

# A Comparison of Environmental Backgrounds of Psychopaths and Serial Killers

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## Introduction

Today, it is generally believed that there are two types of psychopaths. Primary psychopaths are caused by genetic factors and secondary psychopaths are caused by environmental factors. Primary psychopaths are born with innate predisposition which makes them difficult to socialize. Secondary psychopaths are born normal and develop psychopathy through bad parenting (Cooke & Marshall, 1999, Lykken, 1995). They are considered to show the same phenotypic outcome through different pathways (Blackburn, 2009; Hicks & Markon, 2004; Porter, 1996).

According to Mealey (1995), the degree of their dependency on these two factors is a continuum. That is, psychopathy in general is caused by an interaction between the

subject's biological predisposition and their environment. Genes determine the effective environment by questing for experiences compatible with innate proclivities, and by their interactions indirectly influences brain (Glaser, 2000; Ruti, 1991). This means psychopath, especially primary, is not originally born bad but rather difficult, and the coercive cycle created with parents causes the disorder (Granic, Hollenstein, Snyder, & Stoolmiller, 2004; Lykken, 1995).

There are two types of primary motivational systems. Behavioral activation system (BAS) indicates the sensitivity to reward, and behavioral inhibition system (BIS) indicates the sensitivity to punishment (Blackburn, 2009; Fowles, 2006; Gray, 1994). Primary psychopath is considered to be caused by weak BIS. Because of low fear, they seek sensation and are more risk-prone. The weak

emotions act out through even weaker restraints (Hare, Williamson, & Wong, 1987). Secondary psychopath is caused by overactive BAS, which overwhelms normal BIS, and readily reacts to stressful situations (Lykken, 1995). And these are empirically supported (Blackburn).

Cleckley (1955) emphasized that this mental disorder (mainly the primary psychopath) is concealed under the normal mask in his seminal work "The Mask of Sanity." And he could not recognize any specific regular pattern in environmental factors, which seemed to produce psychopathy without fail (Cooke & Marshall, 1999). Hare (1999) points out that there are no substantial differences in backgrounds between psychopaths and general criminals. He further posits that parenting is probably not essential and that there was nothing wrong with the parenting. He says that at this point the origin of psychopath is murky but its diagnosis is accurate, indicating the use of his Psychopathy Checklist Revised (PCL-R) as its measure (p. 178). Regarding the environmental factors of psychopaths, there are different theories (Cooke & Marshall, 1999; Weiler & Widom, 1996). For example, Lykken (1995) classifies antisocial personalities into sociopathic personality, psychopathic personality, and character neurosis, and describes their possible backgrounds by further ramifying each category. However, currently there is no single prevalent theory.

On serial murders, there exist typologies and etiologies as well. There are five types of serial murder based on perpetrator's motivation (DeBurger & Holmes, 1998; Holmes and Holmes, 2010). The visionary type is compelled to murder by the God or Devil, and its perpetrator could be psychotic. The mission-oriented type acts in order to rid the world of a specific type of undesirable

person to them, such as homosexuals, prostitutes, or people of the other ethnicities or religions. The power/control type gain and exert power over victims. The hedonistic type derives pleasure from killing and is further classified into lust, thrill and comfort (profit) oriented (A. M. Bartol, & C. R. Bartol, 2008).

In his Trauma Control Model, Hickey (1997) postulates that there needs to be destabilizing event(s) in the process of development of serial murder. And he calls this event "traumatization" (p. 86). According to him, it creates in the subject a gap between self-doubt and self-confidence he wears outside. Suppressing this traumatic event(s) to the point he cannot consciously recall is considered to cause him to murder in an altered state of consciousness.

Although it is relatively unknown, for the purpose of checking serial killers' family-backgrounds, there is also the FBI High Risk Register, which is considered to adversely affect a child's later behavior. It is composed of the following 13 items: (1) alcohol abuse, (2) drug abuse, (3) Psychiatric history, (4) criminal history, (5) sexual problems, (6) physical abuse, (7) psychological abuse, (8) dominant father figure, (9) negative relationship with male caretaker figures, (10) negative relationships with both natural mother and/or adoptive mother, (11) treated unfairly, (12) head trauma, and (13) demon seed (Criminology Research Project Inc., 2011).

Although research has been progressing in both the fields of psychopath and serial killer, there have been relatively fewer studies which systematically seek to clarify their environmental factors on actual data. However, Porter (1996) points out "until the causal foundation(s) has been established, we should not discount either nature or nurture"

(p. 187). To further research in environmental factors in both the fields is considered to have certain significance, parallel to the progress that has been made in genetic studies.

In this study, environmental backgrounds of 50 serial killers were looked into in order to find out possible patterns in environmental factors that are highly likely to produce serial killers. The term 'environmental background' is used to include cases outside of the family environment, such as schools, institutions, and adoptions. What really happened to the person is not always clear to outsiders. And in many cases the subjects themselves are not aware of what happened, either (Hensley & Wright, 2003; D. O. Lewis, Lewis, Pincus, Swica, & Yeager, 1997). Thus, this article tried to be as inclusive as possible of any available information about the subject's environmental background in order to maximize the possibility to find out any possible pattern. For this reason, information available on the internet, such as Wikipedia, YouTube, and so on, was positively made use of to cover what is not available in literature for this study of pilot nature.

