiences (McAdams, 1994;

Runyan, 1982a). The researcher, thus, undertook a psychobiographical research study in order to gain a level of understanding of the motivations and drives of Bundy.

Psychobiographical research studies are an ideal methodology for the investigation and extension of theoretical constructs and for further development and testing of the suitability of psychological theories, especially those dealing with personality development (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). Psychologists in academic and managerial positions have ensured that post-graduate psychobiographical research is not only rich and descriptive in terms of the theory upon which they are built, but that they are clinically applicable (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010; Ponterotto, 2015). Due to the clinical applicability of psychobiographies, growth in the field of academic psychobiography has been facilitated (Fouché, 2015; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010).

The research problem is related to the need for an increase in academically institutionalised psychobiographical research and responds to a need suggested by increasing numbers of authors to recognise the value of studying whole individual lives (Fouché, 2015; Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). As a result, researching and understanding aspects which impact on individuals' development, such as culture and psychosocial contexts, are becoming increasingly important and significant in understanding individuals as a whole. The researcher hopes that by utilising Erikson's (1963) theory of psychosocial development to explore and understand the entire lifespan of Theodore Robert Bundy, a level of insight and further study regarding the motivations and development of serial killers can be made.

### **Primary Aim of the Research Study**

The primary aim of this study was to explore and describe the personality development of Bundy, within the framework of Erik Erikson's (1963) theory of psychosocial development in order to develop a useful psychobiography. The purpose was to generalise the results of the study to aspects of the theory used, and not to the larger

population, which Yin (2013) refers to as a process of analytical generalisation. Bundy was predominantly analysed according to Erikson's (1963) first six psychosocial stages of development, as he was executed when he was 42 years old (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012).

In addition, the secondary objective was to clarify and test the propositions of Erikson's (1963) theory by applying it to Bundy's life. Erik Erikson emphasised that a rigorous research methodology is important in order to produce a psychobiography which is of a high standard (Elms, 1994; Ponterotto, 2015; Schultz, 2005). Furthermore, the personal motivations of the psychobiographer in choosing the research subject, known as *personal reflexivity*, needs to be explored and clarified before research commences (Erikson, 1968).

### **Researchers Personal Reflection**

*“By the deficits we may know the talents, by the exceptions we may know the rules, by studying pathology we may construct a model of health.” — Laurence Miller.*

The researcher has always been fascinated with and curious in understanding human behaviour, patterns of thinking, and, in particular, the motivations and drives behind severe psychopathology. As a result of having to conduct a research component in order to obtain her professional qualification, the researcher decided that undertaking a study which incorporates and piques her particular interests would assist in motivating her to complete her research as well as further her level of understanding of the 'why' driving human behaviour. The subject was chosen via a purposive sampling technique based on the researcher's choice and judgement. The psychological study provided the opportunity to gain insight into and understanding of how or why Bundy developed into the person he became.

Bundy was chosen on the basis of his interest value, complexity, and wealth of information available on him in the public domain. The researcher was always curious about Bundy's personality development, as he was described as intelligent, charming, handsome, and *normal*. As a result, the researcher was particularly interested in gaining a level of insight

in what made Bundy different to those around him and how he became a serial killer. In addition, the researcher is interested in understanding the entire lifespan of personality development, as the researcher's personal belief is that patterns of behaviour and thinking should not be viewed in isolation. Therefore, the researcher decided that Erikson's (1963) psychosocial development theory would be useful in understanding the entirety of Bundy's life and development of personality.

According to Ponterotto (2015), one of the central roles of the psychobiographer in psychobiographies is the interpretative, discovery-oriented role in which they interpret and understand the research subject. In order to reduce researcher bias and maintain an objective viewpoint, Kóváry (2011) suggests choosing a research subject toward whom the psychobiographer is ambivalent, as potential exists for the researcher to idealise or despise the research subject. Meissner (2003) refers to aspects of researcher bias as the transference and countertransference with regard to psychobiographical writing. The researcher is of the opinion that aspects of countertransference were recognised and experienced when attempting to understand and grasp Bundy's unique and complex personality and identity formation. At times the researcher experienced an overwhelming sense of confusion as the data revealed complex and conflicting characteristics. However, the researcher utilised this to enrich her interpretation and her understanding of Bundy. The researcher is of the opinion that this sense of confusion was evoked by Bundy's severe pathology, his fragmented ego, and his own lack of identity and confusion of who he was.

### **Overview of the Study**

This research study is presented in seven chapters. The first and current chapter is an introduction to the study where the context of the research, problem statement, and aim of the study is presented. Chapters Two through Five are literature review chapters. A theoretical overview of psychobiographical case study research follows in Chapter Two. Chapter Three

provides a concise discussion of Erikson's (1963) theory of psychosocial development. In Chapter Four, a biographical and historical overview of the salient life events of Theodore Robert Bundy is presented and explored. Chapter Five explores the problems related to psychobiographical methodology, as well as the psychobiographical design and methodology. In Chapter Six, Erikson's (1963) psychosocial development theory is applied to the lifespan of Theodore Robert Bundy in order to illuminate his life and explore his personality development. The final chapter, Chapter Seven, concludes the study and provides a discussion of the value as well as limitations of the study. Furthermore, it provides recommendations for the future research in the fields of psychobiography, personality, and investigative psychology.

### **Conclusion**

This chapter has introduced the problem statement, context, and the aim of the research study. An overview of the study was provided as well as a personal reflection from the researcher. The following chapter, Chapter Two, follows with an overview of the psychobiographical research approach in order to provide a more theoretical orientation to the study.



## Chapter Two

### The Psychobiographical Approach

*“If understanding people really is analogous to the interpretation of a poem, then we can’t deny the essential artfulness of the psychobiographical enterprise” (Schultz, 2005, p. 13).*

#### Chapter Preview

In this chapter the research approach of psychobiographical studies will be explored and discussed, namely through qualitative and case study research, from which psychobiographical research studies essentially originate. Definitions of psychobiography will be presented in order to provide a meaningful understanding of this approach. A brief history of psychobiographical studies will be given and the essential differences between psychobiography and other related concepts and terms will be examined. Finally, criticisms of psychobiographical research will be briefly presented and the value of psychobiographical research will be highlighted.

#### Qualitative Research

In scientific psychology, quantitative studies, by and large, surpassed the interest and study of life histories and qualitative studies (Runyan, 1982a). As a result, qualitative research and life histories received less methodological attention and were, therefore, less common and influential (Tracy, 2010). Denzin and Lincoln (2000) define qualitative research as follows:

Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their

natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. (p.3)

Qualitative and quantitative research differ in their methodology and approach as quantitative research is used to determine a cause and effect relationship which can be measured and used to generalise the results to the population (Flick, 2006). According to Struwig and Stead (2004), qualitative research is multi-method, without a single definition or methodology. However, qualitative research can be described as information or data which is gathered and explored. This is done through nonnumeric form and unstructured data such as personal interviews, narratives, or observable behaviour in ethnographic research which facilitates further insights into the particular social phenomena being studied (Rosenthal & Rosnow, 2008).

Borrowing terms from the philosopher, Wilhelm Windelband, Gordon Allport (1942) conceptualised the *nomothetic* and *idiographic* approaches for understanding individuals. The nomothetic approach is typically used in quantitative research and studies and analyses averages by identifying characteristics which could be found in most individuals, the general population, or groups of people (Cone, 1986). According to Hersen (2004), the nomothetic approach can be defined as variable-centred as it focuses on specific traits and characteristics. The idiographic approach generally characterises qualitative research, and emphasises individuality and unique characteristics found in an individual (Cone, 1986; McAdams, 2005). Hersen (2004) states that due to the focus on the uniqueness of the individual in the idiographic approach, it is considered person-centred, rather than variable-centred. Allport believed that no two people are alike and, as a result, the idiographic method of research is best used for the intense studying of a single case, such as psychobiographical research, as it is the only way to truly understand the subject being studied (Hergenhahn & Olson, 2003).

Through the interpretation of data, qualitative research enables social scientists to derive meaning and understanding of social phenomena such as the human psyche, through the context and dynamics of individuals and their relationships with others and their world (Neuman, 2006; Polkinghorne, 1983). Polkinghorne (2004), furthermore, suggests that the human mind is qualitatively different from subjects in the natural sciences which are generally measurable. Qualitative research is concerned with human experience (Ashworth, 2003), the way in which individuals make meaning and understand their lives, as well as the influence of their ongoing interactions with the world (Maxwell, 1996). This does not suggest that quantitative research is unconcerned with human experience, but rather that qualitative researchers aim to gather an in-depth understanding of human behaviour and to provide full, descriptive accounts of the phenomena which is being investigated (Geertz, 1973).

Qualitative research surmises that there are multiple truths or realities with subjective perceptions, interpretations, and understanding of personal experiences (Willig, 2008). As a result, qualitative research assumes that information is better explored and understood if it is interpreted rather than measured through quantitative research (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Furthermore, there is consensus among social scientists that individuals' perceptions and experiences are influenced by their underlying values and beliefs as well as their interaction with the world and, as a result, should be described and interpreted rather than measured (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Neuman, 2006).

It has been suggested that there is a greater understanding of the particular case being investigated once the individual's particular context/s have been taken into account as the researcher is then able to determine the influence that these contexts have on the particular case being studied (Creswell, 1998; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Stake, 1995). When a particular case is being researched, qualitative research focuses on the realistic or naturalistic setting in order for researchers to access the unique interactive processes and dynamics of the

particular case being investigated (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The purpose of this is to understand the interaction and influence the individual's' environment or certain context such as the cultural, historical, political, economic and psychological context, and the impact of these contexts upon the individual's understanding and behaviour (Maxwell, 1996).

Qualitative research methods are useful in generating themes and categorising human behaviour and experiences as they enable researchers to investigate and understand the deeper meaning which individuals attribute and interpret their world through their contexts, dynamics, and personal experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). As a result, qualitative research is beneficial as researchers are able to understand and interpret the deeper meaning underlying human behaviour, personality and individual phenomena by analysing and understanding motifs, themes, dynamics, and the perceptions of individuals (Rudestam & Newton, 2001). Psychobiography is a qualitative research method and is useful in understanding and exploring the psychology of personality and personal creativity (Kóváry, 2011).

### **Defining Psychobiography**

Ponterotto (2015, p. 379) defines psychobiography as “the intensive life-span study of an individual of historic significance in socio-cultural context using psychological and historiographic research methods and interpreted from established theories of psychology. The increase in the emphasis on personal choice and experience, as well as the understanding of individuals through their contexts and personal stories, influenced the development of psychobiographical research (Ponterotto, 2015). “There are few things more fascinating or informative than learning about the experience of other conscious beings as they make their way through their world” (Runyan, 1984, p. 3). As mentioned above, psychobiography is a qualitative research approach and, as a result, takes into account the contextual as well as the value-laden influence of enquiry; the socially constructed nature of enquiry; the close

relationship between the researcher and subject being studied; and emphasises meaning and focuses on the process rather than outcome (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Hart, 1998; Rudestam & Newton, 2001; Patton, 2002; Willig, 2008).

To know a person requires interpretation, not variable manipulation. One needs to enter the life, its dead ends and detours, its accreting mound of biographical fact, with subjectivity and presuppositions (world-knowledge) intact. If we wish to discover why someone did what she did, or how she became how she became, or what drives her, then what we need to do is step out of the lab and into existential context.

Gathering a life history, reading written procedures, analysing dreams, journals and letters, talking to intimates, inspecting creative work – these and others are requisite tasks. (Schultz, 2005 p. 5)

Psychobiographical studies are longitudinal and cross-cultural in nature. In other words, the research subject is most likely to have completed their life as they are studied over their entire lives; they have lived in a different time period, and may have been from a different culture (Anderson, 1981). Furthermore, psychobiographical studies involve a systematic and ‘rich’ study and investigation of an individual’s life, usually a historically significant and extraordinary individual, in socio-historic contexts and within a psychological theory or frame of reference. The purpose is to reconstruct the individual’s life psychologically as well as to either confirm or disprove aspects of psychological theory (Fouché & van Niekerk, 2010).

Although psychobiographical studies vary in format, they all attempt to reconstruct an individual’s life through researching documents and materials. According to de Vos, Strydom, Fouché and Delport (2005), the product of a psychobiographical study is a “detailed picture of an individual’s life” (p. 269). Psychobiographical studies are morphogenic in nature, which means that the individual is studied as a whole person. Through the overall

context of the individual, their uniqueness and individuality is found rather than the individuality found in their particular or singular elements (Elms, 1994). Psychobiographical studies also include researching and interpreting the consequences, causes, and relationships of an individual (Patton, 2002). Therefore, psychobiographies utilise psychological theory and knowledge in order to perform a biographical study of an individual's life (Elms, 1994). According to Schultz, (2005):

People are like poems, I tell my students (a few eyes roll). And like poems, people may be interpreted in different ways, some even contradictory. Poems and people are not so much explained as understood. We make sense of them. We bring them to coherence. (p. 6)

Schultz (2005) suggests that psychobiographical studies allow for researchers to better understand and make sense of the subject being researched, as data is gathered from a large variety of public data sets. There is consensus among social scientists that psychobiographical studies can be seen as a form of applied psychoanalysis and produces a psychological profile of an individual. The aim is to create a mental construct of the individual which investigates the personality, drives, scripts, motives, and ideas of an individual in order to obtain meaning from their life (Coltrera, 1981; Schultz, 2005).

Psychobiographical studies utilise psychological theory, knowledge, empirical proof, and conceptual models in order to conduct a detailed biographical study, emphasising the uniqueness of an individual's life, their behaviour as well as their development (Elms, 1994; Fouché & van Niekerk, 2010). Through the emphasis on personal meaning and choice, psychological principles began to emerge through biographical writing in order to explore the influences of life and the contextual dynamics on the individual's perceptions (Yow, 1994). To summarise, psychobiographical research systematically uses psychological theory in order to transform the life of an individual into a story which is both coherent and illuminating

(McAdams, 1994). Furthermore, psychobiography is a way to use biographical data to examine the growth of a unique individual's thinking, creativity and productivity (Howe, 1997). A brief history of psychobiography will be presented below.

### **A Brief History of Psychobiography**

According to Elms (1994), applying insights to individual's life stories began with the Greeks and spread throughout the Middle Ages. Since then, many testimonials have been created regarding the lives of men and women who were considered to be great or significant (McAdams, 1988). According to Kőváry (2011), psychobiography developed from the psychoanalytic inquiry of artistic creativity. From the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, psychologists argued that normal personality functioning was strongly connected with creativity. Therefore, by understanding more about the impact of creativity on an individual's life, one might be able to understand and define the condition of healthy self-functioning (Kőváry, 2011). The term psychobiography was created by the father of psychology, Sigmund Freud, in 1910, when he investigated the psychological factors connected to Leonardo da Vinci's creativity in his published work, *Leonardo da Vinci and a Memory of his Childhood* (Freud, 1957). This was reportedly the first psychobiography, as it formally linked psychoanalysis with biography and was the first of approximately 300 psychobiographies up until 1960 (Kőváry, 2011). According to Carlson (1988), Freud invented psychobiography with the goal of producing, developing, and testing theories in order to further extend knowledge.

Psychoanalytic psychology began to be strongly influenced by personality psychology, now known as *personology* (Ponterotto, 2015; Schultz, 2005). This impetus was led by Gordon. W. Allport and Henry A. Murray in the 1930s. Although there was a decline in psychobiographies from the 1940s to 1960s, they once again became popular around the 1960s as a result of the significant contributions of Erik Erikson and Sheldon White (Cara,

2007; Schultz, 2005). Erikson (1958) explored the psychosocial issues and impact of historical trends on Martin Luther King as well as the impact that King had on historical trends in *Young Man Luther*. Furthermore, Erikson (1969) generated a psychological biography on Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi in *Gandhi's Truth* using his developmental theory. According to Runyan (2005), Sheldon White was also a major contributor towards psychobiographies and the history of psychology.

There has been an increase in psychobiographies since the 1960s as there has been a growing interest in lifespan development, as well as the influence that cultural, demographic, environmental, historical, and demographics have on individual's lives (Ponterotto, 2015; Runyan, 1982). Personal life stories have become popular, as there is an enthusiasm and curiosity to tell and listen to popular life stories such as autobiographies, television talk shows, and reality television shows (Camic, Rhodes, & Yardley, 2003). Furthermore, there has been an increase in acknowledging the value of autobiographical and biographical approaches and their contributions towards psychology and other disciplines, particularly in the social sciences (Fouché & van Niekerk, 2010). The main contributors in recent times towards psychobiographies include Irving Alexander (1990), Alan Elms (1994), and Todd Schultz (2005). However, Runyan (1982) and Schultz (2005) stated that it is difficult to find formal academic training in psychobiographies in institutionalised academic psychology.

Roelf van Niekerk was the first academic to introduce psychobiographical research to academic programmes in South Africa (Fouché, Smit, Watson & Van Niekerk, 2007). Within South African universities, there has been an increase in utilising psychobiographical studies as a research design and methodology in the study of individuals' lives, which indicates that psychobiographies have become an established field of research (Fouché, 2015; Fouché & van Niekerk, 2010). Furthermore, psychobiographical research has considerable logistical and administrative value for postgraduate research, the supervision process, as well as being



of academic benefit to the theoretical development of South African psychology (Fouché & van Niekerk, 2010). Although there have only been a small number of psychobiographies within institutionalised academic psychology, the majority of these psychobiographies have stemmed from the psychology departments at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University and Rhodes University (Fouché, 2015; Fouché & van Niekerk, 2005). Recently, however, the psychology departments at the University of the Free State and the University of Johannesburg have produced psychobiographical studies (Fouché, 2010).

Psychobiographical research has been conducted on a number of significant individuals including famous politicians, writers, intellectuals and cultural icons, among many others (Schultz, 2005). Many scholars and academics who understand that individual lives are rich in personality, developmental, and psycho-historical importance recognise and support the value of studying lives in this manner (Alexander, 1988; Carlson, 1988; Runyan, 1982). A list of South African master's and doctoral level academic psychobiographies carried out between 1939 and 2014 is provided in Table 1.

### **Psychobiography and Related Concepts**

According to Stroud (2004), psychobiography is sometimes referred to as *life-writing*, which aims to research and create an awareness of the multi-layered context of an individual's life. In order to allow for a deeper understanding of psychobiography as a form of life writing, a brief description of other related concepts and areas of research follows.

**Biography and psychobiography.** *Psychology* and *biography* are two terms which form the concept of *psychobiography*. Psychobiography and biography both involve utilising rigorous research procedures in the intensive study of an individual's life, in order to understand the individual being studied (Ponterotto, 2015). Although biography is more of an intuitive, individualistic, and subjective approach, psychology is a scientific discipline that

Table 1

*South African Master's and Doctoral Level Academic Psychobiographies: 1939 – 2014*

<b>Psychobiographical Subject</b>	<b>Researcher</b>	<b>Degree</b>	<b>Year</b>
Cornelis Jacobus Langenhoven	Burgers, M.P.O.	M.A.	1939
Louis Leipoldt	Burgers, M.P.O.	D.Litt	1960
Ingrid Jonker	Van der Merwe, L.M.	Ph.D.	1978
Gerard Sekoto	Manganyi, C.	M.A.	1996
Jan Christiaan Smuts	Fouché, J.P.	D.Phil	1999
Helen Martins	Bareira, L.	M.A.	2001
Bantu Stephen Biko	Kotton, D.	M.A.	2002
Balthazar John Vorster	Vorster, M. S.	M.A.	2003
Wessel Johannes (Hansie) Cronje	Warmenhoven, A.	M.A.	2004
Mother Teresa	Stroud, L.	D.Phil	2004
Albert Schweitzer	Edwards, M. J.	M.A.	2004
Bruce Fordyce	Morrison, N.	M.A.	2004
Cornelis Jacobus Langenhoven	Jacobs, A.	M.A.	2005
Karen Horney	Green, S.	M.A.	2006
Wessel Johannes (Hansie) Cronje	Warmenhoven, A.	Ph.D.	2006
Christiaan Barnard	Van Niekerk, R.	M.A.	2007
Ray Charles	Biggs, I.	M.A.	2007
Hendrik Verwoerd	Claasen, M.	M.A.	2007
Melanie Klein	Espinosa, M.	M.A.	2008
Herman Mashaba	McWalter, M.	M.A.	2008
Isie Smuts	Smuts, C.	M.A.	2009
Helen Keller	Van Genechten, D.	M.A.	2009
Jeffrey Dahmer	Chéze, E.	M.A.	2009
Emily Hobhouse	Welman, C.	M.A.	2009
Mahatma Gandhi	Pillay, K.	M.A.	2009
Kurt Cobain	Pieterse, C.	M.A.	2009
Ralph John Rabie	Uys, H.M.G.	M.A.	2010
Ernesto “Che” Guevara	Kolesky, C.	M.A.	2010
Frans Martin Claerhout	Roets, M.	M.A.	2010
Alan Paton	Greeff, M.	M.A.	2010

Paul Jackson Pollock	Muller, T.	M.A.	2010
Christiaan de Wet	Henning, R.	Ph.D.	2010
Bram Fischer	Swart, D.K.	M.A.	2010
Desmond Tutu	Eliastam, L.M.	M. Soc. Sci.	2010
Vincent van Gogh	Muller, H.	M.A.	2010
Brenda Fassie	Gogo, O.	M.A.	2011
Olive Schreiner	Perry, M.J.	Ph.D.	2012
Francis Bacon	Kerr, N.	M.A.	2012
Winston Churchill	Moolman, B.A.	M.A.	2012
Friedrich Nietzsche	Booyesen, B.B.	M.A.	2012
John Wayne Gacy	Pieterse, J	M.A.	2012
Josephine Baker	Eckley, S.	M.A.	2012
Antwone Fisher	Wannenburg, N.	M.A.	2013
Ellen Kuzwayo	Arozi, Z.	M.A.	2013
John Wayne Gacy	Coetsee, E.	Ph.D.	201?
Helen Suzman	Nel, C.	Ph.D.	201?
William Wilberforce	Daubermann, B.P.	M.A.	2013
Rev James Warren "Jim" Jones	Baldwin, G. A.	M.A.	2013
John Henry Newman	Mitchell, G.P.	M.A.	2013
Martin Luther King Junior	Twaku, U.	M.A.	2013
Martin Luther King Junior	Kemp, S.	M.A.	2013
Steven Paul Jobs	Moore, N.	M.A.	2013
Glenda Watson-Kahlenberg	Connelly, R.E.	Ph.D.	2013
Steve Jobs	Ndoro, T.	MBA	201?
Steve Jobs	Du Plessis, R.	M.A.	201?
Marie Curie	Roets, E.	M.A.	201?
Michael Jackson	Ruiters, J.	M.A.	2013
Charlize Theron	Prenter, T.	M.A.	201?
Helen Martins	Mitchell, D.	M.A.	2013
Richard Tenton Chase	Nel, H.	M.A.	201?
Martin Luther King Jnr	Pietersen, S.	M.A.	201?
Roald Dahl	Holz, T.	Ph.D.	2014
Walt Disney	King, B.	Ph.D.	201?

Angela Merkel	Mayer, C.	Ph.D.	201?
Elizabeth Kubler Ross	Venter, E.	Ph.D.	201?
Steve Biko	Bazana, S.	Ph.D.	201?
Richard Branson	Preston, A.	Ph.D.	201?
Mevalana Jalaludin Rumi	Julies, Z.	Ph.D.	201?
Beyers Naude	Burnell, B.	Ph.D.	2014

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*Note:* Adapted from “Academic psychobiography in South Africa: Past, present and future” by J. P. Fouché and R. van Niekerk, 2010, *South African Journal of Psychology*, 40(4), pp. 497-499; “The life of Olive Schreiner: A psychobiography” by M. J. Perry, 2012, Unpublished doctoral dissertation, p. 130 and “The Life of Beyers Naude: A Psychobiographical Study” by B. Burnell, 2013, Unpublished doctoral dissertation, p. 28.

usually emphasises empirical proof and conceptual models to describe the development and behaviour of individuals. Biography can be defined as the written history of an individual’s life where meaning is placed on the individual’s experiences and personal world views (Smith, 2003).

According to Roberts (2002), biographical research attempts to understand the change in an individual’s understanding and interpretations of their experiences while providing for interpretations of the descriptions that they give of their past, present and future. However, psychologists as well as biographers are interested in life histories, life stories, and use biographical data such as journals, letters and existing biographies in their research (Fouché & van Niekerk, 2010). There are a number of different biographical formats such as autobiographies, life history, memoirs, life stories, and case studies (Denzin, 1989). Apart from biography, a related genre is known as pathography.

**Pathography.** According to Elms (1994), pathography can be defined as “an account of the psychological failings of a great man” (p, 10). Pathography reportedly emerged from scientific and medical inquisitiveness as researchers from psychological, medical, and psychiatric perspectives analysed an individual’s personality development, biological heredity, physical pathology, mental pathology, and life history (Schioldann, 2003). The main aim of pathography was to highlight, illustrate, and pathologise neurotic and other related

drives hidden in the lives of individuals who had a particular talent or who were influential, famous, or interesting individuals. For example, finding selfish reasons and compulsions at the root of seemingly well intentioned individuals and their good deeds such as Florence Nightingale (Kőváry, 2011; McAdams, 1988).

Pathography has received criticisms in the past for using single symptoms or cues to build intricate analyses which do not stand up to scrutiny, as well as the over identification of researchers with their research subjects, and their research becoming more of a self analysis Kőváry (2011). However, modern-day psychobiography has learnt from the above criticisms and concerns and has moved away from pathography which is a psychopathological centred approach. This suggests that it has moved more towards a narrative and exploratory approach, which seeks to acknowledge pathology but centres its approach upon promoting human experience and psychological understanding.

Anderson (1981) suggests that the psychobiographer develops an empathic relationship with their research subject which enables the researcher to conduct their research optimally by developing a more objective understanding of the subject. According to Hawkins (1999), the overall focus of pathography is to facilitate recovery as researchers “can provide a unique *window* into the experience of their patients, often revealing aspects of patient experience that remain unarticulated in the medical encounter” (p. 129). The different biographical and pathography formats also involve aspects of narrative psychology, which is discussed in the following section.

**Narrative psychology.** Qualitative research places importance on the words that individuals use in order to assign meaning and significance to an event or circumstance, especially when these words are ordered into meaningful stories and narratives (Stake, 1995). Narrative psychology uses each individual’s life story and the stories that they exchange in order to interpret the actions and derive meaning of themselves and others. A narrative is the

personal story and history of an individual's life and is able to captivate and communicate the complexities and subtleties of the human experience and individual interpretation and understanding (Tutty, Rothery & Grinnell, 1996). Although there is some debate as to whether the information regarding an individual's life is factual or interpreted, the ability to connect the past and present and form an overall and cohesive picture of an individual is significant. The view that individual's have of themselves may indicate a change or transformation as they speak in the present tense, however, the overall cohesiveness is understood through the narrative (White, 2002).

Through life events and social constructs, narrative psychology allows the individual to express themselves in order to bring a sense of order by connecting the finer details of an individual's life story from beginning to end (Camic et al., 2003). A narrative reveals a process by which an individual comes to a decision and, as a result, the motivations and ways by which the individual arrives at conclusions or decisions can be viewed as inconsistent or incongruent with the rest of the individual's overall life. Furthermore, life narrative facilitates a deep, meaningful conversation regarding an individual's life, and although there may be inconsistencies in the individual's past, the narrative helps in identifying these inconsistencies and enables an understanding which influences and informs their present and future decisions (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger & Tarule, 1986).

In addition to sharing one's life narrative and enhancing their understanding of themselves and the world around them, life narratives also imply an audience which will listen to their story. As a result, the need for community and support in one's identity can also be met through a personal narrative (Belenky et al., 1986). Opening up oneself to others allows others to be an intimate part in the individual's story, which also creates an openness and vulnerability to be challenged or questioned, which can further develop understanding and personal growth (Belenky et al. 1986).

**Case study and life history.** A psychological case study is the interpretation and scientific reconstruction of particular events in a particular individual's life through the use of existing or available data. Hartley (2004) states that case study research "consists of a detailed investigation, often with data collected over a period of time, of phenomena, within their context," with the aim of being able "to provide an analysis of the context and processes which illuminate the theoretical issues being studied" (p. 323). Although case studies are largely qualitative in nature, they may sometimes contain a quantitative element (McLeod, 1994). A psychological case study is one of many strategies used in social science research, however, it is the preferred method when the researcher wants to ascertain the *why* or the *how* in response to a particular question (Yin, 1994).

According to Yin (2003a, p.2) "the distinctive need for case studies arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena", because "the case study method allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events." Case study research is useful for explaining current events or situations when the relevant behaviours cannot be manipulated. Patton and Appelbaum (2003) state that "the ultimate goal of the case study is to uncover patterns, determine meanings, construct conclusions and build theory" (p.67). Furthermore, the case study approach can also be described as an artistic process as Waller (1934) wrote:

Men who can produce good case studies, accurate and convincing pictures of people and institutions, are essentially artists; they may not be learned men, and sometimes they are not even intelligent men, but they have imagination and know how to use words to convey truth. (p. 296-297)

Yin (2003a) wrote that "[u]sing case studies for *research* purposes remains one of the most challenging of all social science endeavours" (p.1). The main difference between psychological case study research and psychobiography is that psychobiography focuses on

the whole person's life story over a period of time whereas a psychological case study deals with specific emotional episodes or a specific event in the subject's life (Bromley, 1986).

Life history is an explanatory research method which aims at understanding individual concepts as well as collective concepts, with objective information coming from historical markers and subjective information coming from the life of the individual. As a result, the context is explored and importance is placed on both the life and the history (Chambon, 1995). Although case study research is similar to life history, systematic interviewing as well as direct observation are two sources which are included in the historian's collection of data (Yin, 1994).

**Personality psychology and psychobiography.** Personality psychology, commonly known as personology, is the study of lives in progress in order to understand the personality of the individual who is still living, through an investigation of their life through their life story or narrative (McAdams, 2005). The purpose of personality psychology is to understand and describe the individual's personality, as well as the cognitive and behavioural aspects which evolve from the individual's personality. In other words, the purpose of personality assessments as well as personology is to assess the personality in the present moment (McAdams, 2005). These methods are also used to assess what the future may look like for the individual being studied based on their current and specific personality traits, as well as how the individual's present personality was formed (Alexander, 1990). Runyan (1988a) suggested that personality psychology, or personology, has four basic tasks:

- i. to develop general theories of personality;
- ii. to analyse individuals as well as group differences;
- iii. to understand individual persons; and
- iv. to study specific classes and processes of behaviour.



Psychobiographical studies and personality psychology are similar as they both aim to understand the individual being studied through psychological principles. McAdams (2005; McAdams & Pals, 2007) suggest that more concepts of modern personality psychology are related to contemporary psychobiographical research studies. Furthermore, they both explore aspects of the individual's life history, influences, and their developments in forming their personality and behaviours (Alexander, 1990). However, psychobiography differs from personality psychology in that it studies the individual over their entire and completed lifespan and, as a result, only allows for understanding of the individual being studied. However, in personality psychology, the individual is still living, therefore understanding as well as prediction is also involved when studying the individual (Alexander, 1990). Prediction of an individual's personality and behaviours are mainly related to psychological profiling which will be discussed in the following section.

**Psychological profiling.** The ultimate goal of profiling is to assist in providing a detailed description of an individual's personal characteristics, in order to identify and predict descriptors and behaviours that the individual is likely to possess (Kocsis, Irwin, Hayes, & Nunn, 2000). Psychological profiling is an approach to problem solving and utilises principles from behavioural and social sciences in order to provide understanding of what is seen through evidence which is both physical and non psychical in nature (Canter, Alison, Aliso & Wentink, 2004; Holmes & Holmes, 2002).

How an individual perceives their world and how they behave and shape their world is based on their underlying psychological motivations. Therefore, through understanding these underlying psychological motivations, psychological profilers are able to gain a greater understanding of why the individual engages in these behaviours, and are able to make certain predictions about future behaviour (Holmes & Holmes, 2002). Although psychobiographical studies are able to make certain predictions regarding the individual

being studied in terms of their personality, the context will influence the elicited response (Jerrold, 2006).

### **Value of Psychobiography**

“Psychobiographers draw from disparate bodies of knowledge. They take what is useful and make use of it” (Schultz, 2005 p. 5). Fouché and van Niekerk (2010) state that psychobiographies are invaluable in the studying of individual lives as researchers are able to draw valuable knowledge from them. Some of the most significant areas of strength of psychobiographies include the uniqueness of an individual’s case, subjective reality, the socio-historic context, patterns and themes over time, theory testing and development, and developing skills (Berg, 1998; De Vos et al., 2005; Elms, 1994; Fouché, 1999; Runyan, 1988; Schultz, 2005; Yin, 1994).

**The uniqueness of an individual’s case.** Schultz (2005) states that the real value of psychobiographies allow for understanding people on an individual level, to develop a deeper understanding of people, and that the subjects are quite often the very individuals “who define the limits and the architecture of the human mind, in all its horror and magnificence” (p. 4). The uniqueness of the individual is explored through their personality, motives and scripts which drive them and how they are able to find meaning in their lives (Schultz, 2005). This deeper level of exploring and understanding allows for a deeper understanding of the individual being studied and aims to mentally construct the individual and understand how their unique contexts and experiences have shaped them into the individual that they have become (Shultz, 2005).

Psychobiographical studies require interpretation as life is unpredictable and cannot be controlled or manipulated as it can be done in a laboratory setting. Furthermore, psychobiographical studies allow for an individual’s life to be explored in its fullness as it has a holistic approach, over the entire lifespan. Therefore, by providing an overview of an

individual's life, incorporating the different contexts the individual finds themselves in, one can gain a great deal of insight (Elms, 1994).

**Subjective reality.** In order to have a full understanding of an individual, one needs to enter into their subjective reality and see the world through their eyes, and attempt to see and understand how they view their world (Schultz, 2005). Other than individual understanding, psychobiography allows for the understanding of the subjective experiences of unique individuals as well as groups (Berg, 1998). Psychobiographical studies are able to do this by utilising various documents and data to rebuild or reconstruct the subjective reality of an individual's life (Elms, 1994). In addition, by studying the individual through their subjective reality, the researcher is able to develop empathy and insights into the particular individual being studied. The insight and empathy gained from studying an individual's life and their subjective reality enable the researcher to form and construct an emotionally compelling and powerful account of the individual's life (Runyan 1982; Schultz, 2005). Through this analysis and explanation, the subjective perceptions that other people may have of the individual being studied, may be challenged and their subjective understanding of the individual may be brought to light (Goodson & Sikes, 2001).

**The socio-historic context.** In addition to looking at an individual's story in isolation and the subjective interpretation of their respective realities, psychobiographies have value in that they are able to be viewed within the social, cultural, political, and psychological context of the particular individual's environment (Patton, 2002). This provides a greater understanding of the individual as their social-historical context affects and is affected by the era and environment in which they lived (McAdams, 1988). There is consensus among social scientists that contextual and sub-contexts have a great influence on personality and human development (Fouché, 1999; Runyan, 1988; Schultz, 2010).

By utilising this approach, a more holistic and comprehensive picture and description of Theodore Robert Bundy (who will be referred to as *Bundy* for the rest of the treatise) is possible. This unique understanding and description of the individual being studied presents a larger contextualised background in which the individual's process of socialisation, development and family history, and socio-historical culture can be portrayed accurately (Runyan, 1982).

**Patterns and themes over time.** Psychobiographical research is usually completed on individuals who have passed away. This enables researchers to retrospectively trace patterns regarding the development of human behaviour which can be analyzed across the individual's lifespan. This longitudinal approach to researching an individual's life provides a deeper understanding of the subject being researched. According to Friske (1988), this enables the researcher to understand and document the various facets and processes of personality functioning at any given time or circumstance.

Furthermore, due to the focus on one individual's life, a more comprehensive study can be conducted, resulting in the emergence of new patterns and themes as well as confirmation of existing ones (Schultz, 2005). In addition, consistencies and inconsistencies between information sources, salient factors, omissions, and significant information may also become evident throughout the course of the research (De Vos et al., 2005).

