

Prior to beginning work on this discussion, read the transcript Seven Day of Rage: The Craigslist Killer from CBS News and review Chapter 7 from the Harré (2006) e-book as well as the Maslow (1943), Freud (1910), and Bandura (1999) articles.

In this discussion you will assume the role of a Psychology instructor creating a short graduate level presentation on personality. The case study for the presentation will center on Phillip Markoff, also known as an alleged Craigslist Killer. To begin, choose one of the personality theories from the required readings and research a minimum of one peer-reviewed article on your chosen theory in the Ashford University Library. Create a PowerPoint presentation of four-seven slides (not including the title and reference slides). The presentation must begin with a Title slide that provides the title of the lecture, your name, the course name and number, your instructor's name and the date submitted. The presentation must end with a Reference slide that includes all the resources used for your lecture presentation cited in APA format as outlined in the Ashford Writing Center.

The body of the presentation must include the following elements.

- Provide a definition and brief description of the chosen theory.
- Evaluate Phillip Markoff's personality from the standpoint of your chosen theory.
- Explain how the chosen theoretical perspective provides insights into Markoff's behavior.

Note you are also asked to provide a transcript of your presentation.

Title: Seven Day of Rage: The Craigslist Killer, CBS

Source: 48 Hours (CBS News). 08/20/2010.

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Seven Day of Rage: The Craigslist Killer, CBS

(Graphics on screen: Boston, Massachusetts)

TRISHA LEFFLER: Come and spend some time with the Sweet Blonde and if you're looking to get away or want to relax, give me a call. I got a call a little bit after midnight. He said how much? I said-- I told him, you know, two hundred for the hour. He said okay.

MARIA CRAMER: Philip Markoff is a twenty-three-year-old Boston University medical student.

TRISHA LEFFLER: Tall, blonde, good-looking gentleman, looked nice.

MARIA CRAMER: He's by all accounts what we would consider a good citizen.

TRISHA LEFFLER: I just said hi, how're you? And he said good. I said all right, come on in, motioned him to follow me into the room.

MARIA CRAMER: He has no criminal record. He has a fiancée. He seems to be an ambitious, intelligent man who had a future ahead of him.

TRISHA LEFFLER: I shut the door. I turned around and I locked it. That's when he pulled out the gun. He's very calm like he's-- like he's done that before. My name is Trisha Leffler and I was attacked by the Craigslist Killer.

JOE MOURA: Craigslist in the prostitution game today is the old Yellow Pages.

MARIA CRAMER: It's easier for aspiring predators to find prey.

JOE MOURA: Click on the site and you've got your victim for the night.

MARIA CRAMER: Julissa was twenty-five when she died. She was young and she was beautiful but unfortunately I think she went on a very troubled path. Her services are advertised as massages, messages of a more sexual nature. Julissa was a fighter. She wouldn't let anybody rob her or take her money. She fought back. Her killer, who police have identified as Philip Markoff, smashed her over the head with a gun and then shot her three times, striking her in the heart.

WOMAN (news audio): Boston police say the Craigslist Killer is a twenty- two-year-old premed student at Boston University.

PAUL LAROSA: I discovered that Philip Markoff did have a secret life, a side of him that his family and friends had no idea existed.

MARIA CRAMER: He was participating in the sexual websites and he posted photos of his naked torso.

STEVE HUFF: It revealed a whole new layer to the story. This wasn't simply a robbery gone wrong anymore.

PAUL LAROSA: I think Philip Markoff gave into his demons. He completely gave into his dark side.

(Graphics on screen: Now. the craigslist killer takes another life, his own).

DAN CONLEY: Efforts to revive him were unsuccessful. Mister Markoff died at his own hand.

MARIA CRAMER: The day that he committed suicide that was one day after what would have been his one year wedding anniversary. It's no coincidence whatsoever especially when you-- you know, you-- you hear about what was written on his cell wall.

ANNOUNCER: "Seven Day of Rage: The Craigslist Killer," The Final Chapter, tonight's 48 HOURS MYSTERY.

The mystery continues in ninety seconds.

(ANNOUNCEMENTS)

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): In the spring 2009, Boston was a city at peace. But then, on April 10th everything changed. The Craigslist Killer began his seven-day crime spree. And his first victim was a woman from Las Vegas who was fleeing that city's crackdown on vice.

How did you end up in Boston, Massachusetts?

TRISHA LEFFLER: I just picked a city and went to it. I've been doing it for the past two years.

PETER VAN SANT: What were you doing? What was your line of work?

TRISHA LEFFLER: I was escorting.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): In this case, a traveling escort. Twenty-nine-year-old Trisha Leffler checked herself into the Westin Copley Hotel. No surprise, Trisha went right to where the money is, the Back Bay area is known for its fancy hotels, exclusive boutiques, and hip restaurants.

And how much money can you make in this field?

TRISHA LEFFLER: Oh, it's lucrative, lot of money.

PETER VAN SANT: Thousands a week?

TRISHA LEFFLER: Oh, yeah.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): She immediately went online to Craigslist, the web bulletin board, and placed an ad in the erotic services section.

What was your headline that you put in?

TRISHA LEFFLER: It was something along the lines of "Sweet Blonde." Come and relax with me.

PETER VAN SANT: How long before you started getting phone calls?

TRISHA LEFFLER: Right away.

PETER VAN SANT: Right away?

TRISHA LEFFLER: Mm-Hm.

PETER VAN SANT: This is so easy, isn't it?

TRISHA LEFFLER: Very easy.

JOE MOURA: What Craigslist does is basically provide services and these prostitutes have been providing services for years. If it's not the Yellow Pages, it's going to be Craigslist. They find a means to advertise their services.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): Joe Moura, a Boston-based private investigator and 48 HOURS consultant, says that by acting as her own boss, Tricia was increasing her risk.

JOE MOURA: If there's a street prostitute, she's going to have a pimp down the street or across the street on the corner who's protecting her. Somebody using Craigslist, you know, getting a fancy hotel in Boston, she's on her own.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): But that April night, when Trisha saw the man who answered her ad, she felt perfectly safe.

TRISHA LEFFLER: He looked nice, he looked young. Good looking, obviously.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): But once the door was closed, this good-looking young man pulled out a very dangerous-looking gun.

TRISHA LEFFLER: I backed up a little bit. He just said, you know, if you do everything you're asked, no harm's going to come to you. And he said, lay down, put your hands behind your back. And then when he started to walk towards me, he put the gun back in his pocket.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): The man put on some black leather gloves and took out some plastic zip ties like these.

TRISHA LEFFLER: He knelt down with one knee in between my legs. And took my wrists and put the tie around one of them first and then he tied the other one.

PETER VAN SANT: What're you thinking as he's-- as he's doing that, essentially putting handcuffs on you?

TRISHA LEFFLER: I'm thinking like what does he want? I'm shaking. I'm-- you know, I'm scared. It dawned on me later that he could have very well killed me. I had about eight hundred dollars in cash. He grabbed that, put that in his pocket.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): As he took her credit and debit cards, he made no attempt to disguise his face. But he was intent on getting his phone number off her cell phone.

Was he wearing his gloves when he did that?

TRISHA LEFFLER: No.

PETER VAN SANT: Well, how dumb is that?

TRISHA LEFFLER: Dumb.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): Dumb, and, as it turned out, he was more than a little weird.

TRISHA LEFFLER: He picked up a pair of my underwear that were on the floor and put them in his pocket.

PETER VAN SANT: What did you think to yourself?

TRISHA LEFFLER: If he would've looked at my face, it would've been, like, what the hell are you doing?

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): At that point, the gunman began walking around the hotel room looking for something.

TRISHA LEFFLER: And he said, come here. And I went in to the bathroom and he basically tied me to the doorknob. I got really scared. He took a knife out of his pocket and cut the phone lines. He came back over to me and taped my mouth. He put three pieces of tape over my mouth.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): Tricia noticed that he had yet to put the gloves back on, meaning that his fingerprints were all over that tape.

After he leaves, what do you do?

TRISHA LEFFLER: Within in twenty to thirty seconds, I was out of my ties.

PETER VAN SANT: Are you worried, he's on the other side of the door still?

