

BUNDY

A
CLINICAL DISCUSSION
OF THE
PERFECT STORM

Robert DePaolo

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BUNDY

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Prelude:

Good and Evil

Human beings are one of nature's evolutionary miracles. The almost ridiculous disproportion in size between our brain and body makes us highly intelligent and opens up all kinds of experiential possibilities (both good and bad). We are also somewhat paradoxical creatures, because while natural selection favored us with an extraordinarily large brain, that brain cannot explain its own operational mechanics. We know a fair amount about its structure, including sites that correlate with functions such as speech, emotion, fine motor control, sensation and balance. But we don't know very much about the interplay among those sites that give rise to mood, abstract thought and general intelligence. We don't know why we are able to think about the future - neither scientists nor philosophers can explain that, and we don't know why we can feel empathic connections to entities beyond the social- interactive domain.

That aspect of human nature separates us from the pack. Most primates, particularly our closest cousins the great apes, can feel sadness over the illness or death of a fellow group member, but humans take this to another level. We can conjure up sentimental feelings toward a car, a pair of shoes or a baseball bat. We might shed a tear driving down the road when a favorite oldie comes on the radio. Despite our relative ignorance of the neuro-mechanics behind this, perhaps because of it, we spend a

great deal of time and energy trying to categorize what we don't understand.

That inability to truly know why we do what we do is only one confusing aspect of being human. Another is our insatiable thirst for a steady stream of new information. It is as if nature and/or God played a trick by giving us a brain so advanced that while it can engage in the discovery of things as minute as a quantum particle and as vast as a galaxy, it is unable to obtain permanent contentment in the aftermath of discovery. Put simply, we are a species rising and falling through time on a seesaw. We become uncomfortable with uncertainty so we seek resolution. Then, having found it, we discover closure is not a satisfying end point. That forces us to seek more uncertainty for purposes of finding closure again - and the life-long cycle continues. Through all this, we are forced to concede that there is more to us than is implied in the term 'Homo sapiens' - the wise upright walker. It turns out we are not just wise men but intellectual perennials, both gifted and vexed by a relentless curiosity drive.

That is one reason we need to label, attribute and attach our perceptions and experiences to 'something else' to give it credence and utility. We are the hyper-associative lords of the natural world, living by the maxim; a place for every experience and every experience in its place.

Sometimes our associations turn out to be accurate, interesting and even life saving, but they can also be inconsequential and even harmful. Hitler developed an ugly, artificial association between white Aryans and superiority.

Machiavelli associated the Prince with divinity. Reverend Jim Jones associated himself with God.

The same curiosity and need for closure exists in our interpretations of human behavior. Because we are so socially interdependent, so consumed with what motivates us, pleases us, fascinates us and causes us pain, we are relentless about finding out what makes us feel and act.

That interest is more fervent with regard to the most extreme examples of human behavior. That is because while behavioral norms provide comfort, behavioral deviations arouse our emotions as well as our curiosity. They force us to pay attention.

There is, however, a difference between curiosity and horror. We are used to human behavioral diversity. We accept that there are conformists and non-conformists, realists and dreamers, optimists and pessimists. But there are parameters - a threshold beyond which social interest turns to incredulity.

One such threshold pertains to the question of why any human being would decide to kill another. Since it is hard for us to comprehend the motivation behind another's heinous actions we often attribute them to some outside force. That's where the quintessential human morality play comes into focus, and where the word 'evil' enters the picture.

The word 'evil' is, in many ways, its own conundrum. On one hand, it implies that a person is unresponsive to normal social mores and is virtually obligated to continue a pattern of anti-social behavior. After all, the word is derivative of the word 'devil'. If Satan is pulling the strings, the actor possessed, there is

really nothing anyone can do about it except isolate or kill the actor. That of course, removes all responsibility for the act. It renders obsolete, concepts like jurisprudence, self-determination and even the cherished notion of free will espoused in the Bible and all democratic governmental systems.

Ironically, the same is true of the word 'good'. It is derived from the word 'God'. In that sense it is also a non-deterministic concept. It assumes that an outside force is prompting all the good that we do, feel and think - that our most valued altruistic instincts are beyond our control and therefore meaningless as signs of character.

While there is a long history of such terminology, neither of the two concepts is terribly helpful in addressing antisocial behavior because it leaves us no clay to work with, no means or desire to do what science is designed to do: study, analyze, predict and control. Even the most religiously devout scientist probably believes that while God might have broad oversight over human proceedings, he seems perfectly content delegating authority to his human subjects. If that were not the case, he would not logically be able to judge us.

Still, the concepts of good and evil persist in human society and are most often referenced when it involves acts of violence that seem to have no rhyme or reason.

The word 'evil' has interesting origins. It probably arose very early on in human affairs and might have resulted from a dual source. One has to do with the fact that evil is reciprocally linked to the concept of good. Some philosophers have argued that you can't have one without the other. Perhaps that is

because of the human tendency to divide experience into two parts. Such cognitive dualism is mostly for the sake of convenience. It takes less energy to describe events in terms of opposites. For example, we speak about a stubborn person being a "black and white thinker." We think of people as being "smart" or "stupid," but seldom use phrases like...I don't like that guy and I'll bet he is functioning in only the 25th percentile of intellectual ability. In that context, the use of dualities can be helpful and metaphorically informative.

But what about the word evil? It probably has its origin in old English. Its dictionary meaning usually includes references to being of bad character, acting deplorably and inflicting severe harm on others. None of those definitions contains information regarding causation. They do not explain what leads to the development of bad character or an inclination to cause harm. So, while the dictionary and colloquialisms tell us what evil is, they do not explain why it exists or how to prevent it.

Interestingly, a fairly stringent set of criteria can be found in one of the original depictions of evil - the story of Lucifer's expulsion from heaven in the Bible. While there is little in the way of diagnostic profiling in the Good Book, there are stories that refer to the motives of bad actors.

The story of Lucifer's fall from heaven is told in Ezekiel 28;12 12-17 and it addresses the question of motivation. For example, in speaking to Lucifer, God states:

You were the model of perfection. full of wisdom and perfect in beauty. You were in Eden, the garden of God. You were anointed as a guardian cherub, for so I ordained you. You were

on the holy mount of God; you walked among the fiery stones. You were blameless in your ways from the day you were created, til wickedness was found in you. Through your widespread trade, you were filled with violence and you sinned. So I drove you in disgrace from the mount of God and I expelled you, O guardian cherub, from among the fiery stones. Your heart became proud on account of your beauty and you corrupted your wisdom because of your splendor, So I threw you to earth. I made a spectacle of you before kings.

That famous passage is revealing with regard to the initial meaning of the word evil. It suggests there is a kind of gradient when it comes to bad character. While all people are responsible for their actions, the most sinful is presumed to be one who lacks for nothing, is beautiful and exalted, has every reason to toe the mark, yet still chooses to break the rules.. He acts out absent any real provocation, any dire need, even any duress.

By that criteria, it seems the most sinful man is not the one driven by compelling outside forces, but the one who follows his own direction. It suggests something within him fomented his actions - not hunger, not jealousy, not a threat to survival.

Perhaps the concept of evil that has passed down through the ages is based on that idea. It has frequently been accompanied by the question: Why would a person who has everything he needs, is attractive, blessed with strength, health and status still commit sin? In that sense, the tenets of the Bible seem to suggest sin and crime must be evaluated and punished in proportionate terms; not just according to the nature and intensity of the crime, but also according to whether the actor had the where-with-all to meet his needs without sinning.

Incidentally, when it comes to the concept of 'good' the opposite would also be true, because according to this paradigm, the most moral man would not be the wealthy man who donates to charity but the man of modest means who donates to charity.

Ted Bundy has often been referred to as evil. In many ways he fits into the Fall from Heaven scenario. Was he evil? If not, and if there were no pressing reasons for him to murder over thirty women, what could have been the reason?

It seems the 'proportion' question has been tossed around for decades with regard to Bundy's violent actions. However, settling for that explanation leaves no room for discovery. Abandoning the principle of external causation (the premise that specific events and experiences led Bundy to kill) would leave us nowhere to go. In that case there would be no point in writing books about him, nor any reason for psychiatric evaluations. The problem is that discerning the motives behind Bundy's string of murders has been very difficult, even for his examiners.

Perhaps that is because like Lucifer, Bundy operated from an internal vantage point. He too had physical and intellectual assets. Instead of luring Eve to the tree of knowledge he lured young women to his Volkswagen - and to their death. Clearly Ted Bundy, while not originally situated in paradise (his early home life was, at best, highly confusing) could have chosen a different path. He did not, and since there were no clear and specific causes of his violent acts, one can assume he was driven by an internal force.

Obviously, trying to look into another person's mind is difficult. However certain patterns of behavior can be examined

in their totality. Statements can be interpreted, and compulsions can be assessed in terms of their frequency and urgency. In that context, the origin and psychological purpose behind a violent man's actions can perhaps be understood. With that in mind I would like to invite the reader to discussion of a man both savage and sophisticated, gentlemanly and morbid, capable of demonstrating affection yet capable of extreme, inhuman brutality.

