The Making of a Charismatic Killer

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Abstract

Dualistic personality traits amongst certain individuals captivate and perplex global audiences, from psychologists, to legal professionals, to everyday citizens. This dramatic juxtaposition of character has infiltrated into the criminal world, allowing for a new deviant to emerge: the charismatic killer. Though theories of deviance attempt to identify reasons for vile acts, there has been a failure in evaluating the role that charisma plays in violent crimes. This paper constructs a model of charismatic appeal to examine commonalities between four serial killers in terms of charisma and crime. After evaluating each subject, results include the possession of immense social power and "charismatic authority" among all killers.

Keywords: Charisma; Societal Trigger; Resilience Theory; Sexual Sadism; Pornography

Introduction

On January 23rd, 1989, Theodore Robert Bundy conducted his final interview with author and psychologist James Dobson, nearly 12 hours before facing death by electrocution. While discussing the many psychological factors that may have contributed to his dying fate, Bundy revealed how societal implications may have fueled the crimes he committed: I deserve, certainly, the most extreme punishment society has. And I think society deserves to be protected from me and from others like me. That's for sure. What I hope will come of our discussion is that I think society deserves to be protected from itself**.** As we have been talking, there are forces at loose in this country. Especially this kind of violent pornography, where, on one hand, well-meaning people will condemn the behavior of a Ted Bundy while they are walking past a magazine rack full of the very kinds of things that send young kids down the road to being Ted Bundys. That's the irony –Ted Bundy Final Interview with James Dobson [1].

Essentially, this study will examine facets of society that may contribute to both a person's violent actions and their proliferation of charisma. It will evaluate the irony that Bundy alludes to in this quote while also examining how certain individuals use their charisma to kill. This evaluation will call upon theories of deviance that are essential to understanding how society constructs a charismatic killer. In studying these theories, it is apparent that Edwin Sutherland's Differential Association Theory [2], Travis Hirschi's Social Control Theory [2], and Resilience Theory [3], teach individuals how to conform so that one may create strong familial ties, groups to be a part of, and close connections with friends or peers, while developing a charismatic charm. By refusing to fall into the theories' definition of a deviant, the individual is taught to conform to society's wants by resisting deviance and establishing likeness. Therefore, rather than exploring these theories in a traditional sense, this

analysis will examine how society shapes a charismatic and "normal" citizen by teaching individuals how to refrain from deviance. Simply, these theories coupled with negative societal impacts can turn a charismatic person into a charismatic killer. The charismatic killer is an individual that is intriguing to society. The idea that a person can appear level headed, loving, and successful, yet is concealing a devastating internal turmoil both shocks and interests psychologists, doctors, legal professionals and everyday citizens. It is the goal of this study, then, to not only evaluate the crimes, the victims and the killers themselves, but also to evaluate the role of society in these tragic murders.

Literature Review

In order to continue with this study, defining certain terms referenced throughout the work is imperative in the understanding of "The Making of a Charismatic Killer." Therefore, below is a list of definitions that offer insight into the accumulated research that went into creating this study. It is important to note that certain terms coincide specifically with the varying sections of this paper. In other words, each definition may be alluded to in the "Data and Methods" section, or the "Summary and Conclusions" section. Though some terms, such as "charisma," "societal trigger," and the three theories (Social Control Theory, Differential Association Theory, and Resilience Theory) are universal to each section of the paper, other terms such as "sexual sadism" and "pornography" will be divulged in the case studies of particular killers.

Definition of Charisma

Before diving into this extensive study, it is essential to define "charisma" in this context. Charisma in this analysis will be defined as one's ability to affect and influence others due to their charm, attractiveness, and magnetism, as well as the emotional and social power that they seem to wield over those they are both familiar with and estranged from. Along with this definition is the idea of charismatic authority, which is recognized as the ability to coerce others to challenge and question their previous traditional and rational jurisdictions in order to follow the perpetrator's own wants and needs. This notion of charisma, then, can be extended to the study of four main perpetrators taken into consideration within this analysis, Theodore Bundy, Kenneth Bianchi, Charles Manson, and Angelo Buono. In an in-depth depiction of each individual, their crime, their influences, and the theories of deviance that coincide with each case, this analysis will strive to

demonstrate how societal influences construct a charismatic killer.

Definition of Societal Trigger

Throughout this study the term, "societal trigger" is referred to in order to describe the variation of factors that may have contributed to the heinous crimes committed by all four of these serial killers. When referring to societal triggers, it is important to note that this analysis is touching upon the different circumstances and occurrences that these individuals internalized throughout their lives that may have been provided to them through socialization. As briefly stated previously, this study examines how society has contributed to the making of a charismatic killer. Though the intent is not to necessarily blame society for the crimes committed, there must be a consideration of the correlation between societal triggers and criminal behavior. More specifically, when evaluating Ted Bundy, one may see how pornography, and the availability of violent pornography in particular, negatively impacted the perpetrator to begin viewing women as one-dimensional, making it easier to torture, mutilate, and defile their bodies.

Likewise, when calling upon the case of Charles Manson, one may attribute his societal trigger as being the unstable childhood experienced as well as the societal factors, which included his failed attempt to break out in the music industry, the belief that society was "trapping" citizens in conforming ways (often expressed in his music), and his religious ideologies. When referring to Kenneth Bianchi, the societal trigger that may be attributed is his strong desire to achieve the esteemed social status attributed to law enforcement by society. In other words, it seems that Bianchi greatly sought to fulfill the highly regarded societal role of being a police officer. In this way, Bianchi became so entranced with gaining success and power that posing as a police officer to commit violent crimes against women became his only option in his eyes. Lastly, one may attribute a trigger for Angelo Buono back to his believed sexual abuse in his childhood, as well as his parent's divorce. These triggers in Buono's early life lead him to a life of crime as well as a hate and loathing for women as a whole. Buono was later diagnosed with Sexual Sadism, a disorder that will be defined in depth below.

Definition of Serial Homicide

Serial Homicide is a complex and obscure idea that can make it complicated to define. Definitions of serial homicide can be vast, making it hard to get a clear idea of

what it technically is. Defining serial homicide becomes unclear when attempting to define the amount of homicides that would technically make the murder part of a "serial" homicide. A research study conducted by scholars pointed out that the definitions of serial homicide change dramatically in terms of the statistical frequency of serial killings [4]. While the frequency of homicides remains debated, some incorporate a broader definition of serial homicide. Hickey (1997) [5] defines serial homicide as "all offenders who through premeditation killed three or more victims over a period of days, weeks, months or years…" [5]. By classifying a serial murderer as any person who has murdered multiple victims over a certain time and had premeditation prior to them, he groups these individuals into their own serial homicide category. The key in defining serial homicide is separating it from other types of murder. If using the broad definition provided by Hickey, as well as the most common definition of "the killing of three or more people over a period of more than 30 days, with a significant cooling-off period between the murders," one can separate serial homicide from other forms such as murder, spree murder or mass murders [6-10].

Definition of Sexual Sadism

Often times when looking at serial killers, many of them fall under the category of "sexually sadistic" killers. These killers fall under a diagnosis of their own, a disorder known as sexual sadism. In the most current version of the Diagnostic Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-5) [11], Sexual Sadism falls under the Paraphilic Disorders. Sexual Sadism can be defined according to the DSM-5 as "recurrent and intense sexual arousal from the physical or psychological suffering of another person, as manifested by fantasies, urges or behaviors" and "the individual has acted on these sexual urges with a non-consenting persons, or the sexual urges or fantasies causes clinically significant distress or impairment in social, occupational, or other important areas of functioning" [11]. Sexual sadism usually involves the extensive use of pornography involving the affliction of pain and suffering of others as well [11].

Definition of Pornography

In order to fully examine the societal triggers mentioned above in regard to Ted Bundy specifically, pornography must be defined. In her article, "Pornography and Rape: A Causal Model," Diana E. H. Russell addresses the role that pornography may play in violence against women. In her study, Russell signifies the

need to differentiate between pornography and erotica, a key difference that must be noted in this analysis specifically: "Feminist philosopher Helen Longino's definition of pornography is the best one I have come across. It is sexually explicit material that represents [or] describes degrading or abusive sexual behavior so as to endorse and/or recommend the behavior as described [12]. By erotica I mean sexual representations that are premised on equality" [13]. The key here lies in the characterization of pornography as degrading or abusive sexual behavior by Russell and Longino, allowing a patriarchal and misogynistic interpretation to take place. From here, Russell argues that "pornography predisposes or intensifies a predisposition in some men to rape women and that it can undermine some men's internal or social inhibitions against acting out sexually violent behavior" [14]. Essentially, Russell claims that the viewing of this abusive and submissive pornography may negatively affect some individuals who are more vulnerable to acting upon the actions that they are so religiously watching by desensitizing and prompting men. Therefore, this analysis will refer to this characterization of pornography when addressing Ted Bundy and his societal implications.