TRISHA LEFFLER: Yes, I'm worried he's listening through the door. I look out the peephole. There's nothing. There's nobody out there. I open the door very slowly, stuck my head out, looked both ways. Nobody was in the hallway. I crept down the hall to see if he was maybe standing by the elevator, nobody by the elevator.

I'm still shaking. I'm still nervous. So I went back to the room, grabbed my room key, shut the door and went and knocked on the-- on the next-door neighbor's door and I-- you know, can I call security? I've just been robbed at gunpoint.

The next day, when I went down to the police station to look through some photos, they had a surveillance photo of the man that I described.

PETER VAN SANT: A photo taken at the hotel?

TRISHA LEFFLER: Yes.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): These stills taken from a hotel security camera were the first shots of the man who became known as the Craigslist Killer.

You could tell it was him?

TRISHA LEFFLER: Yes, I could tell it was him.

PETER VAN SANT: Wasn't he aware that there were security cameras that people could track him down if something did go wrong?

JOE MOURA: Sometimes, because there're security cameras everywhere, it's almost like they're not there. He figured that the crime was simple. He was going to do the robbery, he was going to walk out, she's not reporting it, and nobody's going to be checking video if he was here or not. He figured it's a clean clear-cut case. He's out of here.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): Tricia remained in Boston, waiting for the police to release her cell phone when on April 15th, they called.

TRISHA LEFFLER: And they said we need to talk to you. It's really important. Five minutes later, a knock at the door. And then they handed me a photograph. And I said, wow, this is a really good picture of him. Where did you get it from? And they just stopped and looked at me and they were, like, is that him? I said, yeah, this is him. Was this before he came up to my room?

They said, no, this is taking from a different hotel. And they said, he murdered another girl last night.

(ANNOUNCEMENTS)

MARIA CRAMER: I've been working at the Boston Globe for five years. I've been doing this beat specifically for about two years.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): Reporter Maria Cramer covers the crime and police beat. She is also a 48 HOURS consultant.

He had some good contacts?

MARIA CRAMER: In the police department? I probably shouldn't say that.

(Peter Van Sant and Maria Cramer laughing)

MARIA CRAMER: I-- I get by.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): In the spring of 2009, Maria found herself at the center of a white-hot story.

MARIA CRAMER: I got a call from my editor on April 15th telling me that there was a report of a woman shot at the Copley Marriott in Boston.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): The dead woman was twenty-five-year-old Julissa Brisman, an aspiring model from New York City.

MARIA CRAMER: I knew immediately that it was going to be a big story and as more information began coming down the pike it was-- it was just getting bigger and bigger.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): That's because the police had connected Julissa's murder to the robbery of Trisha Leffler just days before. Both women had advertised in the erotic services section of Craigslist, had been restrained with plastic ties, and, once again, stills from the Marriott showed this tall, blond, preppy-looking man leaving the scene of the crime.

MARIA CRAMER: What frightened a lot of people is these pictures of a person that doesn't seem to have a care in the world.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): The media labeled him the Craigslist Killer.

MARIA CRAMER: The case really began to take on a life of its own.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): And now all eyes were focused on the twentieth floor hotel room of Julissa Brisman.

What do police believe happened in that room?

PAUL LAROSA: Police believe that the attacker immediately pulled a gun on her. He got at least one plastic tie on her wrist. At that point, she fought back.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): 48 HOURS producer Paul LaRosa along with Maria Cramer has written a new book about the case called Seven Days of Rage. It is published by Simon & Schuster, a division of CBS.

PAUL LAROSA: Her killer shot her right at the front of her room. When he opened the door to flee, she fell outside the room.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): A guest from New York City was staying in a room just down the hall from Julissa. This witness, who we'll call Jill, told LaRosa what she saw and heard.

PAUL LAROSA: Jill was in her room reading a mystery novel and all of a sudden, she starts hearing like a commotion down the hall and eventually she poked her head out the door. And what she saw down the hall was a woman who was half in and half out of the-- of the doorway. She wasn't moving. Jill decided at that point, she was going to call security. The guard bent over, started moving the hair away from the woman on the floor and he saw a lot of blood. And once he saw the blood, the guard said, "get in your room" he said to Jill. She stayed in the hallway and watched to see what was happening. And he immediately, you know, started talking into his walkie-talkie. He said this is an emergency. We need paramedics.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): Less than an hour later, Julissa Brisman, only a week away from her twenty-six birthday, was pronounced dead at Boston Medical Center. Later that night, cops called her mother, Carmen, in New York City. And Carmen called Mark Pines, a photographer who was helping Julissa in her career, and also was a family friend.

MARK PINES: She just told me that Julissa died. You can't go back from a statement like that; it's definitive and we just started crying. More than words, we needed to share feelings at that point. The details, I didn't care about the details at that point. My heart was so broken that all I could do was cry.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): For her family and Julissa's many friends, her murder was a tragic end to a life just beginning to turn around.

MARIA CRAMER: What we know about Julissa before this was that she was a party girl, you know, she was living the high life in New York and she was a young, beautiful girl in New York City and she took full advantage of-- of-- of her youth and her beauty to-- you know, to live it up.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): But at the time of her death, Julissa had stopped drinking and had radically changed her appearance. Her friend Mark Pines says she was happy.

MARK PINES: She would smile with her whole face. She'd smile with her mouth and her eyebrows at the same time, and she had eyes that were, like, just-- this amazingly positive, optimistic thing in her eyes

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): Pines featured Julissa in this video about cell phones--

JULISSA BRISMAN: Yeah, try calling me. You're not going to reach me.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): He also wrote a song about her.

(Song playing)

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): Julissa was trying to get her modeling and acting career going, but in the meantime, there were bills to be paid. So she began to offer what's known in the trade as sensual or erotic massages.

PETER VAN SANT: Was Julissa a prostitute?

MARIA CRAMER: No, not from what I'm told. She was disgusted by it. That said, she was definitely operating in a world that could become dangerous.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): With two victims plucked off Craigslist, one dead and one terrorized, critics blasted the site as a virtual bordello filled with all-too-real prostitutes.

PAUL LAROSA: Sex and crime were always around, even before the internet. But the internet makes it just so much easier.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): The Craigslist Killer knew that all too well. Just two days after Julissa's murder, he dipped into Craigslist yet again to find his next victim.

(ANNOUNCEMENTS)

MARIA CRAMER: If you had somebody targeting women in nice hotels, in a busy part of the city where a lot of tourists hang out, that was a huge concern for police.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): In Boston, the police kept watch on the city's downtown core, determined to find the killer who was choosing his victims off Craigslist. Then, just two days after Julissa Brisman's murder, the Craigslist Killer found a new target sixty miles from Boston at a Holiday Inn in Warwick, Rhode Island. His victim was a stripper from Las Vegas who asked that we not use her real name. So, we'll refer to her as Amber.

PAUL LAROSA: She was dancing at a local strip club in Providence.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): Amber would not do an on-camera interview, but did talk to authors Paul LaRosa and Maria Cramer.

MARIA CRAMER: She goes there often with her husband. She dances at the Cadillac Lounge.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): During her downtime, Amber advertised on Craigslist, offering private lap dances in her hotel room.

MARIA CRAMER: One of these people matched the description of the man who attacked the two women in Boston.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): For the third time in seven days, a woman willingly opened her door to this clean-cut young man.

She turns around in the room, she turns back to this guy, what happens?

PAUL LAROSA: The guy had a gun and he was pointing it at her. She said he was nervous and his hand was actually shaking, the gun hand. And he said, I'm broke, I don't want to kill you. I just need cards or money.

PETER VAN SANT: What did she do?

PAUL LAROSA: Well, she was scared. She said, I'll give you whatever you want. He immediately tied her up with these plastic handcuffs, laid her on the ground and started looking through her room.

PETER VAN SANT: Same kind of zip ties that had been used in Boston.

PAUL LAROSA: Exactly.

At that point, her cell phone started to ring and the gunman got very nervous when the phone kept ringing and ringing. He said, "Who's calling you? Why are they calling now?"

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): The caller was Amber's husband and her business manager. He was in the hotel lobby waiting for a signal from Amber that everything was okay. When he did not get it, he began calling and headed up to his wife's room.