Chapter 6

The Seeds of Pathology

To put prior hypotheses into proper context, it is important to review Ted Bundy's childhood in some depth. Theodore Robert Bundy was born out of wedlock under unusually difficult circumstances. His mother, Louise, became pregnant by a man named Lloyd Marshall (though there are questions about the father's actual identity). Marshall probably did not know he fathered a child. He was reputedly a graduate of Penn State University and a serviceman in the Air Force. Other than contributing his genes he was not involved with Ted or Louise. Bundy never met him, knew of him, or even knew until adolescence that he was an illegitimate child. As Ann Rule pointed out in *The Stranger Beside Me*, Ted Bundy was born in 1946, a time of shameful attitudes toward illegitimate births. Louise tried to weather criticism and rejection in the aftermath of Ted's birth but being highly sensitive and demur, she was encouraged by her family to have the baby in The Elizabeth Lund Home for Unwed Mothers in Burlington, Vermont. While that facility was undoubtedly attentive and supportive of mothers and their children it was probably considered a hideout for "fallen women" by most people at the time.

Shortly after Ted was born, Louise left Vermont, leaving Ted behind. She needed a period of solace after what for her was a harrowing experience. Ann Rule believed Louise's absence set

the stage for a detachment disorder in the infant. However, being separated from the mother during a stage of development when an infant cannot distinguish emotionally between familiar and unfamiliar persons might not have been traumatic, unless the child was deprived of care and affection. The Lund facility was a well known institution so that seems unlikely.

On the other hand, Ted remained there for several months and an infant can probably process non-verbal types of interactions. Therefore, while not necessarily traumatic, the experience of having a variety of caretakers rather than a central figure with whom to bond could have created a certain amount of confusion for the child.

Louise did come back for Ted and from that point on it appears Bundy's childhood was fairly normal. Louise and Ted went back to Philadelphia and lived with the Cowells. However Louise was still facing scorn from neighbors and family so she moved with Ted to Tacoma, Washington where she eventually met and married Johnnie Bundy, a man she first encountered at a church gathering. At that point her life seemed to stabilize.

One might presume Ted's did as well. He attended school and did fairly well. He was later described by teachers and fellow students as being quiet and introverted. While acting out behavior and proto-sociopathic tendencies typically first show up in school, such was not the case with Ted. Whatever acts of defiance he might have committed were either ignored or never noticed. Throughout his life, Ted Bundy seemed to have a Teflon quality, so it is hard to tell whether his early years were serene or simply well-concealed.

Questions arise. Were his pre-adolescent years calm and uneventful, or was something simmering beneath? If the latter, what possible dynamics and antecedents could have been involved?

Two indicators come into play in that regard. One is that he began stealing during the time between his middle and high school years. That's when a boy's identity and status vis a vis his peers dominate personal development. While there were few records of aberrant behavior in school during this time, there were police records. However, it does not seem there was much follow up, either by the police or his parents. As would happen continuously in the future, Ted Bundy seems to have gotten off the hook.

What did Ted Bundy make of this? Because he was an introverted, anxious boy, one would think getting caught would have put a stop to his stealing. On the other hand, he showed signs of depression later in life, including sporadic episodes of crying, and hints at committing suicide that were expressed to both Liz Kendall and Ann Rule. A ricochet of relief resulting from a lack of severe consequences, commensurate with his initial anxiety might have parlayed into a profound "Whew" experience that proved titillating. Certainly, being caught might have left a few mental cobwebs and he might have abstained for a while, but once the dust settled, if prone to depression, and without firm criteria by which to define himself, he might have revisited that "high" and eventually determined that it beat having the blues.

He could also have begun to carve out a self image as 'bad guy.' With that, he could have compensated for the shyness and introversion his teachers and classmates saw in him.

Stealing and violence are separate things, so no one could have predicted later events. However, through his outwardly quiet, polite demeanor Ted was able to avoid punishment, an outcome that would repeat itself during the investigations in Utah and Washington, where detectives initially dismissed him as "just a well-mannered law student."

It was surely a lesson for him. Since his self-system was ill-formed and confused in the extreme, this could have been a defining set of moments; a seed bed experience by which to solidify a compensatory, grandiose self image based on his victories over the law, the system and the authorities. With that, he had begun to form an identity and a set of strategies to provide comfort when faced with self-disequilibrium. All he needed was to engage regularly in antisocial behavior.

For him, antisocial behavior likely signified heroism. Having been a combination gypsy and underdog bastard he was now learning to outsmart the authorities, thus prove he could dominate and defeat those to whom he previously felt inferior. If so, that points to Bundy's desperately distorted thought process, specifically the idea that anti-social behavior was somehow admirable.

At that point, he would have been involved in a competition against the world, with victory being determined by enhanced self definition.

The games had begun...In this corner...Theodore Robert Bundy. In the opposite corner... everyone else (or at least the "important people" who "had it made"). In terms of that dynamic,

Ted likely became not just anti-female, but a one man army engaged in class warfare.

This trend likely began before the killings but became a necessary prelude to his subsequent brutality. A theory of life, of people, of himself, was taking shape and it was perhaps so seductive as to snowball with each month, each year and each fantasy. Once it reached critical mass no moral misgivings could get in the way.

Confusion and shame-based family dynamics played a significant role in Bundy's development. Louise feared telling young Ted he was illegitimate would be too hurtful, so she kept it secret. However, Ted probably sensed that something was amiss. He was told his grandfather, Sam Cowell was his father, that his grandmother Eleanor was his mother, and that Louise was his sister. In and of itself, that would not necessarily dispose a person toward violence. (The late singer Bobby Darin suffered the same fate and did not exhibit any anti-social behavior during his life). However, one salient aspect was that Ted became close to Sam. They were the only two males in the house for a time before Louise and Ted moved to Washington. Even if Sam was a volatile man, prone to tantrums, insults and cruelty to animals. he did not, as far as anyone knows, engage in criminal activity. Dr. Dorothy Lewis, a psychological examiner did state in her trial testimony that family members expressed hope that... "Sam would be killed by someone." However as a church deacon it is unlikely he had a criminal record.

Sam was a bully, and Ann Rule suggested in her book that Ted might have weathered these tantrums by repressing them. Yet, since Bundy claimed to have had a positive relationship with

Sam, it is possible something else was involved; specifically that Sam dealt with women and Ted differently, and treated his "son" well enough that a role model association occurred.

There are no records of Ted suffering injuries from child abuse, so if Sam's tantrums and bullying were primarily directed at females that could have created for Ted a starkly dichotomous view of gender, in which males were strong and dominant, females were weak, submissive and easily intimidated.

That would have sewn the seeds of conflict. To a young child, females are sources of nurturance and in that sense, highly important. They also provide a source of moral probity; scolding children for bad acts and praising them for good acts. On the other hand, based on Sam's behavior, it seemed women should be considered less important and more deserving of abuse.

Even if that was Bundy's governing perception, given his age, that dichotomy was anything but clear and precise. As a child in that home environment, females would come to be considered both a source of nurturance and an abusable measuring stick by which to maintain his status and distorted self image.

With that, a certain mental template might have formed. Psychologically, he and females were joined together at the hip, but contentiously, and with great ambivalence. As if engaged in mutual puppeteering he had females on a string and vice versa. As they descended, he would ascend. His relationship to them was becoming tumultuous, an ebb and flow driven by the effect of gender distinctions on his self-system.

To the extent he could rely on females to remain weak and submissive, it would help solidify his self image. Conversely, if they "rebelled" by seeking power, or God forbid, posed a threat, it could result in his self-diminution and that would be disastrous. In that case, severe anxiety, disequilibrium and depression could result.

The implications of this would have been staggering. A boy in desperate need of clarity and self-affirmation, with an emerging, over-compensatory, grandiose, yet tentative ("time bomb") self concept, who believed females were obliged to submit, would have experienced severe duress at any hint that women were able to hurt or dominate him. In such instances, corrective actions would be needed. Otherwise, depression could have collapsed his self-system into a state of entropy.

The psychic formula was set. Weak, needy, non-critical women (preferably of lower status) would be an oasis in the desert, while females higher up on the totem pole would be deemed threatening. Since any contradiction to that theme posed a threat, a set of emotional and behavior patterns geared toward self-equilibrium would be needed.

That is how a compulsive drive to engage in acts of continuous murder might have begun. In Ted's mind, Sam's demeaning treatment of women might have set the stage. Feminine deference was the unalterable norm. On the other hand, powerful females who seemed happy with their lot in life posed the primary threat. They were, in his mind, exceptions to the rule and by breaking the rules they deserved to be punished.

That might explain his gentlemanly approach to Ann Rule (who deftly juggled the roles of supporter and reporter in her interactions with Ted), and his affectionate behavior toward Liz Kendall (at least until she threatened to leave him). According to that scenario, it appears his rage was directed at status, as well as gender.

As to the question of why the needs of the self would have been so strong, one can look at the behavioral history of the family, which features rigidity and explosiveness as well as a proneness to psychopathology. Sam and Ted were of the same genetic line. Indeed, there were rumors at the time (never confirmed) that Sam was actually Ted's biological father. Explosive personality types and mood disorders tend to run in families. Part of Sam's aggressive behavior seems to have arisen from compulsiveness. He was described as a workaholic who required absolute fealty in his interactions with others. Like Ted, he had a dual persona. In Sam's case, it involved being both a domestic tyrant who collected adult magazines and a dutiful church deacon. In addition, Ted's grandmother, Eleanor was placed in a hospital with severe depression at one point. It is not clear from the record whether this was an endogenous disorder or simply a result of stress due to abusive treatment by Sam.

Considering those factors, the panic reactions Ted likely experienced during episodes of self-disequilibrium might have included major depression, and given his problems with anger and impulse control, also included features consistent with explosive personality disorder.

Another issue arises. Johnnie Bundy adopted Ted, which would have presumably instilled in Ted a sense of belonging.

However, it is possible, perhaps even likely, that by then the inner world of Ted Bundy was beginning to drive and dominate his outlook and behavior patterns. One possible reason could have been that, without being told he was illegitimate, he was beginning to figure it out on his own.