Beaman, Chao, Conger, and Simon (1993) point out that children, observing the consequences of their parent engaging in a particular pattern of behavior so closely for many years, later execute their parents' disciplinary style with little conscious deliberation, considering it effective. Although this is just one example, constant human agents, such as parent(s), are considered to have a more solid influence on the subject, compared with other eye-catching independent incidents or features. Thus, among all the environmental factors, this study focused especially on human agent(s) as the major source of influence that shapes the subject's personality. Persistent disturbance in

the child's social relatedness begins by five, and emotionally available care-giving during the first three years is especially crucial for their developments and mental health (Zeanah, 1996). Thus, more attention was paid to earlier environmental factors (Armstrong & Kelley, 2008; Bor, Najman, O'Callghan, & Williams, 2003; Dwivedi, 1993; Hensley & Wright, 1997).

As is known, not all psychopaths proceed to violent paths. And not all serial killers are necessarily psychopaths, either. For example, there are a small number of subjects who commit serial murders because of their psychosis. However, seeing the fearless trait of primary psychopath, the high trait anxiety of secondary psychopath, and the compulsive repetitive murder acts of serial killer, there seems to be some commonality underlying. Kouri (2012), the fifth vice-president of the National Association of Chiefs of Police, says that serial murderers may possess some or many of the traits consistent with psychopathy. Fox and Levin (1998) also say extreme examples help us understand general pictures. Hopefully, findings we obtain from studying serial killers' environmental backgrounds will provide us some hint for understanding environmental factors of psychopaths.

## Findings

Environmental backgrounds of 50 serial killers were reviewed. They were grouped based on the source and type of the major force exerted by human agent(s) found in their environments. 23 examples which most clearly represent characteristics of each type are shown in Table 1.

Table 1) 8 Different Patterns found in Backgrounds of 23 Serial Killers

## Mother &gt;

William Heirens (Lipstick Killer)	He wandered the streets to avoid listening to parents' incessant arguments. Mother told him that all sex was dirty and led to disease when he reported to her about having witnessed sex. Later, he came to vomit when he kissed a girl ( <i>Wikipedia</i> ).
Gary Ridgway (Green River Killer)	He witnessed parents' arguments as a boy. He had a habit of wetting the bed. His domineering mother would often discover the accidents and would bathe him immediately, belittling and embarrassing him in front of his family. He had conflicting feelings of sexual attraction and anger toward her ( <i>Wikipedia</i> ).
Harold Shipman (Dr. Death)	Mother decided whom he could play with and made him feel special, rubbing in him his superiority. She died when he was 17. It was a tremendous loss for him and he later recreated the scene at her death bed with his victims hundreds of times ( <i>truTV Crime Library &amp; True Crime Scenes</i> ).
<p><i>Note.</i> In most cases, father's influence was very weak. They either left, stayed away from child-rearing, were dead, handicapped, alcoholic, away on the job, or under mother's control. Even without any other special factor, a strong and domineering psychological control by the female by itself seems to have been enough to cause an abnormal mentality in a child of the opposite sex (Garrison, 1996; Lipscombe &amp; Parker, 1981). Mother typically imprinted the idea that the other females were no good (Hickey, 1997). Also known is that witnessing domestic violence leads the child to not understand how others feel and justify their use of violence to enhance self-image, and that highly religious people lack compassion for other people, especially of other religions than their own (Acock &amp; Wright, 1981; Eldeson, 1999). The title "Mother&gt;" means although there were some other factors found, Mother was the most influential to the subject.</p>	

## Father &gt;

Charles Ng	He received excess physical punishment when he did not live up to his father's expectation, who was a hardworking immigrant himself. He took it quietly, and sometimes his mother and sisters had to stop his father ( <i>No Kill No Thrill</i> , Red Deer Press).
Danny Rolling (Gainesville Ripper)	Ever since his birth, his police-officer father said he was an unwanted child and that he wished him dead. Father was very strict about tiny details of what he did. He attempted suicide at 15. He shot his father at 36, though he survived ( <i>Wikipedia &amp; CRIME LIFE.COM</i> ).

<p>John Wayne Gacy (Pogo the Clown)</p>	<p>Throughout his childhood, Gacy strove to make his father proud of him, but was seldom successful. Father called him "sissy" and a "Mama's boy" and said he would probably grow up "queer." Yet Gacy vehemently denied he hated his father (<i>Wikipedia</i>).</p>
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*Note.* In most cases, fathers had a tendency to outburst unexpectedly and the boys were placed under constant fear. Some boys tried to identify with their fathers as a strategy to lessen their fear without knowing it (Chang, Dodge, McBride-Chang, & Schwartz, 2003; Dwivede, 1993; Fox & Levin, 1998; Garrison, 1996; Porter, 1996). Some of the fathers were (ex-) police officers, alcoholic, immigrants, or picking at their sons. Some boys were illegitimate. In Bundy's case, his grandfather was pretending to be his father. Under the appearance of being a good boy, they were developing violent fantasies to regain their dignity for their injured pride (Garrison, 1996; Hensley & Wright, 2003).