**Theory testing and development.** Schultz (2005) suggests that theories drive research and that psychobiographies enrich and stretch existing theories. Schultz (2005) further discusses the benefits of psychobiographical research which, he suggests, leads to the formulation of new hypotheses as patterns, themes, and insights begin to emerge and become more apparent through the study of an individual and their unique life story. In addition, research is considered significant when it is applicable to a life and not only when it has passed a statistical test (Elms, 1994). Not only are psychobiographical studies beneficial to

the development of theories in psychology, but they are also beneficial to theoretical developments in a diversity of fields such as history, aesthetics and art history, and critical theory. Psychobiography is intrinsically interdisciplinary in allowing the canvas of the human life to be explored and interpreted from the broadest possible perspective (Schultz, 2005).

Studying individuals who are deceased also enables researchers to track human development and acts as an outline for generalisation (Yin, 1994). Analytical generalisation is used to compare the findings of research to theories which have been previously developed in order to examine, test, and develop the theory further in order to confirm or disconfirm the psychological theory or concepts of it (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Psychobiographical studies focus on applying psychological theories to a life and in the proposed study, the life of Theodore Bundy will contribute to a body of knowledge, specifically in the area of Erikson's (1963) psychosocial theory of development which the researcher aims to illuminate. In addition, the study should be useful for practitioners and assist in developing skills (Creswell, 1994).

**Developing skills.** On a daily basis, psychologists are dealing with individuals who come with their own life stories and experiences and are not simply confined to theory (Elms, 1994). As a result, the study of an individual's life provides the researcher with knowledge of theoretical constructs and allows for the development of new frameworks of knowledge and understanding. Through the study of an individual's life, the researcher may find practical ways of applying the insights gained through the study. Therefore, a psychologist is developing skills which are used on a daily basis, by exploring and understanding the life of an individual and by preparing them for practical activities such as consultations and psychotherapy (Bloom, 1993; Kőváry, 2011; Ponterotto, 2015).

In spite of the above mentioned advantages and although it is understood that individuals are best understood and described holistically, within their biographical contexts,

there are a number of disadvantages and criticisms of psychobiographical research (McAdams, 1994). According to Runyan (1982a), the design and methodology of psychobiographical research approach is frequently criticised, however, ways of overcoming or minimising such criticisms will be discussed in Chapter Five.

### **Conclusion**

This chapter situated the present study in the context of psychobiographical research, emphasising the scientific and contextual characteristics of psychobiographical research which falls under the banner of qualitative research employing a case study design. A theoretical overview and contextual foundation of psychobiographical research was presented in this chapter. The focus of psychobiographical studies as well as the study of lives was defined and explored. In order to allow for a greater understanding of the context of the approach, terminology related to psychobiography was briefly explained. The criticisms, strengths and weaknesses of psychobiography and the case study research design were investigated. These will be further explored alongside important methodological considerations in Chapter Five. To conclude this chapter, the advantages and value of psychobiographical research were presented. In the next chapter, the researcher will consider the psychological theoretical framework employed in the exploration of the life of Theodore Robert Bundy in the present psychobiography.

## Chapter Three

### Erikson's Theory of Psychosocial Development

*“In the social jungle of human existence, there is no feeling of being alive without a sense of identity” (Erikson, 1968 p. 38).*

#### Chapter Preview

For this research study, the life and personality development of Theodore Robert Bundy is conceptualised and described according to the theoretical framework of Erikson's (1963) theory of psychosocial development, which this chapter introduces and discusses. The development of personality and the theoretical expansion from the psychoanalytical approach is provided as a context for introducing Erikson's (1963) psychosocial theory. In accordance with Erikson's (1963) theory, the development of personality is outlined by the modes of psychosexual development. Furthermore, the eight stages and crises proposed by Erikson (1963) as needing to be resolved will be described and discussed, as well as the influence which society and parental figures have on an individual's development. In addition to pathology, which is briefly mentioned, the criticisms of Erikson's (1963) psychosocial theory are discussed, as well as the way Erikson responded to these criticisms. The chapter concludes with a brief exploration of Erikson and psychobiography.

#### Development of Personality

Personality can be described as the way in which individuals behave and think (Barlow & Durand, 2011), and as “enduring patterns of perceiving, relating to, and thinking about the environment and oneself” (APA, 2013 p. 826). Personality is thought to form within the early years of an individual's life and becomes ingrained in the individual's adult years. Erik Erikson (1963) theorised that a person's personality is developed and determined by how the individual deals with particular problems during specific stages of their lives.

Different frameworks and theories have emerged in order to understand this specific phenomenon.

### **Theoretical Context**

“Before facts can speak to us in a meaningful way, we must find relationships among them” (Crandell, Crandell, & Van der Zanden, 2011, p. 36). A personality theory can be defined as a conceptual framework with the aim of describing, explaining, and predicting human behaviour (APA, 2013). Theoretical approaches and frameworks allow for further understanding and development of a phenomena being studied, such as human behaviour and personal development, as it allows one to organise a large range and body of information which is complex in nature (Wong, Hill, Justice, & Hernandez, 2015). By formulating a theory, it allows the individual to make sense of their experiences. Furthermore, theories provide ways of examining facts as they pinpoint areas of focus in searching for new understandings, explain how findings may be interpreted, and highlight disagreements among scholars and theorists. However, according to Crandell et al. (2011), theories are complementary in nature rather than contradictory when describing human behaviour.

Theories regarding human development and behaviour may inspire and stimulate further research and inquiry about human development and understanding as well as provide information to serve as a guide to behaving in the world in a rational way (Crandell et al., 2011). Due to the in-depth and intensive nature of psychobiographical studies in researching, analysing and understanding the research subject’s life, the psychoanalytical approach is most commonly used in psychobiographical research studies (Schultz, 2005).

**Psychoanalytical approach.** Sigmund Freud (1923) is considered the founder of the psychoanalytic approach and central to his conceptualisation and understanding of personality development, is the essential role played by early childhood experiences and that the individual passes through various stages of development that he terms *psychosexual*



(Wong et al., 2015). Freud (1923) stated that psychological responses and behaviour are reflections of biological and instinctual drives. The three key psychosexual stages he proposed for development are the oral, anal, and phallic stages although the latent and genital phases are also relevant (Crandell et al., 2011). Table 2 demonstrates the implications for human development and growth from ages one to 18 according to Freud's psychosexual stages of development.

According to Crandell et al. (2011), Freud proposed that each stage has a unique conflict which needs to be resolved before commencing to the next stage of development. Freud believed that the way in which an individual is able to resolve each conflict, shapes the individual's personality and development, as well as later lifestyle (Wong et al., 2015). If the person is unable to resolve the conflict of a particular stage, they may become *fixated* in that stage which can result in pathological patterns and behaviour. Freud hypothesised that ways of satisfying instinctual drives for pleasure shifts throughout the early years of development. He postulated that pleasure moved from the mouth and oral stimulation, to the anus and experience of control, and eventually to the genitals and the inclusion of sex role behaviours and identification (Wong et al. 2015).

In addition to the psychosexual stages of development, Freud proposed three states of *being*, namely, the id, ego, and superego. The id can be described as pleasure seeking as it seeks self gratification; the superego can be described as the disciplinarian as it seeks to do what is morally correct or proper; the ego can be described as the rational mediator between the superego and the id. Not only is Freud renowned for formulating the psychosexual stages of development, he is also well known for his therapeutic techniques which brought unconscious thoughts and feelings into conscious experience. Crandell et al. (2011) state that Freud deserves credit for directing theories and research to the importance of

Table: 2

*Freud's Psychosexual Stages of Development*

<b>Stage</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Characteristics</b>
<b>Oral Stage</b>	Birth to 1	An infant's primary interaction with the world is through the mouth. The mouth is vital for eating, and the infant derives pleasure from oral stimulation through gratifying activities such as tasting and sucking. If this need is not met, the child may develop an oral fixation later in life, examples of which include thumb sucking, smoking, fingernail biting, and overeating.
<b>Anal Stage</b>	1 to 3	With the development of new cells and the control provided by those cells (sphincters), the focus shifts from oral stimulation to controlling bladder and bowel movements. Toilet training is a primary issue with children and parents. Too much pressure can result in an excessive need for order or cleanliness later in life, while too much pressure from parents can lead to messy or destructive behaviours in life.
<b>Phallic Stage</b>	3 to 6	At this point in development, the focus of the id's instinctual energies shifts to the genitals. It is during this period that children develop an attraction to the opposite sex parent. It is also at this period that children adopt the values and characteristics of the same sex parent and form the superego.
<b>Latent Stage</b>	6 to 11	During this stage, children develop social skills, values, and relationships with peers and adults outside of the family
<b>Genital Stage</b>	11 to 18	During this stage, people develop a strong interest in the opposite sex, and the onset of puberty causes the libido to become active once again. If development has been successful to this point, the individual will continue to develop a healthy ego and into a well-behaved individual.

*Note:* By Wong, D.W., Hall, K.R., Justice, C.A., & Hernandez, L.W. (2015). Theories of Human Development. In *Counselling Individuals through the Lifespan*, p. 25. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

early social experiences in human development and the impact that these experiences have on the individual in their later stages of development which lead to the development of Erikson's (1963) theory.

### **Erikson's Psychosocial Approach**

The theoretical framework for this study is Erik Erikson's (1963) theory of psychosocial development which was first published in 1950. Erikson (1902 – 1994) was a neo-Freudian psychoanalyst who was born in Frankfurt, Germany but emigrated to the United States of America from Denmark in 1933 due to the Nazi uprising. It is interesting to note that Erikson's interest in human development and formation of identity was a result of his own life experiences (Friedman, 1999; Hoare, 2005). Erikson was born as a result of an extramarital affair, however this fact was concealed from him for many years. Erikson revealed that when he did learn the truth, he felt confused about who he really was and about his place in his community (Friedman, 1999). Furthermore, when growing up, Erikson was raised Jewish, however, he appeared Scandinavian. Erikson reported that this was difficult for him as he did not feel as though he belonged to either group and felt alienated (Coles, 1970). In 1939, Erikson changed his name from Erik Homberger to Erik H. Erikson, and Friedman, 1999) suggests that he did this as a way of forming his own identity. Social scientists agree that Erikson drew on his own identity crises as well as the socio-historical context to formulate the basic motivation for human development as striving for identity (Coles, 1970; Friedman, 1999; Hoare, 2002; Welchman, 2000).

Erikson's (1963) theory is an extension of the psychoanalytic approach and was greatly influenced by Freud to whom Erikson (1975) referred to as "the mystical father" (p. 29). The psychosexual stages which were formulated by Freud correspond with the first five psychosocial developmental stages suggested by Erikson (Olson & Hergenbahn, 2010). Although Erikson follows the Freudian tradition by calling the developmental stages *crises*,

these stages are more drawn out than Freud's psychosexual stages. Erikson's (1963) theory of psychosocial development suggests that humans are shaped through a combination of interactive forces and views humans as biological, psychological and social. However, Erikson moved away from Freud's approach and described the three primary differences between his theory and Freud's theory as being *upward*, *outward* and *forward* (Erikson, 1975).

The first difference Erikson described as moving *upwards* in the realms of consciousness as Erikson focuses on ego development as opposed to Freud's emphasis on unconscious drives. Erikson is known as an *ego psychologist* (Boeree, 2006), and stated that the ego is the life force of human development whereas Freud believed that it was the id. The departure from Freudian thinking is Erikson's emphasis on the continuity of interpersonal experience that sees functions beyond the libidinal drives of Freud. The second *outward* difference from Freud is that Erikson emphasised development from within a social context (Wong et al., 2015). Erikson's theory sees opportunities for identity development through a variety of personal, civic, and work roles. Erikson maintained that in order to understand the intricacy of human development, the individual must be viewed within his or her socio-cultural and historical context (Erikson, 1963; 1968).

The third difference from Freud's theory is that psychosocial development moves *forward* throughout the lifespan of an individual. Erikson views the person as an active driving force in his or her own psychosocial development and focused on human integration and the ongoing process of functional and healthy development (Hoare, 2005). Erikson disagreed that individuals' personalities are formed within the first five to six years of life as suggested by Freud, but that they are formed throughout the individual's entire lifespan (Wong et al., 2015). Erikson's theory proposes eight stages of development which occurs throughout an individual's lifespan.

**The epigenetic principle.** Erikson suggests that an individual's ego develops throughout their entire life and is as a result of genetic and social influences which occur concurrently (Schultz, 1990). Erikson proposed eight stages in which an individual's characteristics manifest in a sequence in such a way that the person develops as a whole (Erikson, 1956). This sequential psychosocial development in Erikson's (1963) theory is known as the epigenetic principle which is derived from organic development that one sees in organisms in nature. Each stage reportedly occurs at a certain optimal time and order that the particular task needs to be faced. This is determined through genetics such as processes observable in the natural environment (Erikson, 1963). However, if this process is disturbed in any way, development is likely to be compromised, undetermined or possibly even destroyed (Erikson, 1963).

At each stage of development, the epigenetic model suggests psychosocial gains from which another ego strength or virtue is to be obtained (Erikson, 1963). The individual is also required to resolve a developmental task or crisis which exists at each stage (Erikson, 1963). "Erikson felt that these psychosocial crises were based on physiological development interacting with the demands put on the individual by parents and society" (Wong et al., 2015, p. 26). Erikson describes crises as pivotal turning points in which the individual needs to face two developmental opportunities (Corey, 2009; McLeod, 2013). Each subsequent stage requires the previous stage to have been navigated successfully in order for the individual to have optimal functional psychosocial development which would thus enable the emergence of the psychosocial virtue of each developmental stage (Boeree, 2006).

During these developmental stages there are certain tasks which need to be resolved, however, there are two opposing dispositions at each stage which need to be balanced. The *syntonic* disposition, or more commonly termed the *adaptive strength*, is viewed as a positive way of being whereas the *dystonic* disposition is viewed as a negative way of being. In other

words, the individual needs to not only learn what he should be doing or learning but also what *not* to do (Erikson, 1963). Although Erikson did not specify specific ages for his psychosocial stages of development, ages were inferred from Boeree (2006). Table 3 provides a brief summary of Erikson's stages of psychosocial development.

Table 3

*A Brief Outline of Erikson's Stages of Psychosocial Development Theory*

<b>Developmental Task</b>	<b>Approximate Age</b>	<b>Virtue Obtained</b>	<b>Life Problem</b>
<b>Trust vs. Mistrust</b>	Birth – 18 months	Hope	Separation and abandonment
<b>Autonomy vs. shame &amp; doubt</b>	18 months – 3 years	Will	Approval and disapproval
<b>Initiative vs. Guilt</b>	3 years – 5 years	Purpose	Self-image and patterns of emulation
<b>Industry vs. Inferiority</b>	5 – 13 years	Competence	Work and co-operation
<b>Identity vs. Identity confusion</b>	13 – 21 years	Fidelity	Inertia, social avoidance
<b>Intimacy vs. Isolation</b>	21 – 40 years	Love	Promiscuity
<b>Generativity vs. Stagnation</b>	40 – 65 years	Care	Stagnation, selfishness
<b>Integrity vs. Despair</b>	65 years – death	Wisdom	Psychopathology

*Note:* Adapted from Erikson, E. H. (1959). Identity and the life cycle. *Psychological Issues*, 1(1), 1-171.

If an individual is able to successfully resolve the specific developmental task at a particular stage, they will gain a *virtue* which is also known as an *ego strength* or *psychosocial strength* which will enable the individual to move on to the next stage of development and assist them through the subsequent stages. However, if the individual is unable to establish a balance and struggles to navigate through the stage successfully, they

may develop a *malignancy* or *maladaptation* (Erikson, 1963), which will impact, and possibly hinder, their future psychosocial development.

A maladaptation is an imbalance which leans towards the positive aspect of the particular developmental task and is not considered as severe as a malignancy. An example of this would be an individual who trusts others too much and would be considered *gullible* (Boeree, 2006). A malignancy is a more severe outcome of the two imbalances, and refers to an imbalance leading towards the negative aspect of the particular developmental task (Erikson, 1963). An example would be someone who doesn't trust others (Boeree, 2006).

**Modes.** Central to Erikson's (1963) theory is the concept of modes, as they form a connection between a child's psychosexual, psychosocial and cognitive development throughout their life. Erikson referred to the first six years of life's behavioural patterns as *organ modes*, which correspond with Freud's psychosexual stages and which form the general mould for interpersonal relations and sexual behaviour which are known as *psychosocial modalities* (Erikson, 1963; Meyer et al., 2008). For example, during the first year of life, the zone of development is the mouth and how one uses it is described as the mode. Therefore, taking in or rejecting food is the mode as a child eats his or her food (Slee, Campbell & Spears, 2012). A summary of Erikson's zones, modes and modalities is provided in Table 4.

**Ritualisations and ritualisms.** Erikson (1963) emphasised the importance of culture and the impact it has on personality development as well as the way it provides effective ways of satisfying both psychological and biological needs. The interaction between social and cultural conditions and the unfolding of personality requirements is made possible by *ritualisations*. According to Olson and Hergenbahn (2010), ritualisations are defined as "behaviours that reflect and thereby perpetuate the beliefs, customs, and values that are sanctioned by a particular culture" (p. 193). Although ritualisations provide meaning to one's

Table: 4

*A Summary of Erikson's Zones, Modes and Modalities*

<b>Stage/ Crises</b>	<b>Approximate Age</b>	<b>Psychosexual/ Body Zones</b>	<b>Psychosexual Modes</b>	<b>Psychosocial Modalities</b>
Trust vs. Mistrust	Birth – 18 months	Oral- Respiratory- Sensory- Kinesthetic	Passive Incorporative Active Incorporative	To get to take
Autonomy vs. Shame & Doubt	18 months – 3 years	Anal-Urethral- Muscular	Retentive Eliminative	To hold (on) To let (go)
Initiative vs. Guilt	3 years – 5 years	Infantile- Genital- Locomotor	Intrusive Inclusive	To "make" (going after); To "make like" (playing)
Industry vs. Inferiority	5 – 13 years	Cerebral- Cortical/Latency		To make things To make things together
Identity vs. Role Confusion	13 – 21 years	Puberty		To be oneself (or not to be); To share being oneself
Intimacy vs. Isolation	21 – 40 years	Genetality		To lose and find oneself in another
Generativity vs. Stagnation	40 – 65 years	Procreativity		To let be; To make be; To take care of
Integrity vs. Despair	65 years – death	Generalised		To be through having been; To face not being (To be a has-been)

*Note:* Adapted from Davis and Clifton (1995). *Psychosocial Theory: Erikson*. Retrieved from: <http://ww3.haverford.edu/psychology/ddavis/p109g/erikson.stages.html>



life within a particular culture or society, individuals are not aware that they are engaging in them. Erikson (1977) elaborates:

We must realise from the outset that ritualisation is an aspect of everyday life which is more clearly seen in a different culture or class or even family than in our own, where, in fact, ritualisation is more often than not experienced simply as the proper way to do things; and the question is only why does not everyone do it our way. (p. 79 – 80)

Ritualisations satisfy basic needs and allow an individual to become acceptable members of society as they are culturally approved patterns of behaviour (Olson & Hergenhahn, 2010). Examples of ritualisations are the way individuals relate to one another, such as shaking hands, hugging or kissing, as well as the boundaries for appropriate and inappropriate behaviour. However, *ritualisms* subvert the original purpose of ritualisations as they become stereotyped and mechanical. Olson and Hergenhahn (2010) define *ritualisms* as “inappropriate or false ritualisations” and “the causes of much social and psychological pathology” (p. 172). Examples of ritualisms are the idolising of individuals who are addressed a certain way in order to give them status. Table 5 provides a summary and brief description of the ritualisations and ritualisms with each stage of development.

### **Eight Stages of Developmental Crises of Erikson’s Psychosocial Theory**

Erikson’s (1963) theory states that through eight predetermined stages of development, personalities unfold (Boeree, 2006). An outline of the eight developmental stages identified by Erikson (1963) is now discussed, however stage seven and eight are only briefly touched upon as Bundy died when he was 42 years old.

**Trust versus Mistrust: “Is the world a trustworthy place?”** The first stage, the oral-sensory stage, occurs from birth to approximately one year old. During this stage, Erikson (1963) suggests that a conflict exists between a basic trust and a basic mistrust of the environment. A healthy resolution of this psychosocial crisis leads to the ego strength of

Table 5

*Description and Summary of Ritualisations and Ritualisms at each Stage of Development*

<b>Stage</b>	<b>Ritualisation</b>	<b>Ritualism</b>
Infancy	<i>Numinous</i> – Involves the many culturally determined ways in which mother and infant interact.	<i>Idolism</i> – Instead of a child learning a warm, positive feeling towards others, he or she tends to worship them.
Early Childhood	<i>Judiciousness</i> – Involves the many ways that children learn right from wrong.	<i>Legalism</i> – Involves a preoccupation with rules and regulations themselves instead of with what they were designed to accomplish.
Preschool Age	<i>Authenticity</i> – Playing role playing to discover possible ways of living one's adult life.	<i>Impersonation</i> – Involves the confusion of playing a role and with one's true identity.
School Age	<i>Formality</i> – Learning how various things work in one's culture and the appropriate ways in which to do them.	<i>Formalisation</i> – Involves a preoccupation with how things work, or with one's work, and a disregard for the reason why things function as they do or why various types of jobs exist.
Adolescence	<i>Ideology</i> – Embracing a philosophy of life that makes ones past, present, and future meaningful.	<i>Totalism</i> – Involves embracing simplistic ideas mouthed by various <i>heroes</i> because those ideas may temporarily make life more tolerable.
Young Adulthood	<i>Affiliation</i> – Sharing one's identity with fellow humans in a caring, productive way, for example, by entering into an intimate relationship with someone who has also gained an identity.	<i>Elitism</i> – Involves the superficial relationships with groups of like-minded individuals that people without identities seek.
Adulthood	<i>Generationalism</i> – The many ways in which healthy individuals help younger people to have experiences conducive to healthy personality growth.	<i>Authoritism</i> – Involves using power for selfish gains instead of helping others.
Old Age	<i>Integralism</i> – The wisdom to place one's own life in a larger perspective, that is, to see one's finite life as contributing to immortal culture.	<i>Sapientism</i> – Involves the pre-tense of being wise.

*Note:* Adapted from Olson, M., & Hergenhahn, B. R. (2010). *An Introduction to Theories of Personality* (8th ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

*hope*. “Hope is both the earliest and the most indispensable virtue inherent in the state of being alive. If life is to be sustained hope must remain, even where confidence is wounded, trust impaired” (Erikson, 1964, p.116). Importantly, Erikson’s view of the psychosocial virtue of hope is rooted in a relationship and facilitated through the primary caregiver relationship as the infant is completely dependent on their caregiver (Erikson, 1963). If the primary caregivers are able to provide a level of consistency, familiarity and continuity, the child will be able to develop the level of trust in which they see the world and others as safe, reliable and loving (Hamachek, 1988). Furthermore, through the primary caregivers’ responses, the child also learns to trust his or her own body and the biological urges that go with it (Boeree, 2006). Erikson (1964) elaborates:

Hope relies for its beginnings on the new being’s first encounter with trustworthy maternal persons, who respond to his need for intake and contact with warm and calming envelopment and provide food both pleasurable to ingest and easy to digest, and who prevent experience of the kind which may regularly bring too little too late.  
(p. 116)

According to Hamachek (1988), a child who has been able to strike a balance between mistrust and trust and who has a high level of trust will have an optimistic outlook on life and the hope and belief that things will work out. In life, they will have the assumption that individuals are good, focusing on the positive aspects of the behaviours of others as they believe that individuals are trustworthy and reliable (Hamachek, 1988). The virtue of hope is also helpful and beneficial to the individual’s later years of life as they are able to cope with disappointments, believing that they will survive what comes their way (Boeree, 2006). Erikson (2000) went on further to say:

Hope is the enduring belief in the attainability of fervent wishes, in spite of the dark urges and rages which mark the beginning of existence. Hope is the ontogenetic basis of faith, and is nourished by the adult faith which pervades patterns of care. (p. 192)

If caregivers are unreliable and inadequate, if they reject the infant or harm it, if other interests cause both parents to turn away from the infant's needs (for example, to satisfy their own needs instead), then the infant could learn to have a basic mistrust of the world that will ultimately develop into the malignancy of withdrawal, apprehension or suspicion in future interpersonal relationships as they believe that others are unreliable (Boeree, 2006). The individual may have a pessimistic view of the world and others and may struggle to ask for help or to accept compliments and favours as they do not trust others. Furthermore, the malignancy of withdrawal may manifest or present itself in the form of depression, paranoia and possibly even psychosis (Boeree, 2006; Erikson, 1963; Hook, 2002). Erikson (1958) stresses the importance of developing a sense of trust in others and says:

Someday, maybe, there will exist a well-informed, well considered and yet fervent public conviction that the most deadly of all possible sins is the mutilation of a child's spirit; for such mutilation undercuts the life principle of trust, without which every human act, may it feel ever so good and seem ever so right is prone to perversion by destructive forms of consciousness. (p.70)

Although Erikson stressed the importance of trusting others, he also stressed the importance of having a balance between trusting others and also maintaining a certain level of mistrust (Boeree, 2006; Hook, 2002). If an individual has an imbalance and becomes too trusting, they may develop the maladaptation of sensory maladjustment or sensory distortion (Erikson, 1963). This means that the individual is used to having their needs met at every opportunity, with instant gratification. The parents may also be over protective of their child. The possible ways in which this sensory distortion will manifest itself is that the individual

becomes spoilt, deluded and has unrealistic expectations of the world as they believe that no one would do them harm or are perhaps gullible (Boeree, 2006; Erikson, 1963). Individuals who are too trusting will use these defence mechanisms in order to keep their overly optimistic world view which is known as the *Pollyanna perspective* (Boeree, 2006).

**Autonomy versus Shame and Doubt: "Can I do things myself or must I always rely on others?"**. During the second stage of development, the anal-muscular stage, the child is approximately two to three years old (Erikson, 1963). The task is to achieve a level of autonomy while minimising shame and doubt (Rosenthal, Gurney & Moore, 1981). A healthy resolution of this crisis leads to the ego strength of *willpower* and *determination*. During this stage, the toddler's caregivers may include people other than their primary caregivers and, should they permit the toddler to explore and manipulate their environment, the child will develop a sense of autonomy and independence.

If a child is able to complete tasks successfully on their own, this will have a considerable influence on the child's self-confidence and self control. As the infant realises that they have an element of choice and control, Erikson (1963) states "from a sense of self-control without loss of self-esteem comes a lasting sense of goodwill and pride" (p. 254). Once the individual is able to resolve this psychosocial developmental crisis, the virtue which they will acquire is the virtue of *will*. "Will, therefore, 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" (Erikson, 1964, p. 119). According to Erikson (1964), the psychosocial virtue of hope gained from the previous developmental crisis:

...leads inexorably into conflicts between the rapidly developing self-will and the will of others from which the rudiments of will must emerge. If will is built securely into the early development of the ego it survives, as hope does, in the evidences of its

limited potency, for the maturing individual gradually incorporates a knowledge of what is expectable and what can be expected of oneself. (p. 119)

Hamachek (1988) suggests that individuals who are able to establish a balance between self-will and self-restraint will enjoy making their own decisions as a high level of autonomy will enable the individual to exercise their decisions of free choice. This free choice will inform and assist them in deciding what they can expect, and what can be expected of them, in order to function optimally. Furthermore, they will be able to work well on their own, will be able to say 'no' without feeling guilty, and will be able to listen to their own inner feelings when deciding what is right and wrong, appropriate or inappropriate (Hamachek, 1988). According to Capps (2009), these are the parameters on which individuals should function and is the basis for acceptance of law and necessity.

As the toddler is able to gain control over their bodies and motor abilities, they begin to do things for themselves and explore their surroundings (Boeree, 2006). However, since the child is still dependent on caregivers during this stage, the potential exists for the child to develop feelings of doubt in their own capabilities and autonomy or independence as the child may develop a sense of shame and, as a result, doubt his or her capability (Erikson, 1963). Therefore, if they are unable to successfully do things on their own or receive harsh comments, criticism or humiliation from a caregiver, this will have a negative impact on the child's self confidence and the child may develop excessive self doubt (Hergenhahn, 1984). According to Erikson (1950), "doubt is the brother of shame" (p. 253).

If a child has too much shame and doubt they may develop the malignancy of compulsiveness which may result in the individual becoming 'anal' or perfectionistic, constrained or self limiting (Boeree, 2006). According to Hamachek (1988), behaviours of individuals who have a sense of shame and doubt will be characterised by having a preference for structured projects, being told what is expected of them, and allow others to

dominate and lead them as they try to eliminate anything which may cause them to feel others' criticism or disapproval (Hamachek, 1988).

Having a certain amount of shame and doubt is beneficial as too much autonomy and freedom can lead to the maladaptation of impulsivity. If someone has this maladaptation they could become reckless, thoughtless and inconsiderate (Boeree, 2006). As a result, they may not give much consideration and thought to things which may require it (Boeree, 2006; Tandon, 2008).

**Initiative versus Guilt: "Is it okay for me to do things?"**. The third stage, the genital-locomotor stage, occurs from approximately four to five years old. Erikson (1963) suggests that the child experiences a conflict between initiative and guilt. Children are able to practice initiative as their locomotor and language skills are constantly improving (Sadock & Sadock, 2007). Initiative involves an individual's positive response to the challenges that the world presents, including a willingness to take on responsibilities, learning new skills, and the ability to act in a personal and meaningful way with self-confidence and realistic ambition for the future (Boeree, 2006).

Erikson also includes the *oedipal* experience in this stage which originates from Freud's psychosexual theory. According to Erikson (1963), the oedipal crisis involves an unwillingness on the part of the child to renounce or relinquish his or her closeness to the opposite sex parent. However, the successful resolution of the oedipal conflict promotes identification with the same sex parent and the development of the superego (Erikson, 1963). Erikson (1968) refers to this as "the ontogenetic cornerstone of reality" (p. 119) as the individual begins to be governed by the conscience or inner voice. Boeree (2006) reports that during this particular stage, the child's capacity for understanding moral and social judgement begins to develop as they begin to experience emotions and to *feel*. Erikson (1963) writes:

The 'Oedipal' stage results not only in the oppressive establishment of a moral sense restricting the horizon of the permissible; it also sets the direction toward the possible and the tangible which permits the dreams of early childhood to be attached to the goals of an active adult life. (p. 258)

During this particular stage the child encounters more challenges than in previous stages due to the broadening of their social context. According to Erikson (1963), a supportive environment provided by caregivers encourages the child to develop respect for themselves and others. Two aspects which are important in order to help successfully resolve this crisis are the child's language ability which increases their communication skills, and the child learning to move freely in order to develop a wider range of goals and skills (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980).

If the child is able to resolve this developmental crisis successfully, the virtue which they will acquire is the virtue of *purpose* (Welchman, 2000). The establishment of purpose is developed during the experience of play. According to Erikson (1964), "Play is to the child what thinking, planning, and blue-printing are to the adult, a trial universe in which conditions are simplified and methods exploratory, so that past failures can be thought through expectations tested" (p. 120). Hamachek (1988) suggests that people who have a high sense of initiative may show the following characteristics and behaviours: they may be effective leaders, good goal setters, ambitious individuals with high levels of energy and a strong sense of personal adequacy who have the courage to act while still being aware of past failures and limitations.

If a child develops too much initiative, they may develop the maladaptive tendency of ruthlessness. This will manifest itself in various ways such as setting goals and whatever it takes or whatever is necessary in order to achieve them. As a result, they may use and exploit others to achieve their goals and may struggle to form a conscience where they feel guilty for



doing so. The extreme form of ruthlessness is psychopathy which is more challenging for the individuals who are surrounded by a ruthless person than the person who is acting ruthlessly (Boeree, 2006). If, however, an individual develops too much guilt, they may develop the malignancy of inhibition. This may manifest itself in the person becoming unadventurous and adverse to any form of risk in order to minimise or prevent feeling any guilt. Furthermore, individuals with a high level of guilt may procrastinate, have a weak sense of personal adequacy and effectiveness, and tend to be poor goal setters (Hamachek, 1988). These individuals may also try to overcompensate for feeling like a deficient person by overachieving. On the sexual, oedipal side, the inhibited person may be impotent or frigid (Boeree, 2006).

**Industry versus Inferiority: “How can I be good?”**. During Erikson’s (1963) fourth developmental stage, the latency stage, the child is approximately seven to 12 years old and there is a conflict between industry and inferiority. This refers mainly to discovering, learning and mastering new knowledge and skills (Santrock, 2006). Erikson (1950) states:

The growing child must derive a vitalising sense of reality from the awareness that his individual way of mastering experience (his ego synthesis) is a successful variant of a group identity and is in accord with its space-time and life plan. (p. 22)

During this stage, the child’s social environment becomes much larger as it starts to include teachers, peers and friends, and other members of the community. In addition to the increase in a child’s social environment, at this age children are able to develop their competencies in different areas and environments, for example, at school, at home, and on the sports field (Erikson, 1963). According to Cross (2002), children should be able to engage in work and activities which are meaningful to them, at their level of ability, and related to their interests. Erikson (1963) notes the importance of this stage saying that:

...this is socially a most decisive stage: since industry involves doing things beside and with others, a first sense of division of labour and of differential opportunity, that is, a sense of the *technological ethos* of a culture, develops at this time. (p. 260)

Erikson (1968) emphasised the importance and value of understanding the pleasure of developing a plan and being able to follow through with it and achieving it through the child's own effort. As a result, children should be encouraged and commended for their efforts as this encouragement fosters the child's belief in their own competencies and feelings of efficiency (Boeree, 2006). However, as children develop the ability to set and achieve personal goals, if a child is unable to attain these goals, or they are unable to experience the success of their own efforts, they may develop a sense of inferiority and feelings of inadequacy. As a result, if this life crisis is not resolved, incompetence emerges (Hergenhahn, 1984).

According to Erikson (1963), if an individual feels too inferior, they may develop the malignant tendency of inertia. This suggests that the individual does not develop certain skills as they may fear the feeling of humiliation and being inferior to others. This is commonly referred to as an inferiority complex (Hamachek, 1988). As a result, the individual may become apathetic, lazy and lack purpose or direction. Furthermore, they may procrastinate, find it difficult in taking pride in their work, and may not respond well to criticism and, as a result, cease their efforts (Hamachek, 1988).

If an individual has too much industry, they may develop the maladaptive tendency of narrow virtuosity (Hamachek, 1988). An example of this would be when a child is pushed into an area where they show competence such as being a child actor, athlete, musician or child prodigy. These individuals have not had the opportunity to be children and develop broader areas of interest. Tandon (2008) poignantly states "We all admire their industry, but if we look a little closer, it's all that stands in the way of an empty life" (p. 58).

If an individual is able to successfully resolve this crisis, the ego strength or virtue of *competency* will develop and emerge (Erikson, 1963). This means that there is a realistic sense of the individual's own limitations, however, they will still hold a healthy sense of industry and competence. Erikson (1964) defines competence as:

...the free exercise of dexterity and intelligence in the completion of tasks, unimpaired by infantile inferiority...[it] is the basis for co-operative participation in technologies and relies, in turn, on the logic of tools and skills. (p. 124)

Erikson stressed the importance of the individual working competently and well and not merely under the pretence or façade of 'busyness' (Erikson, 1958). Hamachek (1988) suggests that characteristic behaviours of people who have a high sense of industry may experiment with new ideas; they may enjoy learning about new things as they have a high sense of curiosity, and they possess a good work ethic as they persevere and are diligent.