Social Control Theory

At the heart of Travis Hirschi's Social Control Theory is the idea that delinquents fail to construct and maintain certain bonds to society through the lack of attachment, belief, commitment, and involvement [15]. Essentially, this theory proposes that the idea of conformity is one that society holds to such high esteem and that without conformity, the social fabric will slowly and painfully unravel. With this, is the idea that if society did not have certain normalcies enacted, most citizens would naturally partake in deviant acts [2]. This theory is built on the notions that both conformity is caused through strong bonds to society, labeled as attachment, commitment, involvement and belief, and that the strength of these bonds between the individual and society is the determinant of deviance; weak bonds to conventional others and conventional lifestyles cause deviance [16]. Before diving into how this theory relates to the actions of certain individuals studied in this analysis, it is important to define the four bonds that Hirschi suggests. In its simplest form, attachment to society occurs when individuals are concerned with the status and respect given to them by others. It is the ability of the individual to connect with others on an intimate and human level in order to lower their chance of committing deviant acts. Secondly, commitment is the notion that individuals that have more to lose (in a social context) by being labeled a

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deviant person, therefore they are less likely to commit to deviant acts. Thirdly, involvement is the idea that the more people are involved in conventional pursuits, the less likely they are to have any spare time to commit deviant acts. Lastly, belief is the internal control which states that those who believe and invest in conventional norms will subsequently lower their chances to violate said norms [16]. Therefore, this analysis relies on this specific interpretation of Hirschi's theory in order to examine certain killers.

Differential Association Theory

At the core of Edwin Sutherland's Differential Association Theory it states that through interactions with others, individuals learn values, attitudes, and techniques that either inhibit or prohibit criminal behavior [2]. This theory emphasizes that criminal deviance is learned through the social interactions with other beings. As cited in Frank P. Williams III and Marilyn D. McShane's book, Criminological Theory: Sixth Edition, the entirety of Differential Association Theory may be summed up in the words of Sutherland as presented in his book, Principles of Criminology (1934: 51-52) [17]: First, any person can be trained to adopt and follow any pattern of behavior, which he is able to execute. Second, failure to follow a prescribed pattern of behavior is due to the inconsistencies and lack of harmony in the influences, which direct the individual. Third, the conflict of cultures is therefore the fundamental principle in the explanation of crime. Essentially, it seems that Sutherland is insinuating that certain values and morals are established through one's interactions with those around them and a lack of positive reinforcement and support will not teach an individual to conform to good behavior. Rather, the individual is "entirely a product of the social environment surrounding [the individual] and the values gained from important others in that social environment" [2].

Resilience Theory

Resilience Theory suggests that certain individuals are predisposed to a development or lack thereof of resilience when enduring toxic environments, experiencing childhood trauma, or missing universal stages of development necessary for supreme functioning [18]. In this way, though some individuals experience similar upbringings yet refrain from deviant and vile behaviors, it is imperative to note that others become more predisposed to crime. More specifically, in reference to Resilience Theory, different individuals cope with adversity in distinctly different ways and some may lack the emotional and psychological ability to handle

hardship in a constructive way due to individual, social, and cultural lapses. In an attempt to clarify what Resilience Theory hinges on, the Naval Center for Combat & Operational Stress Control attempts to define resilience by stating, "Resilience is most easily conceptualized as having four prerequisites: 1. Risk or predisposition to biopsychosocial or environmental conditions. 2. Exposure to a high-magnitude stressor 3. Stress response 4. Return to baseline functioning and symptom levels" [19]. According to this, varying demographic and environmental predictors contribute to predisposing an individual to overcome significant life stressors in a positive manner or failing to do so and resorting to deviance. Essentially, one size does not fit all. More specifically, influences that may strengthen one's personal resilience include positive appraisal, active coping styles, self-efficacy, establishing meaning/learning, spirituality, and accepting one's limits and boundaries [19]. Therefore, when referring to Resilience Theory in the remainder of this analysis, in regard to Charles Manson and Kenneth Bianchi specifically, it is important to keep in mind the varying predispositions that may have contributed to their lack of resilience.

Case Studies: Charisma and Crime Applied

This information below entails extensive coverage of four serial killers, Theodore Robert Bundy, Charles Manson, Kenneth Bianchi, and Angelo Buono. In comparing these case studies to research conducted, specifically with the Ochoa-Nielsen Model of Charismatic Authority established in this paper, authors of this study hope to offer the reader deeper insight into the specific cases of each individual and what may have led to their graphic crimes. Each serial killer biography is divided up into three categories of, "The Charisma and the Crime," "The [Societal] Trigger," and the different sociological theories that apply to each. The purpose of first detailing the charisma embodied by the four killers, followed by society's alleged role in these acts (whether explicit or implicit), and concluding with the application of varying sociological theories of deviance is to merge the public and the private, the individual dispositions and society's influences, whether these are explicit or implicit. Following this section, then, one may compare the individual case studies, and charismatic authority in particular, with the data and methods used to determine the specific hypothesis of this paper.

Theodore Robert Bundy

The Charisma and The Crime: In her article titled, "The Sexual Politics of Murder," Jane Caputi describes Bundy as

the "boy next door" or "everyone's son," possessing the great intellectual, social, and educational abilities that undoubtedly would have made for a high quality citizen in society's eyes (Caputi, 1989) [14]. These notions set forth by Caputi stem from the achievements that the serial killer seemed to attain prior to his criminal career. More specifically, Caputi's normalization of Bundy hinges on the seemingly comfortable and sustainable lifestyle that Bundy experienced throughout his adolescent years. Ted Bundy was born in Burlington, Vermont on November 24, 1946. In the beginning years of his life, Bundy lived with his mother and grandparents in a small home located in Philadelphia before moving to Tacoma, Washington with his mother years later. Due to the uncertainty of who his real father was and his mother was merely 22 when he was conceived, the family told Bundy that he was the son of his grandparents and he lived in this disbelief until he was 18 years old [20]. Despite this uncanny misconception, Bundy seemed to grow up in a comfortable, controlled working class family. After learning about the truth of his birth, his mother remarried to create a stabilized and secure household for her and her son. Upon graduating high school, he attended the University of Puget Sound for just one year before transferring to a top-collegiate school, the University of Washington. It was here that Bundy truly began to thrive, becoming an intelligent, educated, and handsome young man with an IQ of 124 [20]. After proving himself worthy of academic recognition, Bundy was recognized as an honors student with outstanding potential to become a qualified attorney, was admitted to the University Of Utah School Of Law, and depicted as a rising star in Seattle's Republican Party [20].

The accumulation of all of these qualities, his comfortable family life, his academic and social success, and his undeniably handsome physique, make Bundy an unusual and mysterious suspect of the murderous and tragic crimes that he admitted to committing. Rather than utilizing his highly esteemed characteristics for the sake of good, however, Bundy commits vile acts of murder, which earn him the title of one of the most notorious serial killers of all time. In order to evaluate the motives behind these heinous acts, then, and possibly relay how society may have had a hand in shaping this killer, it is imperative to study the crimes themselves that led Bundy to face his ultimate fate, death by electrocution on January 24, 1989. The victims of Bundy's crimes seem to stand out as particularly interesting for their uncanny similarities, resembling Bundy's ex-girlfriend, Stephanie Brooks, who broke up with him prior to moving to California. A reading into the resemblance may portray that Bundy was attempting to kill Brooks over and over again for breaking

his heart. Nearly each victim may be described as a young, Caucasian, middle class girl with long brown hair parted straight down the middle. Just as Caputi addresses Bundy himself as "the boy next door" and "everyone's brother," she claims that much attention was given to Bundy's cases in particular due to the fact that the victims may also be categorized as "the girls next door" or "everyone's sisters" [14]. This proves to be detrimental to the study of Bundy's crimes due to the fact that he didn't choose likely targets such as prostitutes and sex workers. Rather, he wished to seduce women who would be less likely to establish a relationship with him in order to use his charm, articulation, and intelligence to lure women into his presence. The charismatic qualities allowed Bundy to establish trust with the women due to the fact that they did not fear or question his intentions in any way. Simply, he did not look, act, or speak like a "monster," therefore he was not characterized as one [20].

After attracting these women, Bundy would proceed to sexually abuse and rape them prior to and following strangulation. Strangulation was his most utilized form of killing these women, and, in many cases, would even use their underwear as the means to killing [20]. Once the women were dead, the serial killer mutilated their bodies to great degrees, dissembling their limbs and decapitating them in certain instances. Furthermore, in some cases, it is documented that Bundy continued to have sexual intercourse with the bodies of his victims until decomposition of the corpse. This same method of murder, as Bundy admits, took the lives of over 30 women throughout Colorado, Utah, Oregon, and Florida [20]. Studying these cases and the atrocious crimes that Bundy committed against innocent women proves to be especially disheartening due to the high level of trust that each victim had for her killer prior to the attack.

The Trigger: In his final interview with James Dobson just twelve hours before his death, Ted Bundy claims that a major motive for his killings stemmed from his addiction to pornography. This is typically the section of the paper that many cease to read, claiming that Bundy is simply finding any means possible to remove the blame for these vile crimes from his own hands. Though this may certainly be an interpretation that may be entertained, it seems unfair to utterly disregard Bundy's assertion that pornography may have played a role in his criminal behavior, no matter what the extent. In her article, "Pornography and Rape: A Causal Model," Diana E. H. Russell addresses the role that pornography may play in violence against women. In her study, Russell signifies the need to differentiate between pornography and erotica, a key difference that is noted within the definition

of pornography as mentioned earlier in this analysis. As described in feminist philosopher Helen Longino's definition of pornography and interpreted by Diana E. H. Russell, one must characterize pornography as degrading or abusive sexual behavior. According to these researchers, characterizing pornography in this way allows a patriarchal and misogynistic interpretation to take place. From here, Russell argues that "pornography predisposes or intensifies a predisposition in some men to rape women and that it can undermine some men's internal or social inhibitions against acting out sexually violent behavior" [14]. Essentially, Russell claims that the viewing of this abusive and submissive pornography may negatively affect some individuals who are more vulnerable to acting upon the actions that they are so religiously watching by desensitizing and prompting men.