PAUL LAROSA: Suddenly, there was a man coming through the door, because her husband had the key to the room. The gunman pointed the gun at Amber's husband. Amber's husband took off down the hall one way; the attacker took off the other way.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): The gunman escaped, although security cameras captured his image in the stairwell and lobby.

How dumb is it to show your face to these people?

MARIA CRAMER: What we might think is stupidity, police are-- are more inclined to call arrogance, a person who just thinks he's smarter than everybody else and didn't expect to get caught.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): But over these seven days of rage, the Craigslist Killer made several crucial mistakes--showing his face to his victims, allowing his image to be captured by security cameras. But his biggest blunder was unwittingly handing investigators a roadmap to his front door.

MARIA CRAMER: One of Julissa's friends found the e-mails between her and her 10 PM appointment, the man that she met at 10 PM the night that she died and then called Boston police to tell them, I have these e-mails. That means I have his IP address.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): An IP or Internet Protocol address is unique to each computer that sends e-mail.

JOE MOURA: That was a huge break in the investigation.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): Investigator Joe Moura:

JOE MOURA: That was like leaving the gun at the scene with your fingerprints on the gun. It's the same exact thing.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): Detectives began tracing that virtual IP address and it led them to a suburb just outside Boston.

MARIA CRAMER: That address led police to an apartment in Quincy, specifically to an apartment belonging to Philip Markoff.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): Philip Markoff. For the first time, investigators could match a name to a suspect. And they were shocked to discover this twenty-three-year-old was a second-year medical student at Boston University.

PAUL LAROSA: Philip Markoff is a brilliant student. And we know he has an uncommon mind.

MARIA CRAMER: When they got Philip Markoff's name, they still weren't convinced.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): Officers from Boston's elite fugitive squad began an around-the-clock stakeout.

MARIA CRAMER: They began their stakeout late Saturday night, early Sunday morning waiting for somebody to come out that would look like the man in these video surveillance photos. And when he did, they realized, okay, we've got somebody who looks a lot like these photos. One sergeant basically called the-- the investigators after watching him all day and said I like him. I like him a lot.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): But before cops brought him in for questioning, the DA wanted a positive ID. They reached out to the Craigslist Killer's first target, Trisha Leffler.

TRISHA LEFFLER: I got a call that morning. It was the assistant DA at Boston and she said we have a photo lineup for you. Are you still in Boston? I said, no, I'm in New York. I just left yesterday.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): It was now one week after Julissa's murder and the methodical Craigslist investigation suddenly turned frantic. Markoff along with his fiancée Megan McAllister was on the move.

MARIA CRAMER: They come out carrying a small suitcase and an over-the-shoulder knapsack, got into the car and start heading down Route 95 South.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): The couple was heading to Foxwood's Casino in Connecticut. The race was on. Boston authorities were intent on making sure Markoff did not set foot over the state line.

Once that car crosses the state line?

MARIA CRAMER: They are out of their jurisdiction so they were-- they were going to have to make a quick decision. PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): The Boston DA rushed a New York detective over to Trisha's Manhattan hotel room with a photo array that included Markoff.

TRISHA LEFFLER: I went through them one by one. When I hit number five, I just started shaking. And I said, this is him.

MARIA CRAMER: Boston police very excitedly got on the phone with the fugitive unit and said, get him.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): Back on I-95, the police cars surrounded Markoff.

MARIA CRAMER: They pulled him over. They said, we have a warrant for this automobile and we need to take it back to Boston and you need to come with us.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): The police immediately informed him that he was under arrest for kidnapping, armed robbery, and murder. When Megan was told the news of Philip's arrest, she broke down and cried. Detectives saw no reason to hold her and she was allowed to fly to her parent's home in New Jersey while Markoff went off to jail.

TRISHA LEFFLER: As soon as they told me they had him in custody, I just started crying. I was very, very happy. It was like a weight had been lifted off my chest to know that he had finally been caught and he can't hurt anybody else.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): But with Philip Markoff in custody, the questions were only just beginning. When we come back correspondent Richard Schlesinger investigates the two sides of Philip Markoff.

STEVE HUFF: I don't really believe in split personalities. Yet, there were two very-- just incredibly different people and-- and they were almost living separate lives.

(ANNOUNCEMENTS)

DAN CONLEY: We will do everything we can to hold him accountable for these terrible crimes.

RICHARD SCHLESINGER (voiceover): There were plenty of reasons for people to be shocked when Philip Markoff was arrested. He sure didn't look the part. Handsome young medical students seldom end up shackled and cuffed and facing the judge in a notorious case of homicide.

CASEY JORDAN: This is the sort of person you would never expect to be involved in these sorts of crimes. And he counted on that.

RICHARD SCHLESINGER: Because he thought what he was sort of hiding in plain sight that he-- he was the boy next door?

CASEY JORDAN: Exactly.

RICHARD SCHLESINGER (voiceover): Casey Jordan is an attorney and a psychologist who specializes in criminal behavior.

CASEY JORDAN: He presented a virtual identity to society which everyone could buy into--the guy next door, tall and blond and handsome, a medical student engaged to a beautiful girl.

RICHARD SCHLESINGER (voiceover): So the last thing his friends expected was this.

MORGAN HOUSTON: It was shocking. I went into shock.

RICHARD SCHLESINGER (voiceover): Morgan Houston was Markoff's friend and study partner at the State University of New York at Albany. They were both pre-med.

MORGAN HOUSTON: He was dorky, but so many of us are. I mean, I can be a big dork too.

RICHARD SCHLESINGER (voiceover): He might have been a dork, but Markoff was also a star student. In fact, he finished college in just three years, graduated summa cum laude and was accepted to medical school at top-ranked Boston University. By 2009, Markoff was a second-year med student and was planning a wedding to Megan McAllister, his college girlfriend.

It was supposed to be a lavish sunset ceremony at this beach resort in New Jersey. Instead, Markoff ended up in jail and Megan holed up here at her parents' house in Little Silver, New Jersey. The press pursued her, but she stayed mostly out of sight. Still, Megan, who had been dating Markoff for three years, came quickly to his defense after his arrest, writing reporters, "Philip is a beautiful man inside and out and would not hurt a fly."

WOMAN: Can you tell us how your daughter is doing?

JIM MCALLISTER: As expected, not well.

RICHARD SCHLESINGER (voiceover): Megan's father, Jim McAllister, spoke to reporters in front of the family home two days after Markoff's arrest.

JIM MCALLISTER: So she's still confident in Phil, but other than that, we're saying a lot of prayers.

RICHARD SCHLESINGER: But police were making it more difficult for people to remain confident in Markoff. They say they found the gun that killed Julissa Brisman in his apartment. It was like something out of a corny detective novel. The gun similar to this one was found hidden inside a hollowed-out book. It was of all things--a copy of Gray's Anatomy like this one--the basic reference book for all doctors and medical students.

JOE MOURA: They found the gun in a book. And if they showed that that gun was a gun that was involved in the shooting, you got a case-closed situation. See you later. He's gone.

RICHARD SCHLESINGER (voiceover): And that wasn't all the police found. Remember Trisha Leffler's stolen underwear.

TRISHA LEFFLER: The Boston detective called me from his apartment he said, we did find both pairs of your underwear.

RICHARD SCHLESINGER (voiceover): And police report finding two more pairs of women's underwear hidden under Markoff's mattress, though they haven't said whose, but if Markoff was keeping underwear from his victims as trophies, it was beginning to look like these were more than just simple robberies gone wrong.

CASEY JORDAN: It wasn't just about the money, it was-- if I'm going to get the money, how can I get it and fulfill this personal need for thrill?

RICHARD SCHLESINGER (voiceover): Jordan thinks Markoff gets his thrills from a frightening mixture of power, sex and control. And one night back in college, after more than a few drinks, Morgan Houston may have caught a glimpse of Philip Markoff's thrill seeking.

MORGAN HOUSTON: Going up into the tower where I live, he cornered me and pushed me up against the wall and was trying to kiss me. And I was saying, no, Phil. We're just friends. What are you trying to do? And I was trying to push him away. And he was being forceful, and I couldn't-- I couldn't physically get him off me. And thankfully, one of my very close friends had come along and he was able to pull him off of me and I was able to escape upstairs.

RICHARD SCHLESINGER: Were you scared?