**Identity versus Identity Confusion: "Who am I and where am I going?"**. The fifth stage of Erikson's psychosocial development theory takes place between the ages of 12 to 18 years of age as the child transitions from childhood into adulthood. Erikson (1963) suggests that "with the establishment of a good initial relationship to the world of skills and tools, and with the advent of puberty, childhood proper comes to an end" (p. 261). Erikson (1982) was most interested in this stage of development, and referred to it as a defining psychological crisis of adolescence as it involves ethics, long term goals, and, more importantly, interpersonal and personal commitments. During this stage, the individual is required to resolve the developmental task of identity versus identity confusion. The individual is preoccupied with finding their own identity, setting life goals and finding meaning (Corey, 2009). Erikson (1970) described identity as:

...a subjective sense as well as an observable quality of personal sameness and continuity, paired with some belief in the sameness and continuity of some shared

world image. As a quality of unself-conscious living, this can be gloriously obvious in a young person who has found himself as he has found his communality. In him we see emerge a unique unification of what is irreversibly given—that is, body type and temperament, giftedness and vulnerability, infantile models and acquired ideals—with the open choices provided in available roles, occupational possibilities, values offered, mentors met, friendships made, and first sexual encounters. (p. 730)

In order for an individual to form an identity, Erikson (1968) proposes three necessary factors: firstly, a consistency and congruence between the individual's actions and their values; secondly, a pattern and history of this consistency or continuity, and thirdly, a network or community who are able to validate the integrated self of values and actions (Erikson, 1968). At the successful resolution of this crisis, the individual will gain the virtue of *fidelity* (Welchman, 2000). Erikson (1964) defines fidelity as “the ability to sustain loyalties freely pledged in spite of the inevitable contradictions of value systems” (p. 125). According to Capps (2009) and Erikson (1964), fidelity in adolescence manifests itself in the individual paying attention to detail, loyalty to family and friends, and the valuing of truth and the keeping of promises. Individuals who have a high sense of identity generally have a stable self concept, are generally optimistic, are able to combine short term and long term goals, are able to be physically and emotional close to another individual, and are cognitively flexible in their thinking (Hamachek, 1988).

If, however, an individual develops too much ego identity, they may develop the maladaptive tendency of fanaticism. An individual who develops this tendency may become so involved in a particular role or society that they are intolerant of anyone who may share a different belief system. They will most likely not respect, tolerate or have any regard for the right of others to disagree (Boeree, 2006).

If the individual is unable to explore their own identity adequately, identity and role confusion may occur and the individual may struggle to develop their own identity (Boeree, 2006). A malignancy may develop called repudiation at this stage, manifesting in the avoidance of social interaction (Erikson, 1963). Essentially, as a result of not having sound sense of their own identity, they may immerse themselves in groups which go against mainstream beliefs such as religious cults, groups which are fuelled with hatred, and military organisations, as they repudiate their own identity. This development is known as a *negative identity* which is the roles which children are warned against or warned not to assume (Olson & Hergenahn, 2010). Erikson (1959) defined negative identity as:

The loss of a sense of identity often expressed in a scornful and snobbish hostility toward the roles offered as proper and desirable in one's family or immediate community. Any aspect of the required role, or all parts, be it masculinity or femininity, nationality or class membership, can become the main focus of the young person's acid disdain. (p. 129)

Furthermore, individuals may withdraw into psychotic fantasies or become involved in destructive activities such as drugs or alcohol. As Tandon (2008) succinctly states, "After all, being *bad* or being *nobody* is better than not knowing who you are!" (p. 61). A person with a high sense of role or identity confusion may struggle to make decisions, fail to make long term goals, are generally cynical about others and in particular themselves, and may also depend heavily on being 'right' in order to establish their sense of self (Hamachek, 1988).

**Intimacy versus Isolation: "Can I love and be loved?"**. During the sixth psychosocial stage, the individual is about 21 to 40 years old and is required to resolve the developmental task of intimacy versus isolation, with the focus of this stage on forming meaningful relationships. Erikson (1978) emphasised the importance of an individual firmly establishing their own identity before forming a relationship and sharing their identity with

another person. Erikson (1974) stated that a young adult relationship should be two independent egos creating something larger than themselves, rather than individuals defining their identity as being another's partner. It is important to note that not only romantic relationships are affected during this stage. Erikson (1959) writes:

It is only after a reasonable sense of identity has been established that real intimacy with others can be possible. The youth who is not sure of his or her identity shies away from interpersonal intimacy, and can become, as an adult, isolated or lacking in spontaneity, warmth or the real exchange of fellowship in relationship to others; but the surer the person becomes of their self, the more intimacy is sought in the form of friendship, leadership, love and inspiration. The counterpart to intimacy is distantiation, which is the readiness to repudiate those forces and people whose essence seems dangerous to one's own. (p. 95)

If an individual is able to find a balance of intimacy and isolation and successfully resolve this crisis, the virtue which will be acquired at the resolution of this life stage is the virtue of *love* (Welchman, 2000). Erikson defines love as a "mutuality of devotion forever subduing the antagonisms inherent in divided function" (1964, p. 129). This *mutuality of devotion* does not only include the love found in romantic relationships, but extends to the love between neighbours, friends, colleagues, extended family members, and other members of society (Boeree, 2006; Erikson, 1963, 1964, 1978).

Although children have learnt to love, the type of love that is developed during this stage is different as it is a chosen, active love (Boeree, 2006). In terms of Erikson's theory, this type of love involves sharing and reciprocating trust and intimacy, which promotes the satisfactory and successful development of both parties. Hamachek (1990) suggests that characteristic behaviours of people who have a high sense of intimacy include trusting others,

being tolerant, satisfaction in relationships, and the perception that sex is a way of expressing love as well as achieving physical closeness.

In terms of romantic and sexual relationships, Erikson (1963, p. 264) suggests that “as the areas of adult duty are delineated, and as the competitive encounter, and the sexual embrace, are differentiated, they eventually become subject to that *ethical sense* which is the mark of the adult”. Furthermore, he writes that “it is only now that *true genitality* can fully develop; for much of the sex life preceding these commitments is of the identity-searching kind” (p. 264).

If the crisis has not been resolved, a maladaptive form of promiscuity may emerge (Hergenhahn, 1984). Promiscuity refers to individuals who become intimate too easily, without any depth to their intimacy. Erikson noted that this excess of intimacy can be with friends, neighbours, lovers as well as the community in which they live (Boeree, 2006). However, if the person is too isolated, they may form the malignancy of exclusion. A ‘fear of commitment’ which some young adults display could be seen as an example of immaturity in this stage (Boeree, 2006). Without these relationships, the individual may become isolated and lonely. This may manifest itself in the individual isolating themselves from others such as friendships, love, communities, and neighbours. Furthermore, in order for the individual to compensate for their loneliness, they may develop a level of hatefulness towards others (Boeree, 2006; Tandon, 2008). Persons with a high sense of isolation may display characteristic behaviours such as being intolerant, unwilling to trust, hesitant to form relationships, and having difficulty in committing to relationships that demand sacrifice and compromise (Hamachek, 1990).

**Generativity versus Stagnation: “What can I contribute to the world?”.** During the seventh stage, the individual is in middle adulthood and the crisis which needs to be resolved is the developmental task of generativity versus stagnation. According to Louw and

Louw (2007), during this stage adults involve themselves in their communities, work and family life as their focus shifts onto the development of the future generation. The concern to guide and care for the next generation can be described as generativity, which is an extension of love into the future. According to Erikson (1963), “[The] concept generativity is meant to include such more popular synonyms as *productivity* and creativity, which, however, cannot replace it” (p.267). Erikson (1963, 1978) considers teaching, writing, invention, the arts and sciences, social activism, and the general contribution to the welfare of future generations as generativity includes leaving a legacy.

If this particular developmental task is resolved, the virtue which will be acquired will be that of *care* (Welchman, 2000). Erikson (1964, p. 131) describes care as a “man’s love for his works and ideas as well as his children”. It is “the widening concern for what has been generated by love, necessity, or accident; it overcomes the ambivalence adhering to irreversible obligation” (Erikson, 1964, p. 131). Characteristics of individuals who have a high sense of generativity include having an interest in producing and/or caring for children, caring about others as they involve themselves in activities outside of themselves, and focusing on what they can give, rather than receive (Hamachek, 1990). Furthermore, this care often includes care for one’s own parents in their old age, which is an example of care being a strength and a generative function of society (Capps, 2009).

If the individual does not feel as though they have resolved this crisis or contributed towards the next generation, psychological stagnation and selfishness may occur and the malignancy of *rejectivity* may develop (Erikson, 1964). A stagnant individual will manifest in ways such that the individual is no longer participating or contributing towards society as they become self absorbed and do not care for others (Boeree, 2006). According to Hamachek (1990), the individual becomes absorbed in activities which serve their own purpose, interests and needs, and they may become so focused on themselves that they have



little interest in producing or caring for children. According to Boeree (2006), this reactivity suggests a loss of meaning in life. How an individual contributes and participates in society depends largely on how they find meaning in it. Such individuals turn their questions inward as they ask, 'what am I doing all this for?' If an individual does not feel that they have found meaning in life, this often results in what is commonly known as a "midlife crisis" (Tandon, 2008, p. 94). If an individual experiences a midlife crisis, their focus becomes misplaced, as it is more appropriate at a younger age, as the individual attempts to recapture their youth (Cohen, 2007).

If an individual is too generative, they may develop the maladaptive tendency of *overexertion* (Boeree, 2006). This means that the individual may try so hard at being generative that they overexert themselves, joining too many clubs, causes, holding too many jobs. They may no longer have time to relax, or have time for themselves or the causes that they have joined (Hamachek, 1988).

**Ego Integrity versus Despair: "Was my life a good one?"**. The eighth and final stage of Erikson's psychosocial theory begins when an individual is approximately 60 years old. During this crisis they are required to develop ego integrity with a minimal amount of despair. If the individual is dissatisfied with the life they have led, they will feel despair and meaninglessness (Hergenhahn, 1984). Erikson (1959) elaborates:

Despair expresses the feeling that time is short, too short for the attempt to start a new life and to try out alternate roads to integrity. Such despair is often hidden behind a show of disgust, or a chronic contemptuousness. Integrity, therefore, implies an emotional integration which permits participation by followership as well as acceptance of the responsibility of leadership. (p. 98)

Significant changes in the individual's life bring about an increasing awareness of death and the way the individual views themselves and their role and function in society

(Boeree, 2006; Erikson, 1963, 1978). Examples of such significant life changes and events are retirement from work, the end of everyday parental responsibilities, withdrawing from many physical activities as they are not as strong or able to endure as much as before, and being more prone to illness. An increasing awareness of death is particularly magnified by illnesses as spouses or friends will often begin to pass away. The individual may become despairing as they become more aware of these significant changes and realities (Erikson, 1963, 1978).

If a person has too much ego integrity, in other words, ‘presumes’ ego integrity without having faced any of the difficulties experienced in old age, the maladaptive tendency of *presumption* may occur (Boeree, 2006). If a person develops too much despair they may develop the malignant tendency of *disdain*. According to Erikson 1963, disdain is a contempt of their own and others lives. According to Erikson, successfully resolving the conflict of this stage will result in achieving the virtue of *wisdom* (Meyer et al., 2008). Wisdom, Erikson (1964) writes:

...in all of its connotations from ripened ‘wits’ it accumulated knowledge and matured judgment...maintains and conveys the integrity experience, in spite of the decline of bodily and mental functions... [and] responds to the need of the on-coming generation for an integrated heritage...[while remaining] aware of the relativity of all knowledge. (p. 133)

According to Erikson (1963), the way in which an individual progresses and resolves this particular stage will depend largely on how they have resolved the previous stages. A summary of the eight stages of Erikson’s (1963) psychosocial developmental theory is provided in Table 6.

Table 6

*Summary of Erikson's 1963 theory of Psychosocial Development*

<b>Stage</b>	<b>Crisis</b>	<b>Significant Relations</b>	<b>Virtues</b>	<b>Maladaptation (+)</b>	<b>Malignancy (-)</b>	<b>Ritualisation</b>	<b>Ritualism (+)</b>
Infancy	Trust vs. Mistrust	Mother	Hope & drive	Sensory distortion	Withdrawal	Numinous	Idolism
Early Childhood	Autonomy vs. Shame & Doubt	Parents	Willpower & self-control	Impulsivity	Compulsion	Judiciousness	Legalism
Preschool Age	Initiative vs. Guilt	Family	Purpose & direction	Ruthlessness	Inhibition	Authenticity	Impersonation
School Age	Industry vs. Inferiority	Neighbourhood & school	Competence & Method	Narrow virtuosity	Inertia	Formality	Formalisation
Adolescence	Ego-Identity vs. Role-Confusion	Peer groups/ role models	Fidelity & devotion	Fanaticism	Repudiation	Ideology	Totalism
Young Adulthood	Intimacy vs. Isolation	Partners / friends	Love & affiliation	Promiscuity	Exclusivity	Affiliation	Elitism
Adulthood	Generativity vs. Self-Absorption	Household/ colleagues	Care & production	Overextension	Rejectivity	Generationalism	Authoritism
Old Age	Integrity vs. Despair	Mankind	Wisdom & renunciation	Presumption	Disdain	Integralism	Sapientism

*Note:* Adapted from Erikson, E. H. (1959). Identity and the life cycle. *Psychological Issues*, 1(1), 1-17; Olson, M., & Hergenhahn, B. R. (2010). *An Introduction to Theories of Personality* (8th ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

## **Optimal Development**

Each of Erikson's (1963) psychosocial stages represent a positive, syntonetic and negative, dystonic concepts and it is by resolving the crises of the stages that the good is incorporated into the individual's identity development. Erikson described success as a 'favourable ratio' or balance between two extremes of each developmental crisis. Erikson (1963) identifies the 'basic psychosocial virtues' (which have been highlighted above) and related strengths which result from an individual successfully resolving each developmental crisis and acquiring the respective ego strength or virtue. Erikson identified one other virtue for each stage which could be called a 'secondary virtue'. At times, Erikson (1963, 1978) refers to 'basic virtues' as 'basic strengths'. Table 7 outlines the basic and secondary virtues as well as other, related strengths that emerge at the successful resolution of each developmental crisis. The above mentioned psychosocial stages suggest that if an individual is unable to resolve certain developmental crises, psychopathology may occur (Olson & Hergenbahn, 2010).

## **Erikson and Pathology**

Erikson (1964, 1974, 1977, 1978, 1980) proposed that there are potential negative outcomes and imbalances such as pathology, for each respective developmental crises which he termed maladaptations and malignancies. These potential negative outcomes are an imbalance and extremes of either *too* much of a positive or *too* much of a negative aspect of each developmental crisis and they manifest and show themselves in different ways. Erikson (1963) suggests that symptoms of pathology may be understood by the defence mechanisms the individual uses in order to gain ego integration. Boeree (2006) proposes various ways of detecting or observing and understanding the various tendencies and behaviours which are associated with the particular malignancy or maladaptation at each stage of development. A summary of the imbalances are given in Table 8.

Table 7

*Basic and Secondary Virtues*

<b>Crisis</b>	<b>Basic virtue &amp; secondary virtue (and related strengths)</b>
1. Trust vs Mistrust	<b>Hope &amp; Drive</b> (faith, inner calm, grounding, basic feeling that everything will be okay - enabling exposure to risk, a trust in life and self and others, inner resolve and strength in the face of uncertainty and risk)
2. Autonomy vs Shame & Doubt	<b>Willpower &amp; Self-Control</b> (self-determination, self-belief, self-reliance, confidence in self to decide things, having a voice, being one's own person, persistence, self-discipline, independence of thought, responsibility, judgement)
3. Initiative vs Guilt	<b>Purpose &amp; Direction</b> (sense of purpose, decision-making, working with and leading others, initiating projects and ideas, courage to instigate, ability to define personal direction and aims and goals, able to take initiative and appropriate risks)
4. Industry vs Inferiority	<b>Competence &amp; Method</b> (making things, producing results, applying skills and processes productively, feeling valued and capable of contributing, ability to apply method and process in pursuit of ideas or objectives, confidence to seek and respond to challenge and learning, active, busy, productive outlook)
5. Identity vs Role Confusion	<b>Fidelity &amp; Devotion</b> (self-confidence and self-esteem necessary to freely associate with people and ideas based on merit, loyalty, social and interpersonal integrity, discretion, personal standards and dignity, pride and personal identity, seeing useful personal role(s) and purpose(s) in life)
6. Intimacy vs Isolation	<b>Love &amp; Affiliation</b> (capacity to give and receive love - emotionally and physically, connectivity with others, socially and inter-personally comfortable, ability to form honest reciprocating relationships and friendships, capacity to bond and commit with others for mutual satisfaction - for work and personal life, reciprocity - give and take - towards good)
7. Generativity vs Stagnation	<b>Care &amp; Production</b> (giving unconditionally in support of children and/or for others, community, society and the wider world where possible and applicable, altruism, contributing for the greater good, making a positive difference, building a good legacy, helping others through their own crisis stages)
8. Integrity vs Despair	<b>Wisdom &amp; Renunciation</b> (calmness, appropriate emotional detachment - non-projection, no regrets, peace of mind, non-judgemental, spiritual or universal reconciliation, acceptance of inevitably departing)

*Note: Adapted from Boeree, C. G. (2006). Erik Erikson.*

Table 8

*Manifestations of Maladaptations and Malignancies*

<b>Manifestations</b>	<b>Maladaptation</b>	<b>Crisis</b>	<b>Malignancy</b>	<b>Manifestations</b>
unrealistic, spoilt, deluded	<i>Sensory Distortion</i>	<b>Trust vs Mistrust</b>	<i>Withdrawal</i>	neurotic, depressive, afraid
reckless, inconsiderate, thoughtless	<i>Impulsivity</i>	<b>Autonomy vs Shame/Doubt</b>	<i>Compulsion</i>	anal, constrained, self-limiting
exploitative, uncaring, dispassionate	<i>Ruthlessness</i>	<b>Initiative vs Guilt</b>	<i>Inhibition</i>	risk-averse, unadventurous
workaholic, obsessive specialist	<i>Narrow Virtuosity</i>	<b>Industry vs Inferiority</b>	<i>Inertia</i>	lazy, apathetic, purposeless
self-important, extremist	<i>Fanaticism</i>	<b>Identity vs Role Confusion</b>	<i>Repudiation</i>	socially disconnected, cut- off
sexually needy, vulnerable	<i>Promiscuity</i>	<b>Intimacy vs Isolation</b>	<i>Exclusivity</i>	loner, cold, self- contained
do-gooder, busy- body, meddling	<i>Overextension</i>	<b>Generativity vs Stagnation</b>	<i>Rejectivity</i>	disinterested, cynical
conceited, pompous, arrogant	<i>Presumption</i>	<b>Integrity vs Despair</b>	<i>Disdain</i>	miserable, unfulfilled, blaming

*Note:* Adapted from Boeree, C. G. (2006). *Erik Erikson*.

Erikson (1963) also refers to a *constitutional intolerance* which suggests that the individual may be inherently aggressive, with no particular event or stimulus to cause such aggression or intolerance. Furthermore, Erikson (1968) suggests that delinquency and pathology may be as a result of the individual failing to form a positive identity, and forming a *negative identity* as they engage in socially inappropriate behaviour. According to Erikson

(1968), people with negative identities are not able to achieve the ethical ideal of a wider, human identity. He states that only “a gradually accruing sense of identity” makes for “a sense of humanity” (Erikson; 1968, p. 402). Individuals who develop into delinquents or individuals with pathology often reportedly find power through the negative identity of *living symptoms* as they engage in socially inappropriate behaviours (Erikson, 1968; 1982). Erikson stated that symptoms of pathology may be partly understood by understanding the defence mechanisms which the individual develops through attempting to gain ego synthesis and integration (Erikson, 1963).

### **Erikson and Psychobiographical Studies**

In an attempt to broaden an individual’s knowledge and understanding of the psychoanalytic approach, Erikson did extensive research on significant and prominent individuals who struggled with their own sense of identity in the form of psychobiographies. Furthermore, in order to explain and describe human personality and development, Erikson utilised anthropology, psychohistory and play construction. Erikson (1959) postulated that psychological conceptualisations and understandings are fixed in the description and interpretations of individuals’ lives. Erikson’s theory provides an interesting and useful description of the key issues and challenges at each life stage or period of life. Erikson’s psychobiographies on Martin Luther (1958) and Mohandas Gandhi (1969) are two examples of the importance of viewing and understanding individuals across time and within their socio and historical contexts.

Singer (2005) states that Erikson suggests three levels, termed *triple book-keeping*, on which a good psychobiography is able to understand and comprehend an individual. The first is the *body* and physiological aspects of the individual. The second level is the individual’s ability to cope with anxiety and conflict as well as how they make sense of their world which refers to the individual’s *ego*. The final level is the *family and society* which encompasses

social factors such as cultural dynamics which have an impact on an individual's life (Singer, 2005). Due to the fact that Erikson's theory states that identity is formed later on in an individual's life, it is a useful theory to use in order to understand Bundy's psychological development and growth as there is more information available from the later years of Bundy's life.

### **Critique of Erikson's Psychosocial Theory**

A particular strength of Erikson's (1963) theory is that he emphasised that human beings do not stop developing, but that they develop throughout the span of their lives (Boeree, 2006). Erikson also acknowledges the dynamic interaction between generations which he termed *mutuality*. This added a positive aspect and influence to his theory as his focus did not lie solely on the responsibility and blame of parents and the way in which they brought up their children but rather the influence and effect that each generation has on one another. Just as a child learns from their parents or grandparents, so do their parents and grandparents learn from them (Boeree, 2006; Craig, 1996; Erikson, 1963). Erikson's theory has however, been criticised for being too idealistic and optimistic, without taking into account stress and great human tragedies (Maier, 1988; Shaffer, 2002).

Erikson's (1963) theory of psychosocial development has not gone without criticism as it is also subject to many criticisms of the psychoanalytic theory of which it is an extension. Hook (2002) suggests that Erikson's theory is culturally biased towards American or Western cultures as it values virtues such as independence, initiative, and industriousness qualities which are predominantly respected and desired in competitive, individualistic societies rather than other, universal values. According to Craig and Baucum (2002), a common criticism of Erikson's theory is that although it is based on cultural observations, it is criticised for being largely individualistic in nature. The individualistic aspect of his theory emphasises the personal choice of the individual and the formation of identity at the expense of



interconnection and community. However, Erikson stated that the dynamic and relationship between society and the individual are deeply connected to the core of personality (Corey, 2009; Schachter, 2005).

Erikson has also been criticised for not explaining and investigating developmental delays and the impact that they have on later development (Shaffer, 2002). However, Erikson (1974; 1975) responded to this criticism by stating that the idiosyncratic nature of his theory allows for the prevention of definitive descriptions. In other words, based on the existing levels of individual development, the idiosyncratic manner in which individuals manage and deal with their developmental delays at the different stages or crises, will vary according to the individual (Erikson, 1974; 1975).

Erikson's (1963) theory of psychosocial development has received criticism for lacking scientific rigour and being difficult to measure due to the ambiguity in the naming of the essential developmental concepts (Hoare, 2005; Welchman, 2000). However, according to Marcia (2002), Phoenix (2001) and Raskin (2002), there has been a vast amount of research into identity and the development of identity across an individual's lifespan.

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter, Erikson's (1963) theory of psychosocial development was presented and discussed. A table summarising the psychosocial stages of development was provided in order to present a concise overview of Erikson's (1963) stages. The following chapter, Chapter Four, will provide a comprehensive overview of the life of Theodore Robert Bundy. In order to facilitate an understanding of Bundy's development across his lifespan, Erikson's (1963) psychosocial theory of development will be applied in Chapter Six.

## Chapter Four

### The Life of Theodore Robert Bundy

*“Man does not simply exist but always decides what his existence will be, what he will become in the next moment” (Frankl, 1959, p. 131).*

#### Chapter Preview

This chapter provides an historical and chronological overview of the life of Theodore Robert Bundy from his birth in 1946 to his death in 1989. Theodore Robert Bundy’s life is comprehensively described within his particular social and historical context, and includes a section on serial murder. The names and exact number of Bundy’s victims are not known. As a result of this, and due to the nature and scope of the research, the researcher has only included a brief section on the murders which have been confirmed to have been committed by Bundy or to which Bundy confessed.

#### The Significance of the Social and Historical Context

Erikson suggests that an individual’s ego develops throughout their entire life and is a result of genetic and social influences which occur concurrently (Schultz, 1990). Erikson (1963) states that only through the process of “triple bookkeeping” (p. 46), which is an analysis of biological, psychological, and social dimensions of the individual, is one able to come to a comprehensive and meaningful understanding of an individual’s identity.

#### Life and Times of the 1940s and 1950s

The Second World War ended in 1945, the year before Bundy was born. These times were reportedly exciting, jubilant, and prosperous, celebrating the end of the war (Rippo, 2007). The military men and women who returned home from the war were considered true American heroes, were given parades, and treated with respect (Rule, 2009). Individuals born during this time period are often referred to as *Baby Boomers* (Clydesdale, 1997). During the baby boom, which lasted from 1946 to 1964, the number of children grew rapidly as many

couples decided that it was the ideal time to start a family. The war was over, and the future and prosperity of American life was promising as the economy started to recover and develop rapidly (Cayton, Gorn & Williams, 1993).

According to Cayton et al. (1993), the general culture of the late 1940s and 1950s was socially conservative as traditional gender roles became firmly entrenched and clearly defined. As the men returned from war, they were able to be the hard working breadwinners, while women stayed home to raise children and tend to domestic tasks such as cooking and cleaning. If women worked, it was more likely to be due to financial necessity and an attempt to raise their family's standard of living, rather than career ambition or personal independence (Cayton et al., 1993). It was also during this era that it was shameful for children to be born out of wedlock and received potential social reprisal (Sullivan, 2009). During this time, "the word illegitimate was anathema to women" (Rippo, 2007, p. 70). According to Rule (2009), premarital sex, although it occurred, was frowned upon and rarely spoken about or acknowledged. Although men could reportedly brag about it, women who did were viewed as promiscuous.

As a result of the rapid economic rise and increase in technological developments, the 1950s was a prosperous decade which produced a level of material wealth which had not been seen in quite some time in America (Cayton et al. 1993). Americans in the post-World War II era became a *consumer culture*, a society which developed a deeply felt desire to spend money and indulge their impulses. Millions of Americans bought new homes in the suburbs, started purchasing new cars, appliances such as radios, refrigerators, and television sets, as well as eating out and keeping up with the latest fashion (Cayton et al., 1993). During the 1950s, the era of *Leave it to Beaver*, it was popular and more acceptable to conform and anything that transgressed these norms was met with suspicion and criticism. The majority of Americans appeared similar and likeminded as they had similar haircuts,

wore similar clothing, engaged in similar activities, and generally thought along the same lines, with similar values and beliefs (Cayton et al., 1993).

### **America and Identity**

Bundy entered adolescence in approximately 1959 and became a young adult in approximately 1966 (Rule, 2009). Erikson (1963) suggested that between 1950 and 1968, the American adolescent ego identity formation was considered to be placed “on some tentative combination of dynamic polarities such as migratory and sedentary, individualistic and standardised, competitive and cooperation, pious and freethinking, responsible and cynical” (Erikson, 1963, p. 259). Furthermore, American culture was considered to be individualistic and private and Americans began to raise their children to be individualistic yet predictable, autonomous yet reliable (Erikson, 1963).

As a result of rapid local and international changes such as immigration, urbanisation, industrialisation, class stratification, and race and gender liberation, there was a lot of emotional tension as the traditional American identity felt threatened (Erikson, 1968). Some Americans became rigid, holding on to the traditional American identity while others attempted to adjust to these changes by teaching their children to be more tolerant, dismissing overt opinions in order to prevent inequality. Adolescents found themselves in the middle of these opposing identities and although they learnt to be compromising and tolerant in order to have a successful future, there was confusion and uncertainty of what their opinions of themselves and others were as they became unsure of what was ‘right’. Although adolescents found themselves in freedom, they lacked understanding of what they were free of (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1974; Erikson, 1980). As a result, many adolescents gravitated towards a ‘negative identity’ in order to establish some form of identity. Wilson (2004) poignantly wrote “the 1960s saw the emergence of the next level: the crime of *self esteem*, the criminal whose basic craving was to *be somebody*” (p. 637).

“Modern mankind found itself in the midst of a great absence and emptiness of values and yet, at the same time, a remarkable abundance of possibilities” (Berman, 1988, p. 21). By 1960, technology, such as computers, was slowly becoming more common at work and in private industry. According to Cayton et al. (1993), the social trends of these years produced the beginning of intractable social and cultural problems in the following decades. However, these harsh social realities did not begin to penetrate the consciousness of middle-class America for quite some time, for whom prosperity, consumer abundance, suburban life, the largely escapist fare of television, and the artificial inflation of an individual’s ego, defined the parameters of social experience (Cayton et al., 1993; Erikson, 1968). According to Von Drehle (2006):

Bundy symbolised America’s fear that violent crime had jumped the fence; the menace was loosened from the inner cities, from the biker bars and the psycho wards, and now it stalked nice subdivisions and sedate campuses looking just like a next door neighbour. (p. 306)

**Creating cultural monsters.** According to Wilson and Seaman (2007), all types of homicides started to increase in America. “The killer emerged in a moment of historical rupture when an alternative cultural framework was crystallizing” (King, 2006, p. 112). Haggerty (2009) and Wilson (2004) suggest that the increase in violent crime, particularly serial murder, was due to societal and cultural influences. Haggerty (2009, p. 173), detailed six important preconditions for serial killing which are distinctively socially and culturally modern, namely: a) the mass media and the attendant rise of a celebrity culture; b) a society of strangers; c) a mean/ends rationality that is largely divorced from value considerations; d) cultural frameworks of denigration and marginalisation which tend to implicitly single out some groups for greater predation; e) particular opportunity structures for victimization; and finally, f) the notion that society can be engineered.

Von Drehle (2006) succinctly wrote, “[Bundy] was not the first serial killer, but none before him had so completely exploited the grim advantages of contemporary America: the interstate highways, the footloose freedom of young women, the anonymity of the suburbs” (p. 306). Rippo (2007) contends that serial killers are masters at manipulating and using society’s sympathy such as the possible victimisation they may have received as a child, and, as a result, society needs to limit the potential and possibility of children who may fantasise about evolving and becoming serial killers. The researcher is of the opinion that it is important to have a basic understanding of serial murder and the characteristics of serial killers in order to fully understand the individual that is being studied.

**Serial murder.** According to Simons (2001, p. 345), “the term *serial killer* was first introduced in the 1970s to label gruesome murders committed by Bundy.” Furthermore, Wiest (2011) states that the term was created by Special Agent K. Ressler in the 1970s while investigating the Bundy murders. Vronsky (2004) states that Bundy became the “new postmodern serial killer role model” (p. 6) as Bundy was viewed as handsome, intelligent, sociable, and charming (Vronsky, 2007). “People think a criminal is a hunchbacked, cross-eyed, little monster slithering through the dark, leaving a trail of slime. They’re human beings” (Michaud & Aynesworth, 1999, p. 13).

Serial murder is one of the most difficult categories of violent crime to understand as there is no one clear or single definition (Wiest, 2011). The definition of serial murder remains uncertain and still causes debates between criminologists and behaviourists (Kelleher & Kelleher, 1998). According to The National Institute of Justice (1998), the definition of serial murder is described as “a series of 2 or more murders, committed as separate events, usually, but not always, by one offender acting alone” (Newton, 2000 p. 205). The Federal Bureau of Investigation’s (FBI) Behavioural Analysis Unit defines serial murder as “the

unlawful killing of two or more victims by the same offender in separate events (FBI, 2008, p. 12).

Egger (1984) proposes six components in the definition of serial murder: a minimum of 2 murders; the victim and killer are not related; the murders occur at different times and have no direct connection to one another; the murders are committed based on fantasies and not material gratification; the murders usually occur at different locations; and the victims may have characteristics that are similar or common with earlier or later victims. According to Kelleher and Kelleher (1998), serial killers look, act and sound just as everyone else, manifest Antisocial Personality Disorder (APD), and lack a conscience.

*Types of serial killers.* According to Ressler, Burgess and Douglas (1992), there are two discrete types of serial killers namely, the organised serial killer and the disorganised serial killer. All serial killers, regardless of sex, method or motive tend to fall into one of these two categories. The organised killer usually has an above average intelligence, is socially competent, of normal sexual functioning, has a stable (usually skilled) employment history, and has the capacity to control his emotional reactions during a crime (Ressler, Burgess, Douglas, Hartman, & D'Agostino, 1986). The organised murder implies a high level of ordered thought due to the lack of evidence that is left behind at a murder scene which demonstrates a well planned murder. The disorganised serial killer usually exhibits average to below average intelligence, undeveloped social skills, an erratic work history, and a history of sexual dysfunction. The disorganised killer usually leaves behind a disorderly crime scene, one which is 'sloppy' and does not appear to be well planned (Ressler et al., 1986).

Male serial killers tend to kill primarily for sexual gratification and the victims are also not usually known to the serial murderer (Bartels & Parsons, 2009). Holmes and Holmes's (2002) motivation-based typology is another classification system which law enforcement use to classify serial killers. According to them, there are five types of lust

killers, namely, visionary; mission-oriented; hedonistic; control-oriented; and predatory (Simons, 2001). Visionary sadistic killers are the most uncommon of the lust killers and are usually considered psychotic or insane. The individual has delusions and/or hallucinations which instruct him to kill. The mission-oriented sadistic killer focuses on killing individuals whom he deems undesirable and feels as though he is doing the community a service by eradicating these individuals (Simons, 2001).

Hedonistic serial killers murder for the thrill as well as for the pleasure of the deed. Control-oriented sadistic killers receive gratification and pleasure from having power over their victims. They develop a fantasy about having complete power and control over their victim's destiny and also have a need for attention. Predatory sadistic killers are attracted to the hunt and the kill. They view killing as a sport or recreational activity (Simons, 2001). However, despite the above mentioned typologies and classifications, serial killers are still viewed as complex and difficult to understand (Hickley, 2002; Holmes & Holmes, 2002). Knight (2007) succinctly states:

All of these theories go in some way to contribute to the conceptualisation of serial killers' behaviours, but in isolation they maintain a focus on certain aspects while necessarily ignoring other aspects. It is for this reason that there is a consensus that what makes a serial killer is a combination of many complex and interrelated neurological, social, physiological, environmental, and psychological factors. (p. 22)

According to Boeree (2006), one way of dealing with various maladaptations and malignancies would be to gain insight into a person's behaviour and thoughts by exploring these outcomes and how best they could overcome their 'baggage'. Erikson emphasised the studying and understanding of individual lives and stated, "do not mistake a child for his symptom" (Erikson, 1963, p. 269).



Bundy's life will now be presented from his birth to the end of his life when he was executed. A large proportion of Bundy's history was gathered from Michaud and Aynesworth (2012) who were Bundy's official biographers.

### **Infancy: The Illegitimate Child**

Theodore Robert Bundy was born Theodore Robert Cowell on 24<sup>th</sup> November, 1946 in Burlington, Vermont in the United States of America. He was born to his 22 year old unwed mother, Eleanor Louise Cowell, who moved to the Elizabeth Lund Home for Unwed Mothers when she was seven months pregnant to avoid small town gossip and judgement (Rule, 2013). Eleanor (who later changed her name to Louise), reportedly decided on the name Theodore as it means "gift of God" (Wilson, 2004, p. 531) but fondly referred to him as Teddy. According to testimony from Dr Dorothy Otnow Lewis, a defence psychiatrist and professor at the New York Medical Centre who evaluated Bundy in 1987, Bundy was left behind at the Elizabeth Lund Home for Unwed Mothers while Louise decided whether or not she was going to give him up for adoption (Rippo, 2007; Rule, 2013; Vronsky, 2004). Approximately three months after his birth Bundy and Louise moved back to the home of his maternal grandparents and aunts in a working class neighbourhood in Philadelphia (Sullivan, 2009). By all accounts, Bundy was a normal, healthy baby boy with no reported birth difficulties or developmental delays (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012; Sullivan, 2009).

While growing up, Bundy was led to believe that his grandparents were his parents, and his biological mother was his older sister (Michaud & Aynesworth, 1989; Rule, 2013; Sullivan, 2009). This story was reportedly created in order to protect Bundy and his biological mother from social prejudice and harsh criticism of being an unwed mother and illegitimate child (Rippo, 2007). Furthermore, the Cowell's were reported to be deeply religious Methodists, and it has been suggested that they were also ashamed of Louise's illegitimate, unplanned pregnancy (Vronsky, 2004).

Bundy never knew or met his biological father whose true identity is still unknown. However, Lloyd Marshall, an Air Force veteran born in 1916 and graduate of Pennsylvania State University, is listed on Bundy's birth certificate as his father, along with the word *illegitimate* stamped on his birth certificate (Rule, 2009). Louise later reported that she was seduced by a sailor named Jack Worthington, however Bundy's biological father is still unknown and will likely never be known (Rule, 2013; Sullivan, 2009). There have been a number of reports and speculations suggesting that Bundy may have been a product of an incestuous relationship between his grandfather and mother. These speculations have, however, never been substantiated or proven (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012; Rule, 2013; Sullivan, 2009; Rippo, 2007).