Despite the fact that Louise chose not to tell Ted he was illegitimate, he was probably smart enough to see the age difference between himself and Sam. Making things more complicated was that after Louise married Johnnie Bundy Ted was asked to address Johnnie as "father." A young, intelligent boy would have asked the question...If Johnnie is my father, what about Sam "Cowell? And why should I call Johnny 'father; if he is married to my sister. Shouldn't I call him 'brother in law'?

Due to confusion inherent in this open-ended psychological experience, it is likely an introvert like Ted would have bailed out of the family cluster and created his own sense of self. Given his immaturity, that self might have been conjured up in a grandiose manner.

In short, he had to end up defining himself because of various inputs contributing to his fluid and confused identity and lack of clarity within his family. The process involved was probably quite interesting, especially given his age.

Family estrangement is an iffy proposition for a young boy. Not many youngsters could have endured in the face of such social detachment, let alone reshaped for himself a new identity. Without a fairly substantial level of intelligence few young boys could have have constructed an idiosyncratic self image - distorted though it might have been. Ted Bundy apparently did.

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During all this, he became unknown to others, increasingly self-guided, unchecked by parents or teachers; creator of a whole new psyche, pieced together with the nuts and bolts of neuroticism. He had no direction, knew not who he was. With no true home to speak of, he was hiding in the bushes, his thoughts and behavior presaging the stalker and murderer he would later become.

Chapter 7

Diagnostics

Several psychological evaluations were conducted during Ted Bundy's periods of incarceration. These included an assessment by Dr. Al Carlyle in Utah State Prison following Bundy's arrest on a kidnapping charge. Dr. Carlyle also wrote a superb account of Bundy's evaluation results in a book entitled: *Violent Mind*.

Dr. Dorothy Lewis also provided an assessment and like Dr. Carlyle, she interviewed family members, friends and acquaintances of Bundy. Hervey Cleckely, an expert on sociopathy also interviewed Bundy after the Florida murders. In addition, a seminar was held at the University of Kentucky in 2007 where a team of 73 psychologists compared clinical impressions about the most notorious serial killer in U.S. history. Meanwhile, Darrel Turner, PhD. an expert on sociopathy, rendered another professional opinion.

This series of evaluations enabled individual clinicians and teams to develop at least partial resolution with regard to the relationship of the man to his acts.

In many ways the conclusions were consistent. The Kentucky team concluded, with 80 percent agreement, that Bundy could be diagnosed with anti-social personality disorder.

What surprised them, especially in comparison with other psychopaths, was that Bundy seemed able to live a normal life.

Whether that set Bundy apart is questionable. Serial killer John Wayne Gacy was a respected member of his church and a politically connected man in the Chicago area who actually had a picture taken with first lady Rosalyn Carter at a meet and greet event. The same could be said about Dennis Rader – The BTK killer. He attended college, was involved in church activities, and had a job that included civic responsibility in his hometown of Wichita, Kansas. Nonetheless, Bundy's ability to appear normal is interesting.

Each of these clinicians relied on specific criteria from the DSM (Diagnostic and Statistical Manual) in rendering diagnostic opinions. Some examples were as follows.

The DMS criteria for Anti-social Personality Disorder includes traits such as:

Ego centrism

Acting on personal gratification

Lacking empathy and remorse

An incapacity to maintain mutually intimate relationships (often using coercion and intimidation to control others)

Antagonism (manipulative, deceitful, callous and hostile)

Admiration seeking

The Kentucky team used an interesting term to distinguish Bundy from the typical anti-social personality. He was deemed a

"successful" psychopath because he was organized, and in many ways dutiful. The team almost universally agreed that Bundy fit the profile for narcissistic personality disorder. The Axis 5 criteria for that are very similar to those for anti-social personality disorder, with only excessive attention seeking and feelings of entitlement and superiority added to the mix. Clearly there is a significant overlap among those diagnostic categories and that was reflected in the clinicians' opinions.

Dr. Dorothy Lewis offered an interesting impression of Bundy which arose from strange behaviors Bundy exhibited during her interview with him. It appears that during introductory comments, i.e "ice breakers," Ted exhibited an abrupt change in demeanor. In her words: Bundy "became weird, did a metamorphosis, exhibited a bit of body and facial change and almost an odor emitted from him." She also noted that Bundy would switch from euphoria and compulsive talking, to anger and then silence.

As a result of those observations Dr. Lewis concluded Ted Bundy was insane, that he exhibited bipolar disorder and was therefore not responsible for his actions. Her diagnosis was ultimately rejected in court and as a result her opinion on the insanity plea was also rejected.

Despite that, her observations of Bundy seem extremely salient because they coincide with those of Liz Kendall, her daughter Molly, and several other women involved in Ted's life.

One observation that stands out clearly is his episodic explosiveness. It seems Bundy could "morph" into a virtually demonic figure on spur of the moment, typified by a frightening

shift in vocal tone, vacant facial expression and lack of awareness of the person with whom he was interacting.

In the book *Phantom Prince*, Liz Kendall's daughter Molly recounted an incident in which she and Bundy were home alone. They began playing a game of tag. As per the rules of the game, Molly hid and Ted tried to find her. Then it was her turn, and Ted hid. During this second round of the game, Molly went looking for Ted, only to find him huddled in a corner, completely naked and wrapped in a blanket. Molly, only 9 at the time, giggled and playfully yanked the blanket out from under Ted. She was surprised when his excuse was that ("purely in the context of the game") he was playing the invisible man and removed his clothes so she wouldn't be able to find him.

Even as a child, Molly noted the absurdity of this and it made her take pause. With the blanket removed, Molly saw a penis for the first time. She noticed that it was erect and reddish and at that point asked him, in a kind of mocking tone, if it hurt.

Suddenly, a previously jovial Ted changed his facial expression. To Molly it was frighteningly bizarre. Ted's tone became ominous. His pupils became pinpoint. His face contorted with anger, he seemed distant and was not at all engaged in the interaction. He had been speaking normally only seconds before.

Liz Kendall mentioned similar episodes of sudden "morphing." One occurred when Ted suddenly began strangling her during love making. Similar experiences happened with other women as well.

Interestingly, none of the male psychologists observe "morphing" Indeed, while he became disdainful of his attorneys,

and huffy toward judges it doesn't appear Bundy ever did so in the presence of a male. Given his preference for female victims that is significant.

In that context, It is possible that what Dr. Lewis observed was a panic-induced rage in response to the presence of a female examiner rather than a bipolar behavior pattern. Dr. Lewis had not painted Ted into a corner with potentially offensive comments and questions. His shift in mood occurred during small talk, but the mere fact that she, a female, was in a position of power, with the potential to exert control over him (her opinion would help determine his fate in court) likely created a panic reaction. As per the Bundy mindset, her high status correlated with his diminished status. His strange behavior was likely a search for restoration of his sense of grandiosity - a self-correction rather than a weird, behavioral deviation.

Dr. Lewis' observation regarding Ted Bundy's shift between rambling and silence is also interesting. Such a rapid transition can be indicative of a mood disorder, although this might be less likely if a specific (female) trigger was involved. However, it does point to certain personality dynamics that might explain the apparent dichotomy within Ted's behavior patterns and life style.

Containing one's self for periods of time followed by explosiveness is a sign that rage is extant, even if beneath the surface. Charm or no charm, tenderness or no tenderness, Ted Bundy's default position might have been rage.

Did he inherit his temper from Sam Cowell? Was he always an explosive child, brought up in a rigid religious family

environment, who could not express himself in that way? Not enough historical information has come forth to make that determination. It seems unlikely that Bundy went through childhood without ever exhibiting anger. I suspect tantrums occurred fairly often.

On the other hand, children from rigid home environments with explosive behavioral tendencies often express their anger by acting out in indirect ways. In fact, given the specter of harsh discipline and their dependence on adults, such children learn to fear their own emotions, especially anger. Yet the energy has to go somewhere, and alternative manifestations can take the form of subtly cruel actions; for example, out of the blue stinging comments, uncalled for criticism, or the "accidental" infliction of injury on others. It can be seen in the kid who steps on another's heel in lunch line, tells jokes about the handicapped student, or picks on the weakest kid in class - those are all possibilities.

Bundy did not typically engage in such behavior as a young man but did as an adult. He bullied young Molly Kendall on several occasions; for example, tossing a football in her face with great force, shoving her in jest during a walk that resulted in her falling and bumping her head. It appears internal, pervasive "finger in the dike" rage was a dominant aspect of his personality. His anger was apparently always on the ready, but constrained until he could either act out in clandestine situations or when he reverted to fantasy.

In that context, a question arises. Could his proneness to sudden explosiveness have been, if not neurological (for example in the form of a psychomotor seizure) then indicative of a classic panic disorder? The former seems unlikely, despite the facial

distortions, sudden silence and pinpoint pupils described by the Kendalls and Dr. Lewis. Furthermore, Ted Bundy was administered a brain scan which turned out to be normal. He was also administered an electroencephalograph at the University hospital, but it was unrevealing because the examiner said Ted was unable to relax (a ploy that might well have been another of his attempts to fool the examiner).

However it is possible these episodes were panic attacks, especially since Dr. Lewis detected an odor during Bundy's metamorphosis.

A sudden hormonal uptake can cause such a reaction. In fact, a 2010 study on panic attacks conducted by The National Institute of Health found that the so-called vigilance hormone (Orexin) has a direct link to panic attacks. With anxiety there is a significant uptake in the release of this hormone, which emits an odor. A study at the Calm Clinic, also found that anxiety reactions were linked to changes in body odor.