In Bundy's case, then, one may claim that he was predisposed to this kind of violence for some reason in particular and that his addiction to pornography did play a role in altering his actions to fit the mold of what he was watching. This may be seen in the violent and visceral sexual acts that Bundy engages in with the victim both before and after their death. Therefore, rather than absolving pornography entirely and asserting that this kind of violent and patriarchal domain that is created through its practice does not bare any weight on individuals, researchers must consider the type of individual that is greatly addicted and their natural predisposition toward violence and imitation.

More specifically, the most recent edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, 5th Edition (DSM-5) [11] which the American Psychiatric Association follows in order to correctly classify, diagnose, and treat patients, outlines what is regarded as the Sexual Sadism Disorder under Paraphilic Disorders. According to the DSM-5, one may be classified as suffering from this disorder if there is a "recurrent and intense sexual arousal from the physical or psychological suffering of another person, as manifested by fantasies, urges or behaviors" and "the individual has acted on these sexual urges with nonconsenting persons, or the sexual urges or fantasies causes clinically significant distress or impairment in social, occupational, or other important areas of functioning" [11]. Also stated under this categorization of Sexual Sadism Disorder is the warning, "Note: The extensive use of pornography involving the infliction of pain and suffering is sometimes an associated feature of sexual sadism disorder" [11]. This proves to be extremely important due to the fact that a nationally recognized diagnosis manual set forth by the American Psychiatric Association purposely states that there is a

correlation between committing violent sexual sadistic acts and partaking in the use of extensive pornography. It seems from this assertion, then, that Ted Bundy's proclamation of his addiction may not be simply disregarded as a move in the "blame game," but may be seen as a possible social trigger for the heinous acts he committed. Lastly, it is important to note, however, that this analysis refuses to blame pornography as the total and complete reasons for the serial killer's actions, but is simply recognizing that "pornography (as well as its diffusions through mainstream culture) is a modern mode for communication and constructing patriarchy's necessary fusion of sex and violence, for sexual torture" [14].

Furthermore, in regard to the characterization of violent sexual crimes in general, Caputi recognizes the patriarchal domain and male supremacy that is cultivated within society: "As this hierarchy [of males committing violent crimes upon females] indicates, these are crimes of sexually political, essential patriarchal, domination [14]. In other words, these sexual violations may stem from a place of male supremacy, or, more specifically, from a need and desire for overwhelming power over another individual. Though this would bring a new topic of sexual politics into play, it seems necessary to mention when speaking of violent crimes committed by one gender against the other. This may then lead the way to further characterizing Ted Bundy as an individual in thirst for ultimate supremacy, which he only found through murder. This need and lust for seductive power seems to be the driving force behind the sexual crimes committed by many perpetrators, Bundy being no exception. The hunger power, fueled by misogynistic socialization and the patriarchal domain, feed on the lives of those plagued with addiction and sadistic vulnerabilities. Therefore, the study of Ted Bundy and the triggers that may have played some role in creating this charismatic killer beg the question of whether or not these crimes may have been committed, had pornography not been involved.

Social Control Theory: At the heart of Travis Hirschi's Social Control Theory is the idea that delinquents fail to construct and maintain certain bonds to society through the lack of attachment, belief, commitment, and involvement [15]. Essentially, this theory proposes that the idea of conformity is one that society holds to such high esteem and that without conformity, the social fabric will slowly and painfully unravel. With this, is the idea that if society did not have certain normalcies enacted, most citizens would naturally partake in deviant acts [2]. In totality, this theory is built upon the notion that conformity is caused through intense societal bonds

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between the individual and the society and that these bonds are the determinant of deviance; more specifically, weak bonds to conventional others and conventional lifestyles cause deviance [16].

Usually researchers claim that the basis of this theory supposes that those who adhere to conventional norms, or appear to adhere to conventional norms, steer away from deviance and lead normalized social lives. However, this study attempts to suggest that after individuals form these bonds to society and after they learn through these bonds how to properly conform, they master conformity in a sense that they are able to appear as though they are acting in conformity in order to commit the charismatic crimes. In this way, they are imitating society's bonds to such a great extent to merely appear as though they are fitting the mold, while instead utilizing this appearance in order to achieve their own malicious intentions. If one is to take this interpretation, the idea of Ted Bundy as the ultimate Social Control Theorist is not a far reach. In this way, Bundy understood the necessity of conforming in order to be able to commit his vile acts. Bundy not only led a seemingly conventional life (by growing up in a stable and traditional household), but he ventured off to college where he earned his degree and was considered to be a superb student. By being the model student and even entering law school following his undergraduate schooling, Bundy learned the need to be appealing in the eyes of his peers in order to seduce them for his violent purposes.

In regard to Hirschi's theories directly, Bundy had a strong attachment to many around him, seemed to have a strong commitment to others in the sense that being labeled a deviant during his educational pursuits and his application to law school, in particular, seemed quite conflicting, and was involved in many organizations, such as Seattle's Republican party while attending undergraduate school and applying to graduate school in the process. Pertaining to the internal belief component of Social Control Theory, it was perceived by Bundy that he greatly invested in the conventional norms of his contemporaries. This perception proves to be the greatest scheme of all, as Bundy seemed to be showcasing his superb acknowledgement and genuine internalization of Hirschi's bonds while really putting on a façade throughout his adolescent life in order to use his societal bonds to murder innocent women. This idea of conformity for the betterment of his own sadistic power is one that proves intriguing, urging readers to consider whether or not his conformities could have been used to prompt good. More specifically, one may look at Bundy's initiation into law school in a different light. Society holds

legal professionals to be of an elitist rank, much like that of doctors or law enforcement professionals. In this way, these individuals are given an innate sense of power simply by embarking on a certain vocation or career. It seems, then, that Bundy's pursuit of a law degree may have been another quench in regard to satisfying his thirst for power or elitism. This begs the question of whether or not his vile acts for dominance over women could have been avoided had he obtained the power he sought so deeply by finishing his law degree. Simply, Ted Bundy potentially may have become the prosecutor that fights to incriminate individuals like himself, should he have passed the Bar Exam. Though this question is abstract and perhaps unanswerable, it proves to be an interesting one that may be pondered.

Charles Manson

The Charisma and the Crime: In a journal publication titled, "Charles Manson and his Girls," by Geis & Huston, Charles Manson is said to have written, "People say I'm no good. But they never, never do they say, why their world is so mixed up, or how it got that way" [21]. Like Bundy, Manson too had a belief about society and their effect on people. In this quote, which is from a song written by Manson in prison, he expresses that while everyone does put blame on Charles, perhaps society should start taking a look at themselves and why he, and others, ended up this way. It is becoming more and more evident that society perhaps not only pushes some like Bundy and Manson into these crimes, but also shows them the way to the charisma needed. Charles Manson was born on November 12, 1934 to Kathleen Maddox, a heavy drinker who was arrested early in Manson's life for robbery. Manson was sent to live with his aunt and her husband, where Manson has reported as what was seemingly a rough home life [22]. By the time Charles was reunited with his mother 5 years later, he had reportedly already adapted to a life of loneliness and violence, at a young age he had a fascination with guns, knives and various weaponry. By 1959, Manson had already been arrested for rape, drug use, fraud, pimping and stealing (Ibid).

Though Manson had a colorful early life, he still developed a sense of charisma and charismatic authority, though not in the traditional sense. Manson's charisma is one that could be seen at a young age. Early on, Manson was known to be manipulating other children on the school's playground, convincing them to attack the kids that he did not like [22]. As time went by, though Manson was in and out of prison, his charisma would start to come out more as he grew. Manson began to become known for his charismatic personality, and was said to have an

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undeniable presence, giving him the power to dominate and manipulate others [21]. These charismatic traits are what gave Manson the power to manipulate his followers, or in his terms, "the Family." The Family was a group of people who looked to Manson as a leader. In his position as the head of the Family, he convinced them that he had the ability to perform extraordinary things, he acted incredibly sexually, instigating sexual relations among the group, and he is said to have related to the members on a deep psychological level, especially through the use of music [23]. These characteristics are what started and created the ability for Manson to turn his Family toward a life of crime. It has been said that charisma can break routines among people, both traditional and rational; Manson used this idea to change the routines of his followers from a normal societal life to that of a more sacro-magical and even faith based one that surrounded his own personal beliefs (Ibid).