Although Samuel Cowell, Bundy's grandfather, was a Deacon at their church, family members described him as a violent and aggressive man who had once shoved his daughter, Julia, down the staircase for waking up at 9:00 A.M., which he considered to be too late (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012; Rule, 2013). Furthermore, family members described him as abusive, an animal abuser, racist, hard core pornography collector, and wife beater as he reportedly flew into fits of rage (Newton, 2006; Rippo, 2007). Bundy however, adored his grandfather and appeared to only have fond memories of him, which "becomes a mystery in itself" (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012, p. 51). Bundy described his grandfather as highly educated and a loving grandfather, who he looked up to and admired (Rule, 2013; Sullivan, 2009). Bundy reported that his grandmother, Eleanor, was hospitalised on two occasions for mental health problems and she received treatment for psychotic depression and agoraphobia (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012; Rule, 2013).

Bundy appeared to have a good relationship with his mother, Louise, and told Michaud and Aynesworth (2000) that he attributed his great verbal skills and ability to think on his feet to her. Bundy described Louise to Michaud and Aynesworth (2012) as an

intelligent woman who came top in her class in high school, but who he suggests masked her intelligence and did not quite live up to her potential. During the taped interviews with Michaud and Aynesworth (2000), Bundy added “she certainly has a lot of character, but doesn’t project it” (p. 19). Bundy also mentioned that his mother “was not a socializing-type person” (p. 19) and avoided gossip or any discussion of her childhood or other meaningful or “real personal matters” (p. 18).

### **Childhood and Family**

While still living in Philadelphia with his mother, aunts and grandparents, Bundy’s then fifteen year old aunt, Julia, reported that when Bundy was just a two or three year old toddler, she had taken a nap and woke up to find him lifting the blankets and placing knives alongside her. She recalled this incident saying “he just stood there and grinned” (Newton, 2000, p. 242). Julie reported that she was the only one in the family who thought that it was strange and when she told her parents and sister of the incident, “nobody did anything” (Vronsky, 2004, p. 107). Dr Lewis reported that at the age of three, Bundy and his cousin would often sneak off and go and view their grandfather’s large stock of pornographic magazines in his garden shed (Rule, 2013).



*Figure 1: Theodore Robert Bundy (1950). Bundy as a young boy posing by a Christmas tree.*

When Bundy was approximately four years old, he and Louise moved to Tacoma, Washington to live with Louise's uncle, Jack Cowell. Jack was an accomplished pianist, composer, and music professor at the University of Puget Sound (Sullivan, 2009). Jack was viewed as a role model to Bundy as he was a man of "accomplished and refinement" (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012, p. 52). Uncle Jack had two children who were close to Bundy's age and they became friends (Rule, 2013). On the 6<sup>th</sup> October 1949, Theodore Bundy's surname was changed from Theodore Robert Cowell to Theodore Robert Nelson. Louise later admitted that, "she didn't want her young son subjected to ridicule because he shared the same last name as his great-uncle and his mother" (Sullivan, 2009, p. 48) and felt that the new name was a common name and as a result would be inconspicuous, giving Bundy anonymity. "She never wanted him to have to hear the word *bastard*" (Rule, 2013, p. 9).

Louise became a secretary at the Council of Churches Office and met and later married an army cook, John Culpepper Bundy, commonly referred to as Johnnie by family and friends (Rule, 2013; Sullivan, 2009). Louise and Johnnie met at a young adults' evening at the First Methodist Church and they both attended church regularly (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). Johnnie adopted Bundy and before he turned five, Bundy's name was changed for a third and final time to Theodore Robert Bundy. He assumed his stepfather's surname for the rest of his life. According to Kendall (1981), at Louise and Johnnie's wedding reception Bundy reportedly "stuck his hand into the wedding cake" (p. 24).

According to Rule (2012) and Sullivan (2009), the young family moved several times before buying a house in Narrows Bridge when Bundy was in second grade and where he remained until he had finished high school. Bundy's life changed quite drastically when his mother married as he went from being an only child in a house full of adults to becoming the



*Figure 2: Photograph of Louise and Johnnie Bundy (n.d)*

eldest of four stepsiblings as Linda, Glenn, Sandra, and Richard were born in 1952, 1954, 1956, and 1961 respectively (McClellan, 2006; Sullivan, 2009). Bundy was fifteen years old when Richard was born and Bundy reported that he had a close, almost paternal relationship with him (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012; Rule, 2013). In a television interview the day before Bundy was executed, he described his family saying:

I grew up in a wonderful home with two dedicated and loving parents, as one of five brothers and sisters. We, as children, were the focus of my parents' lives. We regularly attended church. My parents did not drink or smoke or gamble. There was no physical abuse or fighting in the home. I'm not saying it was *Leave it to Beaver*, but it was a fine, solid Christian home. (Bundy, television interview, January 23, 1989)

Johnnie reportedly accepted and loved Bundy as his own son, and made an effort to spend time with him. Bundy however appeared disconnected and disinterested in Johnnie and would often make up excuses during the attempts which Johnnie made trying to spend time



*Figure 3: Family Photograph (1965). Ted Bundy as an adolescent with his mother, Louise, and three of his siblings.*

with him (Rule, 2013; Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). Bundy reportedly viewed Johnnie as intellectually slow due to his southern drawl (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). Furthermore, although Bundy assumed his stepfather's surname, he gravitated towards his mother's side of the family and identified as a Cowell as "he even looked like a Cowell" (Rule, 2013, p. 11).

According to one of Bundy's close childhood friends, Jerry Storwick, Bundy and Johnnie would often have tense verbal arguments and disagreements with one another, where Bundy would often win as he could intellectually outsmart Johnnie. Johnnie was the disciplinarian of the home and Louise would often have to act as a mediator between Bundy and Johnnie (Sullivan, 2009). Bundy stated that he used to provoke Johnnie and often put his parents against one another (Sullivan, 2009). Johnnie reportedly used corporal punishment as his way of disciplining his children and often used it on Bundy when he was provoked by him (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012; Rule, 2013; Sullivan, 2009). According to Michaud and

Aynesworth (2000), when Bundy was asked whether his mother or father had a greater influence on him, Bundy replied:

There's no question that I was more influenced by my mom than by my dad. Because, in many ways, my dad injected himself even less into the psychological [and] intellectual development of his children, Mom sort of ran the roost in many respects, although he was the acknowledged head of the family. (p. 19 – 20)

Mrs Oyster, his first grade teacher, reported that Bundy was doing well academically and that he expressed himself well. Bundy reported that he was very fond of Mrs Oyster and felt 'unsettled' when she left for maternity leave, especially as she was replaced by Miss Gerri, who he believed discriminated against him (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). Bundy recalled the day she broke a ruler over his hand after he had been in a playground scuffle where he had hit another classmate in the nose (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012).

Jerry Storwick and Warren Dodge were Bundy's closest childhood and high school friends, and they witnessed Bundy's temper on a number of occasions, through the usual childhood play at school as well as at Boy Scouts (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012; Rule, 2013). However, Storwick reported that he did not necessarily view the anger as unusual, but rather that Bundy was showing his emotions as "Ted kept himself separate from situations, so it was something to see him get involved" (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012, p. 54). Storwick further stated:

It was real easy to see when Ted got mad. His eyes turned just about black. I suppose that sounds like something out of a cheap novel, but you could see it. He had blue eyes that were kind of flecked with darker colours. When he got hot they seemed to get less blue with darker colours. It didn't have to be a physical affront, either.

Someone would say something, and you could just see it in his face. The dark flecks seemed to expand. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012, p. 55)

## **Pre-Adolescence**

**Junior High School.** Bundy attended Hunt Junior High School and was seen as an athletic and active student, participating well in both the classroom and on the track. However, he reportedly refused to shower in the presence of the other boys and received merciless teasing and bullying, although he denied that this was the case (McClellan, 2006; Rule, 2013). Bundy recalled, “I always felt I was too small. This feeling began to emerge in junior high school. That I didn’t have the weight or physique for sports. It wasn’t true, but I never pushed myself” (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012, p. 22). Bundy stated that Johnnie did not encourage and support him in teaching him basic ball skills for organised, team sports and he failed to make it onto the baseball and basketball teams. As a result, Bundy turned to solitary sports such as track, cross country, and skiing, which he thoroughly enjoyed (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012).

As Bundy got older, the tension and animosity between Bundy and Johnnie began to build as Bundy’s attitude towards Johnnie apparently turned to outright defiance (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). Storwick told Michaud and Aynesworth (2012)

A couple of times I thought his dad was going to kill him. The anger was there, you know ... Ted’s mother loved him very much. I’m sure that she protected him from Johnnie’s temper. It wasn’t that Johnnie was an unreasonable man; I think his temper was a reaction to Ted’s animosity. (p. 57)

## **Adolescence**

**Senior High School.** In his interviews with Michaud and Aynesworth (2012), Bundy recalled no problems in junior high school and that he could not recall anything happening which would have hindered his development. However, he stated that when he got to high school he felt that he had not made any progress, particularly in his social and emotional development (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). Storwick described Bundy as very sensitive,



witty, intelligent and likeable. Those that attended school with Bundy described him as athletic, good looking, and academic. However, he was viewed as shy and his social circles were small and did not consist of any intimate or close relationships (McClellan, 2006; Rule, 2013). According to Storwick, Bundy's parents were very involved in their local Methodist church and Bundy had to often miss social activities with his friends in order to babysit his half siblings. Despite this curtailment on his social life, Bundy did not reportedly complain (Rule, 2013).

There are conflicting accounts regarding when and how Bundy discovered that his sister was in fact his mother, and his parents were his grandparents. However Storwick recalled that they were in high school when Bundy first mentioned his illegitimacy to him (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). When Bundy told Storwick that Johnnie was not in fact his biological father, Storwick recalled that Bundy had said that it had a big effect on him. When Storwick, an adolescent himself, tried to make light of the situation by telling Bundy that he was loved and had Johnnie as a father so 'it shouldn't really matter', Bundy apparently bitterly replied "well, it's not you that's a bastard" (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012, p. 57).

Bundy had piercing blue eyes, dark hair and a fairly athletic physical frame which made him attractive to those around him. Nonetheless, although he may have received attention for his looks, Bundy stated that he could not tell when a girl was interested in him and that he didn't view himself as attractive (McClellan, 2006; Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). Bundy went on one date in high school, and when his friends would talk about sex and girls, he reported that had no comprehension of what they were referring to, "I had trouble grasping any of it" he told Michaud and Aynesworth (2012, p. 59). In a television interview the day before his execution, Bundy recalled that when he was 12 or 13 years old he started to encounter soft-core pornography (Bundy, television interview, 23 February 1989). Bundy stated that he began to search for pornography which was more and more graphic in nature as

he became fascinated with sex and violence – especially a combination of the two (Sullivan, 2009).

Although Louise and Johnnie were both hard working individuals, Bundy suggested that they struggled financially and that they were both ‘very frugal’ (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). Bundy stated that they had enough money for the basics, but that it was always a concern. Louise believed that Bundy had great potential and that he would go far in life and she encouraged him to start saving for college when he was 13 years old. As a result, Bundy delivered the local newspaper in his neighbourhood and cut lawns in order to earn some of his own money (Rule, 2013; Sullivan, 2009).

Bundy felt self conscious and envious of his peers due to the financial situation and status of his family (Rule, 2013). To make up for the items or clothing that his parents could not afford, Bundy learned that he could resort to petty theft in order to get what he wanted (Sullivan, 2009). Furthermore, Bundy and a group of friends developed a ‘forgery ring’ where they would make their own tickets for the ski slopes (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012; Rule, 2013; Sullivan, 2009). Bundy was arrested as a juvenile on two occasions for burglary and grand theft auto. Although Bundy was known to juvenile case workers, the details of the crimes are not known as once a juvenile turns 18 their records are destroyed except for their name and the crime/s committed (Rule, 2013; Sullivan, 2009).

Bundy said that he thrived in formal situations such as the classroom as his performance was measurable and the rules were strict and transparent, unlike social settings (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). However, “despite his intelligence and superior grades, his recurrent temper tantrums were violent enough to worry teachers” (Schechter 2003, p. 161). Furthermore, Michaud and Aynesworth (2012) wrote:

Because he was articulate and cultivated and image of serious-mindedness in order to hide his loneliness, Bundy was regarded as scholarly by the other students at Wilson.

Yet for all his seeming seriousness of purpose, his grades were only good, not great. He left high school with just above a B average, good enough to earn Ted admission to the University of Puget Sound, together with a scholarship. (p. 59)



*Figure 4. Theodore Robert Bundy (1964). Bundy's High School Graduation Photo.*

### **Early Adulthood: A Period of Firsts**

**First year of college.** Bundy graduated from Woodrow Wilson High School in 1965 and went to the University of Puget Sound (UPS) where he continued to live with his parents during his freshman year, earning money for college by working as a shop assistant at Tacoma City Light (Rule, 2009). Louise told Michaud and Aynesworth (2012) that although he did well academically during his first year of college, “he never got into the social life of the school at all. He’d come home, sleep, study, sleep, and go back to school” (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2009, p. 61). Bundy reported that he felt lonely at UPS and did not make any new friends. Furthermore, he rejected the idea of joining a fraternity as the other students

appeared so self assured and Bundy felt so insecure. Bundy recalled this time period to Michaud and Aynesworth (2012):

My social life was a big zero. I spent a great deal of time with myself. It was a lonely year for me, and it was worse because I didn't have my old neighbourhood buddies around. I didn't feel socially adept enough. I didn't feel I knew how to function with those people. I felt terribly uncomfortable. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012, p. 61)

**First car.** Although 1964 was a lonely time for Bundy, a positive memory for him was the purchase of his first Volkswagen (VW) Beetle. Bundy was very fond of VWs and they became his vehicle of choice. His first VW was a second hand 1958 model and the second one was a light brown 1968 model which was purchased by Bundy a few years later. Bundy reportedly found his independence and freedom with the purchase of his car as he was able to escape and be alone with his border collie, Lassie, for hours at a time (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). Figure 5 is an online photograph of Bundy's 1968 VW beetle.



*Figure 5: Theodore Robert Bundy's Volkswagen Beetle (2010). This was the car he used for most of his murders and is currently on display at the National Museum of Crime and Punishment in Washington, DC.*

According to Kendall (1981), Bundy loved animals and he was never known to hurt or cause any harm to them. Unfortunately, this was not the case for humans and his VW would become his tool for much more sinister events and would provide evidence of his secret life (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). According to Berry-Dee (2003), cars play a prominent role in the activities of almost all serial killers as they become the actual metaphorical vehicle of transgression. The car itself becomes a crucial tool and space for abducting victims, abuse, transporting victims and murder (Berry-Dee, 2003).

**Chinese.** Bundy attended a particular lecture at UPS which discussed China and during this lecture he became instantly attracted to the Chinese language as he saw it as an area of opportunity where he could stand out above his peers. According to Michaud and Aynesworth (2012), Bundy viewed the Chinese language as “exotic, glamorous, a bright cloak in which to wrap himself” (p. 61). As a result, he applied as a transfer student to the University of Washington to study a program of intensive Chinese (Sullivan, 2009).

According to Michaud and Aynesworth (2012), this is when Bundy started to formulate his public persona as an attractive, charming, intelligent, witty and mature young man. He developed an air of self assuredness and confidence which made him attractive to others. It was here at the University of Washington where he met a beautiful young student two years older than him, Stephanie Brooks (a pseudonym) (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012).

**First love.** According to Rule (2013), Stephanie Brooks came from a wealthy family, was a beautiful, six feet tall, intelligent, sophisticated, and driven young woman studying at the University of Washington. Bundy fell madly in love with her as she had the looks, intelligence, and social standing which he had always wanted for himself. “He showed her off like a possession to his old friends” (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012, p. 62) and they were suitably impressed that Bundy was able to date someone of such high calibre. In order to try and impress Stephanie, Bundy moved to Stanford to study Chinese. However, he was not

emotionally ready to move away from home and he quickly fell behind academically which drastically affected his self-confidence (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012; Sullivan, 2009).

Initially, Stephanie was attracted to his boyish charm and found it endearing. However, as time went on she perceived him to be immature, lacking in social and emotional maturity, as well as drive and motivation (Rule, 2013). Stephanie did not view Bundy as a prospective husband and she ended the relationship. Glenn, Bundy's brother, told Michaud and Aynesworth (2012), "[Stephanie] 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" (p. 63). Bundy left Stanford to return to the University of Washington where he withdrew from the Chinese department and worked as a busboy for a local yacht club. Bundy then registered for courses in urban planning after failing to get into the architecture program. However, he did not attend any of the lectures or write any exams, and dropped out of college in January 1968 (Tanay, 2013). Bundy decided that he needed to get away from Washington for a while and he travelled to California, Colorado, and Pennsylvania for three months (McClellan, 2006; Tanay, 2013).

Ted did not understand what had happened to him, why the mask he had been using had failed him. This first tentative foray into the sophisticated world had ended in disaster. It would usher in another period of isolation in which he would brood on his situation, keeping himself until a better, more workable mask could be fashioned. The rest of 1967 was, as he remembered, "absolutely the pits for me – the lowest time ever". (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012, p. 63)

### **Adulthood: Predictably Unpredictable**

**For the thrill of it.** When Bundy arrived back to Seattle, Washington, from his three month escape, he worked as a kitchen assistant and grocery store packer. Shortly after this, Bundy's criminal life began as he started to commit acts of theft, burglary, and shop lifting.

He befriended a thief and drug user called Richard who reportedly helped Bundy develop his criminal skills such as stealing, especially shoplifting. Bundy did not necessarily do it for money as he hardly sold any of it. Stealing was motivated more by his wanting to acquire possessions and for the thrill of it (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012; Sullivan, 2009).

Bundy would often use alcohol to become drunk and smoked cannabis in order to help lose his inhibitions and provide the self confidence he needed in order to commit his illegal acts (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012; Rule, 2009; Sullivan, 2009). Bundy found that he was good at stealing and went largely undetected. He soon learned his appearance could be easily altered as he did not have any defining facial features. “His first principle was anonymity” (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012, p. 64). Bundy would use this trait of anonymity to his advantage for far more sinister and destructive crimes (Rule, 2013). During this time period, Bundy had, by chance, met an old high school acquaintance who asked if he would like to get involved in politics (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012; Sullivan, 2009).

**Politics.** Bundy had worked as a volunteer during a local political race when he was in his final year of high school and thoroughly enjoyed the experience. Bundy looked forward to the social life it offered him as he told Michaud and Aynesworth (2012):

Politics gave me the opportunity to be close to people. To be socially involved with them... as a consequence of working with them. You get very close. You drink each night – and people sleep with each other. It’s a sort of built in social life. Which I never had. (p. 25)

As a result, in 1968 Bundy embraced the opportunity of volunteering full time for a Republican campaign. Bundy saw politics as an opportunity and an area which could catapult him to the class and status of society which he always sought for himself. Bundy told Michaud and Aynesworth (2012):

The reason I loved politics was because here was something that allowed me to use my talents and assertiveness. You know, the guy who'd raise his hand in class and speak up. And the social life came with it. You were accepted. You went out for dinner with people. They invited you to dinner. I didn't have the money or tennis-club membership or whatever it takes to really have an inside track. So politics was perfect. You can move among the various strata of society. You can talk to people to whom otherwise you'd have no access to. (p. 65)

**Getting back on track.** By the age of 22, Bundy had matured into a slim, even-featured young man with bright blue eyes. His co-workers during the political campaign state that he was well liked and charismatic (Rule, 2013). The only physical characteristic which people found strange or abnormal was Bundy's extended stare and abnormal use of eye contact (Keppel & Birnes, 2005). Although Bundy had previously been in a relationship with Stephanie, his first sexual experience occurred in a once off encounter with an older woman in which Bundy was reported to be completely passive as it was initiated by the woman (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012).

In 1969, Bundy felt that his life was getting back on track and it is reported that he decided to make contact and another attempt at a relationship with Stephanie. Stephanie however, was not impressed and still viewed Bundy as immature and lacking in direction. According to Rule (2013), it was also during this period that Bundy decided that he wanted to ascertain and confirm the truth about his birth, so he travelled to Vermont in 1969 where he went to view his birth certificate. Bundy's suspicions were finally confirmed that Louise was in fact his mother and his 'parents' were in fact his grandparents, however, he explained to Michaud and Aynesworth (2012) that he viewed it as an opportunity to become the person he always wanted to be. Michaud and Aynesworth (2012) carefully point out, "Bundy never elaborated on what that decision was" (p. 56).



According to McClellan (2006), Bundy wanted to belong to something larger and more successful than the life he knew. As a result of the rejection from Stephanie and discovery of the truth surrounding his birth, Bundy reportedly used this as a driving force in deciding who he was and who the man was that he wanted to be. He returned to Seattle in the late summer of 1969 and took a boarding room in a university district where he met and dated Elizabeth Kendall (a pseudonym she created for herself in order to protect her identity) for approximately six years (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012).

**Elizabeth Kendall.** Bundy and Kendall had met in a bar in 1969 after Kendall had recently moved to Seattle after a difficult and painful divorce. Kendall was the daughter of a prominent doctor, was a few years older than Bundy, and had a three year old daughter from her former husband who was a convicted felon (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). Rule (2009) described Kendall as, “a diminutive woman with long brown hair-not pretty, but with a winsomeness that made her seem years younger than she was (p. 23). In Kendall’s (1981) book, *The Phantom Prince: My Life with Ted Bundy*, she wrote “I knew when I first looked at him, before we had even danced, that he was a cut above the rest of the crowd” (p. 10).



*Figure 6. The Phantom Prince (Kendall, 1981). Theodore Bundy and ex fiancé Elizabeth.*

Michaud and Aynesworth (2012) reported that Kendall had a jealous streak which was exacerbated by Bundy's dishonesty and unfaithfulness as well as her insecurities. Although Bundy and Kendall had a tumultuous relationship, she described him as tender and loving and that he was a great father figure to her young daughter. They had planned on marrying on a number of occasions, however, Bundy did not want to commit and even tore up the marriage licence one day during one of their many heated arguments (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012; Sullivan, 2009). Kendall had fallen pregnant in 1972 with Bundy's child, however, she terminated the pregnancy and, although Bundy had supported her decision, he was, reportedly, angry (Kendall, 1981).

Kendall (1981) reported that, before Bundy was arrested, she had found some unusual items in his car such as an oriental knife, crutches, a meat cleaver, ski mask, and a pair of pantyhose with cut-outs for the eyes. When she asked Bundy about them he responded "if you ever tell anyone about this, I'll break your fucking neck" (p. 65). Sullivan (2009) wrote "It would not be a normal relationship, to be sure. He would not only secretly date other women at various times, but he would also be transforming into the efficient killer we have all come to know" (p. 58). Even though Kendall began suspecting Bundy of murder and had given his name to authorities, Kendall stood by Bundy's side even after he had been arrested and gone on trial (Rule, 2013).

**Changing careers.** In order to earn an income while studying, Bundy had a number of different jobs including being a waiter, busboy, working in a logging mill, and in political campaigns where he reportedly got paid (Tanay, 2013). It appeared that Bundy was doing well for himself and going in the right direction from 1970 to 1973. Bundy was achieving academically in class, was viewed as a rising star in the Republican Party, and was considered a hero by the Seattle police for apprehending a thief and saving a toddler from drowning in Green Lake (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012; Rule, 2009). "Ted Bundy took

lives, he also saved lives” as Anne Rule experienced with him while working at a crisis centre in Seattle (Rule, 2009; p. 28).

**Psychology.** In June of 1970 Bundy re-enrolled in the University of Washington (UW) where he began his degree in psychology (Michaud & Aynesworth, 1989; Rule, 2009). While completing his degree, Bundy counselled at a local crisis centre where callers were often on the brink of suicide and in need of help. Bundy reported that he enjoyed the experience and that he matured and grew from it (Tanay, 2013). At the crisis clinic Ted befriended another volunteer named Ann Rule, who wrote a comprehensive book on Bundy, *The Stranger Beside Me*. Rule (2013) recalled that she was very fond of Bundy and always felt safe within his presence. She described Bundy as protective, empathetic, and someone who showed her great kindness during a difficult period of her life. After graduating from the University of Washington in 1972 with a degree in psychology which he obtained *cum laude*, he began working at a psychiatric outpatient clinic at Harborview Hospital (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012; Tanay, 2013).

**Law.** Shortly after graduating, Bundy worked for a political campaign from September to November of 1972. He became a ‘spy’ for the David Evans campaign, where he would record conversations of the opposition and then report back to Evans. Bundy took up acting classes where he used various disguises, make up, and played different roles (Michaud & Aynesworth, 1983). In late 1972, Bundy secured a job at the Seattle Crime Commission during which he helped launch a pilot study on rape prevention (McClellan, 2006). Shortly after Bundy graduated, he applied to law school. Bundy’s final statement on his admissions application was a striking one. The final paragraph stated “I apply to law school because this institution will give me the tools to become a more effective actor in the social role I have defined myself” (Rule, 2000, p. 39). No one could imagine that in later

years, Bundy would be representing himself in his own defence after being charged for some of the most heinous crimes in American history (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012).

**Affairs.** While Bundy was still in a relationship with Kendall, he reportedly had a number of affairs with co-workers, as well as with Stephanie Brooks. Bundy and Stephanie had kept in contact sporadically since the dissolution of their relationship in 1967 (Rule, 2009). According to Bundy, it was “sublime and overpowering. The first touch of hands, the first kiss, the first night together... For the next six years, Stephanie and I would meet under the most tentative of circumstances” (Rule, 2013, p. 13). Stephanie was impressed at Bundy’s personal growth and perceived him to have developed into a confident and successful young man. They began dating and Stephanie fell in love with Bundy and they soon got engaged despite still living with Kendall back in Washington. Bundy maintained two separate lives as neither one was aware of the other. However, the romance was short lived as the relationship ended in 1973 after Bundy’s demeanour changed. He became cold, disinterested, and distanced himself from Stephanie. It was not the first, nor would it be the last time that Bundy would have a sudden change in demeanour (Rule, 2013).

### **The Entity**

Through the interviews with his biographers, Stephen Michaud and Hugh Aynesworth, Bundy would often refer to an *entity* that overcame the murderer. The first time Bundy ever acknowledged any type of involvement in the murders was in a phone call Bundy made to Kendall after he had been recaptured in 1978. Kendall (1981) wrote:

In that middle-of-the-night phone call from Florida, Ted told me that he tried to stay away from me when he felt the power of his sickness building in him. I wondered if those times coincided with the times I felt left out, felt like he was hiding something from me. I suspected that it was other women, and it often was, but he was also hiding

a terrible secret. He loved life and enjoyed it to the fullest. The tragedy is that this warm and loving man is driven to kill. (p.183)

It was later discovered through telephone records and a later admission to Kendall that he would often contact Kendall after he had committed his murders. “Liz Kendall was, for Ted Bundy, a connection to the world of the sane” (Sullivan, 2009, p. 65).

**Victims.** Through their interviews conducted with Bundy, it became apparent to Michaud and Aynesworth (2012) that Bundy did not view his victims as individuals, but rather depersonalised them and viewed them as objects which he wanted to acquire and possess. Von Drehle (2006) wrote: “Bundy was always surprised when anyone noticed that one of his victims was missing, because he imagines America to be a place where everyone is invisible except to themselves” (p. 311). He relied on his physical attractiveness and practised charm to stalk and secure the trust of his victims (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). The true identity of victims will likely never be known and although he was sentenced to death for three of his crimes, he was sentenced in absentia for many others (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). Bundy denied involvement in any of the crimes of which he was accused, however, he finally confessed to 30 murders just days before his execution (Keppel & Birnes, 2005; Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012).

I don't know what secrets Bundy took to the grave with him, crimes that he was either too embarrassed to talk about or too close to the victim to reveal. He had indicated to me that there were crimes that serial killers would never reveal to authorities because they held special meaning to them. (Keppel & Birnes, 2005, p. 495)

**Victim profiles.** Bundy's known victims had a number of similarities as identified by McClellan (2006). Bundy's victims were all white females in the age range of 18 – 25. However, two of his victims were 12 years old. In terms of victims' education and lifestyles, they were predominantly college students or college graduates, and few engaged in high risk

lifestyles. Only two of his victims reportedly hitchhiked, which is considered a high risk activity as it is a transportation choice which involves getting into a stranger's car. Although most of his victims engaged in occasional, social drinking, there are no reports of excessive alcohol or drug abuse (McClellan, 2006; Rule, 2013).

Bundy did not personally know any of his victims and he was a stranger to them. However, it has been reported that he was in a psychology class with one of his victims, Lynda Ann Healy, although they may not have known one another. Of the women whom Bundy had dated, married or lived with, none ever came to any harm. On a few occasions, he simply broke into his victims' homes at night and bludgeoned them as they slept (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). However, he typically stalked and then approached his victims in public places, faking an injury or disability using crutches or a cast on his arm or leg in order to gain sympathy, or impersonating an authority figure in order to lure them to his VW Beetle where he carried handcuffs, a crowbar, a knife, duct-tape, gloves, rope, and other tools (McClellan, 2006). Bundy would then overpower, handcuff, and assault his victims before taking them to more secluded locations. Bundy travelled great distances, such as to Washington, Oregon, Utah, Colorado, and Florida to locate his victims, and to commit, dispose, and conceal his crimes (McClellan, 2006; Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012).

Bundy would typically bludgeon, sexually assault, rape, strangle, and dismember his victims. Some of his victims' injuries included bite marks on their breasts and buttocks, and slashing wounds to their breasts and genitalia (McClellan, 2006). Bundy would often revisit his secondary crime scenes for hours at a time, grooming and performing sexual acts, and necrophilia with the decomposing corpses until decay and destruction by wild animals and the natural elements made further encounters impossible (Keppel & Birnes, 2005; McClellan, 2006; Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012; Rule, 2013).

Bundy reportedly took photographs, body parts, and items of personal effects from victims as souvenirs or mementos. In his final confessions before he was executed, Bundy admitted to severing and decapitating at least 12 of his victims, and reportedly kept four to five severed heads in his apartment for a period of time. Furthermore, Bundy confessed to incinerating the head of one of his victims in his then girlfriend, Kendall's fireplace (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). Figure 7 represents photographs of some of Bundy's known victims.



*Figure 7: A Partial List of names and photographs of Ted Bundy's Victims [Online Image. n.d.].*

**Washington State victims.** Bundy reportedly sexually assaulted and bludgeoned Joni Lenz (pseudonym) in early January 1974 while she was asleep. Although she survived the attack, she suffered from permanent brain damage. Lynda Ann Healy was attacked and kidnapped while she slept and was reported missing the following morning on the 1<sup>st</sup> of February 1974 while her roommate was asleep next door. Donna Gail Manson was a student at Evergreen State College and disappeared on 12<sup>th</sup> March 1974. Susan Rancourt then disappeared after reportedly helping a man with a cast to his VW Beetle on 17<sup>th</sup> April 1974. Kathy Parks disappeared on the 6<sup>th</sup> May 1974 and was last seen on her college campus. Brenda Ball was last seen leaving a tavern on 1<sup>st</sup> June 1974. Only the jawbones and skulls of Healy, Parks, Rancourt and Ball were discovered on Taylor Mountain between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup>

of March 1975. Although Bundy claimed that Manson's remains were also dumped there, they have never been recovered (Keppel & Birnes, 2005; Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012).

Bundy's next known victim was Georgeann Hawkins who was abducted on the 11<sup>th</sup> June 1974. While on death row Bundy confessed that he had feigned an injury and had asked her to help carry his briefcase to his car where he then struck her with a crowbar before abducting her in his car. Bundy confessed to Keppel that he had strangled her with rope that he had in his car before severing her head with a hacksaw (Keppel & Birnes, 2005). Janice Ott and Denise Naslund both disappeared from Lake Sammamish State Park on the 14<sup>th</sup> July 1974, four hours apart. Witnesses claim that a man calling himself 'Ted' had approached Ott, asking her to help him with a sail boat. The remains of Hawkins, Ott and Naslund were discovered on 7<sup>th</sup> September 1974 one mile from the park off Interstate 90 (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012; Keppel & Birnes, 2005).

**Utah victims.** Nancy Wilcox was last seen in a VW Beetle on October 2<sup>nd</sup> 1974. Melissa Smith disappeared on 18<sup>th</sup> October 1974, her body was discovered nine days later. It was later established that she had been raped, sodomised, and strangled. Laura Aime disappeared on 31<sup>st</sup> October 1974, and her body was found beaten and naked a month later with the cause of death being strangulation (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). Carol DaRonch identified Bundy as the man who had kidnapped her on the 8<sup>th</sup> November 1974. Bundy had disguised himself as a police officer, however, DaRonch soon became suspicious and a struggle ensued. She was able to escape after Bundy inadvertently placed both handcuffs on the same hand. That same evening Debra Kent disappeared after she left during the intermission of a school play to go and fetch her younger brother. A key fitting the handcuffs that DaRonch had on was discovered in the school parking lot from which Kent had disappeared (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012).



**Colorado victims.** Caryn Campbell went missing on the 12<sup>th</sup> January 1975 while she was on vacation in Aspen, Colorado. Julie Cunningham disappeared on 15<sup>th</sup> March 1975 and Bundy confessed that he had used crutches as a means to get her to help him carry ski boots to his car. When they got to his car he reportedly hit her with a crowbar and restrained her using his handcuffs before strangling her (Keppel & Birnes, 2005). Denise Oliverson disappeared on 6<sup>th</sup> April 1975, and Bundy later confessed that he had severed her head and incinerated it in Kendall's fireplace. Lynette Culver disappeared on 6<sup>th</sup> May 1975 after she disappeared from her junior high school. The remains of Cunningham, Oliverson, and Curtis were never found (Keppel & Birnes, 2005; Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012).

**Florida victims.** After his escape from in prison in 1978, Bundy was able to commit six known attacks in Florida where he killed two young women and one young girl in the period of a month (Rule, 2012; Sullivan 2009). The Chi Omega crimes were described as a frenzied attack where Bundy bludgeoned five young women in one night while they slept, killing two of them, and nearly biting the nipple off one of them on the 15<sup>th</sup> January 1978 (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). Bundy had crept into the Chi Omega sorority house in the early hours of the morning where he savagely violated and bludgeoned Margaret Bowman and Lisa Levy to death in their beds while they were sleeping (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). Karen Chandler and Kathy Kleiner Deshields were also viciously attacked that night while they were asleep in their beds, but they physically survived the ordeal (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012; Rule, 2013). Bundy's last known rape and murder was committed on a 12 year old girl named Kimberley Leach in which he abducted her from school on the 9<sup>th</sup> February 1978. Bundy's murderous rampage was finally brought to a close when he was recaptured on the 15<sup>th</sup> February 1978 (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012; Rule, 2013; Sullivan, 2009). Table 9 provides a chronological summary of Bundy's known victims as well as a brief description of the circumstances surrounding their death or disappearance.