If so, then it is possible that, in certain situations, Bundy's aggressive posture toward females might have been a defense against anticipated personal/emotional injury, and that his excessive vigilance toward females was not limited to stalking incidents, but was probably in effect whenever a potentially threatening female (one he perceived to be of high status) was present.

That certainly does not excuse his behavior, but might help explain some of the dynamics involved in Bundy's otherwise inexplicable actions.

BUNDY

Similar issues were discussed by Dr. Carlyle. For example, In an interview with the Arts and Entertainment Network after Bundy's execution Carlyle made some interesting points...

When asked if Bundy was born a psychopath Dr. Carlyle answered in the negative, though (as is also suggested here) he felt that somehow Bundy had 'created himself.'

When asked if killing was the central reason for the murders, he said no, that the prime motive was control over women. He also stated that loneliness, reading pornography and coming from an emotionally dysfunctional family did not always, or even typically lead one to become a serial killer. Dr. Carlyle's opinions refuted many of Bundy's excuses.

When asked when Bundy started to show sociopathic tendencies, Dr. Carlyle said it was in his teens, when Ted began stealing and peeping into windows.

When asked what the trigger was for the first murders, Dr. Carlyle said it was after an election loss by gubernatorial candidate Dan Evans, for whom Ted worked in Washington, and a breakup with his fiance' which occurred around the same time.

Carlyle was also asked about Bundy's necrophilia. He opined that sex was not the point, that the prime gratification was control, i.e. possession of the person. That would coincide with the early incidents of stealing, which is also a possession-oriented act. Whether sex was a central motive is contested here, but Dr. Carlyle's comments are illuminating nonetheless.

Some elements seem in contrast with those conclusions. but in fairness, Dr. Carlyle and other examiners acknowledged that their opinions should be considered tentative because Bundy simply didn't fit any specific model of pathology.

One conclusion that could be revisited is the opinion that Ted Bundy embarked on the road to psychopathy in his teens when he began peeping into windows and stealing. According to Ann Rule, Ted developed a fascination with knives as a toddler. In one instance, at age three, Ted placed a series of knives around the body of his aunt Julia, who was then fifteen years old. When she woke up, terrified at the sight, she saw the little boy smiling at her. It is reminiscent of the scene in the horror movie Halloween, in which Michael Meyers stabs his sister and stands there, knife in hand, covered with blood, more fascinated than remorseful and seemingly impervious to the harm he inflicted.

Was Ted Bundy a "bad seed," perhaps destined to kill regardless of life style, pornography, his illegitimacy or other factors? Dr. Carlyle refuted that argument, which is to his credit.

It makes no sense to assume an innocent child could be born a serial killer. However there is another element to consider. We assume children are innocent because they lack the capacity to understand life's complexity. Furthermore, they haven't had enough time to develop hostile feelings toward persons or entities, and lack the cunning to act out against social norms. On the other hand, we also know that children are a virtual blank slate on which any number of bizarre traits can be imprinted. They have no superego, barely any ego function, and as Freud suggested, they are mostly id-dominated. In some ways, the structure of a child's mind is probably very much like that of

a psychopath. It is egocentric, dependent, unable to control impulse and naively un-empathic.

Rather than assume Bundy evolved into a psychopath in an escalating pattern of voyeurism, theft, rape and eventually murder, the feeling here is in accord with Ann Rule's observations that Bundy became both attached and detached as well as disdainful of females in early childhood, possibly fomented by self-confusion and his grandfather's frequent berating of women in the home.

Sam Cowell would have had serious misgivings about Louise becoming pregnant out of wedlock. He was, after all, a deacon in his church, a reportedly rigid man with a black and white outlook. It appears he had a compulsive, workaholic temperament and that he likely railed intently and often at his daughter's "mistake." At age three, Ted Bundy did not know he was the "mistake," but he would have witnessed the shame heaped upon his mother by someone he considered a role model. That could have easily led to a hostile view of women.

To the extent that he was able to associate Louise's shame with some sort of inherent female trait he could have come to believe a woman's sexuality was in some sense bad or sinful.

Whether that led him to place the knives around aunt Julia's bed is open to question, but with only a minimal capacity to distinguish between the good guys and the bad girls, it is entirely possible. In that sense, his proneness to rage and utter disdain for females could have begun well before adolescence.

With regard to the issue of pornographic influence on his behaviors, there are reasons to question that. First of all, Bundy

made that claim to Reverend Eugene Dobbs in an interview just before his death sentence was carried out. Many felt Ted's statements were self-serving - just another exercise in excuse-making and Bundy's last attempt to dupe the authorities.

Bundy's statements in that interview are revealing, because they don't stand up to scrutiny. He told Dobbs that he first began looking at mild pornography in detective magazines. He then discovered that he needed more intense material and gained access to violent pornographic material by rummaging through his neighbors' garbage cans. Eventually he found that just as disappointing so over time, he moved on to rape, and when even that lost its appeal, he claims he moved on to murder.

According to Carlyle and several other examiners, nothing Bundy said could be assumed true. Because he lied so easily and convincingly it is entirely possible Bundy was resorting to his usual attention seeking tactics, and in the Dobbs interview, trying to place blame elsewhere - presumably to elicit sympathy and avoid the death penalty. (He actually did obtain several stays of execution by using similar ploys).

Beyond that is the issue of pornography itself. Here, discussion gets a bit tacky. Biologically speaking, the idea of pornography being unsatisfying is absurd. A man looks at a naked woman on a page, and if arousal occurs he will tend to "resolve" that arousal. Once he reaches climax, the circle is completed. Testosterone levels drop, followed by satiation, and a state of relaxation.

The whole evolutionary/biological point to an orgasm is resolution. As bland as it sounds, this involves a shift from a

catabolic state (involving energy expenditure) to an anabolic phase (a replenishment of hormones and other forms of physiological restoration). Having a need to move beyond that would seem to suggest mere sexual arousal wasn't the point to begin with. But if not, why read mild pornography in the first place?

With regard to the interview, it would have been interesting if Reverend. Dobbs asked Bundy what magazines he was referring to. Most adult magazines don't contain violent material. If they did, the publishing company would have a very small base of consumers. Most men are not interested in that type of reading matter. There probably are such materials, but they were not typically sold at pharmacies or local book stores back in the 60s.

Furthermore, Bundy's statement that his initial interest in pornography was through detective magazines makes no sense. Those magazines usually do not contain explicit visuals. In addition, it is well known from studies on the impact of violent TV and other media on behavior, that long term cause and effect relationships between viewing media and acting aggressively are unclear. For most normal males violent pornography would be a turn off, no matter how intense or unmet their urges. While the photo of a naked woman would be appealing, a photo of a naked woman being assaulted or tortured would likely not be appealing.

Thus, it is unlikely that a previously well-adjusted male would be led into a violent life style as a direct result of viewing that type of material. It seems more likely that a male already attracted to violent themes would seek out stimuli consistent

with that orientation. In other words, to take pleasure from violent material in a way that does not conflict with one's values and self concept would require a prior preference for such material.

That suggests Bundy's statements to Dobbs were fraudulent, and that he was disposed toward violence against women from a very young age. That would explain his possible involvement in the disappearance of a little girl named Marie Burr in 1962 when Ted was fifteen.

Another interesting diagnostic feature revolves around Bundy's peeping Tom activities. Bundy is believed to have started looking into neighbors' windows while in his teens. Did he really begin then? Possibly, but if so, it would have meant his family was unaware that Ted was wandering around, engaging in a criminal activity in a neighborhood where the residents were familiar with one another.

If Ted Bundy did engage in this behavior he would have had to be extremely deceptive and cunning and his family would have had to be oblivious.

Assuming he did so during adolescence, it likely began while he was a paperboy. That would have provided him an opportunity to observe various homes on his route and learned, in his proto-sociopathic way, the lay of the land. For a young boy whose parents likely kept track of him this seems more probable than his skulking around at night like a "vampire" - a term Bundy used to describe himself in various police interviews.

Why the vampire reference? Ted Bundy tended toward grandiosity, always reaching for the sensational theme, as if to

say...do you know how bad I've been? Or, in his actual words....I am the most cold hearted son of a bitch you've ever seen. For all those reasons, one might assume much of what he said was either exaggerated or simply not true.

In hindsight, it seems Ted Bundy was, despite his eloquence and willingness to be interviewed, one of the least forthright serial killers in history. Dennis Rader (the BTK killer) recounted his actions toward victims in court with enough specificity to prove beyond a doubt that he was the culprit. The same is true of Jeffrey Dahmer, Albert DeSalvo and Gary Ridgway (The Green River Killer). That suggests that all examinations of Bundy emanating from his interview statements, and even his responses on objective psychological tests might be less than completely informative.

Some of the test instruments used in Bundy's evaluations included projective tests like the Rorschach, House-Tree-Person and Thematic Apperception Test (TAT). While Ted could have possibly "smoked out" the intent of objective test questions it might have been harder for him to fake normal on the projectives. Those tests involve drawing pictures (House-Tree-Person), interpreting the nature, location and shape of inkblots (Rorschach) and creating stories to card stimuli that feature people situated in various social situations. (TAT). Even though the examiner interprets the test results in a way that can't be discerned by the subject, Bundy could have made a positive impression as long as he stayed away from responses that clinicians call "bell-ringers." By veering away from explosive, violent percepts and themes he could have come across as significantly less homicidal than was actually the case.