These charismatic qualities of Manson are not those that are rare among society by any means; they are rare, however, in being used in heinous crimes such as those committed by Charles Manson and his family. Using his charisma, as well as his violent ideals, Manson was able to manipulate his Family of followers into committing a series of horrendous murders. On August 9, 1969, the Manson Family entered into the home of pregnant actress Sharon Tate, and murdered her as well as 4 others who were in the home [24]. The following night, the Family broke into another home and murdered two others, totaling 169 stab wounds and 7 gun shots between the two days. The idea behind the murders has been voiced that Manson wanted to start a "race war," followed by the proclamation that he and the Family would retreat to living underground as their own cult [24]. Some individuals claim that it is easy for the Family to be seen as bizarre, abnormal, or like misfits, and are willing to treat them as such, resolving that these groups are merely "outcomes of the sociocultural process" [25,26]. While Manson and his followers certainly committed unique crimes, it may be argued that the idea behind those crimes is all too common in today's society. Jeff Guin, author of Manson: The Life and Times of Charles Manson, explains that researchers, psychologists, and everyday peoples, are incredibly interested in Manson because he embodies so many aspects of American society and that the Family are perfect portrayals of certain types of groups that are heavily present now [23]. In this sense, though Manson and his Family exemplified a radical way of carrying out their faith, one may compare this group to other types of extremists highly prevalent in society. While most do not end in heinous crimes, various societal

influences and factors may lead individuals down dividing paths.

The Trigger: Like all crimes and extreme acts, something pushed Manson to this point, causing him to commit and create these violent actions. Though there is no easy explanation for why a person does the things they do, good or bad, there are attempts in dissecting one's motives. Manson, like Bundy, believes that society has as much of a role in pushing him to this point as himself. While it is clear that Manson puts some responsibility into the hands of others, it is unclear what exact explanation points to the reason for the murders in terms of a Manson trigger. Since Manson has a history of pathologically lying about his past, the pieces had to be gradually put together. There are several triggers that led to the decisions of Charles Manson. There is no one characteristic can be blamed for the motive behind his actions. Since there are several, one has to start at the beginning: his childhood. It would be unfair to say that the cause of Manson's issues were strictly because of his early life. However, it would also be unfair to say that his childhood did not play a role in Manson's triggers of these criminal events either. Studies have shown that children who have grown up neglected or abused do tend to report worse mental health problems in adult life (abuse and neglect). As a child, Manson was, by definition, neglected by his mother, and rumored to be abused by his aunt's husband, which according to studies previously stated can be linked to his psychological disorders in his later life [22].

Soon after Charles was released from prison, he made his way to California and formed his band of followers. Part of his charismatic authority was his ability to sell ideological ideas as well as the weight that he pulled within the drug realm. Manson was known to distribute drugs, specifically hallucinogenics such as LSD, to his followers in order to quench their own "spiritual needs" [23]. With the push of his own ideals and his control within the drug arena, Manson began to convince his followers that he was a Christ-type figure [23]. In a research article titled, "Beyond Mere Compliance to Authoritative Figures: Religious Priming Increases Conformity to Informational Influence among Submissive People" published in The International Journal for the Psychology of Religion, Patty Van Capellan, et al., conducted a study on religious priming, showing that religious priming "activates submissive thoughts and facilitates compliance to authority's request for revenge" [27]. With this in mind, it seems that in concluding that Manson was a religious figurehead, the Family became submissive to his wants and needs, willing to act in any way in compliance with Manson's goals. Along with

Manson's interest in drugs and religious philosophy, came his obsession with certain media influences, especially that of The Beatles. Manson had an intense interest in their song "Helter Skelter," as he came to believe it was the prediction of a race war [22]. The message from the media and society was said to have made Manson and his followers feel "caged." Manson wrote music that would often put emphasis on an escape from society theme, wanting to leave contemporary existence [21]. A quote from one of the Family members exemplifies this: "I used to think I had to read a million books a day. Now what I want to do is watch the sun comes up. When I came into the Family, it was like I had walked into a dream" [21]. This quote, among the themes represented in Manson's music, showed that they had a want to be free from certain societal norms.

The influence of the Beatles, as well as some time in prison, sparked a musical interest in Manson. After being released for his early crimes, Manson decided to explore a career in music after being introduced to the guitar while in prison [22]. Manson worked to extend his music career in Southern California, where he became acquaintances with a Beach Boys member, Dennis Wilson. Through Wilson, Manson was introduced to other music enthusiasts and he began to believe that his music career could advance [22]. Unfortunately, Manson's music career never took off, and he became very upset. This research is entertaining the idea that perhaps the want and need for power and authority are what drives serial killers to commit the crimes that they do. It is moments like these where some are looking for the power and authority in certain areas of normal societal life; in Manson's case, it was a career as a musician. Musicians are often respected and have power in American culture and society, so it can be presumed that this is what Manson was searching for. When he no longer had the opportunity for authority, another means had to become a substitute.

Resilience Theory: For unique cases such as Charles Manson, Resilience Theory may aid in understanding why he was compelled to commit such heinous crimes. As noted previously, Resilience Theory is the notion that against all odds, despite enduring toxic environments, childhood trauma, or missing universal stages of development, individuals may still grow into fully functioning and developing adults [18]. Individuals who properly exhibit Resilience Theory have been shown to have some certain qualities (or many) that researchers have found to be universal, from the perception of competence to known religious and spiritual ties. In comparing these various qualities found in individuals who showcase Resilience Theory with Charles Manson,

one may notice that he too possessed certain common characteristics: he perceived himself to be competent, had an internal locust of control, was high energy and active, had special interests and hobbies, and had a strong relationship in regard to faith [18]. The most devastating outcome when studying Resilience Theory may be noted in the fact that researchers have found that when someone embodies some or all of the traits from this list, that there is only a 50% chance that they will overcome the likelihood to become deviant or experience mental health problems [18]. Perhaps this offers a reason for which Manson seemed to establish a lack of resilience; though he had traits in line with others that develop resilience, his positive attributes could not overcome the impulse to succumb to the negative influences in his life through deviance. Furthermore, the way in which Manson utilized these positive attributes proves to be even more concerning. In turn, he used his positive societal connections and commonalities to commit criminal acts.

Because this study is focusing on how these killers used societal norms to commit their crimes, this section will focus on how Manson did that in terms of this theory. When observing Manson, one can see how he embodied certain traits on the list. Arguably, one could say to an extent that Manson was, in fact, resilient. While he did become deviant, both in his early and later years, he was at the same time attempting to live a socially acceptable life. As discussed, Charles left prison and was inspired to pursue a music career, which led him to Southern California. While in Southern California, Manson was able to make connections with musical interests, as well as gain the popularity of people around him, now known as his Family. In this way, he established a sense of resilience. However, after concluding that his career was brutally and inappropriately terminated due to various setbacks, Manson determined that society forfeited his chance to become a famous musician. His anger toward society and the individuals that refused to grant him a career in music fueled his desire to commit heinous acts of violence. Therefore, his previous perceptive establishment of resilience (through bonds with others through music) aided him in gaining the trust and loyalty from his followers necessary to commit criminal acts; without the connections gained through his pursuit of music, he may not have gained the popularity needed to establish a following.

Manson believed himself to be an extremely competent individual, possessing an internal locus of control. This gave him the self-esteem needed to start his own cult. The leader had special interests including a fascination with weapons, knives, and guns, his obsession with certain

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music that may have contributed to his obscene actions, and his skewed faith-based values. According to Resilience Theory, obtaining special interests and hobbies (despite what they are) may allow one to feel as though he has a sense of meaning or purpose in their life; the individual has something to grow fond of, look forward to, and appreciate. However, in the case of Manson, his skewed interests and hobbies fueled a sense of meaning and purpose in his life that proved to be detrimental to society. He used his interests to help fuel his odd beliefs and convince his Family of believing likeminded thoughts. An example of this is found in Manson's proclamation of faith, which he used to alter the beliefs of others for sake of power. Manson was able to convince his Family that he was a Christ-like figure, and that his beliefs stemmed from a divine source. In convincing his followers of this ability, Manson led a killing rampage under the name of a divine cleansing. Through this proclamation, Manson demonstrated his need to manipulate a seemingly positive quality such as a strong faith connection into several acts of murderous rage.

Another example may be found in the role that musical media played in the development of Manson's beliefs. In particular, his obsession with Helter Skelter by the Beatles stemmed from the idea that the song was providing a message about the future. This, like many other media sources, could easily have played a role in Charles' push toward serial murder. After being convicted of several murders, Charles Manson once stated, "I have done my best to get along in your world" [27]. Perhaps this exclamation offers some sort of explanation as to how Manson attempted to marry his own beliefs with those of society. No longer could Manson overcome his feelings of deviance; instead, he had put aside a seemingly small inclination to conform to societal standards and beliefs, and chose to pursue, what he convinced himself to be, his own right-minded tasks. In attempting to relate to society's interests through various avenues (from faith to music), Manson finally came to the realization that he could no longer fit into the mold that seemed to be expected of the everyday citizen. Instead, he found himself fighting with and challenging aspects of societal life by using seemingly universal interests for his own self-gain. In the end, the serial killer concluded that he would use his societal ties and commonalities to convince his established cult to succumb to criminal behavior.