Table 9

*Chronological List of Bundy's Known and Identified Victims*

<b>Date</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Disappearance/Circumstance</b>
<b>1974</b>			
January 4 <sup>th</sup>	Joni Lenz (Pseudonym)	18, Survived	Bludgeoned in her bed as she slept, survived but with permanent brain damage.
February 1 <sup>st</sup>	Lynda Ann Healy	19	Beaten and bludgeoned unconscious while asleep and abducted from the house she shared with other University of Washington students.
March 12 <sup>th</sup>	Donna Gail Manson	19	Abducted while walking to a jazz concert on the Evergreen State College campus, Olympia, Washington
April 17 <sup>th</sup>	Susan Rancourt	18	Disappeared as she walked across Ellensburg's Central Washington State College campus at night.
May 6 <sup>th</sup>	Roberta Kathleen 'Kathy' Parks	22	Vanished from Oregon State University in Corvallis while walking to another dorm hall to have coffee with friends.
May 25 <sup>th</sup>	Brenda Ball	22	Disappeared from the Flame Tavern in Burien, Washington.
June 11 <sup>th</sup>	Georgeann Hawkins	18	Disappeared from behind her sorority house, Kappa Alpha Theta, at the University of Washington in Seattle.
July 14 <sup>th</sup>	Janice Ott	23	Disappeared from Lake Sammamish State Park in Issaquah, Washington.
July 14 <sup>th</sup>	Denise Naslund	19	Disappeared the same day and location as Janice Ott.
August 2 <sup>nd</sup>	Carol Valenzuela	20	Last seen at a Welfare office in Vancouver
October 2 <sup>nd</sup>	Nancy Wilcox	16	Disappeared while on holiday, Utah. Her body was never recovered.
October 18 <sup>th</sup>	Mellissa Smith	17	Vanished from Midvale, Utah on her way to a friend's house.
October 31 <sup>st</sup>	Laura Aime	17	Disappeared from a Halloween party at Lehi, Utah
November 8 <sup>th</sup>	Carol DaRonch	18, survived	Escaped from Bundy by jumping out from his car in Murray, Utah.
November 8 <sup>th</sup>	Debra (Debby) Kent	17	Vanished from the parking lot of a school in Bountiful, Utah, hours after

			DaRonch escaped from Bundy.
<b>1975</b>			
January 12 <sup>th</sup>	Caryn Campbell	23	While on a ski trip with her fiancé in Aspen, Colorado, Campbell vanished between the hotel lounge and her room.
March 15 <sup>th</sup>	Julie Cunningham	26	Disappeared while on her way to a nearby tavern in Vail, Colorado.
April 6 <sup>th</sup>	Denise Oliverson	25	Abducted while visiting her parents in Grand Junction, Colorado.
May 6 <sup>th</sup>	Lynette Culver	13	Snatched from a school playground at Alameda Junior High School, Pocatello, Idaho. Her body was never found.
June 28 <sup>th</sup>	Susan Curtis	15	Disappeared while attending a youth conference at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.
July 4 <sup>th</sup>	Nancy Baird	23	Disappeared while working at a convenience store. Confessed shortly before his execution. Layton, Utah.
<b>1978</b>			
January 15 <sup>th</sup>	Lisa Levy	20	The Chi Omega killings, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida.
January 15 <sup>th</sup>	Karen Chandler	Survived	The Chi Omega killings, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida.
January 15 <sup>th</sup>	Margaret Bowman	21	The Chi Omega killings, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida.
January 15 <sup>th</sup>	Kathy Kleiner Deshields	Survived	The Chi Omega killings, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida.
January 15 <sup>th</sup>	Cheryl Thomas	Survived	Bludgeoned in her bed, eight blocks away from the Chi Omega Sorority house.
February 9 <sup>th</sup>	Kimberley Leach	12	Kidnapped from her junior high school in Lake City, Florida. She was raped, murdered and discarded in Suwannee State Park.

*Note:* Adapted from Michaud, S. G., & Aynesworth, H. (2012). *The Only Living Witness*. New York: Simon & Schuster; Sullivan, K. M. (2009). *The Bundy murders: A comprehensive history*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Company.

## The Bundy Trials

**First arrest.** Bundy was first arrested on the 16<sup>th</sup> August 1975 after he was initially stopped for a traffic violation and had refused to stop for a police officer. During the search

of his vehicle the officers discovered suspicious items such as a crowbar, a pair of handcuffs, a pantyhose mask, and rope in his VW Beetle (Keppel, 2000). The officers suspected that he was planning on committing a burglary and as a result they arrested and charged him for possession of burglary tools (see Figure 9). Jerry Thompson, a detective in Utah, connected Bundy and his VW to the DaRonch kidnapping case in which he was later charged, and the unraveling of Bundy's crimes began as search warrants were issued and evidence was found connecting him to other crimes (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012; Rule, 2013; Sullivan, 2009).



*Figure 8: Police Photograph (1975). These items were recovered from Theodore Robert Bundy's VW when he was first arrested.*

**DaRonch trial.** Bundy was identified by Carol DaRonch as 'Officer Roseland', the individual who had disguised himself as a police officer on the 8<sup>th</sup> of November 1974 before kidnapping and assaulting her. On the 1<sup>st</sup> of March 1976, Bundy was sentenced to 15 years in Utah State Prison for aggravated kidnapping and criminal assault. The district attorney described Bundy as "the most cocky person I have ever faced" (Rule, 2013, p. 243). Bundy had become the suspect in a number of unsolved homicides in a number of different states and shortly after the DaRonch kidnapping conviction, he was extradited to Colorado where he faced murder trials (Michaud & Aynesworth, 1989; Rule, 2002; Schechter, 2003).

**First escape.** Bundy's first escape occurred on the 6<sup>th</sup> of June 1977 while he was on trial for murders in Colorado (Carlisle, 2013). Bundy was acting as his own defence lawyer and, as a result, he received slightly more freedom than a typical prisoner. During a court recess, Bundy was alone for a few minutes when he took the opportunity to jump from a window on the second floor of the courthouse. He had been planning his escape for weeks, as he used to jump from the top of his bunk bed in his cell in order to strengthen his ankles for the impact of the fall. Bundy was arrested six days after his escape, after he had become exhausted (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012).

**Second escape.** Bundy had been planning his second escape for a number of months as he started to develop a pattern in order to not arouse the prison guards' suspicions (Carlisle, 2013). He had started to ensure that he reduced his meal sizes in order to lose weight and feigned illness in the mornings leading up to his escape so that he could go undetected for a number of hours (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). On the 31<sup>st</sup> December 1977, Bundy escaped through a small vent in the ceiling of his cell. The prison authorities only discovered that Bundy had escaped 17 hours later, by which stage Bundy was already in Chicago (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012).

During his escape from Colorado, Bundy assumed the alias of Chris Hagen and stole a number of vehicles as he fled towards Tallahassee, Florida where he arrived on the 8<sup>th</sup> January 1978 (Rule, 2013). It was in Florida, during his second escape, where he committed the Florida State Chi Omega sorority house attacks and murders, and the murder of Kimberley Leach. He was eventually caught and arrested on the 15<sup>th</sup> February 1978 after a police officer identified the VW Beetle that Bundy had stolen (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012).

**Convictions and death row.** Bundy was arrested and later charged for a number of crimes during his extensive 17 year criminal career including possession of burglary tools,

kidnapping, murder, rape, assault, and drug charges (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). During his trials Bundy would act as his own lawyer as well as testify at his trials. Bundy's friends and family were shocked when he was first arrested and many continued to believe his protests of innocence until the evidence eventually became overwhelming, or until he finally confessed shortly before his execution in 1989 (Rule, 2013). Bundy received three death sentences in two separate trials for the Chi Omega homicides of Lisa Levy and Margaret Bowman and the murder of Kimberley Leach which he committed in Florida. Bundy was placed on Death row after being sentenced to death for the Chi Omega murders in 1979 and was tried, convicted, and sentenced to death for the murder of Kimberley Leach in 1980. After the verdict was given, Judge Cowart said in closing:

It's a tragedy for this court to see such a total waste of humanity that I've experienced in this courtroom. You're a bright young man. You'd have made a good lawyer, and I'd have loved to have you practice in front of me—but you went another way partner. Take care of yourself. (Rule, 2013, p. 424)

In terms of the atrocities and murders Bundy committed, he was only held accountable for three of his murders and he was in effect, “sentenced in absentia ... and therefore would dodge personal responsibility for his atrocities until the very end of his life” (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012, p. 306). Furthermore, although Bundy had gone through three criminal proceedings for the DaRonch kidnapping, Chi Omega murders, and Kimberley Leach murder, little was known about who he really was or why he did it and, as a result, “he also denied society any edification” (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012, p. 306).

**Psychiatric evaluations.** Bundy had undergone extensive psychiatric evaluations and assessments conducted by psychiatrists and psychologists over a number of years that he spent in prison and on death row and received diagnoses including personality disorders such as Narcissistic Personality Disorder and Antisocial Personality Disorder (then known as



*Figure 9: Theodore Robert Bundy (1979). Ted Bundy smiles while listening to the judge speak.*

*psychopathy*), as well as Bipolar Mood disorder (Rule, 2013). For the most part, the purpose of the evaluations was for either the prosecution or defence to be able to present their findings to the court in order to boost their cases, however, mental health professionals and law enforcement agencies were eager and hopeful that they would provide insight in trying to understand Bundy, how he came to be, and what insight he could provide on others who commit murder (Keppel & Birnes, 2012; Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012; Rule, 2013).

Dr Al Carlisle, a prison psychologist who assessed Bundy in 1976, wrote “Ted was an exceptionally keen observer, always aware of himself in connection with everything and everyone around him. He felt he had a sixth sense about things” (Carlisle, 2013, p. 289). He concluded his 10 page report by saying “I feel Mr. Bundy has not allowed me to get to know him and I believe there are many significant things about him that remain hidden” (Sullivan, 2009, p. 53). Dr Van O. Austin, a prison psychiatrist, reported that Bundy compartmentalised,

rationalised, and debated every facet of his life and that he showed a lack of empathy and remorse (Sullivan, 2009).

Dr Tanay was asked by Mike Minerva, Bundy's lawyer at the time, to conduct a psychiatric evaluation on Bundy in April 1979 in order to determine Bundy's psychological state and competency to stand trial. Tanay (2013) was declared 'a witness adverse to both parties' and gave testimony as the judge's expert witness as neither the defence nor the prosecution wanted him to testify on their behalf. Tanay (2013) stated that Bundy was greatly affected by his pathology namely, Antisocial Personality Disorder. Furthermore, he described Bundy as manipulative and a sadistic sexual murderer:

[Bundy] easily manipulated those who dealt with him on a personal level. He was intelligent, polished, and charming, and besides that façade, the stories of sadistic killings seemed the stuff of fantasy. But he was a manipulative, self-destructive, sadistic psychopath. ... In a sadistic sexual murder, torture precedes the murder, and the sadistic acts provide the sexual gratification. Ted Bundy belongs to the category of sadistic sexual murderers. A sadistic serial killer's success depends upon his appearing normal. Psychopaths, (Antisocial Personality Disorder) are typically charming and persuasive, which enables them to manipulate the people around them. Their sadistic behaviour is bizarre; however, their day-to-day behaviour is "normal" and arouses no suspicion. Ted Bundy is the poster case for this type of a killer. (Tanay, 2013, para. 68 – 71)

Dr Dorothy Otnow Lewis did extensive psychiatric interviews and evaluations on Bundy in December 1987. During the interviews conducted with family members, it was only then that the details surrounding Bundy's childhood were discovered such as his abusive grandfather. During her testimony in 1979, she stated that Bundy suffered from Bipolar Mood Disorder and committed his murders during his manic states (Michaud & Aynesworth,



2012). “Bundy’s masochism, in combination with malignant narcissism, would prevail. Ultimately, Bundy’s pathological need for immediate gratification led him to the electric chair. He manipulated the legal system to kill him” (Tanay, 2013, para. 121).

**Death row interviews and confessions.** On 27<sup>th</sup> March 1980, Bundy began interviews on death row with Stephen Michaud and Hugh Aynesworth in order for them to write a biography on his life, *The Only Living Witness*. Michaud and Aynesworth (2000) soon realised that Bundy’s ability to dissociate, rationalise and compartmentalise “was a key to understanding his entire mental edifice” (p. 17). As a result, in order to eliminate the confessional ‘I’, they devised a plan and presented it to Bundy asking him to *speculate*, in the third person, what the murderer did during each of the murders that he was suspected of committing. The tactic worked as Bundy could legally avoid any admission of guilt and he described in detail, how some of the murders were committed and the mind of the killer at the time (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012).

Not only did Bundy’s third person narratives assist investigators in understanding Bundy, but he also indirectly assisted the research, investigation, and understanding of murderers which was being conducted by the Behavioural Science Unit (BSU) of the FBI. Bill Hagmaier worked for the BSU and he developed a particularly close relationship with Bundy who developed a sense of trust in him. Furthermore, in October 1984, Bundy offered homicide detective and task force investigator Robert Keppel his ‘unique expertise’ on serial murderers in the understanding and search for the Green River Killer (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012; Keppel & Birnes, 2005).

**Carole Ann Boone.** Bundy and Carole had previously met in the summer of 1974 when they both worked for the Department of Emergency services (DES). Fellow co-workers described Carole as a sister/mother type figure who was hard working, passionate, free spirited, and one of the most competent staff members at DES (Michaud & Aynesworth,

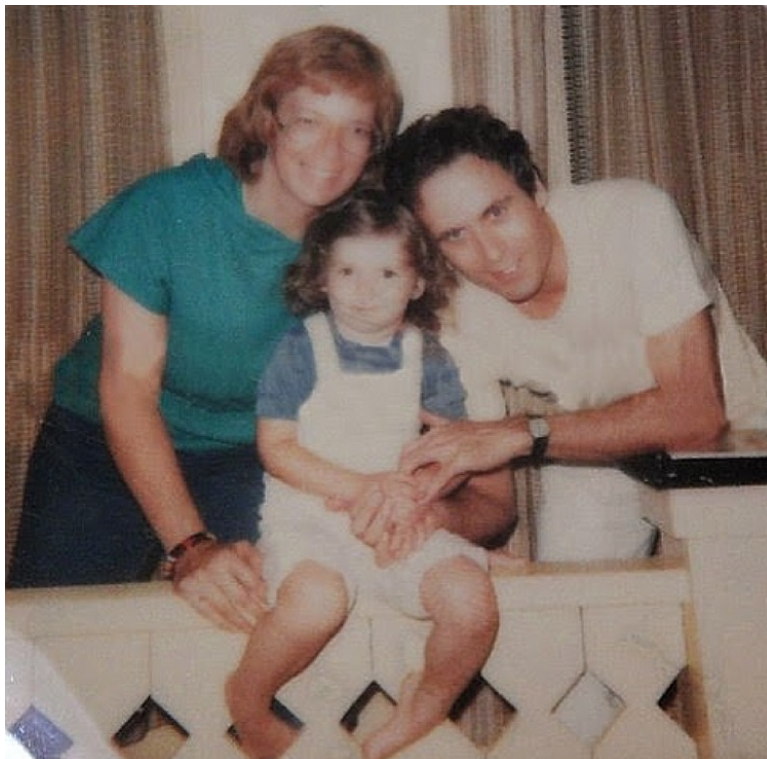
2012). Carole was going through a difficult period when she had met Bundy as she had recently divorced from her second husband, was trying to raise her son, Jamey, and had recently lost a close relative. Carole recalled that she and Bundy got on instantly and that she was particularly attracted to his sensitivity to her emotional problems.

Carole and Bundy started communicating again through letters in 1977 while Bundy was in prison for the kidnapping of Carol DaRonch. According to Michaud and Aynesworth (2012), Bundy had set out to replace Kendall after he had discovered that she was planning on marrying her new boyfriend. Carole believed that Bundy was innocent of all charges against him, and was glad to get closer to him. Carole would often send care packages to Bundy, visited him in prison, and claimed that they had developed an affectionate friendship which later progressed to love (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012).

Carole became devoted to Bundy and would make him lunch for every court appearance which she would also attend, and she eventually moved to be closer to him while he was in a prison in Florida (Rule, 2013). In 1980 Bundy had already been convicted and sentenced to death for two of the Chi Omega murders and was in court for the murder of Kimberley Leach. On the 9<sup>th</sup> of February 1980, the anniversary of Kimberley Leach's murder, Carole and Bundy formalised their relationship and got married in court while Carole was testifying on the stand for Bundy (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012; Rule, 2013; Sullivan, 2009).

Bundy continued to deny the charges and convictions against him, claiming that evidence had been tampered with and that the witnesses were incorrectly identifying him, while Carole stood loyally at his side defending his innocence. According to Michaud and Aynesworth (2012), Bundy was able to impregnate Carole in the visitor's room of death row behind the water-cooler. Carole reportedly gave birth to their daughter, Rosa in October 1982. Bundy only confessed his crimes to Carole and her son Jamey a number of days before

his execution, thereafter Carole divorced Bundy, changed her and Rosa's names and relocated. Bundy had no further contact with Carole or his daughter and their identities and locations are unknown although it is reported that Carole died in 2005 (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012; Rule, 2013).



*Figure 10: Ted, Carol and Rosa Bundy (n.d).*

**Final confessions.** The day before his execution, while awaiting his death, Bundy finally confessed to a number of murders to detectives from different states in which he had been suspected of committing as well as the murders of other unidentified victims not known to police (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). However, he still denied and refused to acknowledge or talk about certain crimes such as his acts of necrophilia and the murder of Kimberley Leach which may have also been an attempt to receive a stay of execution (Keppel & Birnes, 2005; Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). According to Nelson (1994), Bundy admitted to her that he committed his first murder in 1969 however, he had told Keppel that he committed his first murder in 1972, two years prior to that of which police are aware

(Keppel & Birnes, 2005). Bundy had one final interview the day before his execution with James Dobson in which Bundy blamed pornography for the development of his violent crimes (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012).

**Execution.** The attractive, suave, intelligent, and deadly *All American Boy* would remain the poster child for teaching law enforcement and the public that ‘the devil sometimes looks like angels’. In the early hours of the morning of the day of his execution, Bundy reportedly told his mother Louise, “I’m so sorry I’ve given you all such grief, but a part of me was hidden all the time ... But, the Ted Bundy you knew also existed” (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012, p. 324). After 18 appeals and three previous successful stays of execution in 1986, Theodore Robert Bundy was executed at 7:13 AM on January 24th, 1989 (Nelson, 1994). He was 42 years old and confessed to over 30 murders of young female victims. However, the true number and identity will likely never be known (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). There were 12 witnesses at Bundy’s execution which included district attorneys, state troopers, detectives as well as his attorney Jim Coleman and Reverend Fred Lawrence. Bundy’s last words were: “Jim and Fred, I’d like you to give my love to my family and friends” (p. 325). Jim and Fred had been Bundy’s lawyers.

A bit above average intelligence, a bundle of social and sexual insecurities, Ted Bundy did what he knew how to do. He became the good student, prepared for his role, learned his lines, and practiced his craft ... Ted Bundy ultimately succeeded in majoring in murder. (McClellan, 2006, p. 35)

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter, the life of Theodore Robert Bundy was presented chronologically and discussed throughout his lifespan. The influence of the social environment in which Bundy’s development took place was taken into consideration during the longitudinal description. In the following chapter, Chapter Five, the preliminary methodological considerations as well as

the research methodology is provided. In Chapter Six, the constructs of Erikson's (1963) psychosocial theory of development is applied to the life of Theodore Robert Bundy as explored and discussed in this chapter.

## **Chapter Five**

### **Research Methodology**

#### **Chapter Preview**

This chapter discusses the methodological considerations, concerns and challenges when conducting a psychobiographical study. Recommendations are provided on ways in which to manage these challenges and limitations in regards to current research study. This chapter will describe the research design and methodology, the specific aim of the research study, as well as provide a delineation of the data collection, data extraction, and data analysis procedures. Furthermore, ethical considerations are highlighted to ensure that the study presented is compliant with the necessary and relevant codes and requirements.

#### **Primary Aim of the Research Study**

Psychobiographical studies utilise theories, philosophy, science and principles of psychology as instruments for understanding the individual being studied (Schultz, 2005). In addition, psychobiographies are based on an exploration and examination of the motivations, emotions, life-style, perceptions, fears, and any other motivational factors which determine the individual's place in the world (Baxter & Jack, 2008). The primary aim of this study was to explore and describe the personality development of Theodore Robert Bundy as a serial killer, within the framework of Erik Erikson's (1963) theory of psychosocial development in order to develop a relevant psychobiography. The purpose was to generalise the results of the study to aspects of the theory used and not to the larger population (Schultz, 2005), which Yin (2013) described as a process of analytical generalisation.

Bundy was analysed according to Erikson's (1963) first six psychosocial stages of development as he was executed when he was 42 years old (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2011). In addition, a secondary objective of the study was to clarify and test the propositions of Erikson's (1963) theory by applying it to Bundy's life. Erikson emphasised that a rigorous

research methodology is important in order to produce a psychobiography which is of a high standard (Elms, 1994).

### **Research Design**

For this research study, a qualitative, exploratory-descriptive approach was utilised in studying the life of Bundy. Explorative research allows for better insight into an area of study of the life of an individual, and it is a type of case study which is used to explore situations in which there is no clear, single set of outcomes (De Vos et al., 2005; Yin, 2003a). Descriptive research allows for a more detailed, defined and comprehensive understanding of the individual, and is often combined with explorative research (De Vos et al., 2005; Neuman, 2006; Stake, 1995).

The study utilises a psychobiographical single-case study design over an entire lifespan in order to explore and describe the life of Bundy and, more specifically, employs a qualitative, single-case, interpretative research design. Case studies are useful as they allow the researcher to connect an individual from a micro level to larger social constructs that take place on a macro scale as well as the dynamics and influence the two have on one another (Neuman, 2006). Furthermore, case studies allow for the emergence of new theoretical frameworks which can then be further researched and established (Neuman, 2006). This design uses psychological theory as a way of exploring an individual's life in order to produce an illuminating view of that individual. Furthermore, this means that the study undertakes to systematically use psychological theory to contribute to knowledge building (Yin, 2013).

Multiple sources of information from a variety of contexts were used in order to explore, describe, document, and report on the life of Bundy (De Vos et al., 2005). Furthermore, as this study exists within the qualitative research context, and in order to ensure the quality of research in the study, Tracy (2010) describes eight key markers (known

as the 'Eight "Big-Tent" Criteria') of excellence in qualitative research, which were used in the overall consideration and quality of the study. According to Tracy (2010), the eight key markers of quality in qualitative research include (a) worthy topic, (b) rich rigour, (c) sincerity, (d) credibility, (e) resonance, (f) significant contribution, (g) ethics, and (h) meaningful coherence. These key markers are summarised in Table 10. In addition to the above mentioned criteria for ensuring excellent qualitative research, the researcher was mindful of potential pitfalls which will now be further elaborated upon (Baxter & Jack, 2008).

### **Preliminary Methodological Considerations**

In order to ensure that the study was beneficial to scientific psychology, certain considerations were made and steps were followed in order to avoid possible transgressions, as psychobiographical studies have received criticisms in the past (Elms, 1994; Schultz, 2005). According to Seale (1999), methodological discussions improve the quality of research by enhancing the researcher's awareness about the methodological implications of particular decisions made during the course of a research study. Methodological criticisms and difficulties as well as the steps that were taken to reduce these criticisms in the current research study will now be discussed.

**Limitations and considerations in psychobiography.** According to Elms (1994), three aspects are important in creating a good psychobiography, namely, thorough research of the subject, original and innovative conceptualisation, and the grounding of the research on sound psychological theory. Although it appears that the focus is on understanding and conceptualising the individual, it is equally important for the researcher to be aware of other factors which may influence the quality and objectivity of the research (Singer, 2003). Each potential limitation or criticism is discussed in turn and suggested strategies to reduce the influence of these difficulties are provided.



Table 10

*Eight "Big-Tent" Criteria for Excellent Qualitative Research*

<b>Criteria</b>	<b>Various Means, Practices, Methods through which to Achieve</b>
<b>Worthy topic</b>	<i>The topic of the research is:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relevant</li> <li>• Timely</li> <li>• Significant and interesting</li> </ul>
<b>Rich rigour</b>	<i>The study uses sufficient, abundant, appropriate and complex</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Theoretical constructs</li> <li>• Data and time in the field</li> <li>• Sample(s)</li> <li>• Context(s)</li> <li>• Data collection and analysis processes</li> </ul>
<b>Sincerity</b>	<i>The study is characterised by</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Self-reflexivity about subjective values, biases, and inclinations of the researcher(s)</li> <li>• Transparency about the methods and challenges</li> </ul>
<b>Credibility</b>	<i>The research is marked by</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Thick description, concrete detail, explication of tacit (non-textual) knowledge, and showing rather than telling</li> <li>• Triangulation or crystallisation</li> <li>• Multivocality</li> <li>• Member reflections</li> </ul>
<b>Resonance</b>	<i>The research influences, affects or moves particular readers or a variety of audiences through</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Aesthetic, evocative representation</li> <li>• Naturalistic generalisations</li> <li>• Transferable findings</li> </ul>
<b>Significant contribution</b>	<i>The research provides a significant contribution</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conceptually/theoretically</li> <li>• Practically and morally</li> <li>• Methodologically and heuristically</li> </ul>
<b>Ethical</b>	<i>The research considers</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Procedural ethics (such as human subjects)</li> <li>• Situational and culturally specific ethics</li> <li>• Relational ethics</li> <li>• Exiting ethics (leaving the scene and sharing the research)</li> </ul>
<b>Meaningful coherence</b>	<i>The study</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Achieves what it purports to be about</li> <li>• Uses methods and procedures that fit its stated goals</li> <li>• Meaningfully interconnects literature, research questions/foci, findings, and interpretations with each other</li> </ul>

*Note:* By Tracy, S.J. (2010). Qualitative quality: Eight "big-tent" criteria for excellent qualitative research. *Qualitative enquiry*, 16(10), p. 840

**Researcher bias.** If the researcher has either strong positive or strong negative views or feelings towards the subject the study may become biased. This is a potential flaw of psychobiographical studies (Elms, 1994). Anderson (1981) states that a criticism of psychobiographical research is researcher bias as researchers may idealise or depreciate the research subject as it is suggested that every researcher will have a personal reaction to their subject. Due to the in-depth nature of psychobiographical studies, they are reported to emulate the therapeutic relationship, and, as a result, issues of transference and countertransference should be recognised (Meissner, 2003). Human beings are inclined to have strengths and weaknesses, therefore it is important to identify and acknowledge these potential biases. Furthermore, it is important for the researcher to be aware of the reasons for choosing the chosen study and the ways in which he or she cannot be objective (Berg, 1995; 1998).

Although some may see the researchers personal reactions as researcher bias, the researcher's reaction can also be useful as a research tool in further exploration of a particular area of the research subject life (Anderson, 1981). According to Schultz (2005) a large variety of methodological guidelines should be used in order to reduce researcher bias such as keeping a journal and reflecting on one's thoughts and feelings on a regular basis. Creswell (2003) suggest that throughout the research process, the researcher should reflect upon the research process, clarify possible biases and the narrative which is being created. In addition, it has been suggested that supervision be utilised in order provide feedback in order to decrease researcher bias and increase objectivity of the research (Creswell, 2003). Babbie and Mouton (2001) state that sound research design and systematic observations are useful in order to increase objectivity and reduce errors in research.

The researcher chose Bundy as the particular research subject as she was interested in understanding the development of Bundy's unique personality characteristics and traits as

well as what may have led an individual such as Bundy, to become a serial murderer. The researcher believes that during the research process she was able to maintain a balance of empathy, subjectivity and objectivity through the utilisation of peer supervision as well as the supervision of her research supervisor of the research study, by reflecting on her emotional reactions and how they may have impacted on the study (Meissner, 2003).

***Inflated expectations.*** Researchers should be aware of the limitations of psychobiographical research. It is important for the researcher to be familiar with the scope of the psychobiographical approach as well as the advantages and disadvantages.

Psychobiographical research is an opportunity to understand an individual's personality through theory and is not an opportunity to rewrite history (Anderson, 1981). In addition, the researcher should acknowledge and be tentative in drawing conclusions and generalisations as the proposed study is a form of explorative-descriptive research (Berg, 1998; De Vos et al., 2005; Schultz, 2005). According to Anderson (1981), the findings of the researcher should be viewed as speculative, increasing existing explanations and understandings rather than replacing or making claims to interpreting the entire complexity of the research subject's life. The present researcher is aware that psychological explanations developed from the psychobiographical study, are adding to an already existing body of knowledge (Vorster, 2003).

The researcher acknowledges and recognises that she is unable to understand and uncover the full complexity of Bundy's personality development and life and emphasises the exploratory nature of this study (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Furthermore, the researcher undertook extensive research in the field of psychobiographical studies and their research methodologies in order to become familiar with the approach in order to recognise potential pitfalls of the study. In drawing conclusions, the researcher was cognisant of ensuring that a

number of examples were used in order to support a theoretical supposition (Ellis & Levy, 2009).

*Analysing an absent subject.* Although psychobiographical research has much to contribute, a limitation exists in that it obtains data from documents and secondary sources rather than from a present subject. Therefore, the researcher may not have had an adequate view of the problem (De Vos et al., 2005). In addition, the researcher may find some data difficult or impossible to obtain, or the data may have been written for other purposes which may be difficult in identifying in order to give an accurate representation of the subject. In spite of the above, De Vos et al. (2005) suggests that there are advantages with working with an absent subject such as no data collection is necessary, it already having been generated, as well as the reduction in subject bias and harmful effects and ethical dilemmas. Elms (1994) states that analysing an absent subject has its benefits as it enables the researcher to access to the subject's entire lifespan which include adaptive as well as maladaptive behaviour. Subject bias is also removed as the research subject does not have a reaction to the research which eliminates a number of ethical dilemmas and harmful effects of the study (Anderson, 1981).

Data triangulation was used in order to justify certain themes in the present study which means that different sources of information were consulted (McAdams, 2005). In order to reduce some of the limitations of analysing an absent subject, a number of sources were utilised in gathering Bundy's biographical data and were then compared to one another in order to ensure trustworthiness and consistency. Furthermore, to facilitate and provide a comprehensive and complete view, the researcher also aimed at highlighting any discrepancies or contradictory information from different perspectives (Creswell, 2003).

*Cross-cultural differences.* In order to fully understand the development of an individual, one must acknowledge and understand the circumstances in which the individual grew up in (Berg, 1998). Psychobiography has value as it does not merely look at the

individual's story in isolation. It is also able to take into account the social, cultural, political, and psychological context of that individual's environment (Patton, 2002). Therefore, the context should be acknowledged in order to account for cross cultural differences. Bundy's context was explored and further elaborated upon in Chapter Four of the study which included analysing the United States of America during the 1970s, post World War II (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2011).

The context of Bundy's development was taken into account in the current study in order to reduce misinterpretations led by cross-cultural differences (Anderson, 1981). Furthermore, as part of the literature review, the culture, community, and historical period in which Bundy grew up was included. Erikson's (1963) theory of psychosocial development was incorporated within Bundy's lifespan and culture.

***Reductionism.*** According to Schultz (2005), there are a number of markers which suggest bad psychobiography. A number of them are forms of reductionism, including: 1) *pathography*, which focuses primarily on the shortfalls or deficits of the individual; 2) *single cues*, which suggest that there is unnecessary emphasis placed on one part of the data; and 3) *reductionism of development*, which suggests that the researcher does not pay enough attention to all the different stages of development and only focuses on one particular aspect.

Elms (1994) and Howe (1997) suggest that in order to overcome the danger of reductionism occurring in a study, the researcher should focus on the holistic nature and complexity of the individual being studied. In the present study this included utilising Erikson's (1963) stages of development, applying it throughout Bundy's life, using an *eugraphic approach* which is focuses on health and normality and not just upon his pathology (Elms, 1994). In order to reduce reductionism, the researcher consulted multiple sources of data in a variety of forms such as first and third person accounts, as well as primary and secondary sources in articles, books, and film documentaries (Elms, 1994). Schultz (2005)

suggests that conclusions should flow naturally, in a narrative, from the explanatory information presented in the study. This means that the researcher was mindful of presenting only descriptive information such as diagnoses or other labels which would pathologise or oversimplify the research subject.

*Elitism and easy genre.* Schultz (2005) explains that psychobiographical studies have been criticised for being an easy genre as it can allegedly be written with minimal effort. However, he goes on to explain that a good psychobiography contributes towards the knowledge base of psychology and is not an easy study as there is a large amount of data which needs to be examined, evaluated, and coded (Runyan, 1988b). Even the most well intentioned psychobiographers are faced with obstacles to which other researchers are not exposed, and, therefore, it remains a challenge to write a good psychobiography (McAdams, 1994). Fouché and Van Niekerk (2010) note that psychobiographical studies have been widely used in recent years and found to be effective in training psychologists in South Africa.

Furthermore, Runyan (1998b) disagrees that psychobiographical research is an easy genre, as an extensive range of information and data needs to be collected and consulted from multiple sources. In addition, an extensive knowledge of the subject's socio-historical context as well as sound psychological knowledge is necessary, as the researcher utilises psychological theory in analysing and understanding the subject (Runyan, 1998b). The researcher agrees that psychobiographical research is a time consuming and complex initiative as she had to explore the development of Bundy's multidimensional personality across his entire lifespan, taking into account various aspects such as his particular context, and the impact this had on his development. The researcher dealt with this potential pitfall by consulting a diverse range of sources as well as consulting with her research supervisor.

Another criticism of psychobiographical studies is that they are a form of research which is only directed at the elite. However, according to Elms (1994), this is not the case as the researcher is free to choose any person of their choice and there is a wide variety of individuals which have been studied.

***Infinite amount of biographical data.*** According to Alexander (1988), there are a number of ways in which the vast amount of data can be managed. This includes the following: (a) *primacy*, which is examining the information first presented by a document; (b) *frequency*, which investigates information that is repeated a number of times; (c) *uniqueness*, which is looking at information which is not repeated; (d) *emphasis*, which studies the focus placed on different amounts of information; (e) *omission*, which tries to identify information that should be there but which is not, and the importance of such omissions; (f) *error of distortion*, which is attempting to discover the importance of information that may not have been intentionally presented, or when it is presented in an unusual manner; (g) *isolation*, which is examining information which is presented unexpectedly and individually; (h) *incompletion*, which is to analyse a story which the narrator did not finish telling and lastly; (i) *negation* which refers to the process of exploring aspects of the subject which he or she may deny which may provide insight into unconscious or repressed material.

In producing the literature review on Bundy, the researcher was cognisant of identifying themes and patterns which arose. These were then used for further data collection in reconstructing and analysing Bundy's life. Steps such as identifying themes were useful in managing the vast amount of data and information which was gathered in this research study in terms of data collection and data analysis (Bryman, 2012). The researcher was mindful of discrepancies between data or information which was either over or under emphasised (Alexander, 1988). Furthermore, the researcher noted certain limitations of the study such as gaps in data and information, for example a detailed picture of Bundy as an infant and

toddler. Bundy's denial of certain sexual acts or violence provided insight into repressed material which is further discussed in the findings and discussion chapter.

***Trustworthiness.*** According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), establishing the trustworthiness of a qualitative research study is essential to concerns conventionally or traditionally known and discussed as the validity and reliability of a study. Reliability can be described as the extent to which the study will yield the same results if replicated by another individual (Ramasay, Richards & Taylor, 1999; Yin, 2003b; 2013). In order to enable replication of this study, it was important to be clear on the exact methodology as well as keeping concise records of the data collection (Krefting, 1991; Sandelowski, 1986, 1993; Yin, 2013). Validity can be described as the strength of the relationship between data. Internal validity refers to the conclusion of data, and the external validity of a study refers to the amount of generalisations that can be made from the study (Ramasay et al., 1999). In the case of a psychobiographical research, the conclusions should be generalised to the theory and not to the population (Yin, 2013). Construct validity is another type of validity which can be described as the utilisation of appropriate frameworks for conceptualisation which, in the case of the current study, meant keeping with the main aim of the study and ensuring that it remained relevant to the person being studied namely, the life of Bundy (Yin, 2013). According to Lincoln and Denzin (2003), trustworthiness is negotiable and open-ended, placing no expectation on readers to be compelled to accept the account.

Although the extent to which a study is valid and reliable is important to any research study, Lincoln and Denzin (2003) propose that issues of validity and reliability are not as applicable to qualitative research. Instead, four alternative areas of focus for naturalistic inquirers are suggested, namely *credibility*, *transferability*, *dependability* and *confirmability*. These were all addressed and acknowledged in order to increase the accuracy of the findings of the research study (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). In later research conducted by Lincoln and



Denzin (2003), a fifth area of focus was proposed, namely *authenticity* however, this will only briefly be discussed as Lincoln and Denzin (2003) state that further research is needed.

*Credibility.* Credibility can be defined as the confidence in the *truth* of the research findings. The aim of the research study is to describe and explore the subject as in-depth as possible so that the interactions and complexities of variables are so consistent that they can only be valid (De Vos, 2005). According to Lincoln and Guba (1985 p. 134), “the most crucial technique for establishing credibility” is through “member checks”.