Dr. Carlyle administered the TAT. In her book, Ann Rule suggested that because he worked in a mental health crisis center, Ted might have learned how to fake normal on that test. She believed he administered that test to clients and was familiar with its constructs and interpretive features. However, that is unlikely, because Bundy was not a licensed clinician and would not have been allowed to administer such a test at the time, let alone have the theoretical and case study knowledge to use the instrument developed by psychoanalyst Henry Murray.

Thus, the overall picture is of a toddler who came to believe females were secondary, vulnerable, inconsequential persons and justifiably easy prey. He did not act on that until later, but the wish was becoming father to the man.

Whether those assumptions are valid, numerous opinions have been offered, all of which variations on central themes. Indeed, at the time of his incarceration in Florida Ted Bundy was the prime guinea pig for half the psychologists in America.

In addition to previously mentioned evaluations, researcher Thomas Widiger, a recognized expert on serial killers, (who did not, as far as I know evaluate Bundy in person), discussed core elements of the anti-social personality.

After researching Bundy's life and reviewing various psychological reports Widiger provided some interesting insights. One of which was that Bundy did not fit the typical profile of a psychopath. He felt Bundy was unique because he could be charming, was well-spoken, and was, for the most part, emotionally stable. In his own Psychopathy Checklist, Widiger referenced traits such as superficial charm, lying, lack of

nervousness, inadequate motivation, pathological egocentricity, lack of shame and inability to follow a life plan. Yet even with such diagnostic guidelines, Widiger, like most other clinicians, ran into difficulty trying to assign a particular diagnostic classification to Ted Bundy.

I suspect one reason for that was based on confusion over the relationship between the act and the need. Bundy had the charm and looks to satisfy his sexual and emotional needs. He had the intelligence to set and meet goals. Since he had such access, one must ask why he needed to act in such horrendous ways to meet those needs? One possible answer could be that while the adult Theodore Bundy had looks, promise and intelligence, the child Theodore Bundy did not. If so, then his actions might be explained by regressive motives.

All of the opinions referenced here offer degrees of clarity, and since some of them emanated from direct contact with Bundy, they probably offer accurate assessment of the Bundy's traits and motives.

On the other hand, there's a potential snag in the process. Forensic evaluations are geared toward determining insanity or competence. Having conducted such exams myself, it is incumbent on the examiner to address narrow issues in order to render a credible, professional opinion without overwhelming a jury with esoteric terminology.

It is one thing to diagnose in linear fashion according to a particular set of criteria. The D.S.M. and the legal system require that. However a personality is not linear, it is dynamic. To say that event A. caused behavior B, or that the person fits into

category C oversimplifies the process. Just as the self was previously discussed as a homeostat, so should Ted Bundy's personality be considered in that light. In the final analysis, his actions were holistic and multiply determined.

The personality is pliable and like the self, functions primarily to maintain internal stability. As with any dynamic, when one variable goes awry there is a counter reaction designed to re-establish stability. Like a mechanical instrument that operates by a negative feedback process, the personality has the capacity to detect and correct errors. Like the body it always begins with parameters - in other words, a gauge. The body's temperature gauge is roughly 98.6. The personality begins to establish a gauge early on. Since the gauge, and deviations from it, correlate with neuronal activity and arousal levels, knowing the thematic aspects of the gauge (in other words, the predominant needs of the personality), how flexible the parameters are within that gauge, and the person's arousal patterns can determine whether extreme corrective actions might be required to restore stability. Knowing that would enable one to determine whether any individual will ultimately act out in the extreme.

Even that can be problematic, however, because the personality is poly-stable and fluid. One deviation from the gauge will require a correction, but if that is followed by another deviation somewhere else, another connection will be required. To keep up with this potentially Byzantine mental process there must be anchor points that are relatively constant: that is, overriding emotions, motives and themes that the person can recognize as a return to stability once adjustments are made. If the person does not have a true and reliable gauge, far too many

experiences might be interpreted as extreme deviations. Absent a stable point of self-reference, the individual will have difficulty restoring stability, which will lead to panic reactions and loss of emotional control. In addition, because of the high level of anxiety, any solution he comes up with will be compulsive.

That brings to mind a core feature of personality theories - conflict. It is typically considered a core virus - a pathogen that can 'infect' the psyche and render it dysfunctional. A conflict is a psychic wound. but if overcome, can result in greater resiliency. It can even lead to great strides in creativity. Freud, Jung, and Carl Rogers all believed that. Behavioral psychologist Martin Seligman felt learning to convert helplessness to hope by behavioral efficiency could create a lifelong sense of competence.

With that, it seems worthwhile to discuss the nature and parameters of this phenomenon.

Conflict is most concisely defined as an input disagreement. In the case of Ted Bundy - or any human being, it would be represented by disparate neuronal patterns that correlate with beliefs, attitudes and self images. Depending on its severity, conflict can be fairly easily resolved.

As discussed earlier, Freud believed the psyche functioned much like the immune system of the body. That's why his theory is often described as a 'medical model.' In many ways, there is not much difference between a physical and psychological conflict because mind and body are information systems. Signals are sent to both mind and body that are either in agreement or in conflict. Agreement is achieved when the signal registers a value

within stable parameters. Disagreement occurs when there is a deviation from that point of stability.

When conflict occurs, mental adjustments arise and react very much like phagocytes within the immune system, that is, by removing or modifying the conflicting input, then resetting the gauge back to stability. For both mind and body the ability to utilize those functions depends on developmental maturity.

The difference in physical immunological efficiency between a child and adult is analogous to the difference in psycho-immunological efficiency between a child and adult. Children cannot fight off disease as well as healthy adults, and in a psychological context, they cannot defend themselves against early trauma and psycho-pathogenic experiences as well as adults.

That is because the prime weapon against psychopathology is language; more specifically the capacities to attribute, assimilate and rationalize in the face of conflicting input.

If that doesn't work, the mind can repress memories, but repression is considered a primitive defense mechanism more typical of a child, and even though it is seen in adults with psychological disorders, precipitating events usually occur during the childhood years.

This creates a bind. Just as a child lacks the cognitive sophistication to utilize language-related defenses so too would he have difficulty repressing memories because he isn't equipped to recognize threat with specificity. A child is, in many ways, psychologically defenseless, which is why early childhood

experience is so critical in determining subsequent behavior patterns.

In that context, one can draw assumptions about early experiences that shaped Bundy's future behavior.

It was discussed previously that, according to Bundy, Sam Cowell and he had a mutually affectionate relationship. Calling Sam a Santa Claus figure suggests toys were purchased, that father/grandpa came to the rescue at times, and that there was a male-to-male connection on some level. In effect, it would not be surprising to discover that Ted was spoiled by Sam, which would have been especially meaningful in that it contrasted with Sam's treatment of Louise and the other women in the house. That would have made Ted stand out. It also might have given him a sense of superiority over females and a sense of dominance, despite his youth.

Being so young, Ted couldn't have interpreted that experience very clearly. He could not have utilized internal language appraisals in trying to understand the behaviors and position of all parties. He couldn't tell himself that...maybe grandpa is just grumpy. It's not that the women he yells at are bad - after all they do feed and care for me. Maybe grandpa, mom and Louise are just having a bad day.

Absent such an accommodating capability, and left only with unresolvable conflict, he would have been moved in the direction of ego-centrism. To wit... Since I can't understand them, evaluate their goodness or badness or predict their behavior, I can only focus on myself. As long as they meet my needs things will be fine This implies that extreme, early childhood confusion

might have been at the heart of Bundy's subsequent egocentricity.

Add the possibility that it wasn't just Sam showering him with male approval, but also his mother Louise and his grandmother Eleanor, especially if all parties responded to him out of a guilt-induced sense of responsibility. Indeed, how would it be possible not to feel sorry for a boy who, through no fault of his own, was placed in very uncertain circumstances, lied to, and in a sense disclaimed?

That sort of treatment could have contributed further to his budding egocentricity. Under those conditions, Ted would have been inclined to model Sam's attitude toward women. Despite retreating inward, he would have realized that females were, while nurturing, quite susceptible to dominance and control. That brings us back to the personality.

As a homeostat, it seeks to maintain stable parameters. It doesn't really "care" about the nuances of social interaction as long as it can remain within comfortable parameters. For example, a person with an ingrained poor self image, will be more able to tolerate insult and personal diminution than a person who begins with a sense of superiority (for example as his mother's favorite). Since the self-system of the 'lower ranked' child doesn't revolve around ego-centrism and grandiosity he can more readily accept failure. He might "set the gauge" based on dependency, deference and self debasement. He might be reluctant to take on the challenge of personal growth and achievement, but while his lower status might stifle his ambition and render him needy, he will at least have established a level of self stability and with that, minimize conflict. Despite his

motivational deficit he would have to be considered adaptive - at least as long as he could find people on whom he could depend.

On the other hand, a child with an ingrained sense of superiority, indoctrinated into a precocious, dominant role, will react to a demotion in extreme ways.

After leaving Philadelphia and being separated from Sam Cowell, Ted moved to Tacoma, where Louise and Johnnie Bundy married and had four children of their own. Obviously all were considerably younger than Ted. Whether the parents paid more attention to them than Ted, due to the pressing needs of younger children, or whether their attention was doled out equally (with Ted merely reading the situation incorrectly) is uncertain. It does seem evident that Ted became a lonely child in the aftermath of Johnnie and Louise's new found parental commitments.

Had Ted been a "mixer", who from the outset, blended in comfortably with his expanded family and savored his role as older brother, things might have turned out differently. In that case Ted might have learned to be patient. His ego-centrism could have been modulated by a sense of familial responsibility in a way typified by Alfred Adler's principle of social interest. He could have developed a stronger sense of altruism, playing the role of his brothers' and sisters' keeper. While Ted kept in touch with them and gave them gifts on birthdays, his integration into the larger family didn't seem to occur. Perhaps that was because he went abruptly from only child superstar to feeling left out. That would have entailed significant conflict.