#### Both Parents

<p>Gerald Schaefer</p>	<p>His father was always critical and his mother was always on his back to do better. He had thoughts of suicide and had a large preoccupation with death, getting sexually excited hurting himself. Soon, these violent images turned outward (<i>truTV Crime Library</i>).</p>
<p>Hadden Clark (Cross-dressing cannibal)</p>	<p>Though affluent, his alcoholic parents were abusive to their children. His drunk mother dressed him in girl's clothing, and his father called him "retard". One of his brothers killed his girl friend and ate part of her body. Being isolated, he later developed paranoid schizophrenia (<i>About.com &amp; Murderpedia.org</i>).</p>
<p>Richard Chase (Vampire of Sacramento)</p>	<p>Always conventionally dressed, he was abused by Mother. Father was also a strict disciplinarian, constantly bickering with his wife and beating him. As a child he regularly wet the bed, set fires and tortured animals. An alcoholic, he tortured cats and was into using marijuana and LSD in extreme amount at age 10. He suffered from erectile dysfunction due to psychological problems stemming from repressed anger (<i>Wikipedia &amp; Investigation Discovery</i>).</p>

*Note.* In the family dynamics of most serial killers, one parent is usually more prevalent than the subordinate other. But in some cases, they were both as strong and aggressive. Because of the double pressures, the subjects seem to develop extreme levels of deviancy.

## Bullying

Donald Gaskins (Pee Wee)	He was regularly abused by his step-father, bullied by his teacher, boys and girls at school, and gang-raped at prison. He later committed his first murder to keep other inmates from bothering him. An intense anger towards people, especially women, made him addicted to power ( <i>Crime Museum &amp;, About.com</i> ).
David Parker Ray (Toy-Box Killer)	Because of Father's physical abuse, he lived with his grandfather. At the grandmother's death, he and his sister were split up. He was bullied by his peers for his unusual shyness around girls. Later he started abusing alcohol and drug ( <i>Wikipedia</i> s).
Patrick Kearney (Trash bag killer)	He had a trauma for being thin and sickly and became a target for bullies at school. He became withdrawn in his teens and fantasized about killing people. By the time he was eight, he knew he would kill people ( <i>Wikipedia</i> ).
<p><i>Note.</i> Those who get bullied often develop introverted personality before entering school by abuse, neglect, or overprotection at home (Dwivedi, 1993). And bullying itself has more impact on the child's development than what happened at home. Adjustment problems during the first two years at school cause them to have negative affect, and gradually develop fantasies in which they would revenge on people in general. These fantasies often fuse with their sexual urge around puberty. About one fifth of the bullied report recurrent victimization (Arsenneault, Moffitt, Newcombe, Trzensniewski, &amp; Walsh, 2006).</p>	

## Mal-Adoption

David Berkowitz (Son of Sam)	At young age, his adoptive mother told him about his adoption, who loved showing him off to other people. Later he killed her pet parrot out of jealous. Something in him did not respond to the love of his adoptive parents, and he gradually became self-destructive ( <i>Biography on YouTube</i> ).
Joel Rifkin	Though it started out as two years of very loving family life, disappointments led his father to give up on him in the end. There always were screaming matches over nothing with his father at home, who later committed suicide not to see another failure of his ( <i>Biography on YouTube</i> ).
Kenneth Bianchi (Hillside Stranglers)	His adoptive mother often took him to doctors for his urination problem, and out of anger poked his private parts. And this became his major mental pain in childhood. He couldn't sleep and wet the bed five times, and was forced to wear sanitary napkins by his mother ( <i>Wikipedia</i> ).

*Note.* Adoption creates a unique environment, where the adoptee has difficulties establishing his identity (Kirschner, 1992). It primarily has to do with his having two sets of parents. But it also comes from the adoptive parents' unique mentality to want to adopt a child, excessive moral concern over child's behavior, and tendency to more readily give up on their adopted child than natural parents (Brodzinsky, 1987; Cohen & Duvail, 1993; Cote, Joseph, Kotsopoulos, Pentland, & Stavrakaki, 1988). Character differences gradually grow between parents and the adopted child, and start to put a psychological distance between them, who do not have blood ties. The abusive relationship could also develop in the new family as well. The term "Mal-Adoption" is used here, as opposed to successful adoption cases.

### Detachment

Robert Black	Mother refused to register him with his father's name. Brought up by a foster couple in their 50s, he was called "Smelly Robby Tulip" at school. Most of the time he hung around with younger children. When the adoptive mother died, he was sent to a children's home. He used to push things up his anus and fantasize about excreting on his hands and rubbing the feces in ( <i>Wikipedia &amp; truTV Crime Library</i> ).
Gerald Stano	Mother neglected him so badly that when she gave him up at 6 months old, he was reportedly eating feces to survive. A nurse eventually adopted him, but discipline problems plagued him, who wet his bed until 10 ( <i>Wikipedia</i> ).
Cary Stayner (Yosemite Killer)	Having been abused at a Catholic boarding school, Mother never hugged nor kissed her children. He reportedly pulled out a large chunk of his hair between two and four. He also felt neglected because of his brother who was kidnapped and kept captive for years. He already wanted to kill at seven ( <i>True Crime &amp; Justice</i> ).