Triangulation of sources as well as analyst triangulation were utilised in this study in order to gain credibility. Triangulation of sources can be defined as examining the consistency of different sources of data such as comparing different viewpoints or interpretations and understandings. Member checks, also known as analyst or investigator triangulation, can be defined as using observers or analysts to review the research study and findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Sokolovsky, 1996).

The researcher utilised her research supervisor as well as an independent, external researcher who is a published author of psychographical research methods, in order to illuminate possible blind spots and selective perceptions (Sokolovsky, 1996). It is important to mention that the purpose of consulting other researchers and analysts was not done in order to seek consensus with the findings but to understand multiple ways of seeing the data. In other words, would other researchers draw similar conclusions if faced with the same data (Flick, 2006)? According to Guba and Lincoln (2005), using multiple methods and sources can help facilitate deeper understanding of the phenomena and subject being studied.

*Transferability.* Transferability replaces what would conventionally or traditionally be known as external validity. Transferability can be described as the applicability of the research in other contexts (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In this particular research study, the research study’s transferability refers to the consistency of the findings in terms of the

psychological theory, research question, data collection, and analysis of research material and not to statistical generalisation (Yin, 1994).

To put it more clearly, the psychobiographical approach provides an understanding of the individual and highlights their circumstances as unique within their context, instead of generalising it to the general population (Fouché & van Niekerk, 2010). The way in which external validity was obtained in the current research study was through rich and thick descriptions. By describing phenomenon and experiences in rich and extensive detail, one can begin to evaluate the extent to which the conclusions drawn are transferable to other times, settings, situations, and people. A thin description can be described as the opposite to thick description which is known as superficial detail and analysis of a study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

*Dependability.* Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest that dependability replaces what would conventionally be known as consistency or reliability. In other words, should the research be replicated or repeated, the findings should be consistent. However, it is unlikely that the research study could be replicated and, as a result, the pursuit of dependability was related to the consistency of the research findings in terms of the research question, data collection, and analysis of material. According to Krefling (1991), exceptional situations and variability are regarded as valuable learning opportunities. Consistency was obtained in the present research study by peer auditing procedures. External audits provide an opportunity for an outsider to challenge the process and findings of a research study. The research supervisor of the study acted as an external auditor in order to examine both the process and product of the research study. The purpose was to evaluate the accuracy of whether or not the findings, interpretations, and conclusions were supported by the data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

*Confirmability.* Confirmability can be described as the degree of neutrality which a research study encompasses. In other words, the extent to which the findings of the research study are shaped by the objectivity of the data rather than the objectivity of the researcher (Krefting, 1991; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Auditing is also useful in establishing conformability and is an exercise in reflexivity, which involves the provision of a methodologically self-critical account of how the research was done. Furthermore, an audit trail is a transparent description of the research steps taken from the start of a research project to the development and reporting of findings. These are records that are kept regarding what was done in an investigation which will be utilised in the current study. In addition, process and summary notes related to procedure, rationales, summaries, and trustworthiness notes were utilised in order for data reconstruction and the synthesis of theory and data which was collected and analysed (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

*Authenticity.* A fifth criterion for ensuring trustworthiness is authenticity, which is evident if researchers can show fairness, or that they have represented a range of different perspectives and realities (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; 1994; 2005). The researcher focused on developing two areas of authenticity in the study, namely, ontological authenticity which enables the reader of the research to further develop their understanding of the phenomenon being studied, as well as educative authenticity which assists the reader of the research study to appreciate the viewpoints of people other than themselves (Lincoln & Denzin, 2003). However, as Kőváry (2011) suggests, the first step in conducting psychobiographical research is choosing a research subject.

### **The Psychobiographical Subject**

A psychobiography is essentially a case study which is typically aimed at gaining an understanding into the uniqueness and significance of a particular individual with all their intricacies (Schultz, 2005b; Yin, 2003a). Erikson (1968) reports that *personal reflexivity*,

which is the personal motivations of the qualitative researcher in choosing the research subject, need to be explored and clarified before research commences. Willig (2008) elaborates:

Personal reflexivity involves reflecting upon the ways in which our own values, experiences, interests, beliefs, political commitments, wider aims in life and social identities have shaped the research. It also involves thinking about how the research may have affected, and possibly changes us, as people and as researchers. (p. 10)

Kőváry (2011) mentions the importance of choosing a research subject who the psychobiographer has ambivalence towards, as the potential exists for the researcher to idealise or despise the research subject. Meissner (2003) refers to this as the transference and countertransference with regard to psychobiographical writing. The subject of this study was chosen via a purposive sampling technique based on the researcher's choice and judgement. The psychological study provided the opportunity to gain insight and an understanding into how or why Bundy developed into the person he became. Bundy was chosen on the basis of his interest value, complexity, and wealth of information available on him in the public domain.

### **Data Collection**

According to Creswell (1994; 1998), the idea of qualitative research is to purposively select documents and material which will best answer the research question. Data collection was gained from the public domain via books, journal articles, and interviews conducted with Bundy. Besides the interviews conducted with Bundy, there is a lack of primary documents available, therefore, secondary documents had to be utilised. Secondary documents are documents which have been produced by someone else, individuals other than Bundy (Allport, 1961). As a result, the researcher was cautious when viewing and gathering documents due to the sensationalism surrounding Bundy (Kőváry, 2011).

Data triangulation was used from a number of sources such as journal articles, interviews, books, and film documentaries in order to reduce bias and enhance the trustworthiness of the study (Yin, 2003b; 2013). This entails obtaining or gathering information from a number of sources such as articles, published materials, film documentaries and media forums. An independent researcher experienced in this methodology as well as the research supervisor of the study acted as external auditors to determine whether similar conclusions would be drawn if another researcher had to conduct research using the same data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

### **Data Extraction and Analysis**

Data extraction and analysis refers to sifting through vast amounts of information and reducing it to manageable sizes. Thereafter it involves transforming the information into findings, identifying patterns, and developing a framework in order to record the findings of the study (De Vos et al., 2005). Yin (2003a) describes data analysis as “examining, categorizing, tabulating, testing, or otherwise recombining both quantitative and qualitative evidence to address the initial propositions of a study” (p.109). According to Patton (2002), as data collection occurs, possible patterns and themes begin to emerge and the researcher is left with further questions regarding the life of the psychobiographical subject.

Content analysis was utilised in order to identify themes and patterns from which the researcher has drawn conclusions, as well as to understand how the data was analysed. Bryman (2012) states that qualitative content analysis “is probably the most prevalent approach to the qualitative analysis of documents. It comprises a searching-out of underlying themes in the materials being analysed” (p. 557). Furthermore, Patton (2002) refers to content analysis as “any qualitative data reduction and sense making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings” (p. 453).

Content analysis involves either inductive analysis, deductive analysis or both (Berg, 1998). For the current research study both were utilised as the researcher initially used inductive analysis which implies that the researcher allowed patterns, themes and categories to emerge (Patton, 2002; Thomas, 2006). However, deductive analysis was also utilised as Erikson's (1963) psychoanalytically based theory of psychosocial development was used in order to make sense of the information and themes which emerged.

Yin (2003a; 2013) describes five techniques used in data analysis namely: pattern matching, linking data to propositions, explanation building, time-series analysis, logic models, and cross-case. However, the techniques relevant for this research study were pattern matching, logic models, and explanation building which will be described briefly.

*Pattern matching* can be described as relevant to descriptive research as long as predicted patterns of certain variables are defined prior to data collection. *Explanation building* is a form of pattern matching and is used to explain and link how or why something happened. Furthermore, according to Yin (2003a), explanation building is relevant to explanatory case studies as they aim to build on an existing body of knowledge and develop ideas for further study. In studying Bundy, Erikson's (1963) theory was utilised and applied to his life in order to understand the development of his personality, and why or how he developed into the person he became. An *individual logic model* was used in the current research study as the case study was about Bundy, an individual person. Yin (2003a) describes logic models as a form of pattern matching as it connects theoretically predicted events to empirically observed events in a cause and effect relationship, as well as a complex chain of events over an extended period of time. In the current research study, Bundy's personality development was connected and understood using the eight stages of Erikson's (1963) theory of psychosocial development, which is discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

Apart from the above mentioned methods in data analysis, Alexander's (1988) model was also utilised.

**Alexander's model.** Alexander (1988) developed two methods which enable data extraction and analyses, namely "letting the data reveal itself," and "asking the data a question" (p, 265). In terms of the first step of data analysis, allowing the data to reveal itself, the researcher paid special attention to Alexander's (1988) nine principle identifiers of salience in order to consider the significance of data which was collected and analysed. Table 11 provides a description of the nine identifiers of salience which include primacy, frequency, uniqueness, negation, emphasis, omission, errors or distortions, isolation, and incompleteness.

The second step, asking the data questions, included questions such as "How is psychosocial development conceptualised in this study?" and, "How will a dialogue be created between the data extracted and the content of the psychosocial development applied in this study?" To answer the first question, the study was conceptualised according to Erikson's (1963) theory of psychosocial development, which was explored in detail in Chapter Three. The second question was answered by considering analytic generalisation (Yin, 2013), which is analysing how the data facilitates the process of theoretical extension by testing, developing or adding to an existing theory or body of knowledge (Schultz, 2005b).

By utilising Alexander's (1988) method, the researcher was assisted in sorting through a large amount of data and identifying patterns and themes (Elms, 1994). However, data analysis required the researcher to be open to the possibility that the research findings may be ambiguous or contradict the theory used in understanding the research subject (Creswell, 1994). According to Miles and Huberman (1994), there are three ways to engage in data analysis, including data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification which will now be expounded upon.

Table 11

*Alexander's (1988) Nine Principles of Salience*

<b>Principle</b>	<b>Description</b>
<i>Primacy</i>	The link which is established between the first concept and its importance such as early memories, and first experiences which are perceived as being in the forefront of the individual's mind are worthy of special attention.
<i>Frequency</i>	Expressions or phrases which are repeated in regard to oneself, another, or some inanimate object or event may be judged as significant as there is generally a direct correlation between the frequency in which information is repeated, and its importance or certainty.
<i>Uniqueness</i>	Events which are singular, unusual, or abnormal are worthy of closer inspection and attention such as introducing something new, variations in the language commonly used by the subject, or variance in what otherwise may be expected to be the response of the subject.
<i>Negation</i>	The importance of events or information which is denied or turned opposite in explanation. Negation statements are often indicators of possibly repressed or unconscious material. Elms (1994) suggests paying attention to what the subject is <i>not</i> saying.
<i>Emphasis</i>	The importance of events or information which is denied or turned opposite in explanation. <i>Over-emphasis</i> is seen when attention is given to something considered ordinary whereas <i>under-emphasis</i> is seen when too little attention is made to something which seems important.
<i>Omission</i>	When a subject's narrative does not include information that is crucial for coherence or "a sense of flow" (Alexander, 1988, p. 19). In some instances, the omitted information pertains to affect how the subject felt during the experience he or she describes, or how others may have felt.
<i>Errors or Distortions</i>	Mistakes which are often related to person, place or time. This principle of salience is a derivative of the classic Freudian slip (Elms, 1994). However, the principle may also apply when the classical slip is not so apparent.
<i>Isolation</i>	Typically, isolated statements are introduced out of context as the information does not fit, or stands alone. This could suggest that which stands alone stands out.
<i>Incompletion</i>	Something which is described or explained, but terminated without closure such as when an individual begins a story and changes the subject or topic. Such an incompletion could lead the researcher in considering it to be of significance.

*Note:* Adapted from Alexander, I. E. (1988). *Personal, psychological assessment and psychobiography*. In D. P. McAdams & R. L. Oehberg (Eds.), *Psychobiography and life narratives* (pp. 265- 294). London: Duke University Press.



**Data reduction.** Data reduction can be defined as “the process of selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting and transforming the data” (Miles & Huberman, 1994 p. 63). By reducing qualitative data, of which there is often a large quantity, the researcher is able to retrieve data and organise it into manageable components for analysis (De Vos et al., 2005). As a result, this allows the researcher to organise data into identifying categories, patterns and themes. The data obtained was organised according to psychoanalytical based theories, namely, Erikson’s (1963) theory, thereby organising the data for analysis and increasing the trustworthiness of the study. Within a psychological framework it was easier to recognise and identify patterns and themes as well as the consistency and inconsistency from the relevant sources (Alexander, 1988).

**Data display.** Data display is the gathering and organisation of information in order to make it easily accessible, thus allowing the researcher to form hypotheses about its meaning (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The classification of data included identifying stories, locating epiphanies and identifying contextual factors (Schultz, 2005). The relevant data was authenticated by using multiple sources of data (data triangulation) which increases the trustworthiness of the results. Furthermore, the researcher utilised a data grid in order to easily identify Bundy’s personality development, as well as themes and patterns which emerged through his life when applied to Erikson’s (1963) theory of psychosocial development.

**Conclusion drawing and verification.** Conclusion drawing and verification refers to making interpretations and drawing meanings from the data, that is, in the descriptive framework and convergence of evidence (Miles & Huberman, 1994). A better understanding of Bundy was gained during the conclusion stage of the research which was done by summarising and reflecting upon the complexities of the data (De Vos et al., 2005). A number of strategies were utilised when making interpretations and drawing meanings, such

as the use of triangulation (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Triangulation was used in order to reveal multiple constructed realities and expose discrepancies in research (Blaikie, 1991).

Neuman (2006) suggests that a researcher should aim to be *unbiased*, *objective* and *value free* in drawing conclusions. Firstly, *unbiased* implies that the researcher follows a systematic, neutral process in drawing conclusions from encoded data. Secondly, *objective* refers to logical procedures when drawing conclusions which are factual and observable. Thirdly, *value free* suggests that cultural, moral or any other prejudicial values which the researcher holds will not influence the conclusions drawn (Neuman, 2006). The above mentioned considerations lead to a number of ethical considerations which will now be expounded upon.

### **Ethical Considerations**

Runyan (1994b) and the American Psychiatric Association (APA, 1976) noted ethical considerations which considered the potential embarrassment or harm to the research subject and to their relatives and associates as well as the invasion of privacy. The study was proposed and submitted to the Faculty of Postgraduate Studies Committee (FPGSC) in order to obtain approval to conduct the study. The FPGSC found that it was not necessary for the research study to be presented at the Research Ethics Committee (Human) of the Faculty of Health Sciences at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU) in order to obtain ethical approval to conduct the research, due to the following reasons:

Firstly, Elms (1994) highlighted the limited existence of ethical guidelines for psychobiographies, but suggested that information obtained should be treated with respect and carefully documented. Consideration should be given to any parties that might potentially suffer embarrassment or harm as a result of the research. According to Ponterotto (2014; 2015), should the researcher uncover highly sensitive or personal information which may be previously unknown, the researcher should weigh the cost of reporting such information.

Bundy was executed in 1989 and the information obtained was information freely available and accessible to the public, therefore these factors were not relevant to the study. Elms (1994) indicated that these guidelines do not necessarily justify conducting a psychobiographical study or significantly emphasise confidentiality. However, he states that “ethical psychobiography doesn’t just avoid the unethical, it adds to our human understanding of ourselves and other human beings” (p. 255).

Secondly, although the current research study was focused on the life of a deceased individual, there were still a number of ethical considerations which needed to be complied with, according to the Health Professionals Council of South Africa (HPCSA, 2011). The ethical considerations included the following: The research was not in violation of any law or standards governing research (international or national), and no deception was used within the study. All information obtained from various sources were acknowledged and referenced. The data used in this study was from the public domain, and all knowledge was treated with respect. Furthermore, the data and results are to be published and made available to others who would like to further analyse, verify or expand on the research (HPCSA, 2011).

From the perspective of the Belmont Report (1979), relevant risks and benefits must be carefully displayed in documents and procedures used in the informed consent process. Bundy is a deceased individual therefore, risks have been ascertained and are low as information that is used will only be gathered from the public domain thereby minimising risk.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter highlighted the criticisms and concerns with regard to conducting psychobiographical research and, as a result, the important considerations which need to be taken into account when conducting psychobiographical research. In recognising preliminary methodological issues, this chapter aimed to minimise disadvantages of the

psychobiographical research method. In order to increase the trustworthiness of the research, issues of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability were explored. The design and methodology used in this psychobiography of Bundy's life was outlined and explained. The methods of data collection, extraction, analysis, and display were presented. Ethical considerations were highlighted in order to ensure that this research complied with the relevant codes and standards. The findings of this study are discussed in the following chapter.

## Chapter Six

### Findings and Discussion

*“Everyone carries a shadow, and the less it is embodied in the individual’s conscious life, the blacker and denser it is” (Jung, 1938, p. 131).*

#### Chapter Preview

The personality development of Theodore Robert Bundy is presented in this chapter according to Erikson’s (1963) theory of psychosocial development. A conceptual outline for the presentation and discussion of findings is provided at the beginning of the chapter, and thereafter each of the developmental stages, respective crises, psychosocial virtues, maladaptations, and malignancies proposed by Erikson (1963) will be discussed in terms of Bundy’s experiences.

#### Conceptual Outline for the Presentation and Discussion of Findings

The psychobiographical approach enables the researcher to collect salient biographical data which can then be extracted, analysed, and presented within the context of the selected theory (Fouché & Van Niekerk, 2010). The current study utilises Erikson’s (1963) theory of psychosocial development, which was presented in Chapter Three. The chapter provides a holistic and integrated description and analysis of Theodore Robert Bundy in terms of the psychosocial stages of development and conflicts proposed by Erikson (1963).

Erikson’s (1963) theory of psychosocial development states that an individual’s personality develops and unfolds through eight predetermined stages of development. According to the epigenetic principle, the way in which an individual progresses and resolves each stage will depend largely on how they have resolved the previous stages, as all stages are related and impact on one another (Erikson, 1968). If the individual is able to navigate between the dystonic and syntonic forces and the stage is successfully resolved, the individual is able to progress to the next stage, having gained a psychosocial virtue (Erikson,

1963). This virtue will facilitate optimal personality development and the healthy psychological growth of the individual (Muus, Velder & Porton, 2010). If, however, an individual is unable to develop a balance of the particular developmental task, an imbalance occurs. Consequently, the dystonic quality is incorporated into the personality structure which will be evident in later interactions, and in severe cases, manifest itself in psychopathology (Erikson, 1968).

As mentioned in Chapter Three, the two types of imbalances that may occur are called maladaptations and malignancies. A maladaptation is an imbalance which leans towards the syntonic or positive aspect of the particular developmental task and is not considered as severe as a malignancy (Boeree, 2006). A malignancy is considered a more severe outcome of the two imbalances, and refers to an imbalance leading towards the dystonic, negative aspect of the particular developmental task. As Erikson's (1963) psychosocial development theory is considered an extension of Freud's theory, individuals may learn to cope and overcome their perceived inadequacies or failures by using defence mechanisms. Furthermore, ritualisations may also be used, as their prime function is to overcome "ambivalence as well as ambiguity" in life (Erikson, 1977, p. 578).

Due to the purpose and scope of the present study, only those aspects of Erikson's (1963) theory of psychosocial development that are applicable and useful in illuminating the life of Bundy and understanding his personality development will be discussed. Through each developmental stage, the indication and verification of various experiences in Bundy's life related to the relevant developmental opportunities, maladaptations, malignancies, and psychosocial virtues or gains are expressed in Bundy's own words and descriptions of experiences. Furthermore, in order to formulate and provide a comprehensive and holistic interpretation, aspects of Bundy's personality development as well as life experiences will be explored through the words of those who had extensive interviews or contact with him. A

particular strength of Erikson's (1963) theory of psychosocial development is that an individual's personality development is viewed as dynamic and continually changing. Therefore, despite a lack of information which may be available about Bundy at a particular age, certain inferences can be made from examples or experiences evident in later life (Boeree, 2006). An outline of the eight developmental stages identified by Erikson (1963) is now presented, however, stages seven and eight are only briefly explored as Bundy died when he was 42 years old. Table 12 provides a summary of the salient life events of Bundy in accordance with Erikson's (1963) stages of psychosocial development theory.

### **Trust versus Mistrust**

The first stage of Erikson's (1963) theory occurs approximately during the first year of the individual's life and is referred to as infancy. During this stage, Erikson (1963) suggests that a conflict exists between a basic trust and a basic mistrust of the environment. If an individual is able to successfully resolve this psychosocial crisis, the individual will develop the ego strength of hope (Erikson, 1963). As a result of the infant being completely dependent on others during this particular stage, the relationship between the infant and the primary care giver is crucial in facilitating the resolution of this developmental crisis and fostering the psychosocial virtue of hope (Erikson, 1963). Furthermore, the ability of the individual to form an emotional attachment, connection, and bond with their primary caregiver during this stage is critical for the individual's future social development, and the ability to form a connection and intimacy with others (Erikson, 1968). Bowlby (1969) defines attachment as the "lasting psychological connectedness between human beings" (p. 194).

Information regarding Bundy's life during this particular stage indicates that Bundy was left behind by Louise at the Elizabeth Home for unwed mothers directly after his birth for approximately three months while Louise contemplated giving him up for adoption (Rule, 2013).

Table 12

*Summary of the Salient Life Events of Theodore Robert Bundy categorised According to Erikson's (1963) Psychosocial Stages of Development*

<b>Developmental Crisis</b>	<b>Stage &amp; Approximate Age</b>	<b>Approximate Time Period in Bundy's Life</b>	<b>Salient Life Events of Ted Bundy Categorised in Accordance with Erikson's (1963) Stages of Development</b>
Trust vs. Mistrust	<i>Infancy</i> (Birth to 1.5 yrs)	1946 – Mid 1947	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Born Theodore Robert Cowell 24<sup>th</sup> November 1946 in Vermont</li> <li>• Left behind after birth for 3 months at Elizabeth Home for Unwed Mothers</li> <li>• Moved to Philadelphia to live with maternal grandparents where he was raised to believe his grandparents were his parents and that Louise his mother was his sister</li> </ul>
Autonomy vs. Shame and doubt	<i>Early Childhood</i> (1.5yrs to 3 yrs)	Mid 1947 – 1949	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bundy and cousin discovered pornographic magazines in grandfather Sam Cowell's greenhouse</li> <li>• Places knives around Aunt Julia while she slept</li> </ul>
Initiative vs. Guilt	<i>Childhood</i> (3 yrs to 5 yrs)	1949 – 1951	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Theodore Robert Cowell name changed to Theodore Robert Nelson, 6<sup>th</sup> October 1949</li> <li>• Moved away from "parents" to live with his "sister" and Uncle Jack in Tachoma, Washington, 1951</li> <li>• Louise meets Johnnie Bundy and they marry that same year, 1951</li> <li>• Theodore Robert Nelson name changed to Theodore Robert Bundy, 1951</li> </ul>
Industry vs. Inferiority	<i>School Age</i> (5 yrs to 13 yrs)	1951 – 1958	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Linda, half sister born 1952</li> <li>• Glenn, half brother born 1954</li> <li>• Sandra, half sister born 1956</li> <li>• Bundy fails to make it on the basketball and baseball teams</li> </ul>
Ego-Identity vs. Role-Confusion	<i>Adolescence</i> (13 yrs to 21 yrs)	1958 – 1965	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Richard, half brother born, 1961</li> <li>• Known to juvenile case workers for committing burglary and theft</li> </ul>



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Intimacy vs. Isolation	<i>Young Adulthood</i> (21 yrs to 40 yrs)	1965 – 1986	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Starts a forgery ring with friends where they change the date and times on ski tickets</li> <li>• Graduated from high School, Spring 1965</li> <li>• Studies at University Puget of Sound, Summer 1965</li> <li>• Transfers to University of Washington to study Chinese, 1965</li> <li>• Meets and starts dating Stephanie Brooks, 1966</li> <li>• Transfers to Stanford University, 1967</li> <li>• Stephanie ends the relationship 1967</li> <li>• Bundy drops out of college, 1967</li> <li>• Works odd jobs and meets Richard, a petty criminal and drug user.</li> <li>• Bundy becomes a frequent shoplifter and thief</li> <li>• Volunteers on Republican political campaigns, 1968</li> <li>• Bundy loses his virginity to a one night stand,</li> <li>• Enrols at Temple University, Philadelphia, Jan 1969</li> <li>• Meets Elizabeth Kendall, September 1969</li> <li>• Studies psychology at the University of Washington, 1970</li> <li>• Volunteers at Seattle Crisis Clinic where he meets and befriends true crime writer, Anne Rule, 1971 – 1972</li> <li>• Graduates from UW with distinction in psychology, June 1972</li> <li>• Works at Seattle’s Harbor View Mental Health Centre as a mental health counsellor where he has a brief affair with a co-worker, 1972</li> <li>• Become a “spy” for the David Evans political election campaign, September 1972</li> <li>• Works at Seattle Crimes Commission for one month, 1972</li> <li>• Works at the King County Office of Law and Justice Planning, 1973</li> <li>• Begins working for Ross Davis, May 1973</li> <li>• Accepted by Utah College of Law, Autumn 1973</li> </ul>
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- Bundy's name first mentioned in the newspaper for catching a thief, 1973
  - Flies briefly to visit San Francisco to begin dating Stephanie for the second time while still in a relationship with Kendall, July 1973
  - Bundy begins working for the Department of Emergency Services (DES) where he meets Carole Boone, Spring 1974
  - Jodi Lenz (pseudonym) attacked while sleeping but survives, 4<sup>th</sup> January 1974
  - Lynda Healy disappears, 1<sup>st</sup> February 1974
  - Donna Manson disappears, 12<sup>th</sup> March 1974
  - Susan Rancourt disappears, 17<sup>th</sup> April 1974
  - Kathy Parks disappears, 6<sup>th</sup> May 1974
  - Brenda Ball disappears, 1<sup>st</sup> June 1974
  - Georgann Hawkins disappears, 11<sup>th</sup> June 1974
  - Elizabeth Kendall has a scary encounter with Bundy at Yakima River, 6<sup>th</sup> July 1974
  - Denise Naslund and Janice Ott both disappear on the same day, 14<sup>th</sup> July 1974
  - Nancy Wilcox disappears, 2<sup>nd</sup> October 1974
  - Melissa Smith disappears, 18<sup>th</sup> October 1974
  - Laura Aime disappears, 31<sup>st</sup> October 1974. Remains found 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1974
  - Carol DaRonch attempted kidnapping, 8<sup>th</sup> November 1974
  - Debra Kent disappears, 8<sup>th</sup> November 1974
  - Caryn Campbell disappears, 12<sup>th</sup> January 1975
  - Julie Cuninghame disappears, 15<sup>th</sup> March 1975
  - Denise Oliverson disappears, 6<sup>th</sup> April 1975
  - Lynette Culver disappears, 6<sup>th</sup> May 1975
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- Susan Curtis disappears, 28<sup>th</sup> June 1975
  - Nancy Baird disappears, 4<sup>th</sup> July 1975
  - First arrest: 16<sup>th</sup> August 1975
  - Bundy convicted of the kidnapping of Carol DaRonch and sentenced to 15 years, 1<sup>st</sup> March 1976
  - Bundy undergoes psychiatric evaluations conducted by prison psychologists Dr. Al Carlisle and Dr. Van O. Austin, 1976
  - Elizabeth Kendall and Bundy's relationship ends, 1976
  - Bundy begins a relationship with Carole Ann Boone, 1977
  - First escape from prison, 7<sup>th</sup> June 1977
  - Second arrest: 13<sup>th</sup> June 1977
  - Second escape: 30<sup>th</sup> December 1977
  - Lisa Levy and Margaret Bowan murdered, 15<sup>th</sup> January 1978
  - Karen Chandler, Kathy Kleiner Deshields and Cheryl Thomas viciously attacked but survive, 15<sup>th</sup> January 1978
  - Kimberley Leach disappears, 9<sup>th</sup> February 1978
  - Third arrest: 15<sup>th</sup> February 1978
  - Dr. Tanay conducts a psychiatric evaluation of Bundy, April 1979
  - Bundy goes to trial is convicted of two of the Chi Omega murders and is placed on Death row after being sentenced to death, June 1979
  - Bundy tried and convicted for the murder of Kimberley Leach, 1980
  - Carole Ann Boone and Bundy marry during the Kimberley Leach trial, 1980
  - Bundy begins interviews on Death row with Michaud and Aynesworth in order for them to write a biography on his life, *The Only Living Witness*, where he refers to crimes in the third person, 27<sup>th</sup> March 1980
  - Carole gives birth to Bundy's child, Rosa, October 1982
  - Assists Bob Keppel in the understanding and search for the Green river
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			Killer, October 1984
Generativity vs. Self-Absorption	<i>Adulthood</i> (40 yrs to 65 yrs)	1986 – 1989	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bundy fires his lawyers, 1986</li> <li>• Obtained first stay of execution, 4<sup>th</sup> March 1986</li> <li>• Obtains seconds stay of execution, 2<sup>nd</sup> July 1986</li> <li>• Obtains third stay of execution, 18<sup>th</sup> November 1986</li> <li>• Dr. Lewis does extensive assessments and evaluations on Bundy and diagnoses him with Bipolar Mood Disorder, December 1987</li> <li>• Bundy confesses to eight unsolved murders in Washington State to Keppel, October 1988</li> <li>• Bundy confesses to a number of the murders, January 1989</li> <li>• Final television interview with James Dobson, 23<sup>rd</sup> January 1989</li> <li>• Executed by electrocution for the murder of 12 year old Kimberley Leach, 07h13, 24<sup>th</sup> January 1989. Bundy was 42 years old.</li> </ul>
Integrity vs. Despair	<i>Old Age</i> (65 yrs to death)	Not Applicable	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Not Applicable, Bundy deceased.</li> </ul>

*Note:* Adapted from Michaud, S. G., & Aynesworth, H. (2012). *The Only Living Witness*. New York: Simon & Schuster; Olson, M., & Hergenhahn, B. R. (2010). *An Introduction to Theories of Personality* (8th ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall; Sullivan, K. M. (2009). *The Bundy murders: A comprehensive history*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Company

Thereafter, Bundy and his mother Louise moved back to Tacoma to live with his grandparents and aunts, where he was raised to believe that his grandparents were his parents and his mother was his sister (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). Although the information available regarding Bundy's development during this time of his life may be limited, certain inferences can be made from his sense of trust and mistrust evident later in his life.

**Trust.** If an infant's needs are being met, they are able to develop a basic sense of trust in others as they will view the world as a safe place where individuals are predominantly loving and reliable (Boeree, 2006; Erikson, 1963). In addition, the mutuality of trust during this stage is important as "mutual recognition and mutual trustworthiness are the earliest and most undifferentiated experiences of what will later become a sense of identity" (Muus et al., 2010, p, 48). In other words, as the infant is able to develop a sense of trust in others, they are able to equally develop a sense of trust in themselves which creates a sense of self worth and self esteem (Erikson, 1968). The individual who is able to resolve this developmental task or crisis successfully will have an optimistic outlook on life, and will, consequently, have a sense of hope and belief that things will work out (Hamachek, 1988). Furthermore, they will have the assumption that people are good, focusing on the positive aspects and behaviours of others, as they believe that individuals are trustworthy and reliable (Hamachek, 1988).

The researcher suggests that Bundy may have been able to develop a degree of trust based on the evidence that follows. Firstly, one can speculate that Bundy may have developed a degree or sense of trust from his mother, Louise, as she was described as gentle, naturally loving, and nurturing (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012; Sullivan, 2000). Secondly, when Bundy was three months old, he was moved and raised in a house full of adults which consisted of his mother, two aunts, and two grandparents (Rule, 2013). As a result, the researcher suggests that most aspects of Bundy's physical needs were met, if not by his mother, then by other members of the family and caregivers in the household. As a result of

his basic, physical needs being met, this may have fostered an element or degree of trust in others (Boeree, 2006).

Although the researcher speculates that Bundy may have developed a degree of trust through his basic physical needs being met, it is important to mention that the capacity of the individual to form an attachment, bond, and connection with others will be predominantly influenced by the *quality* of the care and attention that the infant receives, rather than by the *amount* of attention that they receive (Erikson, 1968; Wright, 1982). Furthermore, this stage represents the oral stage of development where the child learns ‘to get and to take’ as their basic needs are received through their mother’s breast. It has been reported that Bundy was left for three months at the Elizabeth Home for Unwed Mothers. The researcher suggests that it is necessary and important to consider the significant impact that this three month period of disconnection may have had on the quality of care that Bundy received, as well as the impact it may have had on Bundy’s emotional development and his ability to trust others. This is due to the fact that it was Bundy’s very first impression and introduction to the ‘outside world’, which would have formed his initial perception of others as trustworthy or untrustworthy and his environment as safe or unsafe (Boeree, 2006).

By taking into account the quality of care and ability to form an attachment, the researcher suggests that when his mother left he may have perceived his environment as hostile and inconsistent as he experienced abandonment and rejection from his mother. This would have negatively impacted on his ability to form an attachment and connection to others as well as his ability to trust that others are dependable and reliable (Erikson, 1963). Bundy’s lack of connection and attachment to his mother can be seen from the following conversation with Michaud and Aynesworth (2012) during Bundy’s later life:

We didn't talk a lot about real personal matters. Certainly never about sex or any of those things. My mom has trouble talking on intimate, personal terms. There's this logjam of feeling in her that she doesn't open up and explain. (p. 55)

It is suggested by the researcher that as a result of a lack of attachment and emotional connection to his mother during infancy, Bundy struggled to form a bond and attachment as well as intimacy with others which was evident later on in his life. Bundy acknowledged and recognised this lack of attachment and connection to others during a conversation that he had with Kendal (1981, p. 88):

I just can't seem to connect with people. Sure I can hold doors open for women and smile and be charming, but when it comes to basic relationships I just don't have it. There's something wrong with me.

Although Erikson stressed the importance of trusting others, he also stressed the importance of having a balance between trusting others, while still maintaining a certain level of mistrust (Boeree, 2006; Hook, 2002). The researcher is of the opinion that Bundy formed a predominant mistrust of others which will now be explored and discussed.

**Mistrust.** A child will develop the dystonic outcome of mistrust in others and view the world around them as unsafe, if they receive harsh, unreliable or inconsistent care and attention by their primary caregiver/s (Erikson, 1958). As a result of developing mistrust, the individual may have a pessimistic view of the world and others, and may struggle to ask for help or to accept compliments and favours as they do not trust others (Boeree, 2006).

Bundy's low sense of self worth and self esteem resulting from his mistrust is evident during the following conversation with Michaud and Aynsworth (2000, p. 33), "when people were genuinely interested in me, I seldom picked up on it. Simply, I just didn't appreciate my worth."

As mentioned previously, Bundy was reportedly left behind at the Home for Unwed Mothers for the first three months of his life (Rule, 2013). As a result, he may have viewed the world as unsafe, and it is unlikely that he had the opportunity to form an attachment or bond to a particular caregiver. Furthermore, he may have received inconsistent attention and care due to staff rotation, staff availability, and the number of children needing care at the home. The researcher is of the opinion that this resulted in an insecure avoidant and insecure ambivalent attachment style with his mother (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters & Wall, 1978). Although these are speculations, evidence throughout Bundy's life suggests that he developed the dystonic outcome of mistrust and that he viewed the world around him as unsafe. "From outward appearances, the families that serial killers are reared often seem conventional, but on closer inspection, one notices just how dysfunctional they are" (Simons, 2001, p. 352).

In addition, Bundy was raised to believe that his mother was his sister and that his grandparents were his parents (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). Therefore, one can speculate that Bundy would have perceived his primary care givers to be Eleanor and Samuel Cowell. From the information gathered and obtained, Eleanor suffered from agoraphobia and psychotic depression and was hospitalised on two occasions as a result (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). One could speculate that this may have resulted in Bundy receiving inconsistent care giving, as well as a possible sense of ambivalence or detachment as Eleanor attempted to manage her own mental illness (Ainsworth et al., 1978).

In addition to the possible inconsistent care which he received, Bundy reportedly experienced a traumatic childhood as a result of his abusive grandfather. In addition to being volatile and aggressive towards members of his own family, it was also reported that he abused the family dog by kicking it until it howled and swinging the neighbourhood cats by their tails (Rule, 2013; Sullivan, 2009). As a result, there is speculation that Samuel Cowell was possibly deranged and suffered from severe pathology as he would also sometimes be



seen talking to himself (Rule, 2013). Although Bundy may not have directly being abused by his grandfather, it is indicated that he was witness to, and exposed to, his grandfathers violent outbursts and abuse towards others and animals, which would have impacted negatively on his perception of the world and others as safe (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012; Rule, 2012; Sullivan, 2009).