MORGAN HOUSTON: Yeah. Of course I've-- I had no control. He wasn't listening to me when I was saying no. It wasn't the Phil I knew. I chalked it up to the alcohol.

RICHARD SCHLESINGER (voiceover): Maybe it was the alcohol or maybe it was a hint of what the real Phillip Markoff was like. The day after Markoff's arrest, a report surfaced that he had traded e-mails with a transvestite advertising on Craigslist.

STEVE HUFF: It appeared that he was interested in homosexual sadomasochism, and he was interested in being the submissive partner.

RICHARD SCHLESINGER (voiceover): Steve Huff is a crime blogger and a contributor to the True Crime Report. Following up on the e-mail address Markoff reportedly used--sexaddict5385, Huff made a startling discovery.

STEVE HUFF: I received a tip that, if you added another 8 to that address, there were secondary profiles that nobody knew about yet.

RICHARD SCHLESINGER (voiceover): And here is one of the profiles Huff found for sexaddict53885, believed to be Markoff, on Alt.com--a personals website for the very adventurous. It lists these among his interests: chains, collars, leashes and experimentation with transvestites among others.

RICHARD SCHLESINGER: How certain are you that the-- the fellow you are reading about on that website is Philip Markoff?

STEVE HUFF: Oh, I'm certain.

RICHARD SCHLESINGER: How-- how can you be sure?

STEVE HUFF: That-- all the evidence points to him. The person posting had the same birth date as Markoff. He had the-- of course, he had the similar handles, the sexaddict handle.

RICHARD SCHLESINGER (voiceover): There's also this: Boston police have confirmed a torso shot seen here was found on Markoff's laptop. These secret profiles and his alleged solicitation of a transvestite suggest to psychologist Casey Jordan that Markoff's public persona was at war with his deeper desires.

CASEY JORDAN: He really did have this other double life. Now that, in and of itself, doesn't cause people to rob or to kill. But what it does is very often cause, what we call in criminology, a fractured identity. That conflict can actually result in violence.

RICHARD SCHLESINGER (voiceover): Police say in February, Markoff used a fake ID to buy a gun in New Hampshire, the same gun police report finding in his apartment.

CASEY JORDAN: He had the gun. He was willing to use it and he wasn't afraid of killing at this point.

RICHARD SCHLESINGER (voiceover): In fact, as the final chapter unfolds, Markoff shows everyone just how violent he could be.

(ANNOUNCEMENTS)

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): With Philip Markoff behind bars--

DAN CONLEY: There is a possibility that Philip Markoff has done this before.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): --District Attorney Dan Conley made a public plea to other possible victims.

DAN CONLEY: If you have been a victim like these victims have been, please come forward.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): And for the first time since Markoff's arrest--

WOMAN: A short time ago, Philip Markoff's parents left--

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): --his father, Doctor Richard Markoff and his mother, Susan Haynes, visited him in jail.

MAN: Do you still believe in your son's innocence?

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): Markoff's older brother also visited him--

WOMAN: His brother John and his wife Dianna are now--

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): --and soon after, reports began to circulate that a distraught Markoff told his brother to forget about him and move to California because even more damning information would be revealed. It was yet another shock for Markoff's family who live in Upstate New York.

MARIA CRAMER: His mother worked at a casino. His father was a dentist. And by all accounts, he had a normal happy upbringing.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): But by last summer, those happy days were done. A Boston grand jury indicted Markoff on first-degree murder for killing Julissa Brisman and the kidnapping and armed robbery of Trisha Leffler. Markoff was required to appear in court to answer those charges, and for the first time since the case catapulted into the headlines, the public would get a chance to hear the man at the center of this media hurricane.

MAN: How do you plea to this indictment, sir?

PHILIP MARKOFF: No guilty.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): Not guilty. Markoff sounded confident in his innocence, but he and his lawyer are in a distinct minority.

MARIA CRAMER: The police have incredibly strong evidence against Philip Markoff.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): The damning security camera stills, Trisha's eyewitness identification, Markoff's fingerprints allegedly found on the duct tape used on Trisha and--

MARIA CRAMER: The most devastating, the 9mm gun and the hollowed out copy of Gray's Anatomy.

PETER VAN SANT: Has a ballistics test been run on that weapon?

MARIA CRAMER: Yes, a ballistics test has been run on the weapon and has shown that there is a match between the gun and the bullets that killed Julissa Brisman.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): But what about Markoff's fiancée, Megan McAllister, who lived with him inside that Quincy apartment.

Is there any evidence that Megan knew anything of Philip's secret life?

MARIA CRAMER: None.

PETER VAN SANT: She knew nothing about his bizarre sex life?

MARIA CRAMER: No, no, she-- she-- she didn't know any of this.

WOMAN #1: Megan do you have a comment?

WOMAN #2: I know this must be a real hard time for you right now, Megan.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): Megan visited Markoff twice in jail and told him face to face that the wedding was off.

WOMAN #3: Megan, will you ever see him again? Do you think you'll ever see him again?

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): That question was answered this passed week in a shocking development.

RUSS MITCHELL (CBS EVENING NEWS): The so-called Craigslist Killer commits suicide in jail.

MARIA CRAMER: The initial reports were that Philip Markoff had killed himself in his own cell at the Nashua Street Jail where he was being held and where he was awaiting trial. He had put a plastic bag over his head in an apparent attempt to asphyxiate himself. And he had also cut some major artery.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): It was left to DA Conley to lay out precisely how Markoff committed suicide.

DAN CONLEY: Using a primitive scalpel fashioned from a pen and sharp piece of metal, he inflicted a series of small puncture wounds and incisions on his body including his neck, arms, wrists and ankles. He hit several veins and the carotid artery in his neck. All of these wounds are consistent with suicide.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): These photos taken inside Markoff's cell show that homemade scalpel and the plastic bag he put over his head. How these photos were leaked to a local Boston television station is under investigation, as is Markoff's suicide. Markoff had tried to kill himself at least once before, hours after his arrest but a psychiatrist later took him off suicide watch.

MARIA CRAMER: The way that he did this really-- almost virtually guaranteed that he-- he would die before anybody could find him. It seems as though he took great pains to make sure he wouldn't be found alive.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): If there was a suicide note, it has not been revealed, however, before he died, Markoff--a known gambler, played one last card.

MARIA CRAMER: In a small space above the door, he had written two words in what appeared to be his blood. And the first word was Megan and underneath it, the word pocket.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): In this photo, it's difficult to make out the words, but it's clear that Markoff never got over Megan. Almost to the day one year ago, they were to have wed on this beach. And even as he was living out his final moments, he thought of her. The word "pocket" reportedly refers to a pet name the two had for each other. And there were several photos of Megan adorning Markoff's cell wall.

MARIA CRAMER: We don't know what kind of person he is emotionally and-- and I think that forensic psychologists could have a fascinating time trying to analyze the significance of that day.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): The day after Markoff's suicide, Philip's brother, John, posted a message on Facebook: "Rest in peace, Phil. I will always love you." Those familiar with the case believe Markoff was trying to spare his fiancée, who most likely would have been called to testify, the agony of a trial, a fact that does not sit well with the District Attorney.

DAN CONLEY: With Philip Markoff's final actions, the Brisman family has been deprived of an opportunity to hear a verdict rendered, to see justice pronounced, and even a chance to tell the court and Mister Markoff face to face what Julissa meant to them and the immeasurable pain and loss he inflicted upon them. I ask you all again to keep Julissa Brisman and her family and her friends in your thoughts and prayers.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): Julissa's mother, Carmen, is heartbroken and cannot bear to speak publicly about her dead daughter or Markoff's suicide.

MARIA CRAMER: Maybe they would have some sort of understanding of why their daughter had to die and that's been taken away from them so that's where the disappointment comes from.

PETER VAN SANT (voiceover): All she has left are her memories and Julissa's dog, Coco, who many said was her best friend.

MARIA CRAMER: I think that that's one of the most tragic things is that he went after somebody so vulnerable. And somebody like Julissa Brisman is easily forgotten, but she was a real person who meant a lot to-- to quite a few people.

(Graphics on screen)

Megan McAllister is attending medical school in the Caribbean.

Craigslist renamed its erotic services section, calling it adult services.