*Note.* Eating and playing with feces and pulling out their own hair are considered to be symptoms of anaclitic depression, which happens when the primary caretaker is deprived of during the first year (Spitz, 1949; 1951; 1953). In Black's case, mother's refusal to legally register him as her child probably signifies her rejection of the baby. From his nickname "Smelly Robby Tulip," it is possible that he was neglected and did not regularly take shower. In Stayner's case, although she was physically present, his mother did not provide him with the care the baby desperately and biologically needed. And this was probably at the core of why he came to commit serial murders.

The term "Detachment" is used here to signify the opposite meaning to "Attachment" used in "Attachment Theory" by John Bowlby (1988).

## Orphanage

Albert Fish (Werewolf of Wysteria)	When he was five, Father died and Mother put him into an orphanage, where he was unmercifully whipped and witnessed many things boys should not have done until he was nine. This took root in his head, and he began to enjoy the physical pain ( <i>Wikipedia</i> ).
Anatoly Onoprienko (Beast of Ukraine)	After his mother died when he was four, he lived with his grandparents and aunt for a time. Later he was sent over to an orphanage. He later alleged that it was this which predetermined his destiny ( <i>Wikipedia</i> ).
<p><i>Note.</i> The orphanage in old times seems to have been where abuse and bullying were rampant. There extremely abnormal acts sometimes happened. In such an environment, the children would often develop abnormal mentality, such as sadomasochism, to survive their daily hostilities.</p>	

## Neglect+1

Jeffrey Dahmer (Milwaukee Monster )	Parents constantly argued, and he often biked around, looking for dead animals. Because of the very difficult pregnancy, every little thing annoyed his mother after his birth. Massive pain of a hernia surgery at age four made him extremely introverted ( <i>Bukisa.com &amp; Criminal Psychology</i> ).
Dennis Nilsen (Kindly Killer)	After frequent conflicts, his parents divorced when he was four. He was sent to his grandparents', and later returned home. His very strict mother instilled in him guilt for pleasure. His mother took him to see his grandfather's corpse without telling him anything about his death in advance when he was six ( <i>Wikipedia &amp; truTV Crime Library</i> ).
Coral Eugene Watts (Sunday Morning Slasher)	When he was less than two, his parents divorced. After that, his mother taught art at kindergarten, and he spent time with his grandmother. At eight Coral and his sister got meningitis, and he almost died. Having difficulty keeping up with others, he missed the entire third grade, and suffered bullying. After his mother remarried, he did not get much attention in the new family ( <i>Psychology Department of Radford University &amp; Wikipedia</i> ).
<p><i>Note.</i> It seems difficult that parental conflicts and neglect would cause serial killings by themselves. At least one additional critical factor seems necessary to push the subject across the line. In some cases, that additional factor is a severe disease, such as a hernia, meningitis, rheumatic fever and so on, but in other cases it is a death of the primary figure (Osofsky, 1995). "Neglect +1" literally stands for neglect plus the one additional critical factor.</p>	

Carefully examining the whole picture, there seems to be one thing in common among five groups-Father>, Mother>, Both Parents, Bullying, and Orphanage-except for Detachment, Mal-Adoption, and Neglect+1. It is intentional interfering force(s) with the subjects. In the cases of Father>, Mother>, and Both Parents, such a force is easily imaginable, whether it is physical or psychological. It may not be so difficult to imagine such interfering forces in the cases of Bullying and Orphanage, either. In both school and orphanage, similar human agents of force are found-such as peers, seniors, and teachers/officers.

Then, what about the rest of the three groups? Is there any similar force found if we look at them carefully? In the case of Neglect+1, there are two possibilities. Although it was named as Neglect based on the most outstanding feature, neglectful parent(s) often show abusive manners when dealing with their child. Another possibility is that the subject might have taken '1' (one critical factor such as a severe disease) as part of parental abuse in his very young minds even if it was actually not. Although it may have been one single blow that may have lasted for a relatively shorter time, it could have played the decisive role, considering he has already been placed under other pressures. For such a child is already frustrated and angry about their parents not responding to their bids for attention and care (Hildyard & Wolfe, 2002; McCord, 1983).

In the case of Mal-Adoption, it is possible for the adopted child to get into abusive relationship with the new parent(s). In addition, the child has a special difficulty establishing their own identities, having two different sets of parents (Kirschner, 1992). Brodzinsky (1987) says 16% of adoptions fail. Cote et al. (1988) says it is as high as 48%.

In Detachment, there may not be any clear force recognized against the subject. However, missing the primary caretaker brings about a similar consequence to what interfering forces do. Cox & Owen (1997) say disorganization in attachment is the single most important predictor of later hostile aggressive behavior in children. Similarly, Taft, Schumm, Marshall, Panuzio, and Holtzworth-Munroe (2008) report that parental rejection in childhood is a primary predictive factor in adult psychological and physical aggression toward relationship partners. It is also known that child grow up to be angry and sad by six by being abused during the first two years of birth, and to be anxious, nervous, and withdrawn by being abused between four and six (Armsworth & Holaday, 1993).