Dr Lewis testified that the discovery of Bundy's grandmother suffering from mental illness and Bundy's grandfather exhibiting severe pathology was important for two reasons. Firstly, the familial history of psychopathology suggests that it is likely that Bundy was genetically predisposed to severe pathology (Rule, 2013). Erikson (1963) refers to this predisposition as a *constitutional intolerance* which is an inability to control and tolerate aggressive tendencies. Secondly, the impact that this trauma has on the child growing up in a family where there is severe pathology (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). Research has shown that almost all serial killers experience childhood trauma, however, it is not the trauma which is so significant but rather the way in which the child adapts and responds to it (Simons, 2001).

Throughout Bundy's development he reportedly sensed that he was living a lie. This would have deepened his mistrust of others and impacted on his ability to form an identity (Boeree, 2006; Rule, 2013). This lie was in connection with his true identity and the fact that Louise was in fact his mother and that his 'parents' were in fact his grandparents. According to Rule (2013), a former friend and colleague of Bundy, he said the following to her during a late night conversation while they were at work:

I knew. Don't ask me how I knew. Maybe I heard conversations. Maybe I just figured out that there couldn't be twenty years' difference in age between a brother and a sister, and Louise always took care of me. I just grew up knowing that she was really my mother. (p 32)

Kendall (1981) reported that Bundy had bitterly told her “[my mother] never even had the decency to tell me herself!” (p. 22). Although Bundy appears to have had a good relationship with his mother, although Bundy sensed that she was not being completely forthcoming, or that she was being dishonest or secretive. The researcher suggests that this would have impacted on his sense of trusting others and the world around him. In addition to the perceived dishonesty and incongruence, the deception was coming from those to whom Bundy was closest and whom he should have been able to trust the most. The researcher suggests that this had a significant impact on Bundy’s level of trust which would have affected him throughout his life, and impaired his later development and ability to successfully resolve later developmental stages (Hergenhahn & Olson, 2004).

According to Bowlby (1969) and Levy (2005), the disruption of attachment during the first three years of life can lead to ‘affectionless psychopathy’, which is the inability to form meaningful emotional relationships, as well as poor impulse control and a lack of remorse. Bundy’s lack of connection, attachment, and ability to trust others was evident in his later personality development which will be explored further in the stages that follow. Furthermore, as a result of developing a basic mistrust of others and the world, it is suggested that Bundy further developed the malignancy of withdrawal, apprehension and/or suspicion in future interpersonal relationships which he then manifested his own idiographic extreme through murder (Boeree, 2006).

**Withdrawal.** The researcher suggests that Bundy developed the malignancy of withdrawal which was evident in his self reported periods of isolation and withdrawal which became more apparent during his years at school. According to Michaud and Aynesworth (2012), he was viewed as the quintessential loner during high school. Bundy stated that as a young boy he would often prefer to be alone where he would go and listen to the radio (Sullivan, 2009). According to Michaud and Aynesworth (2012):

Ted described his own youth as solitary. One of his favourite boyhood pastimes was listening to late-talk radio. Alone in the dark of his room, he would often pretend he was part of a special and secret world. “I’d really get into it. As people would be calling in and speaking their minds, I’d be formulating questions as if they were talking to me. It gave me a great deal of comfort listening to them, and often it didn’t make a hell of a difference what they were talking about. Here were people talking, and I was eavesdropping on their conversations”. (p. 56)

After conducting interviews with Bundy, Dr Carlisle (2013), a prison psychologist, reported that Bundy was difficult to get to know, was a very private person, and had a strong sense of loneliness, which all suggest a strong indication of mistrust of others and the world around him. Furthermore, Tanay (2013) stated that Bundy was wary and untrusting of others. The researcher suggests that by withdrawing from others and the world around him, he was able to create a predictable and safe environment for himself (Erikson, 1963). Bundy’s view of the outside world as hostile became apparent when he had escaped from prison for a second time. Bundy recalled the following about being back in society, “I felt overwhelmed by things. I felt out of control. I felt I couldn’t manipulate the environment around me. I failed miserably” (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012, p. 203).

According to Erikson (1968), as a result of the frustrations of the individual having their needs unmet and experiencing mistrust, they often experience rage and fantasies of destruction and dominance of the individual or the sources of the frustration and pain. Furthermore, this rage and fantasy may be triggered in extreme situations. Aspects of withdrawal and Bundy’s deep seated rage is evident in Michaud and Aynesworth (2012) account of Bundy’s experience during his escape:

Bewilderment and then anger that he hadn’t experienced for years began to build. Ted saw the threat as external to him; in his word, he could not manipulate a hostile

environment. His thoughts at this point would not be on the inevitable consequence of a reawakened “entity”, the gathering compulsion to kill, but more likely on the possibility that he wouldn’t be able to keep his secret hidden. Fearful of exposure, he instinctively tried to run from it. (p. 206)

The malignancy of withdrawal may further manifest or present itself in the form of depression, paranoia and possibly even psychosis (Boeree, 2006; Erikson, 1963; Hook, 2002). According to Dr Lewis, Bundy suffered from Bipolar Mood Disorder and would often experience cycles of depression (Rule, 2013). Examples of depression and withdrawing from others was particularly noted in Bundy’s first year of college where he chose to be alone as he essentially felt safer, and dropped out of college after his grades had fallen following the dissolution of his relationship with Stephanie (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). This also suggests that Bundy struggled to cope effectively with disappointments. Biographers as well as psychiatrists and psychologists noted examples of Bundy’s paranoia, one example was when Bundy claimed to Dr Lewis, “I don’t know why everyone is out to get me” (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012, p. 301). Furthermore, Dr Carlisle (2013) reported that Bundy exhibited a strong suspicion that people were trying to trick or deceive him which resulted in him always being on guard. This negatively impacted on his later development which will be explored in the developmental crises that follow. Although withdrawal is a malignancy of having too much mistrust, the development of sensory distortion is the maladjustment of developing too much trust in others (Boeree, 2006).

**Sensory distortion.** If an individual has an imbalance of too much trust, they may develop the maladaptation of sensory distortion (Erikson, 1963). If an individual develops the maladaptation of sensory distortion, the individual is used to having their needs instantly gratified as their needs are met at every opportunity. The possible ways in which this sensory distortion may manifest itself is that the individual becomes spoiled, deluded, and has

unrealistic expectations of the world as they believe that no one would do them harm or are perhaps gullible (Boeree, 2006; Erikson, 1963). This may also be as a result of the individual's parents being overprotective of them or shielding them from the outside world (Boeree, 2006). Individuals who are *too* trusting may also use defence mechanisms such as denial or repression in order to keep their overly optimistic world view which is known as the *Pollyanna perspective* (Boeree, 2006). The Pollyanna perspective refers to the way in which an individual chooses to only focus on and remember positive or pleasant experiences, avoiding or disregarding unpleasant ones (Boeree, 2006).

One could speculate that Bundy appeared to have the Pollyanna perspective, for example, in the memories and information that he gave regarding his grandfather, Samuel Cowell. His perspective was in stark contradiction to other members of his family. It was only discovered years later when family members reported that they were fearful of Sam Cowell as he was apparently violent, cruel, abusive, and unpredictable (Rule, 2013). Investigators were shocked to uncover the truth during Dr Lewis' testimony as Bundy had only loving and positive memories of his grandfather, and appeared to idolise him and view him as a great man (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012; Rule, 2013; Sullivan, 2009). Furthermore, Bundy was reportedly shocked when he was found guilty and convicted of his crimes as he believed that he would be found not guilty, despite overwhelming evidence and eye witness testimony (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). The above mentioned examples suggest that Bundy developed, to some degree, the maladaptation of sensory distortion, as he had an overly optimistic, almost delusional outlook that things would work out in his favour despite the reality of the situation.

Although it appears that Bundy utilised the defence mechanisms of denial and repression in order to avoid or acknowledge possible painful and traumatic memories of his childhood, the researcher suggests that this was not as a result of developing too much trust.

Instead, the researcher is of the opinion that Bundy utilised denial and repression as a way of creating a sense of safety for himself as he felt such a high level of mistrust that the reality of the situation was too terrifying for him to internalise or comprehend.

**The virtue of hope.** If an individual is able to successfully resolve the developmental crisis of trust versus mistrust the virtue that will be acquired is hope. Erikson (1964) defined hope as “both the earliest and the most indispensable virtue inherent in the state of being alive. If life is to be sustained hope must remain, even where confidence is wounded, trust impaired” (p.116). Hope enables the individual to develop faith in the developing self and the social environment (Erikson, 1963; 1968). Furthermore, the virtue of hope is particularly beneficial to the individual in the later years of their life, as they are able to cope with the disappointments of life as they believe that they will survive what comes their way (Boeree, 2006). Erikson (1964) elaborates:

Hope relies for its beginnings on the new being’s first encounter with trustworthy maternal persons, who respond to his need for intake and contact with warm and calming envelopment and provide food both pleasurable to ingest and easy to digest, and who prevent experience of the kind which may regularly bring too little too late. (p. 116)

The researcher suggests that although Bundy may have developed and established a degree or sense of basic trust, his sense of mistrust predominated and, as a result, he was not able to successfully resolve this developmental crisis which negatively impacted on his personality development. If an individual is mistrusting and is not able to successfully resolve the crisis of trust versus mistrust and develop the virtue of hope, it may be evident when they are faced with stressful or threatening situations as they are unable to effectively regulate their emotions and manage the situation effectively (Erikson, 1963). Bundy was unable to effectively deal with disappointments which he faced and maintained a sense of distrust and

superficial intimacy in his personal relationships. An example of Bundy's lack of hope is seen in this communication with Kendal (1981):

My instinct to survive is strong, although that seems so pathetic and pointless right now. What for? Who for? I bring pain to you, I bring pain to others who care for me and I bring pain to myself ... It is time to re-evaluate the value of living without being alive. (p. 164)

### **Autonomy versus Shame and Doubt**

The second stage of development occurs between the approximate ages of one and a half and three or four years old (Boeree, 2006). The developmental task for this stage of development is for the individual to achieve a level of autonomy while minimising shame and doubt (Erikson, 1963). During this stage, the toddler's caregivers may include people other than their primary caregivers (Boeree, 2006). During this stage it is important for caregivers to allow the child to explore and manipulate their environment in order for the child to develop a sense of autonomy and independence (Rosenthal, Gurney & Moore, 1981). If a child is able to successfully resolve this crisis, they will develop the virtue of willpower and determination (Erikson, 1963).

During this anal muscular stage of development, toilet training begins which means 'holding on and letting go' as the child learns that they are able to exercise control in an area where no one else can (Erikson, 1963). Therefore, a considerable level of self confidence and self control will develop if the individual is able to complete tasks on their own as the individual becomes aware of the element of choice and control. Erikson (1963) wrote: "from a sense of self-control without loss of self-esteem comes a lasting sense of goodwill and pride" (p. 254).

However, according to the epigenetic principle, the unsuccessful resolution of a previous stage will impact on all later development unless there is an exceptional

environment and situation which enables successful resolution (Boeree, 2006; Erikson, 1963). Therefore, the impact of Bundy's malignancy of withdrawal and unsuccessful resolution of the previous stage needs to be acknowledged and taken into account (Boeree, 2006).

Furthermore, although information regarding Bundy and his development during this particular life stage may be limited, inferences can be made from his sense of autonomy and shame and doubt which may be evident later in his life.

**Autonomy.** Hamachek (1988) suggests that individuals who are able to establish a balance between self-will and self-restraint will enjoy making their own decisions as a high level of autonomy will enable the individual to experience free choice, independence, and an inner goodness (Erikson, 1963). This free choice will inform and assist the individual in deciding what is expected of them, in order to function optimally (Erikson, 1963). Individuals with a sense of autonomy will be able to work well on their own as they are able to make their own decisions regarding what is right and wrong, appropriate or inappropriate (Boeree, 2006; Hamachek, 1988). According to Capps (2009), this is an important life stage in the formation and establishment of the toddler's understanding and recognition of what is right and wrong. The researcher suggests that through judicious ritualisations which occurs through family socialisation, Bundy was able to understand right from wrong (Erikson, 1977). However, from the information and evidence of Bundy's various crimes and atrocities, it is apparent that although Bundy may have been able to recognise what was right and wrong, it appears that he did not internalise them for himself (Rule, 2013). An element and balance of shame and doubt is necessary because if an individual has too much freedom and autonomy, the maladaptation of impulsivity may develop (Boeree, 2006).

**Shame and doubt.** According to Erikson (1950), "doubt is the brother of shame" (p. 253). Since the child is still dependent on caregivers during this stage, the potential exists for the child to develop a sense of shame, and as a result, they may end up doubting their own



capabilities (Erikson, 1963). If an individual is unable to successfully do things on their own, receives harsh comments, criticism or humiliation from a caregiver, this will have a negative impact on the child's self confidence and self esteem and he/she may then develop excessive self doubt (Hergenhahn, 1984).

Interestingly, Bundy was born into an environment filled with shame as he was illegitimate, born out of wedlock in conservative America during the 1940s (Rule, 2013). In addition, Bundy's mother abandoned him for three months as she was unsure and doubted whether or not to keep him or give him up for adoption (Rule, 2013). The researcher speculates that this had a negative impact on Bundy as his relationship with his mother was clouded by shame and doubt. According to Brown (2010), shame is exacerbated by silence, secrecy, and judgement. Therefore, the sense of secrecy and judgement surrounding his birth and the identity of his parents may have impacted on Bundy's self esteem and confidence as it cast a sense of shame on who he was (Boeree, 2006).

In addition, there are indications that Louise, Bundy's mother, was overprotective of him which may have impacted on Bundy's self esteem and confidence as he doubted his own capabilities (Boeree, 2006). Louise went to great lengths in order to protect Bundy from potential social reprisal and the criticism of others. This was evident in changing Bundy's name from Theodore Robert Cowell to Theodore Robert Nelson when he was approximately four years old (Sullivan, 2009). Louise admitted that she changed his name as "she didn't want her young son subjected to ridicule because he shared the same last name as his great-uncle and his mother" (Sullivan, 2009, p. 48). Furthermore, "she never wanted him to have to hear the word *bastard*" (Rule, 2009, p. 9). The researcher is of the opinion that changing Bundy's name in order to protect him from *potential* judgement and criticism from others, suggests that Louise was overprotective. This impacted negatively on Bundy's self esteem

and confidence in his own capabilities, as it cast a sense of shame on who he was which would have further impacted upon his later identity development (Boeree, 2006).

Prison psychologists noted that Bundy exhibited a strong sense of humiliation, criticism, and ridicule (Carlisle, 2013). According to Rule (2013) and Sullivan (2009) Bundy was bullied and teased while he was in school, however, Bundy reportedly denied that this ever occurred. Bundy reportedly experienced shame regarding his family's social and financial status, and doubt regarding his own social skills and abilities (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012).

Ted told me he was mortified by the sensible Ramblers Johnnie drove. He recalled being "humiliated" to be seen in them. Likewise, from the time he could first walk and talk, little Teddy always pulled his mother to the most expensive racks in clothing stores. The preoccupation with material possessions would stay with the boy and intensify. Even the little Teddy was deeply materialistic. He wanted possessions. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012, p. 54)

Although some speculate that Bundy did not talk about some of his devious acts and crimes, such as necrophilia, due to them having a special meaning to Bundy (Keppel & Birnes, 2005), the researcher is of the opinion that Bundy experienced a level of shame regarding his crimes. The researcher suggests that Bundy's shame was as a result of finding great pleasure in his acts. Although he intellectually knew that they were wrong, he had not internalised the acts as wrong due to his lack of conscience. In other words, Bundy experienced a sense of shame from his great enjoyment, rather than a sense of shame regarding what he had done.

**Impulsivity and compulsion.** An imbalance of developing too much autonomy may result in the maladaptation of impulsivity, while the imbalance of developing too much shame and doubt may result in the malignancy of compulsion (Boeree, 2006). The researcher

suggests that Bundy developed aspects of both imbalances. Due to contradictory and conflicting information, the researcher noted themes of Bundy's impulsivity and compulsiveness according to the sequence and pattern in which they appeared to occur. Therefore, a distinction was made between Bundy's childhood development and adult development as a pattern of compulsion was noted particularly during his childhood development while a pattern of impulsivity was noted during his adulthood development. Interestingly, this may provide insight on Bundy's contradictory and often confusing aspects of his later personality and identity development (Boeree, 2006).

***Compulsion.*** If a child develops too much shame and doubt, they may develop the malignancy of compulsiveness which may result in the individual becoming 'anal' or perfectionistic, constrained or self limiting (Boeree, 2006). According to Hamachek (1988), characteristic behaviours of individuals who have a sense of shame and doubt include preferring having structured projects, being told what is expected of them, and allowing others to dominate and lead them as they try to eliminate anything which may cause them to feel others' criticism or disapproval (Hamachek, 1988).

One of the principle reasons we put on all this armour is because we feel shame...because we don't believe we're worthy of being seen. Shame is the fear of disconnection – the fear that something we've done or failed to do makes us unworthy of being in relationship. Shame is the intensely painful belief that we are flawed and therefore unworthy of love and belonging. (Brown, 2012, p. 69)

Although there is not much evidence to demonstrate that Bundy experienced excessive shame and doubt during this particular age and stage of life, his experiences and behaviours suggest that he developed and exhibited the malignancy of compulsion which is the result of the experience of too much shame and doubt. The researcher suggests that he may have felt a need to maintain a level of control around him as a result of developing an

imbalance of mistrust in the previous stage (Erikson, 1963). Due to his level of mistrust of others and the world around him, the researcher suggests that, by withdrawing, he was able to maintain a level of control over his environment which enabled him to feel safe and secure (Boeree, 2006).

Shame corrodes the part of us that believes we can do better. When we experience shame or fear of shame we feel disconnected and desperate for worthiness and are more likely to engage in self-destructive behaviour or attack or shame others. (Brown, 2010, p. 41)

Bundy reported that he preferred classrooms and/or formal settings: “I spoke up in class, it’s a formalised setting, and the ground rules are fairly strict. Your performance is measured by different rules than what happens when everybody’s peeling off into little cliques down the hallway” (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012, p. 59). Therefore, as a result of Bundy’s development of mistrust during the previous stage, he continued to feel a need to control his ‘hostile’ environment. Furthermore, it appears that Bundy subconsciously preferred the walls of confinement in prison, as it was a formalised setting, where he was able to exert and feel a certain level of control (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). The researcher also speculates whether Bundy’s confessions in the third person were a way of controlling the situation as he could avoid, deny, and minimise topics or areas of discussion which may cause him to experience shame (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). Bundy’s ability to control situations were reported by Dr Tanay following the psychiatric evaluation that he conducted on Bundy:

[Bundy] lived life in a compulsive manner that was well ordered and exact. Events and actions as well as conversations were planned and rehearsed many times before they took place. It was very important for him to never be caught off his guard. Life was like a chess game to him. He was mentally two moves ahead of his opponent, so

no matter what move was made he always had several suitable countering actions that could reassure him success. (Sullivan, 2009, p. 53)

***Impulsivity.*** If an individual develops the maladaptation of impulsivity, they may become reckless, thoughtless, and inconsiderate (Boeree, 2006). As a result of their impulsivity, they may not give much consideration and thought to that which may require it (Boeree, 2006; Tandon, 2008). An example of an incident which suggests that Bundy experienced too much autonomy occurred when Bundy was approximately three years old. Bundy had placed knives around his aunt Julia while she had taken a nap. She woke up to find him lifting the blankets and placing knives alongside her (Rippo, 2007; Sullivan, 2009). Julia reported that she found this incident disturbing, however, when she told her family about the incident, “nobody did anything” (Vronsky, 2004, p. 107).

Further evidence suggests that Bundy’s development of the maladaptation of impulsivity and lack of conscience is apparent in his reckless and immoral behaviour such as shoplifting, petty theft, automobile thefts, and his brutal acts of violence such as murder and rape against his victims (Sullivan, 2009). Bundy appeared to steal and commit crimes more for the excitement and the ‘thrill’ that they gave him (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). “Stealing was not only a means of financial support, but it provided him with a type of *high*, an adrenalin rush which placed him in a category all by himself” (Sullivan, 2009, p. 196).

Bundy exhibited many moments of carelessness, especially in terms of some of his crimes. For example, Bundy had introduced himself to some of his victims using his first name, which was easily overheard by witnesses (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012; Keppel & Birnes, 2005). Furthermore, Bundy used his first name when he had kidnapped two women on the same day, at a busy lake, where he had returned to find his second victim, only four hours apart from where he had abducted his first victim (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012).

A possible example of Bundy having an overly optimistic, irrational, and almost delusional outlook, may be evident in his interviews with Michaud and Aynesworth (2012) where he said the following, in the third person:

There were times when he felt immune almost from detection. Not in a mystical or spiritual sense. He didn't feel like he was invisible or anything like that. But at times he felt that no matter how much he fucked up, nothing could go wrong ... The boldness was probably a result of not being rational. Of just being moved by a situation, not really thinking it out clearly. Just overcome by that boldness and desire. Only in retrospect would he wonder how he managed to succeed in spite of some of those rash and bold acts. (p. 126)

Bundy's impulsivity is also evident later on in his life as he would start and quit jobs just as soon as he had begun them. Furthermore, it is apparent in his inconsistent college courses and degrees as he impulsively went to study Chinese, urban planning, psychology, and law (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). It appears that Bundy did not give the attention and forethought needed in terms of what he wanted to do, as he would take the first course or career choice which appeared attractive to him (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). In Bundy's own words to Michaud and Aynesworth (2012) while he was in prison: "I've learned to live absolutely and completely in the here and now. I don't worry, think, or concern myself with the past or, for that matter, with the future, except only to the extent necessary" (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012, p. 299).

**The virtue of will.** This stage is also decisive for the "ratio between loving good will and hateful self insistence, between co-operation and wilfulness, and between self-expression and compulsive self-constraint or meek compliance" (Erikson, 1968, p. 109). The researcher is of the opinion that Bundy was unable to resolve this crisis successfully due to an unsuccessful resolution of the first stage of development as well as the malignancy and

maladaptations that he developed during this stage. As a result, Bundy was not able to acquire the virtues of hope or will, however, the psychosocial virtues of hope and will are not pertinent to the individual's survival, although they improve the individual's quality of life (Erikson, 1963; Hergenhahn & Olson, 2003). The psychosocial stage that follows requires a successful resolution of initiative and guilt (Erikson, 1963).

### **Initiative versus Guilt**

The third stage occurs from when the individual is approximately three to five years old. Erikson (1963) suggests that the child experiences a conflict between initiative and guilt. Erikson (1963) also includes the *oedipal* experience and crisis in this stage which involves an unwillingness on the part of the child to renounce or relinquish his closeness to the opposite sex parent. Furthermore, during this stage, children are able to practice initiative as their locomotor and language skills are constantly developing and improving (Sadock & Sadock, 2007). Initiative involves an individual's positive response to the challenges that the world presents, including a willingness to take on responsibilities, learn new skills, and the ability to act in a personal and meaningful manner with self-confidence. Boeree (2006) reports that during this particular stage, the child's capacity for understanding moral and social judgement begins to develop as they begin to *feel*. Erikson (1968) refers to this as "the ontogenetic cornerstone of reality" (p. 119) as the child begins to be governed by the conscience or inner voice. Furthermore, this stage of development is also characterised by fantasy and play. Brené Brown (2012) wrote on the importance of play:

Play shapes our brains, it helps us foster empathy, helps us navigate complex social groups, and is at the core of creativity and innovation. Play is purposeless, do it for its own sake. Play helps us deal with difficulties, provides a sense of expansiveness, promotes mastery, and is essential to all creative process. (p. 101)

During this particular stage the child needs to be able to learn to take on more responsibility and manage their impulses and childhood fantasies while still maintaining an eagerness for new experiences. The child encounters more challenges than in previous stages due to the broadening of their social context. According to Erikson (1963), a supportive environment provided by caregivers encourages the child to develop respect for themselves and others. Two aspects which are important in order to help successfully resolve this crisis and develop mastery are the child's language ability, which increases their communication skills, and the child learning to move freely, in order to develop a wider range of goals and skills (Erikson, 1968; Erikson, 1980).

**Initiative.** Hamachek (1988) suggests that people who have a high sense of initiative may show the following characteristics and behaviours: they may be effective leaders, good goal setters, and ambitious individuals. In addition, they may have high levels of energy and a strong sense of personal adequacy who have the courage to act while still being aware of past failures and limitations (Boeree, 2006). The researcher suggests that Bundy developed a sense of initiative which would have been fostered through his family life and upbringing. Bundy was the eldest of four siblings and was expected to babysit and look after his younger siblings while his parents were at church (Sullivan, 2009). The researcher is of the opinion that this would have fostered a degree of initiative and responsibility in him. However, the researcher is of the opinion that Bundy developed the maladaptive tendency of ruthlessness which will now be discussed.

**Ruthlessness.** If a child develops too much initiative, they may develop the maladaptive tendency of ruthlessness (Erikson, 1963). This will manifest itself in various ways such as setting goals and whatever it takes or whatever is necessary in order to achieve them. As a result, they may use and exploit others to achieve their goals and may struggle to form a conscience where they feel guilty for doing so (Boeree, 2006). Details surrounding



Bundy's life during this stage of development indicates that when he was approximately three years old, he and his cousin had discovered Samuel Cowell's collection of pornography stored in the garden shed on the family's property (Rule, 2013). According to Bundy, pornography had a significant impact on his development as it initiated and exacerbated his curiosity, desire, and fantasy for pornography and sexualised violence (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012).

The researcher is of the opinion that this was a pivotal stage of Bundy's psychosocial development as his fantasy world began to emerge. His later acts of violence and destruction such as kidnapping, rape, and murder indicate that he developed the maladaptation and extreme form of ruthlessness, psychopathy (Boeree, 2006). The researcher suggests that Bundy was unable to maintain a distinction and boundary between his fantasy world and that of reality (Carlisle, 2013). As a result, he exhibited his extreme ruthlessness by using whichever means he could, regardless of the lives of others. This was in order to obtain and experience the levels of fantasies of control, and possession which included rape, murder, and necrophilia (Sullivan, 2009). Bundy's ruthlessness, lack of conscience, and lack of remorse was further evident in a statement he made to Michaud and Aynesworth (2012), "I carry no burden, except being in prison" (p. 299). Bundy's lack of remorse and guilt for the crimes which he committed was duly noted and expressed by those who knew him and became more apparent in his interviews on death row (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012; Sullivan, 2009). In order to successfully resolve this task this individual is required to maintain a balance between initiative and guilt (Erikson, 1963).

**Guilt.** The researcher suggests that as a result of Bundy's predominant maladaptation of ruthlessness, his ability to develop a conscience and sense of remorse and guilt was limited. The following quote is taken from interviews conducted by Michaud and

Aynesworth (2012) with Bundy when asked about guilt and whether or not he feels guilty for his crimes.

A lot of people, most people, are encumbered with a kind of mechanism that is called guilt. As I understand it, guilt is a mechanism. To a degree, I've certainly experienced it, but much less so now than ever when I was on the streets or even two years ago. (p. 300)

The researcher is of the opinion that Bundy may have experienced a sense of guilt, however, it may have been as a result of his predominant sense of shame and doubt which he developed from the previous stage of Erikson's (1963) theory of psychosocial development. One could also speculate that Bundy's lack of admission of guilt was a way of minimising responsibility, and as a result, guilt. However, the researcher is uncertain whether this would have been likely as Bundy did not appear to have empathy for others and he lacked a conscience (Carlisle, 2013). Once again, this demonstrates the epigenetic principle of Erikson's (1963) theory of psychosocial development and how an unsuccessful resolution of one stage impacts on the stages that follow and personality development.

***Inhibition.*** If, however, an individual develops too much guilt, they may develop the malignancy of inhibition. This may manifest itself in the person becoming unadventurous and adverse to any form of risk in order to minimise or prevent feeling any guilt (Hergenhahn & Olson, 2003). In addition, individuals with a high degree of guilt may procrastinate, have a weak sense of personal adequacy and effectiveness, and tend to be poor goal setters (Hamachek, 1988). The researcher suggests that although Bundy appears to have had a weak sense of personal adequacy and withdrawal from others, this was as a result of Bundy's mistrust and low sense of self worth and malignancy of withdrawal which he developed from the first stage of development. In addition, the resulting negative impact of developing too much shame resulted in Bundy's lack of confidence and doubt within himself and his

capabilities (Boeree, 2006). However, the researcher is of the opinion that Bundy may have developed a degree of sexual inhibition which may have been as a result of developing the malignancy of inhibition regarding the violent sexual fantasies which he started to develop at a young age.

**The virtue of purpose.** If an individual is able to successfully resolve this developmental crisis, the virtue which they will acquire is the virtue of *purpose* (Welchman, 2000). The establishment of purpose is developed during the experience of play. According to Erikson (1964), “Play is to the child what thinking, planning, and blue-printing are to the adult, a trial universe in which conditions are simplified and methods exploratory, so that past failures can be thought through expectations tested” (p. 120). Although one could argue that Bundy developed a dysfunctional and pathological sense of purpose through his crimes, the researcher is of the opinion that he was unable to successfully resolve this psychosocial crisis and acquire the virtue of purpose as Erikson (1963) intended for healthy individuals.

### **Industry versus Inferiority**

During Erikson’s (1963) fourth developmental stage, the latency stage, the child is approximately seven to 12 years old and there is a conflict between industry and inferiority. This developmental stage refers mainly to discovering, learning and mastering new knowledge and skills (Santrock, 2006). Erikson (1950) states:

The growing child must derive a vitalizing sense of reality from the awareness that his individual way of mastering experience (his ego synthesis) is a successful variant of a group identity and is in accord with its space-time and life plan. (p. 22)

During this stage, the child’s social environment expands as it starts to include teachers, peers and friends, and other members of the community. The formal ritualisations of behaviour patterns facilitate children’s interactions with authority figures and society and are often evidenced in children’s playing out occupational roles (Welchman, 2000). In addition to

the increase in a child's social environment, at this age, children are able to develop their competencies in different areas and environments, for example, at school, at home, and on the sports field (Erikson, 1963a). According to Cross (2002), children should be able to engage in work and activities which are meaningful to them, at their level of ability, and related to their interests. Erikson (1963) notes the importance of this stage:

... this is socially a most decisive stage: since industry involves doing things beside and with others, a first sense of division of labour and of differential opportunity, that is, a sense of the *technological ethos* of a culture, develops at this time. (p. 260)

The researcher is of the opinion that, as a result of Bundy's mistrust and malignancy of withdrawal developed during the first stage, his personality development was greatly hindered, especially his sense of self confidence and ability to trust others. Keppel and Birnes (2007) wrote about the importance of the first stage of development which is relevant to Bundy when one takes into account the impact his infancy stage may have had on his later social development:

Children who are kept from reacting with their environment as newborns, either because they're institutionalised or because their parents simply neglect them, have to enter their childhood years with an enormous handicap that impedes their ability to become socialised members of a community. (p. 316)

**Industry.** Erikson (1968) emphasised the importance and value of understanding the pleasure of developing a plan and being able to follow through with it and achieving it through the child's own effort. As a result, children should be encouraged and commended for their efforts as this encouragement fosters the child's belief in their own competencies and feelings of efficiency (Boeree, 2006). As a child develops the ability to set and achieve personal goals, if they are unable to attain these goals, or they are unable to experience the

success of their own efforts, they may develop a sense of inferiority and feelings of inadequacy (Morris & Maisto, 2002).

The researcher is of the opinion that while Bundy may have been able to develop a degree of industry which was evident in his lawn cutting and other menial jobs, he was unable to develop a true sense of industry and competence as a result of his high level of mistrust and low self esteem due to the unsuccessful resolution of previous psychosocial stages (Boeree, 2006). Importantly, Bundy recalled that he did not feel supported nor encouraged by his parents when playing ball sports:

My dad never had any feeling for it, none at all. He 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 basic sport 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 agony. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2000, p. 22 – 23)

The above quote not only indicates a feeling of incompetence, it also indicates the affect and impact that themes of abandonment and mistrust had on his later development. As a result, the researcher suggests that Bundy developed a predominant sense and imbalance of inferiority during this stage of development which further affected his ability to develop his sense of industry (Boeree, 2006). The researcher is of the opinion that as a result of feeling inferior, Bundy showed little industry and pride in completing and finishing a task as he frequently changed careers and quit jobs which resulted in feelings of inadequacy. Sullivan (2009) elaborates:

The truth is that Theodore Bundy didn't like work. He worked so as not to starve, but he did not enjoy it, and he never worked consistently for long periods of time in the same job or profession. Even in the academic world, Bundy would have periods of forging ahead in his studies, but then backslide. School became a burden and schoolwork something he couldn't face or complete in a timely fashion. (p. 196)

**Inferiority.** Children who do not experience social success, or fail to acquire the tools to promote industry, experience inferiority (Boeree, 2006). This inferiority is punctuated by a pervasive feeling of inadequacy and loss of faith in the power to be self-sufficient (Erikson, 1963). Bundy felt self-conscious and inferior to his peers due to the financial situation and status of his family. In his interviews with Michaud and Aynesworth (2012) he stated:

There were all kind 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 kind of 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. (p. 25)

Interestingly, Bundy recalls the following regarding his childhood development: "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). Bundy was not the only one who became aware of his lack of social skills or ability to connect with others as Storwick, a close childhood friend of Bundy's recalled the following:

He was very funny, and very much on the mark. I took it as a token of his intelligence. He didn't have the confidence, however, to follow it up. 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 & Aynsworth, 2012, p. 59)

As a result of his perceived social and emotional deficiency, "Bundy began to feel as though he was *an alien among humans* and began faking emotions, not knowing or understanding how others connected to one another" (Michaud & Aynsworth, 2012, p. 64). Although information regarding Bundy's life may be limited during this stage of development, inferences can be made from later in life that he developed a sense of inferiority and inertia when he finished studying as one can infer from Michaud and Aynsworth (2012):

Ted felt a personal sense of futility at Harbourview, he told us, a feeling of inadequacy and helplessness with his patients that more or less mirrored his personal life. He said he concluded that summer that the social sciences weren't capable of helping sick people. Psychology had failed him. (p. 71)

The researcher is of the opinion that Bundy internalised this sense of failure as something that was lacking on his part, an inferiority, which, according to Erikson (1963), if an individual feels too much inferiority, they may develop the malignant tendency of inertia. The researcher is of the opinion that Bundy developed inertia as a result of his feelings of inferiority in terms of his ability to socially and emotionally connect to others as well as his family's financial and social status.

***Inertia.*** Inertia suggests that the individual does not develop certain skills as they may fear the feeling of humiliation and being inferior to others. This is commonly referred to as an inferiority complex (Hamachek, 1988). As a result, the individual may become apathetic, lazy, and lack purpose or direction. Furthermore, they may procrastinate, find it difficult in

taking pride in their work, and may not respond well to criticism and, as a result, cease their efforts (Hamachek, 1988). One can interpret Bundy recognising that he experienced inertia as a result of feeling inferior in the following quote:

Maybe I didn't have the role models at home that could have aided me in school. They just seemed to move on, and I didn't. I don't know why, and I don't know if there is some explanation. Maybe it's something that was programmed by some kind of genetic thing. In my early schooling, it seemed like there was no problem in learning what the appropriate social behaviours were. It just seemed like I hit a wall in high school ... 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 all of that. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012, p. 58)

From the above example, the researcher interprets that Bundy is aware of being different from his peers and recognises his inability to be able to connect and understand what it was that drove them as he did not experience a similar drive. As a result of this lack of method and drive, the researcher is of the opinion that this developed into inferiority and the malignancy of inertia which affected his ability to successfully resolve this stage and develop the virtue of competence.