Critics say nothing has changed.

END

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A THEORY OF HUMAN MOTIVATION

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I. INTRODUCTION

In a previous paper (13) various propositions were presented which would have to be included in any theory of human motivation that could lay claim to being definitive. These conclusions may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. The integrated wholeness of the organism must be one of the foundation stones of motivation theory.

2. The hunger drive (or any other physiological drive) was rejected as a centering point or model for a definitive theory of motivation. Any drive that is somatically based and localizable was shown to be atypical rather than typical in human motivation.

3. Such a theory should stress and center itself upon ultimate or basic goals rather than partial or superficial ones, upon ends rather than means to these ends. Such a stress would imply a more central place for unconscious than for conscious motivations.

4. There are usually available various cultural paths to the same goal. Therefore conscious, specific, local-cultural desires are not as fundamental in motivation theory as the more basic, unconscious goals.

5. Any motivated behavior, either preparatory or consummatory, must be understood to be a channel through which many basic needs may be simultaneously expressed or satisfied. Typically an act has *more* than one motivation.

6. Practically all organismic states are to be understood as motivated and as motivating.

7. Human needs arrange themselves in hierarchies of prepotency. That is to say, the appearance of one need usually rests on the prior satisfaction of another, more pre-potent need. Man is a perpetually wanting animal. Also no need or drive can be treated as if it were isolated or discrete; every drive is related to the state of satisfaction or dissatisfaction of other drives.

8. *Lists* of drives will get us nowhere for various theoretical and practical reasons. Furthermore any classification of motivations

must deal with the problem of levels of specificity or generalization of the motives to be classified.

9. Classifications of motivations must be based upon goals rather than upon instigating drives or motivated behavior.

10. Motivation theory should be human-centered rather than animal-centered.

11. The situation or the field in which the organism reacts must be taken into account but the field alone can rarely serve as an exclusive explanation for behavior. Furthermore the field itself must be interpreted in terms of the organism. Field theory cannot be a substitute for motivation theory.

12. Not only the integration of the organism must be taken into account, but also the possibility of isolated, specific, partial or segmental reactions.

It has since become necessary to add to these another affirmation.

13. Motivation theory is not synonymous with behavior theory. The motivations are only one class of determinants of behavior. While behavior is almost always motivated, it is also almost always biologically, culturally and situationally determined as well.

The present paper is an attempt to formulate a positive theory of motivation which will satisfy these theoretical demands and at the same time conform to the known facts, clinical and observational as well as experimental. It derives most directly, however, from clinical experience. This theory is, I think, in the functionalist tradition of James and Dewey, and is fused with the holism of Wertheimer (19), Goldstein (6), and Gestalt Psychology, and with the dynamicism of Freud (4) and Adler (1). This fusion or synthesis may arbitrarily be called a 'general-dynamic' theory.

It is far easier to perceive and to criticize the aspects in motivation theory than to remedy them. Mostly this is because of the very serious lack of sound data in this area. I conceive this lack of sound facts to be due primarily to the absence of a valid theory of motivation. The present theory then must be considered to be a suggested program or framework for future research and must stand or fall, not so much on facts available or evidence presented, as upon researches yet to be done, researches suggested perhaps, by the questions raised in this paper.

II. THE BASIC NEEDS

The 'physiological' needs.—The needs that are usually taken as the starting point for motivation theory are the so-called physiological drives. Two recent lines of research make it necessary to revise our customary notions about these needs, first, the development of the concept of homeostasis, and second, the finding that appetites (preferential choices among foods) are a fairly efficient indication of actual needs or lacks in the body.

Homeostasis refers to the body's automatic efforts to maintain a constant, normal state of the blood stream. Cannon (2) has described this process for (1) the water content of the blood, (2) salt content, (3) sugar content, (4) protein content, (5) fat content, (6) calcium content, (7) oxygen content, (8) constant hydrogen-ion level (acid-base balance) and (9) constant temperature of the blood. Obviously this list can be extended to include other minerals, the hormones, vitamins, etc.

Young in a recent article (21) has summarized the work on appetite in its relation to body needs. If the body lacks some chemical, the individual will tend to develop a specific appetite or partial hunger for that food element.

Thus it seems impossible as well as useless to make any list of fundamental physiological needs for they can come to almost any number one might wish, depending on the degree of specificity of description. We can not identify all physiological needs as homeostatic. That sexual desire, sleepiness, sheer activity and maternal behavior in animals, are homeostatic, has not yet been demonstrated. Furthermore, this list would not include the various sensory pleasures (tastes, smells, tickling, stroking) which are probably physiological and which may become the goals of motivated behavior.

In a previous paper (13) it has been pointed out that these physiological drives or needs are to be considered unusual rather than typical because they are isolable, and because they are localizable somatically. That is to say, they are relatively independent of each other, of other motivations

and of the organism as a whole, and secondly, in many cases, it is possible to demonstrate a localized, underlying somatic base for the drive. This is true less generally than has been thought (exceptions are fatigue, sleepiness, maternal responses) but it is still true in the classic instances of hunger, sex, and thirst.

It should be pointed out again that any of the physiological needs and the consummatory behavior involved with them serve as channels for all sorts of other needs as well. That is to say, the person who thinks he is hungry may actually be seeking more for comfort, or dependence, than for vitamins or proteins. Conversely, it is possible to satisfy the hunger need in part by other activities such as drinking water or smoking cigarettes. In other words, relatively isolable as these physiological needs are, they are not completely so.

Undoubtedly these physiological needs are the most prepotent of all needs. What this means specifically is, that in the human being who is missing everything in life in an extreme fashion, it is most likely that the major motivation would be the physiological needs rather than any others. A person who is lacking food, safety, love, and esteem would most probably hunger for food more strongly than for anything else.

If all the needs are unsatisfied, and the organism is then dominated by the physiological needs, all other needs may become simply non-existent or be pushed into the background. It is then fair to characterize the whole organism by saying simply that it is hungry, for consciousness is almost completely preempted by hunger. All capacities are put into the service of hunger-satisfaction, and the organization of these capacities is almost entirely determined by the one purpose of satisfying hunger. The receptors and effectors, the intelligence, memory, habits, all may now be defined simply as hunger-gratifying tools. Capacities that are not useful for this purpose lie dormant, or are pushed into the background. The urge to write poetry, the desire to acquire an automobile, the interest in American history, the desire for a new pair of shoes are, in the extreme case, forgotten or become of sec-

ondary importance. For the man who is extremely and dangerously hungry, no other interests exist but food. He dreams food, he remembers food, he thinks about food, he emotes only about food, he perceives only food and he wants only food. The more subtle determinants that ordinarily fuse with the physiological drives in organizing even feeding, drinking or sexual behavior, may now be so completely overwhelmed as to allow us to speak at this time (but *only* at this time) of pure hunger drive and behavior, with the one unqualified aim of relief.

Another peculiar characteristic of the human organism when it is dominated by a certain need is that the whole philosophy of the future tends also to change. For our chronically and extremely hungry man, Utopia can be defined very simply as a place where there is plenty of food. He tends to think that, if only he is guaranteed food for the rest of his life, he will be perfectly happy and will never want anything more. Life itself tends to be defined in terms of eating. Anything else will be defined as unimportant. Freedom, love, community feeling, respect, philosophy, may all be waved aside as fripperies which are useless since they fail to fill the stomach. Such a man may fairly be said to live by bread alone.

It cannot possibly be denied that such things are true but their *generality* can be denied. Emergency conditions are, almost by definition, rare in the normally functioning peaceful society. That this truism can be forgotten is due mainly to two reasons. First, rats have few motivations other than physiological ones, and since so much of the research upon motivation has been made with these animals, it is easy to carry the rat-picture over to the human being. Secondly, it is too often not realized that culture itself is an adaptive tool, one of whose main functions is to make the physiological emergencies come less and less often. In most of the known societies, chronic extreme hunger of the emergency type is rare, rather than common. In any case, this is still true in the United States. The average American citizen is experiencing appetite rather than hunger when he says "I am

hungry." He is apt to experience sheer life-and-death hunger only by accident and then only a few times through his entire life.