As a whole, serial killers' environmental backgrounds seem to have three major factors. One is abuse (intentional interfering force, physical or psychological). Another is mal-adoption (identity confusion). The other is neglect (left without cares). And in order to cause serial murders, neglect seems to have to happen either in very early childhood (during the first two years), or need at least one additional critical factor- such as a serious disease, deprivation, or possibly psychological or physical abuse independent of the neglect the subject has been under.

That is, based on their environmental factors, serial murderers are grouped into the following three types. Type I is abused type (Father>, Mother>, Both Parents, Bullying, and Orphanage). Type II is neglected type (Neglect+1 and Detachment). Type III is mal-adopted type. And there are considered to be certain cross-over types among the three.

As mentioned, serial murderers and psychopaths are not an identical group. Serial

murderers clearly excel Cleckley's psychopath patients in the degree of their violence. However, considering the fact that Cleckley's psychopaths also violated the law and were incarcerated, we could assume them as being less extreme cases of serial killer. Though there are certain differences, it might be helpful to compare their basic characteristics

to further our understanding of each other. Though it is not as clearly visible from outside, psychopath subjects might have gone through similar environmental backgrounds to the serial murderers' as well.

Now let's look at the environmental backgrounds of Cleckley's psychopath patients (1955).

Table 2) Environmental Backgrounds of Cleckley's Psychopath Patients

Early years	
Signs of looking into parents' faces & unnaturally repressing true feelings	
Pierre	so many sweet, attentive little things / unusually loving and demonstrative / seem to want to be with us so much (p. 120)
Walter	not only normal but also a particularly desirable friend / generally looked to as a leader / entirely free from the popular tendency to bully (p. 173)
Signs of parents' special interests in appearance	
Joe	Joe's father was a prominent man in one of the largest cities in Alabama / high ambitions were maintained for his son / Mother wished him to live according to puritanical ideals of life (p. 191)
Signs of pressures from successful siblings	
Jack	The oldest brothers, vice-president of a local bank, another brother successful in business, a married sister in good circumstances, and another sister unmarried but financially independent and prominent in club work, all strove to help him (p. 157)
The Break out of the symptoms	
Signs of anger & frustration	
Roberta	They've made some mistakes with me, but I've made a lot myself. (p. 71)
Chester	I can't see why they don't let me alone. I don't bother anybody. Why can't I go about my business like any other man? / Toward his family he was sullen and carping, his reactions those of petty irritation / He

Walter	complained constantly that his father meddled with him and at times ascribed all his troubles to this interference (p. 164) / drank to vomit and defecate at the funeral (p. 166) He became dissatisfied, carping, and always spoke as if the world were to blame for each difficulty that he made for himself and for others (p. 174)
Tom	sometimes shooting at a Negro's chickens, setting fire to a rural privy around the outskirts of town...throwing rocks at squirrels in a park (p. 91)
Pierre	[Father refused to let him use the family automobile] as if an arbitrary and vicious injustice had been done him, showing what looked like a quiet indignation...for no fault provoked and deeply wronged (p. 120)
Frank	drowning goats / drink to excess and often behave in a rowdy and threatening manner (p. 124)
Jack	drank to forget (p. 155)
Joe	drink to great and foolish excess in periodic sprees (p. 185)
Signs of shallow emotion, no true interests, & nomadic life style	
Pierre	almost entirely escaped the shyness and unpleasant self-consciousness that trouble so many boys in their teens (p. 113)
Roberta	repeatedly made off with small articles from the dime store, the drug store, and from her own home / never seemed sly or crafty (p. 70)
Chester	roamed about the town or countryside, often sleeping in the woods and fields (p. 164)
Milt	the mother finally began to feel that the meaning of her words did not touch him / repeat the same deed after magnificent verbal apologies / Parents' first worry was his apparent failure to take anything seriously / unable to realize his responsibility for damage / his specific indifference to basic stimuli accepted by the ordinary person (p. 201)
Pierre	no really close friends (p. 121) I am crazy about my mother...I love Mrs. Blank a great deal more than I do Mother (p. 119)
Jack	buy things of little use / borrow heavily from old friends, now and then forged or defraud / his confident, reassuring manner and easy way with

Walter	people (p. 156) began to lose interest in his studies / a quick and limitless facility at lying / purposeless truancy from school (p. 174)
Joe	ignore serious duties and matters on which his own welfare depended / constantly making excuses and was full of high-sounding promises (p. 191)
Signs of parents' unnatural, distant acts	
Walter	The father, thinking [Walter] might learn something to his profit, allowed him to stay away, supplying him with sums of money from time to time (p. 175)
Joe	His father was able to cover most of his deficiencies and keep him in an appearance of success (p. 191)
Anna	avoid rubbing it in by moralizing reiteration / send her at once to a fine boarding school in a distant state / not to stir what is now past and unmodifiable (p. 142)
Tom	His family and legal authorities were in hope that if some psychiatric disorder could be discovered in him he might escape a jail sentence for stealing (p. 91)
Roberta	talked it over with pastor, the superintendent of the school, and all her teachers (p. 70)
Jack	His relatives with less income than his was called upon frequently to pay him out of debt, to exert influence on his employers, and occasionally to get him out of jail (p. 156)
Milt	Father disposed of large funds illegally (p. 200)