In such circumstances, Ted might have been faced with only a few possible resolutions - especially for a boy his age.

Either he could accept a demotion within the new order in the family or embellish his self-system even beyond prior parameters. If the latter, it would have enabled him to interpret his sudden sense of isolation as a sign that he was above it all. He would then become, rather than an inconsequential, familial after thought, a powerful, messianic figure with even greater control than he had back in Philadelphia when he was emerging as a precocious alpha male..

Such a massive re-orchestration of mind might have been the first psycho-pathogen, leading ultimately to the murder of so many innocent victims. The mental work required to make the conversion from outsider to messiah was stressful, and would have involved constant fantasy and re-working of his beliefs. That would have led to emotional rigidity, extreme sensitivity to personal setbacks, hyper-vigilance (being on the look-out for threats and contradictions) and, due to the amount of energy expended in that endless psychological task. possible depression. Those behavioral features are typically seen in individuals suffering trauma.

At the risk of appearing sympathetic to Bundy (which is not the intent) trauma involves a chronic, fight/flight defensive reaction (what might be described as a constant feeling of threat preparation) accompanied by severe, chronic stress to body and mind. It is exacerbated by uncertainty. If trauma was involved, Ted Bundy's level of threat vigilance would have been high and chronic. While he could appear calm and rational, he was probably functioning emotionally on automatic pilot, with a high basal arousal level. Rather than addressing problems in his life on a case by case basis, he might have seen himself as being caught up in a global "it's either them or me" thought process.

For those reasons, despite his overtly cool demeanor, there were probably few calm moments in his life, merely a well rehearsed pretense of poise.

Regardless of his chronic level of vigilance, it is probably difficult to accept that Bundy's actions were solely the result of trauma, because it wreaks of excuse-making. Yet any kind of psychological conflict that persists over time and leads to chronic vigilance can technically be classified as such. As an adult, Ted had all the available faculties by which to self regulate. It's just that when traumatic rigidity sets in with a youngster, lack of defensive sophistication disallows control over the impact. The result is often a tendency toward fixed emotional and behavior patterns. The child is psychologically unarmed, has no other place to go but in the direction of habit and compulsion.

It is possible that Ted Bundy's first experiment with rigid self-resolution was the knife incident with his aunt Julia. The fact that she reacted fearfully would have taught him that even as a young child, he could assert his dominance over women, and establish reliably a sense of grandiosity. Thus, it is conceivable that even as a toddler he was zeroing in on his gauge, his place in the world, and in the process beginning to carve out a terrifying niche.

Chapter 8

In His Own Words

Ted Bundy's psychological evaluations included both objective and projective tests, particularly the assessment with Dr. Carlyle. Since, for the lay reader, discussion of this might seem a bit arcane, some concrete descriptions might be helpful. An objective test is one in which the respondent answers questions pertaining to feelings, habits and attitudes. For the most part, these tests are constructed and standardized by a comparison method. That is, while the questions are, in many instances transparent, the scoring involves taking raw scores and converting them to scale scores, which correlate with how patients with existing disorders have responded on the same tests. In other words, those with psychopathologies comprise the comparison and control group for the person taking the test.

Projective tests are a bit different. One of the most familiar, the Rorschach Inkblots, asks the respondent to look at ambiguous forms, state what they look like and what features determine the figure seen by the respondent. Another, used by Dr. Carlyle is the Thematic Apperception Test. This instrument involves looking at pictures and telling a story. In doing so, the subject must project himself beyond the visual aspects seen on the card. In both cases, the respondent is providing information (perceptions and themes) based on his own experience, and thus projecting some of himself onto the test protocol.

The point of the Rorschach is to obtain information about the respondent relative to various aspects of the psyche; for example whether or not fantasy dominates concrete experience, whether there is an adequate capacity to integrate experiences, whether the respondent has perspective or whether small details of life dominate his thinking in fragmented, compulsive style. The test also addresses the question of whether energy levels are sufficient to meet life's demands or whether depression is indicated.

The TAT is geared toward group affiliations, social needs, aggressive tendencies, attitudes toward members of the opposite sex and other factors.

Another test, often used by this writer, is the Incomplete Sentence Blank. This instrument asks the respondent to make full sentences from sentence stubs in terms of their own attitudes and feelings. As an example: My greatest fear is_____. (not an actual test item) The Sentence Completion Test was administered by Dr. Carlyle as part of his assessment.

Given Ted Bundy's reliance on language skills in dealing with people, coping with duress and maintaining self-equilibrium the sentence completion format would seem particularly useful diagnostically.

While Bundy could have discerned the intent of the sentence stubs, his tendency to speak ostentatiously and at length about himself through speech affectations probably led to unintended self-disclosure, which was valuable interpretive material.

Obviously, this writer did not examine Ted Bundy, thus could not have administered a Sentence Completion Test. However, I felt the next best thing might be to evaluate some of his lengthier statements for unwitting self-disclosures in terms of their diagnostic significance.

The crimes he committed occurred decades ago, and since then many reasonable opinions have been rendered. However, I thought it might prove interesting to tap into his thought process by interpreting his language in letters and poems as projective material..

This verbal analysis will involve two primary sources: the letters to Ann Rule and Liz Kendall and poems Bundy wrote, often during periods of duress. I will begin with the following:

A Letter to Ann Rule in which Bundy expressed disagreement regarding her stated opinions about serial killers.

As far as I'm concerned there's nothing to be gained by trying to sort through a lot of faded memories about what did and did not transpire between us, about your book, about your numerous public statements on serial murder. That's water under the bridge. I have other matters to deal with. In all candor, I must say this much to you, Ann, Judging from the statements I have heard and read about you making on serial murder, I suggest you seriously re-evaluate the opinions and conclusions you've formed. For whatever reason, you seem to have adopted a number of oversimplified, overgeneralized and scientifically unsupportable views on the subject. The net result of this is that by disseminating such views, no matter how well - intended, you will only succeed in misleading people about the true nature of

the problem and thereby make them less effectively able to deal with it

Comments

Most of the diagnostic issues in this letter are perfectly obvious, as was pointed out in Dr. Carlyle's assessment. For example, the abrupt shift in tone from...."it's water under the bridge" (representing an initial denial of the impact Ann Rule's opinions had on him) to a re-issued criticism of Ann Rule's comments, points to Bundy's tendency to conceal his anger with pseudo-rational language. This was probably an entrenched habit with Bundy and typifies the way he avoided feelings of guilt, both before and after a kill. In other words, a drift toward rational discourse enabled him to presume a sense of normalcy.

The fakery and duality in this sequence was classic Ted Bundy. It was an attempt to prop up his image and sound reasonable after a show of anger. However such thematic 'masking' is a tactic commonly used by both sinners and saints and is not that clinically significant.

However, a highly significant aspect of the dialogue is Bundy's extreme ambivalence about his identity. He is torn between wanting others to understand the complexity of his violent actions and running the risk of admitting guilt. That suggests that Bundy viewed the murders in some sort of intellectual context - as if he wanted it known that to do what he did required cunning, planning, social panache' and physical strength. It was as if he was saying to Ann Rule....Not every Tom, Dick and Harry has what it takes to be a successful serial killer Ted wanted credit for his horrific acts, which speaks to his

extreme egocentricity and his emotion-stunting capacity to focus so much on personal achievement as to be psychologically blinded to the ramifications of his acts.

It is almost impossible for such a blind achievement motive to evolve without an Oedipal fixation - that requires further explanation. The term "Oedipal" refers to the Greek tragedy in which Oedipus ends up competing with his father for his mother's love. The notion of a son competing with the father was viewed by Freud as a normal aspect of child development. It is loosely reflected colloquially in the college student's lament...I am going get a profession rather than working in the coal mines like my dad."

Bundy's Oedipal fixation is reflected in his relationship with his mother Louise. She pushed the achievement motive throughout Bundy's life. However a lot of mothers and fathers do that. So why the extreme manifestation with Ted? One way this could have happened is through a confluence of events.

The preceding explanation presumes that while Ted was told he was illegitimate in his teens he suspected as much prior to that. If so, then as an illegitimate child Ted would always feel he wasn't planned or wanted. He considered himself an accident, and he might have assumed his birth resulted from a one night stand. Not being sure of his mother's initial and life-long love (or her resentment of him for making her life difficult) he could have developed a compulsive need to please her, while being concerned that he could never evolve from an "unwanted accident" to a permanent object of affection.

The second element comes into play because Louise and Johnnie Bundy eventually had their own (wanted, morally sanctioned, planned) children. Ted would have been an outsider at that point, not just in the familial sense, but also perhaps in a oddly moral sense. Bundy's reasoning might have been something like: The other kids were conceived in a normal way, whereas I was conceived in shame.

That sense of familial/moral detachment might have planted the seeds of an outlaw mentality. By the time he reached adolescence, Ted might have begun a trend toward extreme self-direction with increasingly internally generated views. These might have been exemplified by thoughts such as: .What the hell, I am tainted anyway. I had no male figure, no real father with whom to identify. It's all up for grabs. I will never be an acceptable individual so I might as well identify with the bad guys. At least that gives me a place to go.