Obviously a good way to obscure the 'higher' motivations, and to get a lopsided view of human capacities and human nature, is to make the organism extremely and chronically hungry or thirsty. Anyone who attempts to make an emergency picture into a typical one, and who will measure all of man's goals and desires by his behavior during extreme physiological deprivation is certainly being blind to many things. It is quite true that man lives by bread alone—when there is no bread. But what happens to man's desires when there is plenty of bread and when his belly is chronically filled?

At once other (and 'higher') needs emerge and these, rather than physiological hungers, dominate the organism. And when these in turn are satisfied, again new (and still 'higher') needs emerge and so on. This is what we mean by saying that the basic human needs are organized into a hierarchy of relative prepotency.

One main implication of this phrasing is that gratification becomes as important a concept as deprivation in motivation theory, for it releases the organism from the domination of a relatively more physiological need, permitting thereby the emergence of other more social goals. The physiological needs, along with their partial goals, when chronically gratified cease to exist as active determinants or organizers of behavior. They now exist only in a potential fashion in the sense that they may emerge again to dominate the organism if they are thwarted. But a want that is satisfied is no longer a want. The organism is dominated and its behavior organized only by unsatisfied needs. If hunger is satisfied, it becomes unimportant in the current dynamics of the individual.

This statement is somewhat qualified by a hypothesis to be discussed more fully later, namely that it is precisely those individuals in whom a certain need has always been satisfied who are best equipped to tolerate deprivation of that need in the future, and that furthermore, those who have been de-

prived in the past will react differently to current satisfactions than the one who has never been deprived.

The safety needs.—If the physiological needs are relatively well gratified, there then emerges a new set of needs, which we may categorize roughly as the safety needs. All that has been said of the physiological needs is equally true, although in lesser degree, of these desires. The organism may equally well be wholly dominated by them. They may serve as the almost exclusive organizers of behavior, recruiting all the capacities of the organism in their service, and we may then fairly describe the whole organism as a safety-seeking mechanism. Again we may say of the receptors, the effectors, of the intellect and the other capacities that they are primarily safety-seeking tools. Again, as in the hungry man, we find that the dominating goal is a strong determinant not only of his current world-outlook and philosophy but also of his philosophy of the future. Practically everything looks less important than safety, (even sometimes the physiological needs which being satisfied, are now underestimated). A man, in this state, if it is extreme enough and chronic enough, may be characterized as living almost for safety alone.

Although in this paper we are interested primarily in the needs of the adult, we can approach an understanding of his safety needs perhaps more efficiently by observation of infants and children, in whom these needs are much more simple and obvious. One reason for the clearer appearance of the threat or danger reaction in infants, is that they do not inhibit this reaction at all, whereas adults in our society have been taught to inhibit it at all costs. Thus even when adults do feel their safety to be threatened we may not be able to see this on the surface. Infants will react in a total fashion and as if they were endangered, if they are disturbed or dropped suddenly, startled by loud noises, flashing light, or other unusual sensory stimulation, by rough handling, by general loss of support in the mother's arms, or by inadequate support.¹

¹ As the child grows up, sheer knowledge and familiarity as well as better motor development make these 'dangers' less and less dangerous and more and more man-

In infants we can also see a much more direct reaction to bodily illnesses of various kinds. Sometimes these illnesses seem to be immediately and *per se* threatening and seem to make the child feel unsafe. For instance, vomiting, colic or other sharp pains seem to make the child look at the whole world in a different way. At such a moment of pain, it may be postulated that, for the child, the appearance of the whole world suddenly changes from sunniness to darkness, so to speak, and becomes a place in which anything at all might happen, in which previously stable things have suddenly become unstable. Thus a child who because of some bad food is taken ill may, for a day or two, develop fear, nightmares, and a need for protection and reassurance never seen in him before his illness.

Another indication of the child's need for safety is his preference for some kind of undisrupted routine or rhythm. He seems to want a predictable, orderly world. For instance, injustice, unfairness, or inconsistency in the parents seems to make a child feel anxious and unsafe. This attitude may be not so much because of the injustice *per se* or any particular pains involved, but rather because this treatment threatens to make the world look unreliable, or unsafe, or unpredictable. Young children seem to thrive better under a system which has at least a skeletal outline of rigidity, in which there is a schedule of a kind, some sort of routine, something that can be counted upon, not only for the present but also far into the future. Perhaps one could express this more accurately by saying that the child needs an organized world rather than an unorganized or unstructured one.

The central role of the parents and the normal family setup are indisputable. Quarreling, physical assault, separation, divorce or death within the family may be particularly terrifying. Also parental outbursts of rage or threats of punishment directed to the child, calling him names, speaking to him harshly, shaking him, handling him roughly, or actual

ageable. Throughout life it may be said that one of the main conative functions of education is this neutralizing of apparent dangers through knowledge, *e.g.*, I am not afraid of thunder because I know something about it.

physical punishment sometimes elicit such total panic and terror in the child that we must assume more is involved than the physical pain alone. While it is true that in some children this terror may represent also a fear of loss of parental love, it can also occur in completely rejected children, who seem to cling to the hating parents more for sheer safety and protection than because of hope of love.

Confronting the average child with new, unfamiliar, strange, unmanageable stimuli or situations will too frequently elicit the danger or terror reaction, as for example, getting lost or even being separated from the parents for a short time, being confronted with new faces, new situations or new tasks, the sight of strange, unfamiliar or uncontrollable objects, illness or death. Particularly at such times, the child's frantic clinging to his parents is eloquent testimony to their role as protectors (quite apart from their roles as food-givers and love-givers).

From these and similar observations, we may generalize and say that the average child in our society generally prefers a safe, orderly, predictable, organized world, which he can count on, and in which unexpected, unmanageable or other dangerous things do not happen, and in which, in any case, he has all-powerful parents who protect and shield him from harm.

That these reactions may so easily be observed in children is in a way a proof of the fact that children in our society, feel too unsafe (or, in a word, are badly brought up). Children who are reared in an unthreatening, loving family do *not* ordinarily react as we have described above (17). In such children the danger reactions are apt to come mostly to objects or situations that adults too would consider dangerous.²

The healthy, normal, fortunate adult in our culture is largely satisfied in his safety needs. The peaceful, smoothly

² A 'test battery' for safety might be confronting the child with a small exploding firecracker, or with a bewhiskered face, having the mother leave the room, putting him upon a high ladder, a hypodermic injection, having a mouse crawl up to him, etc. Of course I cannot seriously recommend the deliberate use of such 'tests' for they might very well harm the child being tested. But these and similar situations come up by the score in the child's ordinary day-to-day living and may be observed. There is no reason why these stimuli should not be used with, for example, young chimpanzees.

running, 'good' society ordinarily makes its members feel safe enough from wild animals, extremes of temperature, criminals, assault and murder, tyranny, etc. Therefore, in a very real sense, he no longer has any safety needs as active motivators. Just as a sated man no longer feels hungry, a safe man no longer feels endangered. If we wish to see these needs directly and clearly we must turn to neurotic or near-neurotic individuals, and to the economic and social underdogs. In between these extremes, we can perceive the expressions of safety needs only in such phenomena as, for instance, the common preference for a job with tenure and protection, the desire for a savings account, and for insurance of various kinds (medical, dental, unemployment, disability, old age).

Other broader aspects of the attempt to seek safety and stability in the world are seen in the very common preference for familiar rather than unfamiliar things, or for the known rather than the unknown. The tendency to have some religion or world-philosophy that organizes the universe and the men in it into some sort of satisfactorily coherent, meaningful whole is also in part motivated by safety-seeking. Here too we may list science and philosophy in general as partially motivated by the safety needs (we shall see later that there are also other motivations to scientific, philosophical or religious endeavor).

Otherwise the need for safety is seen as an active and dominant mobilizer of the organism's resources only in emergencies, *e.g.*, war, disease, natural catastrophes, crime waves, societal disorganization, neurosis, brain injury, chronically bad situation.

Some neurotic adults in our society are, in many ways, like the unsafe child in their desire for safety, although in the former it takes on a somewhat special appearance. Their reaction is often to unknown, psychological dangers in a world that is perceived to be hostile, overwhelming and threatening. Such a person behaves as if a great catastrophe were almost always impending, *i.e.*, he is usually responding as if to an emergency. His safety needs often find specific

expression in a search for a protector, or a stronger person on whom he may depend, or perhaps, a Fuehrer.