Kenneth Alessio Bianchi

The Charisma and the Crime: In this study of Kenneth Bianchi, it is important to note that the idea of charisma and crime are intertwined in a way that differs from that of Ted Bundy. Rather than growing up to become a charming figure such as Bundy, Bianchi proves to have had a rather tough and disturbing childhood, facing many troubles both physically and mentally. These troubles prove to have a lasting effect on Bianchi, leading him down a devastating and depressing path in which he ultimately comes to the realization that the sort of control and power he seeks may only be attained through his false identification with law enforcement in order to seduce and murder young women. Before dissecting the crimes themselves and the role that the society's depiction of police could have played in these killings, it is imperative to reflect on a basic telling of Bianchi's life that led him to becoming a serial killer. Kenneth Bianchi, also known as The Hillside Strangler, was born in Rochester, New York on May 22, 1951 to a 17-year-old woman and prostitute. Shortly after his birth, he was given up for adoption and taken in by the Bianchi family where he was hopeful of leading a normalized lifestyle. During childhood, however, Bianchi began having mental and physical health issues, visiting doctors and psychiatrists on multiple occasions for momentary lapses of trance-like states/daydreaming and "involuntary urination, tics, absenteeism, and behavioral problems" [28]. In short, Bianchi began suffering from a multitude of health issues that began affecting his daily interactions both in the home and at school.

By the time he was in high school, Bianchi began showing signs of being a compulsive liar and is even documented to have written a note to his girlfriend claiming that he was suspected in numerous murders and had killed a man at one point. After struggling through adolescence, however, Bianchi realized his true aspirations of becoming a police officer and enrolled in Monroe Community College, only to be turned down by a sheriff's office that same year and the Los Angeles Police Department seven years later. Feeling defeated from his aspirations, Bianchi instead began striking up a close-knit relationship with his cousin, Angelo Buono in Los Angeles, who proved to have a devastating impact on the young man. Shortly after devising a plan to find young girls to work for them as prostitutes, the body of Yolanda Washington was found, battered, raped, and strangled. Between the months of October 1977 and January 1978, Kenneth Bianchi and Angelo Buono are said to have taken the lives of 12 different girls, brutally rapping them, strangling them, and leaving their bodies on the hillside of the Glendale-Highland Park vicinity, an explanation of why they eventually became known as the Hillside [28]. Though Bianchi and Buono may not have charismatic qualities regarding their own personalities specifically, the most important aspect to consider in regard to these

crimes is the fact that the cousins posed as law enforcement professionals in order to lure in their victims prior to killing them. Bianchi's habit of compulsive lying and his desire to become a police officer coupled with the false identification of law enforcement eventually led to the devastating murders that took place between 1977 and 1978.

The Trigger: The role of impersonation of law enforcement is one that must be highly regarded in the case of Kenneth Bianchi. As stated previously, Bianchi's desire to become a police officer may be considered his motive for luring women in the fashion that he did. It is clear through the overarching analysis of Bianchi's childhood that he was never regarded as an intelligent, charming, articulate figure. Instead, he suffered socially and educationally, failing to obtain a job in law enforcement following graduation. In a sense, Kenneth Bianchi became fearful of not being able to achieve his career aspirations, and in turn, life aspirations; his need for power and recognition intensified due to his fear of failure. Therefore, in an attempt to achieve the power and respect that he sought, Bianchi utilized the skills that he had acquired during his police ride-alongs to secure the false identity of "cop."

In order to examine the role that this desire had in the actuality of these murders, it is necessary to consider the representation of police officers as depicted by the public in the United States. In a study conducted by the International Association of Police Chiefs, much research was found in regard to the overall image of law enforcement, the perception of police outcomes, and the perception of police processes. Among the most important findings was the assertion that the "public image of the police is complex" [29]. Though many individuals seem skeptical of law enforcement, through perceptions of police brutality and what is showcased in the media, it is clear through this study that the public has an overall positive outlook on the police, ranking law enforcement among the highest institutions securing confidence and trust. A suggestion as to why the public image of the police continues to be somewhat positive may be due to the fact that society labels law enforcement and crime control as having a level of superiority. Starting from an early age, even, children are conditioned to juxtapose law enforcement into set black and white categories, good and evil, through games like "Cops and Robbers." This only furthers as these children grow up and become politicians, campaigning as "Tough on Crime!" and for fighting the "War on Drugs!" In this way, law enforcement and police become valorized crime fighters, heroically sacrificing themselves for the greater good, and thus a development of a hierarchy is constructed.

As stated previously, Kenneth Bianchi attempted many times to secure a job as a police officer, but was rejected both with the Monroe County Sheriff's Office and the Los Angeles Police Department. This analysis argues that his fascination with becoming a police officer stemmed solely from the power and respect awarded to men in uniform as well as the feeling of comradery established within the force. Through these aspirations, Bianchi wished to gain respect from the public as well as form a close-knit relationship with fellow officers. In a way, he hoped to establish the positive social bonds that he was never fully able to experience. Therefore, after being rejected, he found that the only way to achieve this same recognition was to instead imitate law enforcement by dressing, acting, and embodying what it means to be a cop. Knowing that his personal characteristics were not enough to elicit the respect and charisma he wished, Bianchi realized that impersonating a police officer was the only way for him to gain recognition and power. To justify an end to the means, Bianchi attempted to prove his superiority by using the charismatic qualities he achieved by imitating a police officer in order to lure in and kill many unsuspecting women. In this way, not only did he obtain the admiration and obedience he sought from these women through his impersonation of law enforcement, but he physically showcased his dominance and authority by ultimately murdering his victims, an absolute form of control.

Differential Association Theory and Resilience Theory: At the core of Edwin Sutherland's Differential Association Theory, it states that through interactions with others, individuals learn values, attitudes, and techniques that either inhibit or prohibit criminal behavior [2]. This theory emphasizes that criminal deviance is learned through the social interactions with other beings. As cited in Frank P. Williams III and Marilyn D. McShane's book, Criminological Theory: Sixth Edition, the entirety of Differential Association Theory may be summed up in the words of Sutherland as presented in his book, Principles of Criminology (1934: 51-52) [17]: First, any person can be trained to adopt and follow any pattern of behavior which he is able to execute. Second, failure to follow a prescribed pattern of behavior is due to the inconsistencies and lack of harmony in the influences which direct the individual. Third, the conflict of cultures is therefore the fundamental principle in the explanation of crime.

Essentially, it seems that Sutherland is insinuating that certain values and morals are established through one's interactions with those around them and a lack of positive reinforcement and support will not teach an individual to conform to good behavior. Rather, the individual is "entirely a product of the social environment surrounding [the individual] and the values gained from important others in that social environment" [2]. In applying this theory to the study of Kenneth Bianchi, it is apparent that his cousin Angelo Buono was an intense and sustained negative influence that greatly attributed to the carrying forth of his murders. At the encouragement of his cousin, Bianchi began objectifying women as merely means to money and sex. Prior to the interaction with his cousin, Bianchi had not committed any known criminal act, highlighting the idea that the influence of Buono greatly strengthened his demeaning depiction of young woman while instilling in him the means to commit the desired criminal acts. Though Buono may be seen as a significant factor in prompting Bianchi to kill 12 young girls, however, other aspects of Bianchi's life may have played a role in predisposing Bianchi to commit these killings. More specifically, Bianchi was put up for adoption at birth, failing to know his biological parents. At the age of 13, Bianchi's adoptive father died, leaving him to be raised by a single mother who began seeing difficulties with the young boy at an early age. Furthermore, his lack of educational success and his inability to secure a job as a police officer may have also led to a lack of self-worth and low confidence. Because of this, it seemed that the only means for him to achieve any sort of superiority that he desired was for him to brutally rape and strangles 12 girls. In totality, his negative social environment and experiences failed to establish positive values and morals within the boy. Rather, the experiences of these negative influences taught Bianchi how to deviate from the expected norm.

Though many individuals experience a similar upbringing and still refrain from deviant and vile behaviors, it is imperative to note that some individuals become more predisposed to crime than others. More specifically, in reference to Resilience Theory, different individuals cope with adversity in distinctly different ways and some may lack the emotional and psychological ability to handle hardship in a constructive way due to individual, social, and cultural lapses. In an attempt to clarify what Resilience Theory hinges on, the Naval Center for Combat & Operational Stress Control attempts to define resilience by stating, "Resilience is most easily conceptualized as having four prerequisites: 1. Risk or predisposition to biopsychosocial or environmental conditions. 2. Exposure to a high-magnitude stressor. 3.

Stress response. 4. Return to baseline functioning and symptom levels." [19]. According to this, varying demographic and environmental predictors contribute to predisposing an individual to overcome significant life stressors in a positive manner or failing to do so and resorting to deviance. Essentially, one size does not fit all. More specifically, influences that may strengthen one's personal resilience include positive appraisal, active coping styles, self-efficacy, establishing meaning/learning, spirituality, and accepting one's limits and boundaries, all things that Kenneth Bianchi truly lacked throughout adolescence [3]. Bianchi's lack of educational success, his troublesome relationships with others in school and at home, his inability to achieve the career that he sought, his troublesome upbringing and lifestyle (diffused among both physical and emotional problems), and his corrupt interactions with his cousin Angelo made him susceptible to a lack of resilience while also shaping the man who became known as the notorious Hillside Strangler.