Another factor could have been involved. The usual resolution to the Oedipal conflict is for the child to first realize he cannot compete with his father. He will then opt for plan B, by deciding if he can't compete with father the next best thing is to incorporate the father's traits. If that transition plays out fluidly rivalry will convert to identification. It is analogous to situations in which a wife finds out her husband is cheating, and upon discovering the identity of the other woman, tries to look and dress like her to ameliorate the harshness of the rivalry (bearing in mind that Freud viewed this as an unconscious process rather than a child overtly trying to usurp the father's position).

Ted Bundy had no person with whom of identify, especially at critical points in his life. Consequently his life played out as

though a perennial competition. Without a strong male attachment the reins that ordinarily hold young males in place were not available.

In itself, that antisocial drift might not have led directly to Bundy's subsequent acts, but would have provided him with a frame of reference that pointed in an anti-social direction. That attitudinal foundation would eventually enable Ted to dismiss any feelings of compassion for his victims or feel guilt at violating the moral standards of society. Indeed, even as a young proto-outlaw Ted Bundy was able to separate himself comfortably from society. In his own, highly concealed mind, he was at war with the world around him. Therefore, in accord with the old saying... all is fair in love and war... he declared the social contract null and void. Whether or not he knew he would end up murdering young women is uncertain but he probably felt he had license to do so.

Letter to Ann Rule in reference to her book on Bundy's life being made into a Hollywood movie

At least they could give you "mugger money" so the buggers don't have to go away empty handed. You said you lived in a "trick pad." Sorry, I can't interpret the LA dialect or whatever, ...oh there's the word colloquialism. Does this mean that magicians hang out there, you know rabbits out of hats and things. Or do you mean...do you suggest...a ahmm,...that persons get to know each other carnally for a negotiated price? If so, and if it pays better than writing - it would almost have to - you might

consider getting into administration...You could apply for a small business loan to get started

Comments

The giddiness apparent in this brief letter highlights the apportionment of needs and concerns for Bundy. He was in prison, the object of scorn, with a harsh sentence hanging over his head, yet he was in good spirits because a movie was going to be made about him. Also, this feeling of contentment is expressed to Ann Rule - the person he criticized earlier for spouting "flawed opinions" about serial killers. Clearly, all is forgiven, as long as Ted Bundy can consider himself relevant.

Once again, this lends support to the idea that his need for achievement was so neurotically intense that acknowledgment could override almost any setback. By the same token, no experience could be truly pleasing unless some sort of acknowledgment was forthcoming. The problem was that he couldn't seek outside acknowledgement without confessing to the crimes.

That conclusion was also reached in reports by Dr. Carlyle, Dr. Lewis and the Kentucky team. The interesting aspect is that Ted Bundy never sent letters to the police, or the media, like Dennis Rader, The Zodiac killer or The Uni-bomber. The reason he didn't might be explained by the fact that he was almost completely inner driven; able to prompt, reinforce and critique his own behavior. That points to an extraordinary level of social detachment, even for a serial killer.

Just as interesting is the moral tone Bundy takes toward prostitution. His use of "ahmmmm" signifies sexual hesitancy and

disapproval regarding that subject. It is possible, maybe even likely, that Ted was trying to portray himself to Ann Rule as sexually prudish. However, it is also conceivable he really considered prostitution a sinful act. Since he joined the Mormon Church at one point and was raised in a religious home, the latter seems feasible. If so, it makes the contrast between his criminal acts and his moral outlook rather astonishing.

Letter to Ann Rule while in prison in Florida regarding his recapture after an escape.

I try not to look forward. I try not to think back to the previous times I had as a free person. I try to live in the present as I have on past occasions, when I have been locked up. This approach worked in the past but is not working well now. I am tired and disappointed in myself. Two years I dreamt of freedom. I had it and lost it through a combination of compulsion and stupidity. It is a failure I find impossible to dismiss easily.

Comments

The cognitive parsing seen in this passage is rather interesting. Having been re-captured, with implications for a guilty verdict - especially regarding the potential impact of his attempted escape on the jury's verdict - Bundy's prime frustration revolves around his inability to control his appetite for the kill and utilize effective evasive tactics. In this, and virtually all his letters, there is little concern for the possibility of being caught and punished. That might be because he was so immersed in inner directedness that acts and decisions hoist upon him by others were off his radar screen. And, one suspects

once those circumstances did arise, his take on the experience would be analogous to a student flunking a test. Rather than tell himself...I shouldn't have done it, he might say... I should have studied harder, planned more effectively, and been more precise in my actions. That attests to his profound reliance on internalizing and intellectualizing as go-to defense mechanisms.

Why was intelligence so important to him - that is, well beyond the usual concern? Just as the higher brain centers (housed in the cerebral cortex) can dampen emotional input from the midbrain, so too can an extremely intellectualized person override emotions, often to a point where he can lose the capacity for affective expression except in instances where he was either alone, caught up in self-pity, or while seizing a victim. This points to an obsessive desire to place all experiences in the objective category.

Letter to Ann Rule from solitary confinement, commenting on his interrogation

Adversity of this kind only serves to make me stronger, especially when it is clear to me that it is designed to create pressure some believe, will shatter my "normal facade." How absurd. Said one prisoner, when he heard of the decision to place me in isolation: "They' re trying to break you Bundy. Yeah, they're just trying to break you." I couldn't have agreed with him more, but since there is nothing to "break," I'll have to suffer instead. The fact that some persons continue to misjudge me has become almost amusing."

Comments

This letter is particularly revealing, because, despite Bundy's assertion that people will never break the 'Bundy facade' this is where his vulnerability comes to the fore. It illustrates his tendency toward extreme, chronic vigilance. To keep from having his normal facade shattered, in fact from even having it known that he has a facade, Bundy has to put his powers of self-control in overdrive. In order to prevent being out-foxed by authority he must always be aware of his appearance, what he says, how he says it, his body language, vocal tone, and disclosures. Even more pathological is his hyper-vigilance toward others. In order to maintain self-control Bundy has to probe, observe, and outwit people so continually that it wreaks of paranoia. Also, despite his commission of violent acts, there is a sense that he is on defense much of the time, as though he sees himself as the real victim.

Ted Bundy was not diagnosed with psychosis due, among other things, to his coherent speech and organizational skills. However, his detachment from people, coupled with the need for constant social signal processing suggests paranoid tendencies that are within the rubric of a personality disorder.

Poems sent to Ann Rule from prison

This is no way to be

Man ought to be free

That man should be me

Comments

Just why Bundy chose to write poems to Ann Rule is difficult to determine. He knew her, of course, but familiarity usually leads to more informal methods of communication. It would have made more sense had he written: something like the following.

Dear Ann.

Here I am in prison. It's maddening. I did nothing wrong yet I'm still in here with a lot of scary people. It's not right that anyone should have to go through this. I'll keep in touch.

Ted

It's not just the formality of his poem that seems rather bizarre. It's also his treatment of his circumstances. Nowhere does innocence crop up as a reason for his frustration. He's just a man who "should be free," an abstraction, rather than a wronged individual with a specific gripe against the state. Just why Bundy avoids direct references to his innocence is confusing, since the intent of his letters implies he is being railroaded, broken, and misdiagnosed. I believe part of the reason lies in the fact that Ted wanted to avoid throwing out the baby with the bathwater. He was fearful of losing his freedom via long term incarceration, but perhaps equally fearful of being released from jail, based on, say, a false arrest. In that scenario he would lose an achievement opportunity. Had he been released - the real killer found, he would have been tossed into the garbage bin of anonymity by a flawed legal system. That wouldn't have warranted even an asterisk next to his name. Ted Bundy did not want to be just one member of a long list of initial suspects.

Again, this points to two central elements of his personality: an obsessive, virtually maniacal achievement drive and a regressive, female-dependent, self-absorbed view of life.

Letter to Ann Rule regarding his various examinations for the courts

After conducting numerous tests and extensive examinations (they) have found me normal and are deeply perplexed. Both of us knew that none of us is "normal." Perhaps, what I should say is that they can find no explanation to substantiate the verdict or other allegations. No seizures, no psychosis, no dissociative reaction, no unusual habits, opinions, emotions or fears. Controlled, intelligent, but in no way crazy.. The working theory is now that I have completely forgotten everything, a theory which is disproved by their own results. "Very interesting," they keep mumbling. I may have convinced one of them that I am innocent."

Comments

Once again, Bundy uses misdirection to avoid the central question of guilt or innocence. He seems particularly happy that they found nothing wrong with him, while knowing full well his feelings and actions were extremely abnormal. He is clearly separating his behavior from what people think of his behavior. He used what he saw as a favorable diagnostic conclusion as a talking point with Ann Rule and as a confirmation of his self-image. Not only do they find him sane but also intelligent and controlled (the latter of which might have been interpreted differently by Bundy and the evaluators). The results of this

assessment probably provided a major boost for Ted because he was victorious on three fronts. First, by fooling the examiners he won the battle of intellects. Second, in his mind, the declaration of sanity validated the murders. Third, he probably felt this would hold him in good stead with a supportive female, Ann Rule.

(All excerpts above were taken from Ann Rule's book *The Stranger Beside Me*)

Letter to Elizabeth Kendall after Bundy had been incarcerated in Utah State Prison. During this time Ted and Liz had been fighting over Ted's infidelities. Liz had often threatened to leave him and this was a primary source of tension in their relationship.