The neurotic individual may be described in a slightly different way with some usefulness as a grown-up person who retains his childish attitudes toward the world. That is to say, a neurotic adult may be said to behave 'as if' he were actually afraid of a spanking, or of his mother's disapproval, or of being abandoned by his parents, or having his food taken away from him. It is as if his childish attitudes of fear and threat reaction to a dangerous world had gone underground, and untouched by the growing up and learning processes, were now ready to be called out by any stimulus that would make a child feel endangered and threatened.⁸

The neurosis in which the search for safety takes its clearest form is in the compulsive-obsessive neurosis. Compulsive-obsessives try frantically to order and stabilize the world so that no unmanageable, unexpected or unfamiliar dangers will ever appear (14). They hedge themselves about with all sorts of ceremonials, rules and formulas so that every possible contingency may be provided for and so that no new contingencies may appear. They are much like the brain injured cases, described by Goldstein (6), who manage to maintain their equilibrium by avoiding everything unfamiliar and strange and by ordering their restricted world in such a neat, disciplined, orderly fashion that everything in the world can be counted upon. They try to arrange the world so that anything unexpected (dangers) cannot possibly occur. If, through no fault of their own, something unexpected does occur, they go into a panic reaction as if this unexpected occurrence constituted a grave danger. What we can see only as a none-too-strong preference in the healthy person, e.g., preference for the familiar, becomes a life-and-death necessity in abnormal cases.

The love needs.—If both the physiological and the safety needs are fairly well gratified, then there will emerge the love and affection and belongingness needs, and the whole cycle

⁸ Not all neurotic individuals feel unsafe. Neurosis may have at its core a thwarting of the affection and esteem needs in a person who is generally safe.

already described will repeat itself with this new center. Now the person will feel keenly, as never before, the absence of friends, or a sweetheart, or a wife, or children. He will hunger for affectionate relations with people in general, namely, for a place in his group, and he will strive with great intensity to achieve this goal. He will want to attain such a place more than anything else in the world and may even forget that once, when he was hungry, he sneered at love.

In our society the thwarting of these needs is the most commonly found core in cases of maladjustment and more severe psychopathology. Love and affection, as well as their possible expression in sexuality, are generally looked upon with ambivalence and are customarily hedged about with many restrictions and inhibitions. Practically all theorists of psychopathology have stressed thwarting of the love needs as basic in the picture of maladjustment. Many clinical studies have therefore been made of this need and we know more about it perhaps than any of the other needs except the physiological ones (14).

One thing that must be stressed at this point is that love is not synonymous with sex. Sex may be studied as a purely physiological need. Ordinarily sexual behavior is multi-determined, that is to say, determined not only by sexual but also by other needs, chief among which are the love and affection needs. Also not to be overlooked is the fact that the love needs involve both giving *and* receiving love.⁴

The esteem needs.—All people in our society (with a few pathological exceptions) have a need or desire for a stable, firmly based, (usually) high evaluation of themselves, for self-respect, or self-esteem, and for the esteem of others. By firmly based self-esteem, we mean that which is soundly based upon real capacity, achievement and respect from others. These needs may be classified into two subsidiary sets. These are, first, the desire for strength, for achievement, for adequacy, for confidence in the face of the world, and for independence and freedom.⁵ Secondly, we have what

⁴ For further details see (12) and (16, Chap. 5).

⁵ Whether or not this particular desire is universal we do not know. The crucial question, especially important today, is "Will men who are enslaved and dominated,

we may call the desire for reputation or prestige (defining it as respect or esteem from other people), recognition, attention, importance or appreciation.⁶ These needs have been relatively stressed by Alfred Adler and his followers, and have been relatively neglected by Freud and the psychoanalysts. More and more today however there is appearing widespread appreciation of their central importance.

Satisfaction of the self-esteem need leads to feelings of self-confidence, worth, strength, capability and adequacy of being useful and necessary in the world. But thwarting of these needs produces feelings of inferiority, of weakness and of helplessness. These feelings in turn give rise to either basic discouragement or else compensatory or neurotic trends. An appreciation of the necessity of basic self-confidence and an understanding of how helpless people are without it, can be easily gained from a study of severe traumatic neurosis (8).⁷

The need for self-actualization.—Even if all these needs are satisfied, we may still often (if not always) expect that a new discontent and restlessness will soon develop, unless the individual is doing what he is fitted for. A musician must make music, an artist must paint, a poet must write, if he is to be ultimately happy. What a man *can* be, he *must* be. This need we may call self-actualization.

This term, first coined by Kurt Goldstein, is being used in this paper in a much more specific and limited fashion. It refers to the desire for self-fulfillment, namely, to the tendency for him to become actualized in what he is potentially. This tendency might be phrased as the desire to become more and more what one is, to become everything that one is capable of becoming.

inevitably feel dissatisfied and rebellious!" We may assume on the basis of commonly known clinical data that a man who has known true freedom (not paid for by giving up safety and security but rather built on the basis of adequate safety and security) will not willingly or easily allow his freedom to be taken away from him. But we do not know that this is true for the person born into slavery. The events of the next decade should give us our answer. See discussion of this problem in (8).

⁶ Perhaps the desire for prestige and respect from others is subsidiary to the desire for self-esteem or confidence in oneself. Observation of children seems to indicate that this is so, but clinical data give no clear support for such a conclusion.

⁷ For more extensive discussion of normal self-esteem, as well as for reports of various researches, see (11).

The specific form that these needs will take will of course vary greatly from person to person. In one individual it may take the form of the desire to be an ideal mother, in another it may be expressed athletically, and in still another it may be expressed in painting pictures or in inventions. It is not necessarily a creative urge although in people who have any capacities for creation it will take this form.

The clear emergence of these needs rests upon prior satisfaction of the physiological, safety, love and esteem needs. We shall call people who are satisfied in these needs, basically satisfied people, and it is from these that we may expect the fullest (and healthiest) creativeness.⁸ Since, in our society, basically satisfied people are the exception, we do not know much about self-actualization, either experimentally or clinically. It remains a challenging problem for research.

The preconditions for the basic need satisfactions.—There are certain conditions which are immediate prerequisites for the basic need satisfactions. Danger to these is reacted to almost as if it were a direct danger to the basic needs themselves. Such conditions as freedom to speak, freedom to do what one wishes so long as no harm is done to others, freedom to express one's self, freedom to investigate and seek for information, freedom to defend one's self, justice, fairness, honesty, orderliness in the group are examples of such preconditions for basic need satisfactions. Thwarting in these freedoms will be reacted to with a threat or emergency response. These conditions are not ends in themselves but they are *almost* so since they are so closely related to the basic needs, which are apparently the only ends in themselves. These conditions are defended because without them the basic satisfactions are quite impossible, or at least, very severely endangered.

⁸ Clearly creative behavior, like painting, is like any other behavior in having multiple determinants. It may be seen in 'innately creative' people whether they are satisfied or not, happy or unhappy, hungry or sated. Also it is clear that creative activity may be compensatory, ameliorative or purely economic. It is my impression (as yet unconfirmed) that it is possible to distinguish the artistic and intellectual products of basically satisfied people from those of basically unsatisfied people by inspection alone. In any case, here too we must distinguish, in a dynamic fashion, the overt behavior itself from its various motivations or purposes.

If we remember that the cognitive capacities (perceptual, intellectual, learning) are a set of adjustive tools, which have, among other functions, that of satisfaction of our basic needs, then it is clear that any danger to them, any deprivation or blocking of their free use, must also be indirectly threatening to the basic needs themselves. Such a statement is a partial solution of the general problems of curiosity, the search for knowledge, truth and wisdom, and the ever-persistent urge to solve the cosmic mysteries.

We must therefore introduce another hypothesis and speak of degrees of closeness to the basic needs, for we have already pointed out that *any* conscious desires (partial goals) are more or less important as they are more or less close to the basic needs. The same statement may be made for various behavior acts. An act is psychologically important if it contributes directly to satisfaction of basic needs. The less directly it so contributes, or the weaker this contribution is, the less important this act must be conceived to be from the point of view of dynamic psychology. A similar statement may be made for the various defense or coping mechanisms. Some are very directly related to the protection or attainment of the basic needs, others are only weakly and distantly related. Indeed if we wished, we could speak of more basic and less basic defense mechanisms, and then affirm that danger to the more basic defenses is more threatening than danger to less basic defenses (always remembering that this is so only because of their relationship to the basic needs).