What can we draw from this? The remarks, such as “they’ve made some mistake” (Roberta, p. 71) and “I can’t see why they don’t let me alone” (Chester, p. 164), imply that at least the subjects were feeling they had been mistreated either by parental intentional/untintentional interference or by mistake. Cleckley’s comments, such as “sullen and carping” “complained constantly that his father meddled with him and at times ascribed all his troubles to this interference” (Chester,

p. 164) and “dissatisfied, carping, and always spoke as if the world were to blame for each difficulty” (Walter, p. 174), all seem to go along and point toward some parental faults or outside causes. Abusing animals-such as “throwing rocks at squirrels in a park” “shooting at a Negro’s chickens” (Tom, p. 91) and “drowning goats” (Frank, p. 124) together with drinking to excess (Frank p. 124, Chester p. 166, & Joe p. 185) and attempting suicide (Joe, p. 185)-indicates the patients were clearly

having some frustration (Hensley & Wright, 2003). All these could be taken as signs of abuse, or at least that they were feeling mistreated.

Stealing (Roberta, p. 70 & Tom, p. 91) and setting-fire (Tom, p. 91) could be caused by lack of parental attention (Hickey, 1997). Though Jack's case was described as "fleeting alcoholic hallucinations" (p. 155), some hallucination is caused by extreme isolation (Adamson, Dorahy, & Shevlin, 2007). Pierre's "unusually loving and demonstrative," "so many sweet, attentive little things," and "used to stay at home and seem to want to be with us so much" (p. 120) all seem to indicate his insecurity for his parents' love (Hoffman & Saltzstein, 1967). Frank's "the son of a rustic black smith, he was raised in a small hamlet" and "completed the fifth grade in school" (p. 124) could imply he did not receive enough parental cares. And Walter's father's allowing him to stay away and supplying him with sums of money (p. 175) and Anna's parents' avoiding moral reiteration and just sending her at once to a fine boarding school (p. 141-142) could mean her parents were physically there but not emotionally available. Even Joe's "I am still a child emotionally" (p. 186) seems to mean he could not somehow continuously develop his emotion in his family environment (Cummings, Davies, & Winter, 2004; Hickey). These could be taken as signs of neglect.

## Discussion

Hare (1999) says that the neglect and abuse do not make them into psychopaths and that social experiences only influence their behavioral expressions (P. 174). Blair, Budhani, Mitchell, Peschardt, & Pine (2006) point out that genetic influence on aggression is about 44–72% and supports Hare's stance.

They emphasizes the significant group heritability of callous and unemotional component based on a twin study, saying that shared environmental influence is very low and that early abuse is not the key to the development of the psychopathy. Both of them seem to indicate psychopath's innate origin.

On the other hand, Mealey (1995) posits the relation between primary psychopath and secondary psychopath is continuum, meaning a continuum relationship between genetic cause and environmental cause of psychopath (he uses the term "sociopath"). He says that primary psychopath is by inborn temperament of autonomic hypo-arousal and that secondary sociopath is a not extreme type on the same genetic spectrum. He further continues that primary psychopath is a small but stable number of cheaters selected by evolutionary process but secondary psychopath is a cheating strategy of those with a competitive disadvantage, developmentally responding to environmental condition. Mealey basically suggests that the dependency on the environment differs based on where the subject is located at on the primary–secondary spectrum.

Even if the dependence on the environment is different in each case and in some cases it is very little, in most cases psychopaths are considered to have some levels of environmental influence on their developments. As dissociation cases whose symptoms look different basically have the same underlying mechanism (LaBrode, 2007; Lewis, et al., 1997), there must be at least some pattern(s) that may have a higher effect on causing this abnormality.

Cleckley (1955) mentions a possibility that there were certain basic human needs missing in his patients' families. He says that some people with superior qualities in all their

activities feel little need for attachment and affective closeness. And they seem to perceive very little such needs of other people. He calls this “a mechanization of human relationships” (p. 472). And he seems to suggest that this mechanization of parents-child relationship is the key to causing the child’s psychopathy. That is, the main cause of psychopathy is psychological neglect-not appropriately responding to the child’s emotional needs. A similar remark that could indicate there was a certain parental neglect is also found in Hare’s (1999), such as “I wouldn’t be here if my parents had come across when I needed them” (p.167). Cleckley points out that most of the parents he interviewed “declared outright that they were not comfortable in the presence of people, and preferred reading, writing, painting, making music, or just thinking” (p. 472). Thus he implies these parents belong to the above type of people and that mechanical responses from their neglectful personalities caused their children’s psychopathy, probably unintentionally.

This study agrees with this view, and pushes it a little further. We came up with three different types of causes for serial killers—abuse (type I), neglect (type II), mal-adoption (type III), and some type of mixture of these three (Clemmons, DiLillo, Messman-Moore, and Walsh [2007] point out only total severity of maltreatments predicts the future adjustment difficulties). And it was inferred that these types also apply to psychopath cases, just as early extreme abuse is usually there to be found in the cases of dissociation (Lewis, 1997). That is, in addition to emotional neglect (type II), as Cleckley (1955) suggested, some of the Cleckley’s psychopath patients could have experienced abuse (type I), although there was clearly no adoption case (type III) this time. Some signs that could

indicate this possibility have been already pointed out, though they may seem mainly psychological.