Angelo Buono

The Charisma and the Crime: When assessing Angelo Buono, one may see a serial killer that is all too common: the sexually sadistic serial killer. As defined in previous sections, sexual sadism involves the sexual arousal from the suffering of another person that is manifested in fantasies, urges and behaviors [11]. Before comparing Buono as a sexually sadistic as well as a charismatic killer, this work must first look at his beginnings. Angelo Buono was born on October 5, 1934 in Rochester, New York, and spent majority of his childhood with his mother, Jenny, in the state of California [28]. As far as abuse and neglect, there is no recorded evidence or reports of Buono experiencing it, however it has been debated whether or not he was sexually abused based on the actions of himself in later adulthood [28]. Throughout Buono's teen years and early twenties, he was already making some questionable decisions; he had been caught boasting about sodomizing and raping girls, dropped out of school and had been arrested, and had fathered his first child [28]. Angelo had experienced many similar problems, especially sexual ones, well into his 30s, but eventually started living a relatively normal life: he had opened his own upholstering shop, and, though it didn't last, he had been married [28]. It was around the time of opening the shop, at the age of 41, that Angelo's cousin, the previously discussed Kenneth Bianchi, moved in with him. The two of them arguably influenced each other to take on a new life path.

With this new path, a path involving serial killings, was the need of some charisma in order to complete the

crimes successfully and untraced. Angelo Buono, within the pair, had his own air of charisma that he used. Buono was said to have "a way with the ladies;" young girls were said to be attracted to him because he was cocky, direct, and very, very much in charge [30]. Buono began to form a reputation as being a "stud" and gave himself the nickname the "Italian Stallion" [28]. Along with the charismatic authority with the ladies, he was also somewhat of a role model for Kenneth Bianchi; Buono taught Bianchi how to get girls by just flashing his fake police badge, and also came up with their scheme of getting girls to work for them for money [30]. Though Buono was not necessarily charismatic in the traditional sense, the use of authority he implemented through disguises as a police officer and the power he enacted over women gave him the certain charismatic qualities needed to carry out his crimes.

Trigger: The idea that a person has just one trigger or defining moment in becoming deviant or not is one that is seemingly improbable. Angelo Buono shows that it is more than difficult to try to identify just one defining factor in a turn of events. In the case of Angelo Buono, you can examine his childhood as well as his experience with sexual sadism in his later life. It has been said that it is possible that Buono was sexually abused as a child, which did eventually lead him to a life of hatred against women. He exuded tremendous amounts of abuse and hatred toward women in general. During his life he had many relationships and many marriages, and Buono had a history of abuse and ill treatment toward them as well. This, some believe, may have been linked to his parent's divorce.

As Buono aged, this turned from hatred to what is known as sexual sadism. Buono showed signs of what could turn into sexual sadism later, especially his use of violence against women. In a study on sexual sadism, it is shown that 16 out of the 20 killers studied with sexual sadism did in fact have many violent sexual fantasies. This is a study that Buono was actually involved in [31]. Going along with the trigger of sexual sadism, Buono fell into two of the very clear cut categories: 70% of the killers' victims were women, and 80% of the murders involved extensive planning to capture the victims, including the use of impersonating a police officer [31]. Buono needed to achieve some sort of sexual satisfaction, and after the initial murders, that satisfaction seems to have needed to come from the death of these women, which often times those diagnosed with sexual sadism (like Buono) need in order to achieve it [31]. Along with this idea of sexual sadism as a trigger, is the influence that Bianchi and Buono had on each other. The two influenced each other

toward the culmination of these murders, they were causes and influences on the decision to start and continue with these crimes; this is something that will be touched on in the next section. The triggers for Buono, while not quite as clear as they are for other killers, do help one understand why these killings occurred the way that they did and how the murder spree actually began.

Differential Association Theory: Like Kenneth Bianchi, Angelo Buono also relates to Differential Association Theory. According to Edwin Sutherland's definition of Differential Association cited previously, Angelo Buono qualifies as an enabler and a receptor of criminal behavior, through his relationship with his cousin. As discussed as a part of Buono's charisma, he had a strong influence over Bianchi and their path to take on a life of crime. Buono was the instigator of the idea of finding women to work for them and make money, as well as the one who introduced Bianchi to killing. Buono was the leader of the two in the sense that he is the one that pushed Bianchi to join him in attacking and killing women. With that being said however, both had a lasting influence on each other to continue with these murders and attacks; it is not to be said that it was only Buono's desire to continue, as even after Bianchi had moved to Bellingham, WA, he still conducted an attack on his own. Furthermore, when analyzing Angelo Buono in regard to Differential Association Theory, one also has to look at how his interactions in his early life affected this as well. In considering his background, it becomes clear that his parent's divorce and subsequently growing up with his mother and sister did in fact have a negative effect on his view of women. While the interactions and the full relationships among Buono and his family remain relatively vague, it can only be understood that whatever the relationship was, it enabled and sparked his sexually sadistic tendencies. In terms of Differential Association Theory, perhaps the negative interactions with women throughout his whole life; his hatred for them, and his need to be violent and powerful over them, were interactions that enabled Buono and pushed him toward the life of a serial, charismatic killer.

Data and Methods

The remainder of this study will evaluate the societal factors and charismatic qualities that have allowed for serial killers, in particular, to kill their victims with two distinct categorical models. In applying the theories of deviance addressed in the case studies above, namely Social Control Theory, Resilience Theory, and Differential Association Theory, with the application of the Buller-McGinnis Model of Serial Homicide and the Ochoa-Nielsen

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Model of Charisma and Appeal, this analysis strives to assess the many variables, both public and personal, that prompt someone to kill.

The Buller-Mcginnis Integrated Model

According to "The Buller-McGinnis Model of Serial Homicidal Behavior: An Integrated Approach," the Buller-McGinnis model examines "predispositional factors (biological, psychological and personality), social environment, traumatic events, behavior toward self and others, fantasy life and facilitators" [32]. In collecting data that evaluate predispositional factors, social environment, formative events/traumatization, actions toward self and others, and active fantasy life, the Buller-McGinnis Model attempts to categorize the different impacts according to each subject. For the purpose of this study, the collected information from the model will aid in determining the specific societal factors influencing the individual killers as well as the severity of each category. The instrument itself is set up as a chart accompanied with a rating system from zero to one in which all of the subjects will be scored. The data will be evaluated through in-depth analyses of each of the killer's early lives, actions, and psychological make-up. The purpose of using this model in particular, then, is to consider and document the grave external factors that imprinted on Bundy, Manson, Bianchi, and Buono. After understanding these impressionable societal factors, one is then able to see how these individuals developed the skills necessary to understand the importance of charisma in committing their murders. Without an examination of the Buller-McGinnis Model in this case, one may not understand the psychological and societal factors that aided the killers in developing charismatic qualities to commit deviant acts.

The Ochoa-Nielsen Model of Charismatic Appeal

The purpose of the Ochoa-Nielsen Model of Charisma and Appeal is to quantify data pertaining to homicides and charisma. The model will evaluate charisma in many categories in order to see how certain subjects developed, maintained and perfected their charismatic authority over their victims. The goal of this data collection, accompanied by the Buller-McGinnis Model, will be to determine the correlation between charisma, societal influences, and crime. A hypothesis of this study then, is that in order to commit the most distasteful crimes, charisma and charismatic authority is almost required. To test this hypothesis, the Ochoa-Nielsen Model will include an evaluation of each subject's ability to lead others, gain respect from others, develop close-knit friendships, and ability to persuade other people from their original

opinion. Other than looking strictly at charismatic authority and personal leadership styles, this model will also be comprised of other factors and categories, including a self-health analysis, educational evaluation, possible law enforcement run-ins, and an emotional assessment. These categories will aid in deciphering the amount of charisma each subject attained prior to and during their killings. It seems imperative to develop the Ochoa-Nielsen Model solely because other research studies have failed to evaluate charisma in this totality.

For this study, the researchers were not able to gain access to a first-hand recording of charisma as defined by the subjects due to the fact that the individuals are either deceased or incarcerated. Instead, the data will be collected through secondary sources (previous interviews and statements), by individuals who had interactions with the killers. While society defines charisma, these second-hand individuals are the ones experiencing the charismatic authority and determining whether or not the perpetrator displays these qualities, making this sort of data collection ideal. In order to score the subjects in a similar manner, the Ochoa-Nielsen Model of Charisma and Appeal will be set up to closely resemble the Buller-McGinnis Model; it too will consist of a chart accompanied by a scoring system of zero to one as each subject is evaluated in varying categories. It will serve as an accurate portrayal of the level of charisma that each individual possessed in order to investigate whether or not charismatic authority was necessary to achieve these homicides. A comparison of the data and methods in relation to the theories examined (Differential Association Theory, Social Control Theory, & Resilience Theory, as noted in Champion's (2006) Research) [33] are further examined in the "Discussion" section of this analysis. It is imperative to analyze the data and methods, the Buller-McGinnis Model and the Ochoa-Nielsen Model, with the theories of deviance in order to better understand the motives behind these charismatic killings.