If I sound bitter it is because I am. This is not your problem any longer, as you will recognize. Perhaps I am too much of a sentimentalist, but as difficult as it would have been I would have liked to say goodbye to you in person, kiss you one more time... Sunday, as I sat on the bench in the prison yard, basking in the sun, the fear grew with each hour. What a pathetic creature I must have appeared to be. Watching, waiting. Then three o'clock arrived, and three fifteen, and three thirty, and three fifty, and finally four. I waited until the bitter end. I imagined you driving to the airport and boarding the plane just a few miles away and I was struck with the panic of a caged animal. I felt the suicidal urge to run at the barbed wire fence and run to say goodbye to you before the plane flew away from me forever. Crying, trembling, as the last minutes ticked away, I kept pleading softly

to myself: Please, Liz, please. Please don't leave me this way. I thought Sunday was the most demoralizing day of my life. Sunday I think I finally recognized how powerless and weak I am.

Comments

Bundy's extreme self-isolation comes across ironically in this passage. He is writing to his long-time girlfriend, thus ostensibly communicating with another person. Yet the histrionic tone and embellished phrases make it clear Ted is really writing to himself. Perhaps, given his lifelong tendency toward self-insulation anything else would have been impossible. In this letter, which apparently made even Liz Kendall cringe, Ted Bundy uses run-on sentences to create drama, for example...three o'clock, then three fifteen, then three fifty and finally four. This attempt to frame his experience in theatrical terms is a sign that Bundy had little sense of the outside world, or if he did, he was able to re-enter his internal world on cue. Interestingly, his attempts to draw Liz Kendall into the drama and evoke sympathy from her is part of another underlying dynamic - his achievement obsession.. He is, in effect, telling her....don't leave me, I'm hurting. Can't you see my tears... and by the way, aren't you impressed with my use of metaphor?

As Dr. Carlyle concluded, Ted Bundy never removed himself from the achievement domain. All of life was a task, every minute, every hour and every day, whether writing, talking, dressing, stealing, ordering in a restaurant, applying for college, jousting with the police, or seeking approval from a best selling author. Ted Bundy was programmed like a computer without windows. While he could change the personal view of the screen

from a landscape to a mountain range, only one website could be brought up.

Letter to Elizabeth Kendall during the trial in Utah

This case they filed is based on information they have had since last February...But it (the evidence) was manufactured...The prosecution filed a witness list and on it are the names: Carol DaRonch, Jerry Thompson, David Yocum and Robert Keppel (from King County). It is going to be like a return of a bad dream. DaRonch crying, Thompson lying ("Yes, I saw four pairs of patent leather shoes in his house") and Keppel implying ("He's pretty weird and a suspect in 4,900 disappearances"), It's an innuendo case. Dammit I am not grandstanding, Liz. I'm innocent and they are going to frame their little heads off....Please try to believe me

Comments

This letter raises questions about whether Ted Bundy was so internalized that he could effectively hypnotize himself into an alternative mental state. His comments here sound almost convincing. It is no wonder some examiners saw normalcy in his speech and behavior patterns. I suspect he had a capacity to persuade himself and learned it through multiple exercises in self-talk. This is a skill he likely cultivated in moments of solitude, for example during long drives, while surveying potential kidnapping sites. choosing potential victims or before falling asleep in his car outside of Liz Kendall's apartment. It is interesting to consider that the only possible way anyone could have come to really know Ted Bundy would have been to put a

tape recorder in places where he was alone and listen in on his self-directed conversations.

Letter to Elizabeth Kendall after getting the results of his evaluation in a discussion with his psychologist.

Not to my surprise, the combined result of all my psychological and medical tests show me to be completely normal. A psychiatrist told me. He kept saying "Very interesting" He also said that he believes me when I say I didn't do it, but being a loyal employee of this state, he asked me if it was possible I had forgotten it all. They never give up.

Comments

Ted is engaging in selective attention here by taking a few comments by the examiner and blowing it up into an exculpatory, clinical conclusion. He is trying to convince Liz Kendall, once again, using attempts at humor, sarcasm and scorn to make his case. However, as usual, he seems to be speaking primarily to himself. He wants to be deemed normal, convinces himself he is, and if anyone disagrees it is because the state put them up to it. By this point Liz Kendall seemed to know Ted was guilty, indeed suspected he was a killer well before this letter was sent.

Letter to Elizabeth Kendall around the same time period as the verdict in Utah for the kidnapping of Carol DaRonch was about to be handed down.

The tension builds each day as sentencing approaches...I am in no way mentally prepared to accept anything the judge imposes, least of all commitment...I am really not as brave as I would like to make myself believe...When I think of years without you I see an eternity in hell. I need you and my freedom too dearly to accept commitment to prison with no more emotional response than I would have to spoiled milk. There is no denying the life and death significance of next Tuesday.

Comments

In this letter, Ted Bundy is symbolically harking back to the comfort of the womb and revealing more of himself than is typical. He is finally tense, fearful, and off his game. Now is the time to gain a clear sense of who this man really is. He seeks a return to the nipple. Consequences don't matter. In his mind they can be blocked out by maternal coverage, because the provision of female comfort can solve any problem. It obliterates reality just as can a mother's nurturance. Ted writes that being without Liz equates with an "eternity in hell." He knows Liz can't actually help him escape the verdict so his letter to her is a displacement. It is childhood revisited. The naive' infant knows no external pressures, only that he has an appetite mother can satisfy. Then it's off to sleep. This seems to reinforce the idea that Ted Bundy was functioning emotionally on a child-like level. While his language and physical appearance seemed adult, his outlook and needs were evidently regressive.

Letter to Elizabeth Kendall during the trial period in Utah

The only reality I fight to preserve is you. You are my link to everything i hold dear. You keep alive emotions of caring and loving. i love you and Molly...The psychologist gave me a test where pictures are shown, and a story was told by me about the picture. The last card was blank and I was to imagine a picture. It was a picture of you in the kitchen and as I told it tears began flowing uncontrollably down my face. I miss everything about you.

Comments

This letter, and most letters sent to Liz Kendall, simply reiterate the dependency, need for succorance and the regressive mindset that typified Ted Bundy. Liz was his mother figure. He had no father figure, only himself as a male consultant and confidant. He was a man in a psycho-social bubble and all that mattered in the outside world was "the female". She had to nurture - that was her unconditional, solitary role, and if not fulfilled with the utmost sense of duty there would be nothing left of the entity known as Theodore Bundy. It was, once again a fanciful regression, since Liz could not rescue him from his ultimate fate. The real world was about to intrude harshly on his inner world and he was left pleading for an earlier time.

Letter to Elizabeth Kendall after a break-up.

A million times I rehearsed this...I picture me on my knees begging forgiveness. I was going to tell you what a fool I was for my infidelities and I am... For now, would it be wrong just to

enjoy the love we have and forget everything else? Sounds like I'm asking you to play house doesn't it? Maybe I am. I'm asking to pretend tomorrow doesn't exist. We'll sit here, drink our drinks, look out across the water, hold hands just like a pair of carefree lovers, just like we were so long ago. It's just you and me. No courts, no detectives, no jail cells

Comments

Indicators of fixation and regression are even more evident in this letter. A child expects constant forgiveness. When the child cries, the mother is there to provide comfort. Ted Bundy cheated in unusual ways in his relationships. It is not certain he was cheating sexually, at least not in every instance. He would spend time with another woman, usually out of sheer need when traveling to various locations. He doesn't seem to present as a cad or a Lothario. He lacked the cool required of those roles. Those types of men tend to devalue any particular woman because of the supply available to them. Such men don't typically beg, stalk or display pathological jealousy. That's because in 'playing the field' they don't need a female protector situated in whatever location they are in. The cad doesn't cling, he pushes off

Bundy was of the latter type - a desperate, needy Romeo. In the strictest sense, not a Romeo at all. It is possible Liz Kendall saw that weakness and continued to take him back for that reason. She also knew that even if they got together and "sat there, drank and looked out across the water" nothing would change.

Letter to Elizabeth Kendall around the time of the Colorado murders.

My conscience is clear and my will to clear myself is strong. I cannot sense guilt which is not mine...Liz I know myself as no one else can, and I know I love people and life too much to destroy one living thing. This is the knowledge which gives me the strength to stand firm against all who challenge me. The world outside may have changed but I have not.

Comments

Two significant features arise in this brief letter. Bundy's poetic protest reflects, once again, his equating intelligence and eloquence with innocence. It makes one wonder how, as a young man, he could have reached that conclusion. There is no place within human society where accomplishment cancels out guilt. It can ameliorate it - for example when a celebrity gets a lesser prison sentence than a poor, young man from an urban environment. However, even for celebrities who get off the hook, public scorn prevails. O.J Simpson was never able to circulate socially after being acquitted. Yet, somehow Ted Bundy seemed able to conjure up and sustain a talent-trumps-morality mindset throughout his life. Did this originate in the Bundy home? Nothing in his background or in the psychological reports suggests that, but it seems that while some early antisocial behaviors went unpunished Ted was frequently praised for his intellect

Still, in and of itself, such a loose parenting style would not produce a serial killer. For that reason it seems his anger and cruelty might have been worked out internally. That reinforces

Dr. Carlyle's observation that Ted Bundy essentially created himself.

(All the above excerpts are taken from Liz Kendall's book: *The Phantom Prince*)

In summary, the overall tone of Ted Bundy's commentary reinforces the notion that his personality was in regressive mode, that an infantile emotional template, coupled with vast experience guiding himself internally, made it difficult, if not impossible for him to function psychologically as a normal adult. Whether that points to his having a specific disorder that kept him from being able to control his actions is another question. Obviously, in a legal sense that issue was resolved long ago. Still, if one adheres to the belief that psychology is a science, then, as with all sciences, one must address questions in terms of probabilities rather than certainties. So, while Ted Bundy understood the nature, social impact and likely consequences of his actions, it might be that, given the trajectory of his life experiences, personality structure and rigid self-image, the probability of his becoming a normal citizen was fairly low from the outset.

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