If this is true, there is a possibility that the Cleckley’s parents’ awkward and distant responses to their own children could have been because they were feeling guilty or disappointed for what they did to their children before Cleckley saw them. Such attempts could have been intentional by parents’ own ambitions, or unintentional and natural out of their personality. However, they were completely left out of their interviews with Cleckley, as parents tend to justify themselves and hide and deny what was really going on in their family, especially when things are not going well (Browne, Fergusson, Gilbert, Janson, Webb, & Widom, 2009; Eldeson, 1999; Hollenbeck, Iannotti, Susman, Trickett, & Zahn-Waxler, 1985; Rigler & Spinetta, 1972). It is also known that there is a special worry in middle-class parents about their children, which comes from their inherent anxiety to survive and ascent in the socio-economic status (Ehrenreich, 1989; Mayer, 1975). They were hesitant to communicate with their children and had to ask third party for help partly because they previously failed in manipulating their children to their own wish.

Psychological control (type I) by itself is very powerful (Brassard & Hart, 1987; Halligan, Seremetis, Spertus, Wong, & Yehuda, 2003). Mother’s domineering psychological manipulation by itself, probably with no physical abuse, was enough to cause Harold Shipman and Gary Ridgway to be serial killers. It is known that psychological maltreatment has a stronger effect than physical abuse, causes the severest disorders and developmental delays, and is a significant independent predictor of aggression (Gibb,

Chelminski, & Zimmerman, 2007; Dwivedi, 1993; Lipscombe & Parker, 1981; Sachs-Ericsson, Verona, Joiner, & Preacher, 2006). Psychological abuse causes depression on the subject by constantly forcing him to do what he does not like to do and interfering with his doing what he truly likes to do (Barber, 1996). According to Clemmons et al. (2007), psychological abuse causes depression at as high as 83% of the time.

It is also known that emotional neglect (type II) by itself has a stronger effect than neglect with abuse, for abuse provides the subject with certain human feedbacks (Hildyard & Wolfe, 2002; Hollis, Richards, & Thompson, 2003; McCord, 1983; Weiler & Widom, 1996). Neglect causes the subject negative mentality and emotional dysregulation (Allen, 2008, p. 310). With no one available, he starts feeling no one cares him, and not associating with real people deprives him of opportunities to develop appropriate emotional regulation. Mal-adoption (type III) causes the subject to be double-faced, since he cannot show who he really is and must always stop showing himself halfway to the adoptive parents (Kirschner, 1992). He is constantly afraid of their rejection and stressful under their extra moral scrutiny on him, which is typical of adoptive families (Kirschner & Nagel, 1996). As a result, he develops an artificial self and forbidden self (Kirschner, 1992, p. 327).

What is common among these three types? In psychological control (type I) and mal-adoption (type III), his true self is always repressed and hidden. By trying to live up to the parental expectations, he cannot show his true needs and feelings (Cicchetti & Toth, 1995). And after a long while he probably could not tell his true interests and wants any more, just as seen in shallow emotions and no true interests of psychopaths (Porter, 1996).

In neglect (type III), because of the lack of his emotional control, social skills, and strong dependence out of his insecurity, the subject pushes away people and cannot make friends (Cohen, Finzi, Sapir, & Weizman, 2000). As a result, he is socially isolated. Here again is a loner who keeps his true volatile self repressed inside his lone quiet face. And all the three share negative and enraged world view (Halligan, Seremetis, Spertus, Wong, & Yehuda, 2003).

Thus at the very core of serial killers there always seems to be a true self with a negative view and rage, which is totally different from that introverted figure he shows to the outside world (Hickey, 1997). This state of inner conflict is called by different names—"ego-dystonic" (Liebman, 1989, p.41), sweet on the surface with an absorbing inner preoccupation with homicide and world destruction (Pine, 1980, p. 179), "actual social identity" as opposed to "virtual identity" by R. M. Holmes, S. T. Holmes, and Tewksbury (1999, pp. 265-266), and "dark side" by Arndt, Hietpas, & Kim (2004, p.120) and Dennis Rader known as B.T. K.

Probably this is basically true with psychopaths. What is repressed is always to come out unexpectedly in a distorted form, and this could more easily happen when they hit their puberty, which is around 13-14 (Dwivedi, 1993; Garrison, 1996). This is why some of the Cleckley's parents saw a drastic change in their children's behaviors around these ages. They survived their hostile environments by using strategies they developed for themselves, such as shallow responses and not trying to have true interests in anything (Hollenbeck et al., 1985; Weiler et al., 1996). And they were imprisoned or hospitalized when such unexpected come-outs happened.