Summary and Conclusions

Results

An analysis of the Buller-McGinnis Model and Ochoa-Nielsen Model proves to be significant in terms of predispositional factors affecting the individuals, adulthood characteristics of the perpetrators, and the four serial killers' charismatic authority and control measures. The four subjects analyzed and studied included Theodore Bundy, Charles Manson, Kenneth Bianchi and Angelo Buono. In the data collection, these subjects were examined in regard to five main categories of the Buller-

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McGinnis Integrated Model and eight main categories of the Ochoa-Nielsen Model of Charismatic Appeal. In terms of the Buller-McGinnis Integrated Model, four of the five main categories are represented by all of the subjects: social environment, formative events/traumatization, actions toward self and others and active fantasy life. Predispositional factors are not represented by all of the subjects in this model. In the Ochoa-Nielsen Model, three of the four subjects were representative of seven out of the eight categories: charismatic authority, friendship, socialization with others, emotional, physical, self-health and literacy. Law enforcement run-in prior to murders were only represented by 50% of the subjects. 100% of the subjects represented four out of the eight categories: charismatic authority, socialization with others, emotional and literacy. Below are tables congruent with this analysis.

Table 1a, 1b, & 1c: The tables below present characteristics from both the Buller-McGinnis Integrated Model and the Ochoa-Nielsen Model of Charismatic Appeal evaluated. Table 1a and 1b are representing the Buller-McGinnis Integrated Model. Table 1c is representative of the Ochoa-Nielsen Model. These tables are showing the percentage of subjects that have been shown to exemplify each factor.

100%	75%	50%	25%	0%
Isolated	Neglectful Parents	Antisocial Personality	Head Trauma	XYY Genes
Violent	Non-Intervening Parents	Non-protective Parents	Narcissistic	Aspergers
	Religious Childhood	Poor Reader	Conduct Disorder	Borderline Personality
	Slow Learner	Psychological Abuse	Parental Substance Abuse	Non-protective Parents
	Aggression	Illness	Physical Abuse	Childhood Death
	Stealing	Divorce	Sexual Abuse	Nightmares
	Masturbation	Chronic Lying	Witnessed Abuse	Eating Problems
	Control/Domination	Temper Tantrums	Enuresis	Self-Mutilation
		Destruction of Property	Firesetting	Suicidal
		Sexual Fantasy Life	Running Away	
		Animal Cruelty	Stalking	
			Poor Body Image	
			Sexual Assault	

Table 1a: Represents the Predisposition and Childhood Factors.

100%	75%	50%	25%	0%
Extroverted	Poor Family Relationships	Introverted	Religious	Death
Poor Romantic Relationship	Employment Stress	Isolated	Financial Stress	Nightmares

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Breakups	Divorce Stress	Poor Friendships	Illness	Poor Body Image
Chronic Lying	Instability	Burglary	Murder - Non sexual	Eating Problems
Sexual Assault/Rape	Masturbation	Stalking	Murder - Sexual/Necrophelia	Self-Mutilation
Sexual Content	Assault/Aggression	Murder - Sexual/Torture/Mutilation		Suicidal
Violent Content	Abduction			Arson
Control/Domination Content	Murder - Sexual/Rape			

Table 1b: Represents the Adulthood factors.

100%	75%	50%	25%	0
Ability to lead others	Close Knit Social Group	Strong Relationship with Family	Some College	
Dominance over others	Strong Romantic Relationships	Aware of Mental Health	College Graduate	
Ability to persuade others opinions	Emotional Expressiveness	High School Graduate	Pursued Grad School	
Respect from others	Emotional Sensitivity	Run Ins prior to killings	Arrested for Rape	
Engages with others daily	Physically Attractive	Arrested for Assault	Arrested for Violent Crime	
Extroverted	Aware of Physical Health	Convicted of Assault	Convicted of Rape	
Introverted			Convicted of Violent Crime	
Strong Relationship with friends				
Social Power				
Emotional Control				
Ability to Read				
Ability to Write				

Table 1c: Represents the Charismatic factors.

In this research, the results for both models were reported on a scale from 0 to 1, meaning the rating for each characteristic and category could be any decimal or whole number between 0 and 1. The lowest average for a result of a category of the Buller-McGinnis model was 0, while the highest average in this was 1. The lowest average for a result of a category of the Ochoa-Nielsen model was .25, while the highest average was also 1.

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In regard to the Buller-McGinnis Integrated Model, subjects with an average of 0 (none of the subjects) displayed the tendencies of XYY Genes, Asperger's, Borderline Personality Disorder, non-protective parents, death, nightmares, eating problems, self-mutilation, suicidal, poor body image in adulthood, and arson in childhood (See Appendix A). Those with an average of 1 (all four subjects in this case), presented tendencies of having poor romantic relationships, experiencing chronic lying as an adult, committing of sexual assault/rape in adulthood, having violent fantasies as children, and having violent, sexual, and controlling/dominating fantasies as an adult (See Appendix A). Furthermore, three out of the four subjects showed an excessive amount of aggression, stealing and masturbation in both childhood and adulthood (See Appendix A). They also showed control or dominating fantasies as children. When considering the Ochoa-Nielsen Model of Charismatic Appeal, none of the descriptions or categories had an average of 0, meaning at least 1 of the 4 subjects in each category displayed a ranking of each description in some way or another (See Appendix B). Those with an average of 1 included the ability to lead others, the ability to have dominance over others, having social power and having emotional control (See Appendix B). Lastly, three of the four subjects in this Ochoa-Nielsen Model of Charismatic Appeal showed emotional expressiveness and were also considered to be physically attractive (See Appendix B).

Discussion

In referring to the Buller-McGinnis and Ochoa-Nielsen Models, though causation may not be concluded due to a sample size of only four individuals, correlation according to the subjects may be evaluated in this analysis. This correlational data collected, then, may be related to theories of deviance (Social Control Theory, Differential Association Theory, and Resilience Theory) as represented by each of the four killers, while also paralleling the original hypothesis that certain facets of society contribute to an individual's violent actions and his development and usage of charisma. As highlighted in the case studies, each killer embodies different theories of deviance. Ted Bundy embodies the Social Control Theory through his ability to mold society in ways which allowed him to commit crimes. Bundy, as discovered in the results, led a normal and seemingly conformed life to society; he was educated, well liked, and charismatic. He embodied all of the positive traits in (Table 1c). However, when looking at the Buller-McGinnis Integrated Model, Bundy was also very violent and seemed to have very poor romantic and negative sexual experiences. Therefore, this paper hopes to emphasize the notions that Bundy used his knowledge of social control and his apparent ability to conform to society for his own hedonistic benefit. Similarly, Charles Manson is noted to embody the Resilience Theory. When studying Manson's ratings in regard to the Buller-McGinnis Integrated Model, one may conclude that his childhood experiences would lead him to grow up as a deviant. However, while Manson did commit heinous crimes, he was also attempting to live a "normal" life throughout his adolescence. He possessed a great amount of interest and hobbies, considered himself to be religious, and perceived himself as a domineering figure with immense social power to benefit societal positively. In fact, until his attempt to live this "normal life" failed, Manson proved to be a very resilient individual, striving for positive attributes to counteract his negative traits of aggression and deviance. Unfortunately, as demonstrated in the Buller-McGinnis Integrated Model, these negative attributes superseded the positive and Manson failed to see a way in which his resilience would allow him to fit the society's mold.

As previously implied, in examining Kenneth Bianchi, a connection to Resilience Theory may be noted. The Buller-McGinnis Integrated Model shows that Bianchi's childhood experiences played a role in his criminal acts. Bianchi did not know his biological parents, experienced death at young age, had a lack of education, and had low self-worth and a lack of confidence. When referring to Resilience Theory in relation to the Buller-McGinnis Integrated Model, Bianchi's lack of education, negative relationships, inability to succeed in work, and troublesome upbringing did provide Bianchi with the means to overcome his negative experiences. In regard to the Differential Association Theory applied to Angelo Buono, the relationship between Buono and Bianchi was a negative one, allowing Buono the means to kill. When looking at the Buller-McGinnis Model and Buono, it is apparent that he, like Bianchi, struggled with early childhood trauma, forming unhealthy relationships and ill-mannered sexual encounters. It was out of these negative societal interactions that Buono developed his violent and aggressive mannerisms. Therefore, when given the means to interact with Bianchi, the two figured out how to use social control and charismatic authority in order to quench their violent thirst. This is showcased in their results of the Ochoa-Nielsen Model of Charismatic Appeal. In applying the Ochoa-Nielsen Model of Charismatic Appeal, one may see very similar tendencies between the seemingly differing subjects. As noted in the results of this model, it is clear that charisma does play a substantial role in the making of these serial killers. The final pieces of the discussion section will be looking at the

subjects as a whole, how they are related, and why charisma has such a grave effect on these crimes.

These correlations may be carried over to evaluate the models of this study further in regard to the theories of deviance as mentioned previously. The first theory of deviance these models offer insight on is Durkheim's Social Control Theory relating to childhood predispositions. As presented in the Buller-McGinnis Integrated Model, all of the subjects had a rating between .5 and 1 of isolation during their childhood. In a study produced by PhD candidate, OrsolyaSelymes published in the Grounded Theory Review, it has been found that a lack of social control, and isolation, in particular, has resulted in one's distrust of the social, political, and civil sphere, conforming attitudes toward both small and large-scale corruption, moral dysfunction, dissatisfaction and forthright violence [34]. This harkens back to Social Control Theory, which is the notion that delinquents fail to construct and maintain bonds to society through the lack of attachment, belief, commitment and involvement to society [15]. These findings show that at some point these subjects may have failed to construct a bond to society in any way due to their isolation and societal distrust. The isolation found could be argued to result in their lack of attachment, belief and commitment to society based on their apparent distrust of society, conforming attitudes toward non-societal norms, and their clear use of violence.