**Virtue of competence.** If an individual is able to successfully resolve this crisis, the ego strength or virtue of *competency* will develop and emerge (Erikson, 1963a). This means that there is a realistic sense of the individual's own limitations, however, they will still hold a healthy sense of industry and competence. Erikson (1964) defines competence as:

...the free exercise of dexterity and intelligence in the completion of tasks, unimpaired by infantile inferiority...[it] is the basis for co-operative participation in technologies and relies, in turn, on the logic of tools and skills. (p. 124)



Erikson (1958) stressed the importance of the individual working competently and well and not merely under the pretence or façade of ‘busyness’. The researcher is of the opinion that Bundy was not able to resolve this task successfully due to the malignancy of inertia which he developed as a result of experiencing too much inferiority (Boeree, 2006). Furthermore, the researcher is of the opinion that as a consequence of Bundy’s deep seated sense of mistrust in his own capabilities as a result of not being able to successfully resolve previous stages, his ability to form a sense of competence within himself in order to successfully resolve this developmental crisis was exacerbated and hindered. According to Boeree (2006), the first four stages of Erikson’s (1963) are related to child development and the following four stages are related to adult development.

### **Identity versus Role Confusion**

The fifth stage of Erikson’s psychosocial development theory takes place between the ages of approximately 12 to 20 years of age as the individual transitions from childhood into adulthood. Erikson (1963) suggests that “with the establishment of a good initial relationship to the world of skills and tools, and with the advent of puberty, childhood proper comes to an end” (p. 261). During this psychosocial stage, the individual is required to resolve the developmental task of identity versus role confusion. During this stage of the individual’s life, he is preoccupied with finding his own identity, establishing life goals, and finding meaning (Boeree, 2006).

**Identity.** The researcher is of the opinion that Bundy’s accumulative development of the dystonic forces at each stage, as well as the various malignancies and maladaptations during his childhood development, severely impacted on his ability to develop and form a sense of personality and identity development. In order for an individual to form an identity, Erikson (1968) proposed three aspects which are necessary: a consistency between the individual’s actions and their values, a pattern and history of this consistency, and a network

or community which is able to validate the integrated self of values and actions (Erikson, 1968). The researcher suggests that the following statement from Bundy the day before his execution indicates his inconsistency with those around him: "I was a normal person. I had good friends. I led a normal life, except for this one, small but very potent and destructive segment that I kept very secret and close to myself" (Bundy, television interview, January 23, 1989). This inconsistency with others, as well as the values he purported to have, are indicative of an inability to establish or form a healthy sense of identity (Erikson, 1968). Furthermore, "Absence of experiences leading to the development of trust in early childhood may impair the 'capacity to feel identical' with others during adolescence" (Erikson 1968, p. 105).

Bundy's unsuccessful resolution of developmental crises in previous stages was apparent in Bundy's strong themes of mistrust, feelings of shame and self doubt, incompetence, and inferiority which severely impacted on him in later years and his ability to form and establish an identity. Michaud and Aynesworth (2012) reflect on Bundy's identity development, or lack thereof: "Ted's critical challenge from his teen years onward was the perfection and maintenance of a credible public persona, his mask of normalcy while inside him the tumult raged unabated" (p. 60). As a result of this inconsistency the researcher is of the opinion that Bundy experienced role confusion.

**Role confusion.** If the individual is unable to explore their own identity adequately, role confusion may occur and the individual may struggle to develop his own identity (Louw & Louw, 2007). Interestingly, Bundy stated that he realised from a fairly young age that he did not have any defining features and could 'blend in' easily in society without being noticed or recognised (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). Although the researcher suggests that this further exacerbated his sense of inferiority and lack of identity, it is interesting to note that Bundy utilised his lack of identity and sense of anonymity to his personal advantage by

causing destruction and destroying others' lives in order to achieve his desires and fantasies.

Bundy further elaborates in the third person:

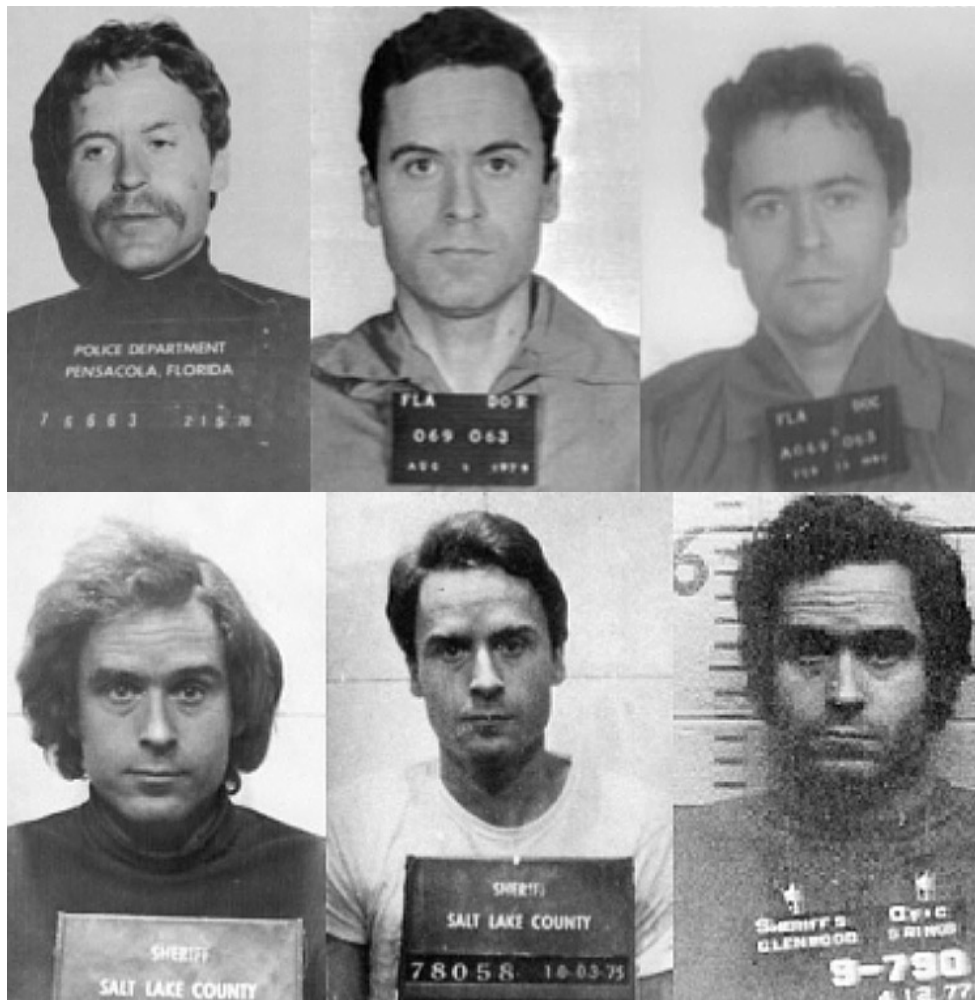
A factor that is almost indispensable to [serial murder] is the mobility of contemporary American life. Living in large centres of population, and living with lots of people, you can get used to dealing with strangers. It's the anonymity factor, and that has a twofold effect ... I mean, there are so many people. It shouldn't be a problem. What's one less person on the face of the earth, anyway? (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012, p. 309)

It became apparent to those that attended Bundy's trials and courtroom appearances how easily he could change his appearance and how he would manipulate those around him such as eyewitnesses. Figure 11 represents the different faces and identities of Bundy. One of Bundy's judges recalled the following:

I did notice some very conscious efforts on his part to change his appearance. His expression would so change his whole appearance that there were some moments that you weren't even sure that you were looking at the same person as you had been half an hour before. Or the day before. Or the morning before. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012, p. 161)

Furthermore, the researcher suggests that Bundy's childhood development, particularly those of his early formative years of infancy, and the developmental stage of shame and doubt, had a significant impact on him. Bundy's lack of a sense of identity was as a result of his sense of shame and confusion when he was a child as he was not sure who his parents were and his name changed on two occasions before he reached the age of six.

Therefore, the researcher suggests that the data interestingly reveals a theme of a lack of



*Figure 11: The different faces and identities of Theodore Robert Bundy (n.d)*

identity and sense of anonymity. The theme of anonymity is noted by the name change, as Louise felt that Theodore Robert Nelson was a common name and, as a result, would be inconspicuous, giving Bundy anonymity (Sullivan, 2009). The researcher is of the opinion that Bundy developed the malignancy of repudiation which will be discussed below.

**Repudiation.** A malignancy may develop called repudiation at this stage, manifesting in the avoidance of social interaction (Erikson, 1963). Essentially, as a result of having a poorly formed identity, individuals may immerse themselves in groups which go against mainstream beliefs, such as religious cults, groups which are fuelled with hatred, and military organisations, as these groups encourage members to repudiate their own identity. This

development is known as a *negative identity*, which includes the roles which children are warned against or warned not to assume (Olson & Hergenhahn, 2010). During this stage of development, adolescents seek out those around them in order to establish an identity by belonging.

There is a strong indication that Bundy did not actively seek a relationship or bond with Johnnie. Although this may have been as a result of Bundy's avoidant-ambivalent attachment style (Bowlby, 1969), and lack of connection with others, the researcher suggests that Bundy may have started to identify with Johnnie his stepfather, however he did not value or respect Johnnie as he saw him as a '*nobody*' and therefore, pushed strongly against Johnnie and formed a negative identity. "Many a late adolescent if faced with continuing diffusion, would rather be nobody or somebody bad, or indeed, dead ...than be not-quite-somebody" (Erikson, 1959, p. 132).

The negative identity which Bundy developed in his later adult years was that of being a serial killer where Bundy considered himself an 'expert' (Keppel & Birnes, 2007; Rule, 2009). However, the researcher further suggests that Bundy was only able to incorporate his negative identity as a serial killer when he was on death row as initially he denied and dissociated, rationalised, and compartmentalised in order to avoid shame and reduce anxiety. Indications of his lack of integration and inability to incorporate his negative identity were his protests of innocence and denials of committing the murders, and he would refer to his 'shadow side' as the entity. According to Simon's (2007), this is common for serial killers as they have the ability to compartmentalise, rationalise, and dissociate, which they describe as a force which takes over them. Bundy later provided a level of insight regarding his later integration of the entity:

I think there's more, an integration there, an interrelationship, which when the malignant portion of my personality or consciousness, call it what you will—the

entity—is more or less directing the mood and the action, I’m still on another level conscious of this, I’m not totally unconscious of, or unaware of it. (Nelson, 1994, p. 287)

Furthermore, individuals may withdraw into psychotic fantasies or become involved in destructive activities such as drugs or alcohol. A person with a high sense of role or identity confusion may struggle to make decisions, fail to make long term goals, are generally cynical about others and in particular themselves, and may also depend heavily on being ‘right’ in order to establish their sense of self (Hamachek, 1988). The following quote suggests that once Bundy starting receiving the attention and recognition he so badly craved, he was then able to identify and incorporate his negative identity.

We are your sons and husbands. We grew up in regular families. there are forces at loose in this country, especially this kind of violent pornography, where, on one hand, well-meaning people will condemn the behaviour of a Ted Bundy while they’re walking past a magazine rack full of the very kinds of things that send young kids down the road to being Ted Bundy’s. That’s the irony. (Bundy, television interview, January 23, 1989)

However, this also indicates that while Bundy was able to incorporate it as part of his identity and legacy, he still remained distant and disconnected. The researcher suggests that Bundy did this in order to create a sense of mystery and power which can be interpreted from the following extract of his television interview the day before his death: “I was trying to create an image. I was feeling proud of myself. That’s when I started to be pleased about fucking with the press. From then on it was a lot of fun” (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012, p. 149). Michaud and Aynesworth (2012) further stated that “the police knew everything yet nothing about Ted Bundy” (p. 151)

The researcher encountered a frequency in the data which indicated a pattern and theme that no one ever felt that they really got to know Bundy and all the facets of his identity and personality. For example: Dr Carlisle poignantly stated in his report: “I feel Mr. Bundy has not allowed me to get to know him and I believe there are many significant things about him that remain hidden” (Sullivan, 2009, p. 53). “They believe they are well acquainted with the person, when, in fact, they are only acquainted with the mask” (Sullivan, 2009, p. 53). “It was as though what people saw outwardly in him was so definite that it allowed the full truth to remain invisible. Only his victims saw the real Ted Bundy” (p. 289).

Michaud and Aynesworth (2000), after many hours of interviewing Bundy while he was on death row wrote, “no one could see Ted’s behaviour for what it was, because no one could see behind the mask. Ted alone – and only partially – understood the hunchback (p. 13). The researcher is of the opinion that the data represents Bundy’s fractured sense of self and fragmented ego as Bundy was not able to develop his sense of self and worth.

To confront a person with his shadow is to show him his own light. Once one has experienced a few times what it is like to stand judgingly between the opposites, one begins to understand what is meant by the self. Anyone who perceives his shadow and his light simultaneously sees himself from two sides and thus gets in the middle.

(Jung, 1960, p .872)

### **Intimacy versus Isolation**

During the sixth psychosocial stage, the individual is about 21 to 40 years old and is required to resolve the developmental task of intimacy versus isolation, with the focus of this stage being on forming meaningful relationships. Erikson (1968) emphasised the importance of an individual firmly establishing their own identity before forming a relationship and sharing their identity with another person. If an individual has not been able to establish a sense of identity and they are sure of who they are, they may perceive intimacy as threatening

and a perceived loss of self (Erikson, 1959). Erikson (1974) stated that a young adult relationship should consist of two independent egos creating something larger than themselves, rather than individuals defining their identity as being another's partner. It is important to note that not only romantic relationships are affected during this stage. Erikson (1959) wrote:

It is only after a reasonable sense of identity has been established that real intimacy with others can be possible. The youth who is not sure of his or her identity shies away from interpersonal intimacy, and can become, as an adult, isolated or lacking in spontaneity, warmth or the real exchange of fellowship in relationship to others; but the surer the person becomes of their self, the more intimacy is sought in the form of friendship, leadership, love and inspiration. The counterpart to intimacy is distantiation, which is the readiness to repudiate those forces and people whose essence seems dangerous to one's own. (p. 95)

**Intimacy.** Although children have learnt to love, the type of love that is developed during this stage is different as it is a chosen, active love (Boeree, 2006). In terms of Erikson's theory, this type of love involves sharing and reciprocating trust and intimacy, which promotes the satisfactory and successful development of both parties. Hamachek (1990) suggests that characteristic behaviours of people who have a high sense of intimacy include trusting others, being tolerant, deriving satisfaction from relationships, and developing the perception that sex is a way of expressing love as well as achieving physical closeness. As a result of Bundy's malignancy of mistrust and inability to form a connection and true attachment to others, the researcher suggests that Bundy was not able to experience true intimacy. Furthermore, the researcher suspects that, due to Bundy's severe and perverse pathology, his ability and understanding of forming an intimate relationship with someone would be dysfunctional and unhealthy. Bundy was only able to feel truly vulnerable and safe



with the dead. Only once a woman was incapacitated was he able to experience true satisfaction and sense of intimacy.

Emotionally, Ted struck us both as a severe case of arrested development. From all that he said, and all that Hugh had learned of his past, he might as well have been a twelve-year-old, a precocious and bratty preadolescent. Whether a cause or a consequence of his condition, this apparent emotional retardation resulted in a diseased child's mind directing the actions of an adult male body. (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2000, p. 18)

**Promiscuity.** If the crisis has not been resolved, a maladaptive form of promiscuity may emerge (Hergenhahn, 1984). Promiscuity refers to individuals who become intimate too easily, without any depth to their intimacy. Erikson noted that this excess of intimacy can be with friends, neighbours, lovers, as well as the community in which they live (Boeree, 2006). The researcher is of the opinion that Bundy held a superficial level of intimacy with those with whom he was in a relationship and, as a result, developed a sense of the maladaptation of promiscuity. He was unfaithful to Kendall his long term girlfriend, and appeared to have someone available and interested in him whenever he wanted.

**Isolation.** 'Fear of commitment' which some young adults display could be seen as an example of immaturity in this stage (Boeree, 2006). Without these relationships, the individual may become isolated and lonely. This may manifest itself in the individual isolating themselves from others. Furthermore, in order for the individual to compensate for their loneliness, they may develop a level of hatefulness towards others (Boeree, 2006; Tandon, 2008). Persons with a high sense of isolation may display characteristic behaviours such as being intolerant, unwilling to trust, hesitant to form relationships, and having difficulty in committing to relationships that demand sacrifice and compromise (Hamachek, 1990).

A deep sense of love and belonging is an irreducible need of all people. We are biologically, cognitively, physically, and spiritually wired to love, to be loved, and to belong. When those needs are not met, we don't function as we were meant to. We break. We fall apart. We numb. We ache. We hurt others. We get sick. (Brown, 2012, p. 287)

According to Erikson (1968), individuals often experience rage and fantasies as a result of the frustrations of the individual having their needs unmet and experiencing mistrust. Individuals often experience rage and fantasies of destruction and dominance of the individual or source of the frustration and pain (Simons, 2001). Furthermore, this rage and fantasy may be triggered in extreme situations which are can then be targeted on victims (Egger, 1990). The researcher is of the opinion that Bundy developed the malignancy of exclusion which is the tendency to isolate oneself and to develop a certain hatefulness in compensation for one's loneliness (Boeree, 2006).

*Exclusivity.* The researcher suggests that due to Bundy's fragmented ego and lack of identity, when Stephanie broke up with him, he experienced this as a traumatic and devastatingly, destructive loss of his identity and loss of his sense of self. Furthermore, the researcher suggests that this also triggered a deep seated rage and underlying hatred towards his mother. Louise abandoned Bundy for three months and was dishonest and secretive regarding his identity which fuelled confusion and frustration in Bundy for years. Furthermore, his rage and anger may have been further fuelled by not having his needs met as an infant and his lack of identity and confusion regarding his identity while growing up. As a result, the researcher suggests that Bundy projected this rage onto his victims who he viewed as objects and was able to dissociate and compartmentalise which enabled him to suppress his anger towards the women who he knew and with whom he had relationships.

As soon as the adult serial killer's fragile ego and self-esteem are threatened by any form of rejection or pain, the original childhood agony is triggered and he feels the irresistible urge to act out his powerful fantasy, which is the only way he perceives to restore the psychological imbalance. (Pistorius, 2000, p. 240)

**Virtue of love.** If an individual is able to find a balance between intimacy and isolation and successfully resolve this crisis, the virtue which will be acquired at the resolution of this life stage is the virtue of *love* (Welchman, 2000). Erikson defines love as a “mutuality of devotion forever subduing the antagonisms inherent in divided function” (1964, p. 129). This *mutuality of devotion* does not only include the love found in romantic relationships, but extends to the love between neighbours, friends, colleagues, extended family members, and other members of society (Boeree, 2006; Erikson, 1963, 1964, 1978). Bundy's lack of identity or ego integration resulted in a confusion regarding whether or not he was able to achieve this virtue. Anne Rule, his long time friend and colleague, described herself as experiencing him as empathic, kind, and supportive (Rule, 2013). However, the researcher suggests that if one takes into account the destruction that he caused to others, the researcher is hesitant to suggest that Bundy was able to love anyone due to his severe pathology and maladaptation of promiscuity.

### **Generativity versus Stagnation**

During the seventh stage, the individual is in middle adulthood which is approximately 40 to 65 years of age. The developmental crisis which needs to be resolved is that of generativity versus stagnation (Erikson, 1963). During this stage the adult involves themselves in their communities, work and family life as their focus shifts onto the development of the future generation (Boeree, 2006).

The innate human desire to be part of something larger than ourselves. True belonging only happens when we present our authentic, imperfect selves to the world. Our sense

of belonging can never be greater than our level of self acceptance. (Brown, 2010, p. 26)

As Bundy was executed when he was 42 years old, the researcher is of the opinion that Bundy did not have adequate time in order to successfully resolve this crisis. The researcher is of the opinion that Bundy may have developed a degree of generativity, which is the concern to guide and care for the next generation as he assisted researchers and investigation agencies in understanding more about serial killers (Keppel & Birnes, 2005; Rule, 2013). Furthermore, Erikson (1978) considers teaching, writing, invention, the arts and sciences, social activism, and the general contribution to the welfare of future generations as generativity includes leaving a legacy. Although Bundy left behind a 'lethal legacy' of murder and destruction, he had many books, textbooks, film documentaries, and movies created and based on his life and the understanding serial murder (Rippo, 2007; Sullivan, 2009).

The data suggests to the researcher that Bundy may have experienced stagnation. Stagnation occurs if the individual does not feel as though they have resolved this crisis or contributed towards the next generation (Erikson, 1964). According to Hamachek (1990), the individual becomes absorbed in activities which serve their own purpose, interests and needs, and they may become so focused on themselves that they have little interest in producing or caring for children. Keppel and Birnes (2005) suggest that Bundy spoke to investigators in order to fuel his own sense of self importance and fantasies, rather than as a result of care for future generations. Furthermore, one can speculate that Bundy may have left a legacy in order to fuel his sense of self importance rather than contributing towards society. Although Bundy had a daughter while he was in prison, there is very little to no information regarding his relationship with her (Rule, 2013).

### **Integrity versus Despair**

The eighth and final stage of Erikson's psychosocial theory begins when an individual is approximately 60 years old. During this crisis they are required to develop ego integrity with a minimal amount of despair. If the individual is dissatisfied with the life they led, they will feel despair and meaninglessness (Hergenhahn, 1984). Significant changes in the individual's life bring about an increasing awareness of death and the way the individual views themselves and their role and function in society (Boeree, 2006; Erikson, 1978).

Although Bundy was executed when he was 42 years old, the researcher suggests that he may have prematurely experienced aspects of this developmental crisis. Through the examination of Bundy's final confessions and interviews the days preceding his execution, the researcher speculates that Bundy may have experienced despair as he became more aware of his execution and imminent death (Erikson, 1978). Furthermore, the researcher is of the opinion that Bundy developed the ritualism of sapientism which is "the unwise pretence of being wise" as someone who plays the role of someone who has all the answers (Erikson, 1977, p. 181).

During his final confessions, Bundy blamed society and pornography for his crimes as his fantasy between sex and violence increased. However, Bundy still denied investigators and the victims' families the opportunity of discovering the truth regarding some of his crimes and the locations of his victims. This suggests that Bundy still lacked responsibility and inclusive understanding which would have been necessary in order to develop the virtue of wisdom (Erikson, 1963). Furthermore, the researcher suggests that Bundy was executed before he had the opportunity to successfully resolve this crisis. Bundy's biographers, Michaud and Aynesworth (2012) conclude:

In effect, Ted was sentenced in absentia, and therefore would dodge personal responsibility for his atrocities until the very end of his life. He also denied society

any edification. In the course of three criminal prosecutions, much was learned about what he did, but very little emerged about who he was and why he did it. (p. 306)

### **A Brief Conceptualisation and Summary of Bundy's Personality Development**

Despite Erikson's (1963) theory being presented as a series of stages, development should be viewed as ongoing as the individual is able to revisit various unresolved crises at critical points in their lives. Even though Bundy was not able to successfully navigate and resolve each of the developmental tasks and crises, the various developmental crises would have impacted on Bundy's personality development. Therefore, the way in which he managed them is important in understanding his personality development and structure. After researching and gathering the biographical data on Bundy's life and applying Erikson's (1963) psychosocial development theory, the researcher is of the opinion that she was able to formulate and conceptualise a concise understanding and interpretation of the personality development of Theodore Robert Bundy which will now be presented briefly.

The researcher is of the opinion that Bundy was born with a genetic predisposition to developing severe pathology which Erikson (1963) refers to as a constitutional intolerance. This suggests that Bundy's ability to cope and level of intolerance would have been compromised as a result of his genetic predisposition. Bundy was born into a conservative, American society in 1946. One of the initial impacts that this society had on Bundy's development was the apparent abandonment to which he was subjected while his mother decided whether or not to keep him due to the social stigma regarding unwed mothers and illegitimacy (Rule, 2013). This three month period of abandonment had a severe impact on Bundy's ability to connect and form a secure attachment with others, as well as his ability to cope and manage disappointment and frustrations due to his probable predisposition to intolerance and lack of compassion for others (Bowlby, 1982). Furthermore, the researcher is

of the opinion that Bundy's ability to trust others as well as himself was drastically impaired due to an avoidant-ambivalent attachment style (Bowlby, 1982).

Bundy's sense of mistrust was further exacerbated as he was reportedly raised in a household which was abusive and unpredictable in nature (Sullivan, 2009). Although it is unknown whether Bundy was subjected and received direct abuse, he was witness to it and experienced domestic violence and a traumatic upbringing. The researcher is of the opinion that Bundy struggled to form and establish his sense of identity as a result of an accumulation of the unsuccessful resolutions of the previous stages of psychosocial development.

In addition, according to the epigenetic principle the unsuccessful resolution of a previous stage will impact on all later development unless there is an exceptional environment and situation which enables successful resolution (Boeree, 2006; Erikson, 1963). Bundy was not privy to an exceptional circumstance or environment and was unable to successfully resolve the stages and develop the virtues identified by Erikson (1963). Therefore, the impact of Bundy's malignancy of withdrawal needs to be acknowledged and taken into account in his personality development (Boeree, 2006).

As a result of his mistrust of others and himself, Bundy was at a disadvantage in successfully navigating the second stage of autonomy versus shame and doubt. The mistrust that the child develops has a negative impact on the child's self confidence and self esteem and he/she may then develop excessive self doubt (Hergenhahn, 1984). Interestingly, Bundy was born into an environment filled with shame, as he was illegitimate, born out of wedlock in conservative America during the 1940s (Rule, 2013). According to Brown (2010), shame is exacerbated by silence, secrecy, and judgement. Therefore, this sense of secrecy and judgement may have impacted on Bundy's self esteem and confidence as it cast a sense of shame on who he is, and this would have impacted negatively on his later identity development (Boeree, 2006).

In addition, the researcher suggests that Bundy utilised his fantasy world as a means of overcompensating for that which he felt was lacking in reality such as a connection, attachment, and intimacy with others. This was as a result of his lack of connection and attachment which he experienced during infancy, and his high level of mistrust of others which resulted in the malignancy of withdrawal (Erikson, 1963). The researcher suggests that by abducting and murdering young women, Bundy was able to establish a pathological form of connection and intimacy as he was able to control the environment and create a space where he felt safe.

The aggressive attacks on the victim may be understood as symbolic expressions of their hate for the world. Serial killers vent their rage and envy against a hateful and rejecting world by attacking and brutalising others. In such attacks, serial killers unconsciously re-enact their childhood impotence, pain, and helplessness in a relentless fantasy of claiming revenge. (Knight, 2007, p. 32)

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter, the life of Theodore Robert Bundy was discussed through the application of Erikson's (1963) theory of psychosocial development. Bundy's life was discussed in terms of the eight stages proposed by Erikson and the respective developmental stages and opportunities, possible maladaptations and malignancies, as well as psychosocial virtues gained or not gained through successful or unsuccessful navigation of these eight developmental stages. Through this method of application, the researcher was able to make present various opinions and interpretations regarding Bundy's psychosocial and personality development. In the following chapter the conclusions, limitations, and recommendations for future research are discussed.



## Chapter Seven

### Conclusions, Limitations and Recommendations

*“I wanted a perfect ending. Now I've learned, the hard way, that some poems don't rhyme, and some stories don't have a clear beginning, middle, and end. Life is about not knowing, having to change, taking the moment and making the best of it, without knowing what's going to happen next. Delicious Ambiguity.” – Gilda Radner*

### Chapter Preview

In this chapter, the purpose of the study is revisited. Thereafter, the limitations of the study in regards to the psychobiographical subject, conceptual model, and psychobiographical approach are explored, as well as the recommendations for future research. Before the chapter is concluded, the value and contributions of the research study are presented.

### The Purpose of the Study Revisited

Psychobiographical research studies utilise theories, philosophy, science, and principles of psychology as instruments for understanding the individual being studied (Schultz, 2005). In addition, psychobiographies are based on an exploration and examination of the motivations, emotions, life-style, perceptions, fears, and any other motivational factors which determine the individual's place in the world (Baxter & Jack, 2008). As a result, psychobiographies are useful in gaining a greater understanding, depth, and perspective of a research subject (Schultz, 2005).

The primary aim of this study was to explore and describe the personality development of Theodore Robert Bundy as a serial killer, within the framework of Erik Erikson's (1963) theory of psychosocial development in order to develop a relevant psychobiography. The purpose was to generalise the results of the study to aspects of the theory used and not to the larger population (Schultz, 2005), which Yin (2013) described as a process of analytical generalisation. Bundy was analysed according to Erikson's (1963) first

six psychosocial stages of development, as he was executed when he was 42 years old (Michaud & Aynesworth, 2012). In addition, a secondary objective of the study was to clarify and test the propositions of Erikson's (1963) theory by applying it to Bundy's life. Erikson emphasised that a rigorous research methodology is important in order to produce a psychobiography which is of a high standard (Elms, 1994).

In order to achieve the aims and objectives of the study, the researcher provided a description of the psychobiographical method and background of the theoretical and conceptual model of Erikson's (1963) theory of psychosocial development. Thereafter a systematic construction and chronological description of Bundy's life was provided without interpreting or expanding on events and occurrences from a psychological perspective. The biographical description included salient life events which were significant or influential in Bundy's life, which included his socio-historical context. After a discussion of the particulars of the research methodology for the study, Bundy's life was interpreted and explored within the context of Erikson's (1963) theory of psychosocial development. The limitations of the study will now be presented in regards to the psychobiographical case study method, the conceptual model, and the psychobiographical subject. Through addressing and acknowledging the limitations of the research study, this will facilitate a discussion which will enable the researcher to identify and make recommendations for future research.

### **The Limitations of the Study and Recommendations for Future Research**

**The psychobiographical case study method.** Due to the scope and nature of the current research study being a partial requirement for the completion of a coursework masters degree, the researcher had limited time in order to complete the research component. According to Ponterotto (2015), a good and thorough psychobiography can take years to complete and may be difficult to complete in one year. As a result, the researcher recommends that future research conducted on Bundy conduct a more detailed investigation,

exploring possible facets of Bundy's personality and identity formation which the current researcher may not have been able to thoroughly investigate. Furthermore, in order to reduce the limitation of time constraints placed on researchers completing their research as a partial requirement for their degrees, the researcher recommends that students receive training in psychobiography before commencing psychobiographical research (Ponterotto, 2015). The researcher is of the opinion that this training and additional background knowledge will assist future researchers who have time constraints as areas of confusion can be clarified before research commences.

As Bundy was executed in 1989, the researcher was unable to conduct personal interviews with him. Therefore the absence of the research subject was a limitation to the study. As a result, the researcher had to undertake a cautious approach to the research, particularly when inferences and interpretations had to be made, as Bundy could not be interviewed and interpretations had to be done retrospectively. According to Ponterotto (2015), too many psychobiographies rely on third person sources which may impact on the credibility of the study. The researcher attempted to address this limitation by consulting with secondary sources that had direct contact with Bundy. Therefore, the researcher recommends that future research attempts to conduct interviews with those individuals that are living or where there is access to first person accounts.

In addition to the researcher's interpretations, suggestions, and speculations, different researchers may come to different conclusions or opinions. As a result of potential differences in interpretations and understandings, different research methodologies, psychological theories, as well as multi-theoretical investigations are recommended and should be utilised in future research in order to enrich and enhance the understanding of Bundy's life (Ponterotto, 2015). For instance, by conducting a multiple case study psychobiographical method, researchers will be able to integrate and compare their findings.

Furthermore, the researcher recommends that a comparative psychobiography be conducted on multiple serial killers in order to explore and extract similarities and differences in their childhood upbringing and life experiences which will enable the development of profiles which will assist the field of forensic psychology (Ponterotto, 2015).

**The conceptual model.** Through the interpretation of Bundy's life using Erikson's (1963) theory, the researcher became aware of ambiguous terminology used by Erikson. For instance, the researcher encountered potential differences in the subjective experiences of individuals in comparison to Erikson's interpretation and understanding of optimal personality development in terms of what he labelled 'virtues'. The researcher is of the opinion that Bundy may have been able to experience aspects such as 'hope' and 'will', however, in terms of Erikson's interpretation and description, Bundy did not acquire the virtues. In addition, Bundy may have been able to find meaning in his sadistic acts of violence, however, it is not suggested that this would be considered finding meaning of life as proposed by Erikson.

Therefore, recommendations for future research should include the subjective understanding and interpretation of virtues and meaning of life for individuals who suffer from severe pathology. Furthermore, future research should include and reflect the different cultural and value systems of 'special populations' and their understanding and interpretations of other potential virtues, crises, maladaptations, and malignancies. Erikson's theory fails to account for the limitless potential for influence and significance after death in terms of legacy – either good or bad. The existence and life of Theodore Robert Bundy continues to challenge and stimulate further discussion and thought. Future research should thus explore this concept in terms of Erikson's theory.

The researcher also encountered limited information regarding the relationship between malignancies and maladaptations. For example, did Bundy develop the

maladaptation of sensory distortion in order to counterbalance his mistrust and malignancy of withdrawal? The researcher recommends that further research is conducted and gathered in this regard in order to reduce confusion and provide a clearer understanding of the relationship between the two.

Furthermore, according to Shaffer (2002), Erikson's (1963) theory of psychosocial development fails to effectively and adequately explain the personality differences between individuals and how the unsuccessful or successful resolution of the stages will impact on their personality development. Erikson's (1963) theory of social development has also received criticism for it being overly optimistic and idealistic (Shaffer, 2002). In order to combat this limitation, further research is needed in what an individual would look like if they were unable to resolve the developmental task. In connection to the limitations mentioned above, Ponterotto (2015) and Schultz (2014) recommend that future research should include multiple theories, as human beings are too multifaceted and complex to be understood through a singular theoretical framework.

**The psychobiographical subject.** The researcher is of the opinion that Bundy's trustworthiness and reliability are called into question as a result of his complex personality, poorly formed sense of identity, and his ability to manipulate those around him. The researcher recognises that this is a limitation of the study as one has to be tentative of Bundy's accounts and reflections and cautious when interpreting them due to the uncertainty of his underlying motivations. In addition, there was a possible overemphasis of Bundy's pathology and being viewed as a serial killer in the data. This limitation was partly overcome by the use of autobiographical writings and existing correspondence available in the public domain. Furthermore, research of third parties that sought to write objective and factual accounts were consulted and utilised in the study. In order to reduce the above mentioned

possible limitation, the researcher recommends that future studies include using a broad database which consult first, second and third person accounts of Bundy's life.

An additional limitation with regard to the study was the limited information and data available regarding Bundy's childhood and family life. As a result of this limitation, inferences and speculations were retrospectively made from his later development. Thus, further research should be conducted in terms of Bundy's childhood where possible. Although this is a difficult limitation to overcome, and the researcher is of the opinion that the significant impact that Bundy's formative years had on his later development, recommendations for future research should include or incorporate a psychological theory as a conceptual framework that not place as much emphasis on early childhood development.

### **The Value of the Study**

Through integrating biography and psychology, comprehensive and rich descriptions of personality development and human experiences enables psychological theory to be expanded, challenged, and enhanced. The researcher believes that the study adds to the body of knowledge of psychology and, in particular, contributes to the growing literature and field of psychobiographical research, which is constantly growing and expanding.

By utilising the psychobiographical research method, the researcher was able to utilise a scientific and psychological approach to interpret and understand the life of Theodore Robert Bundy. The researcher suggests that this research study has been able to generate and highlight further discussion and exploration of the development of pathology in an individual's life through the context of Erikson's (1963) theory of psychosocial development.

Bundy was chosen based on the researcher's personal interest in his life and personality development, as well as from an interest in the psychological and pathological development of a serial killer. The researcher hopes that the research study facilitates interest in understanding the development and formation of pathology and individuals who engage in

criminal activity which will, thus, contribute towards the fields of investigative and forensic psychology. Furthermore, the researcher hopes to have highlighted the role which culture plays in developing serial killers as, “today a serial killer is something someone can *be*” (Haggerty & Ellerbrok, 2011, p. 6).

### **Conclusion**

This chapter presented a brief analysis of the limitations and value of this particular research study. Recommendations for further research were made in terms of Erikson’s (1963) theory of psychosocial development, psychobiographical research studies, and the life of Theodore Robert Bundy. It is felt that the aim of the research study has been achieved, namely to explore and describe the personality development of Theodore Robert Bundy within Erikson’s (1963) theory of psychosocial development. It is hoped that the reader of this research will gain valuable insight and understanding of the life and context of Bundy’s personality development.

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## Appendix A

### Summary of Turnitin Originality Report

Turnitin Originality Report

Treatise Final Draft by Kelly Mcgovern



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