## Conclusion

This study proposes what basically causes psychopathy is the negative and angry repressed self caused either by psychological control (type I), emotional neglect (type II), mal-adoption (type III), or some type of mixture of these three. This self could also be either conscious (ego-syntonic dark interest), subconscious (ego-dystonic dark desire), or unconscious (dissociated dark personality), depending on the case. And it proposes that even when it may not be clear from outside, there always be either type of the above environmental backgrounds hidden, though the level of maltreatment may be lower than serial murderer s' cases. Lykken (1995, p.163) talks about such a possibility of more than one type of psychopaths selected by Hare's PCL as well. A feature such as rejection, which is often pointed out as the major cause of serial murder (Fox & Levin, 1998, p.448; Weiler & Widom, 1996, p.254), are considered to be included in these three types of environment. And neural circuits in the brain is considered to be shaped by these early environments, and developed differently, depending on the levels of the above consciousness they achieve (Siegel, 1999; Weber & Reynolds, 2004).

The difficulty in predicting psychopathy from early childhood events and cases of certain non-offending population with trauma have often been pointed out (Fox & Levin, 1998). Clemmons, DiLillo, Messman-Moore, and Walsh (2007) insist that only total severity of maltreatments predicts the future adjustment difficulties. Similarly, Arata, Langhinrichsen-Rohling, Bowers, and O'Farrill-Swails (2005) suggest that the cumulative effect of experiences on adult

symptomatology may be greater than that of a single factor independently. Based on these claims, other factors than the above environmental factors are considered to promote psychopathy. Probably different levels of genetic predisposition, which make the subject relatively fearless and selectively unresponsive to cues necessary for normal socialization (Lykken, 1995), is the major factor among all, which closely interact with the environmental factors. Also considered are special influences by single independent environmental features—such as mother's insecurity (Hickey, 1997; Lipscombe & Parker, 1981; McCord, 1983), ingestion of chemicals, alcohol, and/or drugs (Blair, Budhani, Mitchell, Peschardt, & Pine, 2006), and traumatic incidents (sexual abuse, deprivation, and so on), which promote the subject's mental instability and generation of repressed self.

It is known that harsh discipline, parental discord, and parental antipathy cause more aggressive crimes than general lack of parental involvement (Cooke, 1999). Thus the case in which the subject is "no longer capable of feeling deeply about anything" (Porter, 1996, p.184) is considered more due to lack of parental involvement, as in the case of Cleckley's mechanization of human relationships (1955). And the case in which the subject complains about the parents' interference or mistakes are probably due more to harsh discipline, parental discord, and parental antipathy.

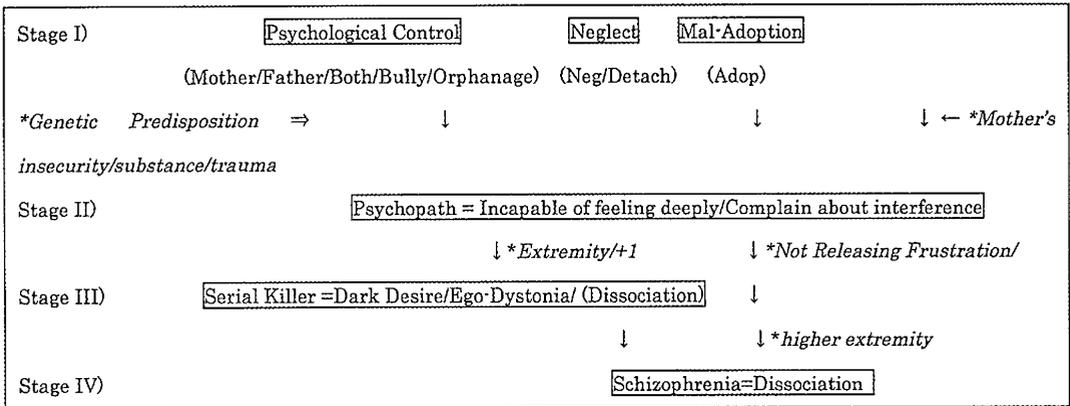
Serial-killer cases are considered to have some extra factor(s) to psychopath cases, which drive them to series of extreme violence and murders. Such extra factors are extremity of emotional/ psychological/physical abuse and additional critical factor, as seen in the case of neglect+1. And if the extremity of

maltreatment is still higher and/or frustration is not effectively released, the subject would probably develop Schizophrenia, as Richard and Tillman (as cited in Garrison, 1996, p.9)

points out that every murder and suicide is a defense mechanism against the ego disintegration into schizophrenia. These relations are shown below in Diagram 1.

Diagram 1)

Correlation of Genetic/Environmental Factors & Psychopath/Serial Killers/Schizophrenia



This study proposes that the three types found in serial killers' environmental backgrounds could be applicable to the cases of psychopaths. And that the reason any wrong doing was not found on the parents of Cleckley's patients could be because their maltreatments were mainly psychological, and thus very difficult for outsiders to catch, or the parents indeed did not recognize the significance of what they were doing to their children, as Cleckley (1955) suggests. Thus, in the next step, this has to be confirmed with actual psychopath subjects. We will have to see if there is either psychological control, emotional neglect, the mal-adoption, or their mixture to be found in the developmental process of real psychopath population identified by Hare's PCL-R. There will be certain difficulties to be expected to obtain such data, considering its private and negative nature for the subjects and families. Some

special arrangements may also be necessary; such as interviews with secondary informants or hypnotizing the subjects, if allowed, and so on. However, to confirm this will be indispensable to determine exactly what causes psychopathy, both environmentally and genetically.

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