Furthermore, these data show that each of the subjects were found to have poor romantic relationships, and three out of the four had poor familial relationships (See Appendix A). Likewise, each of the subjects experienced stress due to breakups. When examining the Ochoa-Nielsen Model of Charismatic Appeal, it may be noted that all four of the subjects exemplified every characteristic under the charismatic authority category to some extent. When assessing this, Differential Association Theory may be applied, which is the idea that an individual learns their values, attitudes and techniques that affect criminal behavior through their interactions with others [2]. When considering the Ochoa-Nielsen Model of Charismatic Appeal, one may see that all of the subjects also had some sort of engagement with others daily, ultimately shaping their negative values and attitudes learned through societal interactions (See Appendix B). This suggests that perhaps these individuals did not possess violent ideas and urges innately, but gradually developed these negative insights over time due to outside sources and influences.

In order to understand these findings further, one must consider Resilience Theory in regard to societal influences. According to the Ochoa-Nielsen Model of Charismatic Appeal, it may be noted that only one of the four subjects experienced a higher level of education beyond high school (See Appendix B). This lack of education may be understood to have negatively affected the upbringing of these individuals. It is also found in this study that three out of the four subjects in the Buller-McGinnis Integrated Model had neglectful or non-intervening parents, and only one out of the four subjects was religious (See Appendix A). Together, among other data studied, this suggests that these subjects experienced a lack of support, which could inhibit the ability to develop resilience. Again, the idea behind Resilience Theory is the notion that some individuals are able to develop or unable to develop certain resilience when enduring toxic environments, experiencing childhood trauma, or missing universal stages of development necessary for supreme functioning [18]. The data suggest that these subjects were at a loss for support in their relationships as well as within their community, which inhibits the ability to develop resilience and fosters an inability to overcome certain adversities. During adulthood, all of the subjects displayed sexual, violent and controlling or dominating content in fantasies; three out of the four subjects experienced instability, poor family relationships, as well as divorce and employment stress in their adulthood. With the overwhelming amount of negative characteristics and circumstances found, it is understandable that a lack of resilience occurred within each of these subject's lives; it seems that each killer was predisposed to a lack of resilience due to their inability to achieve societal, familial, or cultural support.

When examining the statistics of sexually sadistic persons, primarily those who do in fact become serial killers, it is hard to argue against the fact that societal messages play a role. These serial killers are representing a very distinct demographic in society, one that is good with careful planning, is intelligent, charismatic, and living in normal aspects of society, making them a particularly dangerous threat. The question remains, what is sparking this very distinct group, whom are not theorized to become deviant, into becoming so deviant that they form this life of heinous crime known as serial murder? Because only one person in the previously mentioned study was recorded to have a mental disorder, the answer is not psychosis. It would seem that something is sparking an interest in the character of these killers to use their skills for terrible acts. It seems according to many killers, that the sexually violent portrayals in media play a part in the role of these decisions. It also has

become clear, however, that society's praise of authority and power can be argued to play a big part as well. It has been said that the serial killer uses murder to achieve a lifelong celebrity career in a society that highlights ambition, success and failure, and violence [31]. Bundy was looking for an authoritative role over women when his law career failed, Manson took the power role of a Christ-like figure when his music career never took off, and Bianchi & Buono took on the roles of police officers to prove their power and authority to the women who were ultimately their victims. The next element to consider is how charismatic authority, when coupled with these predispositional factors, allows individuals to commit murders. Based on the research collected for both the Buller-McGinnis Integrated Model and the Ochoa-Nielsen Model of Charismatic Appeal, it may be concluded that the subjects understood society's highly esteemed recognition of power and sought to gain societal approval and power through charismatic authority and unconventional means. Specifically, each of these subjects was seeking some sort of power they could not have achieved without using their charismatic authority in a different situation. Kenneth Bianchi and Angelo Buono posed as police officers, seeking the authority over women they could not accomplish elsewhere. Likewise, Charles Manson proved unable to find the respect he desired through producing music, so he turned to influencing a group of people to gain some sort of social recognition and control. By doing so, Manson was able to form a following with this charismatic authority that he could not have done otherwise. In a similar vein, one may attribute Ted Bundy's [35] violent acts to his intrigue in determining whether or not he had the ability to commit and evade the consequences for his crimes [36].

When considering the Ochoa-Nielsen Model of Charismatic Appeal, it is seen that each of the subjects possesses a rating of 1 in regard to their social power (See Appendix B). All four subjects have the highest rating in the sub-category of "charismatic authority" as well. Though a direct causation cannot be drawn here, it may be proposed that the subject's use of charismatic authority allowed them the ability to obtain power in other circumstances. In other words, when unable to function in normal society, these killers used their charismatic authority to find it elsewhere. Society had molded these subjects into distrusting and violent killers throughout their lives, and their charismatic authority made the success of their killings possible. Finally, harkening back to the case study analyses conducted in the beginning of this paper, it is apparent that the importance of charisma when understanding serial killers is crucial. When looking at this in context with the data

and methods used, it is clear that charisma, and charismatic authority, is a controlling and dominant factor in deviant acts, allowing killers to develop strong ties with and sense of trust and goodwill from victims, just before taking it all away through sadistic murder. Without the mastering of charisma, in other words, one may conclude that perhaps the murders may have never taken place; or, at least, may not have taken place in this fashion.

Future Implications

Based off of the information in this study, it is apparent that there needs to be a stronger process put in place to target future Ted Bundys, Charles Mansons, Kenneth Bianchis, and Angelo Buonos. By implementing public policy changes, de-idolizing and de-centralizing sex in main stream media, providing career guidance and educational services in school settings, and preventing feelings of isolation and seclusion among adolescents, future criminal catastrophes become less likely. More specifically, this study has found that Ted Bundy struggled with an addiction to pornography. Though researchers of this study are not stating that this was the only cause of his devastating fate, one may make the claim that it was a factor. Likewise, Angelo Buono experienced negative sexual experiences that fueled his objection and hatred for women. By preventing the idolization of sex in today's culture, sadistic tendencies may be more likely to be avoided. Media and popular culture heighten the idea that sexual satisfaction is of the utmost importance in the United States and an objection of women is still greatly present. This study suggests that downplaying (and even eliminating) these targets of emphasis and changing the central messages that teens, adolescents, and young adults hear every day may create a positive impact, preventing future sexual, violent crime.

Secondly, the research conducted in this study calls for a revitalization of play. By this, it is meant that technology has seemingly taken over the world, for better or for worse; kids are provided with more opportunities to reject the traditional form of "play," and have the option of interacting in a virtual world. Because of this, it may be suggested that isolation through technology is beginning to become the norm. As noted in the analysis of Charles Manson, feelings of isolation and seclusion may result in negative tendencies or may bring about unhealthy interactions and relationships. To avoid this, one needs strong ties to others which may be developed through daily play. Through playful and fun social interactions, kids may be more likely to develop healthy relationships that prohibit similarly negative feelings. Therefore,

encouraging young ones to put down their virtual realities and interact with others through play is essential in preventing harmful outcomes in years to come. Lastly, this study sheds light on the need for betterment in career services and educational assistance in school settings. Kenneth Bianchi struggled with obtaining the career of that he sought. Bianchi went through the process of becoming a police officer but, for a variety of reasons, could not fulfill this aspiration. This study suggests that by implementing effective career services guidance facilities in order to expand the educational process, the education system may aid individuals in fulfilling their future career goals rather than simply their educational goals. Not only will this encourage individuals to develop a sense of responsibility, allow them to mature into future-mined adults, and provide them with an educational support system, but it may also aid them in redirecting their life path into obtaining a career that is healthy and beneficial to society.

The individual case analyses and the data uncovered in this study implies that society may play a larger role in the making of a killer than originally prescribed, either explicitly or implicitly aiding killers to develop the means necessary to kill. Starting with isolation, both at home and in society, the deviance from norms was sparked. Issues stemming from this were only reinforced in their adult lives by the world around them. As mentioned previously, this study does not involve enough subjects to go deeper into exact causation. With only four subjects, this analysis is only the beginning of evaluating why and how serial killers commit their crimes. In this research, the Buller-McGinnis model was used to identify trends, indicators and possible causes of murder for these subjects. The Ochoa-Nielsen Model was implemented to identify how charisma and charismatic authority play a role in this, and how it may help these killers to reach their violent goals.

In furthering this study, research must be considered to offer insight into the effect of a child's community and growth in society into adulthood. Questions that may be explored include: How does a child's immediate surroundings, or, their local society, shape who they are going to be in adulthood? How does a person's surroundings and greater society in adulthood continue to reinforce the behavior and values already shaped? Likewise, the idea of charismatic authority may be evaluated further in an in-depth analysis with other killers and criminals. Perhaps if one is to further expand the study of charismatic authority in relation to predispositional factors, the criminal justice community may be able to prevent similar crimes (like the ones studied) from occurring. In a way, society will be forewarned of the use of charisma as it relates to criminal activity. Considering this, perhaps a more in-depth explanation of how the charismatic killer is formed may be offered.

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