The desires to know and to understand.—So far, we have mentioned the cognitive needs only in passing. Acquiring knowledge and systematizing the universe have been considered as, in part, techniques for the achievement of basic safety in the world, or, for the intelligent man, expressions of self-actualization. Also freedom of inquiry and expression have been discussed as preconditions of satisfactions of the basic needs. True though these formulations may be, they do not constitute definitive answers to the question as to the motivation role of curiosity, learning, philosophizing, experimenting, etc. They are, at best, no more than partial answers.

This question is especially difficult because we know so little about the facts. Curiosity, exploration, desire for the facts, desire to know may certainly be observed easily enough. The fact that they often are pursued even at great cost to the individual's safety is an earnest of the partial character of our previous discussion. In addition, the writer must admit that, though he has sufficient clinical evidence to postulate the desire to know as a very strong drive in intelligent people, no data are available for unintelligent people. It may then be largely a function of relatively high intelligence. Rather tentatively, then, and largely in the hope of stimulating discussion and research, we shall postulate a basic desire to know, to be aware of reality, to get the facts, to satisfy curiosity, or as Wertheimer phrases it, to see rather than to be blind.

This postulation, however, is not enough. Even after we know, we are impelled to know more and more minutely and microscopically on the one hand, and on the other, more and more extensively in the direction of a world philosophy, religion, etc. The facts that we acquire, if they are isolated or atomistic, inevitably get theorized about, and either analyzed or organized or both. This process has been phrased by some as the search for 'meaning.' We shall then postulate a desire to understand, to systematize, to organize, to analyze, to look for relations and meanings.

Once these desires are accepted for discussion, we see that they too form themselves into a small hierarchy in which the desire to know is prepotent over the desire to understand. All the characteristics of a hierarchy of prepotency that we have described above, seem to hold for this one as well.

We must guard ourselves against the too easy tendency to separate these desires from the basic needs we have discussed above, *i.e.*, to make a sharp dichotomy between 'cognitive' and 'conative' needs. The desire to know and to understand are themselves conative, *i.e.*, have a striving character, and are as much personality needs as the 'basic needs' we have already discussed (19).

III. FURTHER CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BASIC NEEDS

The degree of fixity of the hierarchy of basic needs.—We have spoken so far as if this hierarchy were a fixed order but actually it is not nearly as rigid as we may have implied. It is true that most of the people with whom we have worked have seemed to have these basic needs in about the order that has been indicated. However, there have been a number of exceptions.

(1) There are some people in whom, for instance, self-esteem seems to be more important than love. This most common reversal in the hierarchy is usually due to the development of the notion that the person who is most likely to be loved is a strong or powerful person, one who inspires respect or fear, and who is self confident or aggressive. Therefore such people who lack love and seek it, may try hard to put on a front of aggressive, confident behavior. But essentially they seek high self-esteem and its behavior expressions more as a means-to-an-end than for its own sake; they seek self-assertion for the sake of love rather than for self-esteem itself.

(2) There are other, apparently innately creative people in whom the drive to creativeness seems to be more important than any other counter-determinant. Their creativeness might appear not as self-actualization released by basic satisfaction, but in spite of lack of basic satisfaction.

(3) In certain people the level of aspiration may be permanently deadened or lowered. That is to say, the less prepotent goals may simply be lost, and may disappear forever, so that the person who has experienced life at a very low level, *i.e.*, chronic unemployment, may continue to be satisfied for the rest of his life if only he can get enough food.

(4) The so-called 'psychopathic personality' is another example of permanent loss of the love needs. These are people who, according to the best data available (9), have been starved for love in the earliest months of their lives and have simply lost forever the desire and the ability to give and to receive affection (as animals lose sucking or pecking reflexes that are not exercised soon enough after birth).

(5) Another cause of reversal of the hierarchy is that when a need has been satisfied for a long time, this need may be underevaluated. People who have never experienced chronic hunger are apt to underestimate its effects and to look upon food as a rather unimportant thing. If they are dominated by a higher need, this higher need will seem to be the most important of all. It then becomes possible, and indeed does actually happen, that they may, for the sake of this higher need, put themselves into the position of being deprived in a more basic need. We may expect that after a long-time deprivation of the more basic need there will be a tendency to reevaluate both needs so that the more prepotent need will actually become consciously prepotent for the individual who may have given it up very lightly. Thus, a man who has given up his job rather than lose his self-respect, and who then starves for six months or so, may be willing to take his job back even at the price of losing his self-respect.

(6) Another partial explanation of *apparent* reversals is seen in the fact that we have been talking about the hierarchy of prepotency in terms of consciously felt wants or desires rather than of behavior. Looking at behavior itself may give us the wrong impression. What we have claimed is that the person will *want* the more basic of two needs when deprived in both. There is no necessary implication here that he will act upon his desires. Let us say again that there are many determinants of behavior other than the needs and desires.

(7) Perhaps more important than all these exceptions are the ones that involve ideals, high social standards, high values and the like. With such values people become martyrs; they will give up everything for the sake of a particular ideal, or value. These people may be understood, at least in part, by reference to one basic concept (or hypothesis) which may be called 'increased frustration-tolerance through early gratification.' People who have been satisfied in their basic needs throughout their lives, particularly in their earlier years, seem to develop exceptional power to withstand present or future thwarting of these needs simply because they have strong,

healthy character structure as a result of basic satisfaction. They are the 'strong' people who can easily weather disagreement or opposition, who can swim against the stream of public opinion and who can stand up for the truth at great personal cost. It is just the ones who have loved and been well loved, and who have had many deep friendships who can hold out against hatred, rejection or persecution.

I say all this in spite of the fact that there is a certain amount of sheer habituation which is also involved in any full discussion of frustration tolerance. For instance, it is likely that those persons who have been accustomed to relative starvation for a long time, are partially enabled thereby to withstand food deprivation. What sort of balance must be made between these two tendencies, of habituation on the one hand, and of past satisfaction breeding present frustration tolerance on the other hand, remains to be worked out by further research. Meanwhile we may assume that they are both operative, side by side, since they do not contradict each other. In respect to this phenomenon of increased frustration tolerance, it seems probable that the most important gratifications come in the first two years of life. That is to say, people who have been made secure and strong in the earliest years, tend to remain secure and strong thereafter in the face of whatever threatens.

Degrees of relative satisfaction.—So far, our theoretical discussion may have given the impression that these five sets of needs are somehow in a step-wise, all-or-none relationships to each other. We have spoken in such terms as the following: "If one need is satisfied, then another emerges." This statement might give the false impression that a need must be satisfied 100 per cent before the next need emerges. In actual fact, most members of our society who are normal, are partially satisfied in all their basic needs and partially unsatisfied in all their basic needs at the same time. A more realistic description of the hierarchy would be in terms of decreasing percentages of satisfaction as we go up the hierarchy of prepotency. For instance, if I may assign arbitrary figures for the sake of illustration, it is as if the average citizen

is satisfied perhaps 85 per cent in his physiological needs, 70 per cent in his safety needs, 50 per cent in his love needs, 40 per cent in his self-esteem needs, and 10 per cent in his self-actualization needs.

As for the concept of emergence of a new need after satisfaction of the prepotent need, this emergence is not a sudden, saltatory phenomenon but rather a gradual emergence by slow degrees from nothingness. For instance, if prepotent need A is satisfied only 10 per cent then need B may not be visible at all. However, as this need A becomes satisfied 25 per cent, need B may emerge 5 per cent, as need A becomes satisfied 75 per cent need B may emerge 90 per cent, and so on.

Unconscious character of needs.—These needs are neither necessarily conscious nor unconscious. On the whole, however, in the average person, they are more often unconscious rather than conscious. It is not necessary at this point to overhaul the tremendous mass of evidence which indicates the crucial importance of unconscious motivation. It would by now be expected, on a priori grounds alone, that unconscious motivations would on the whole be rather more important than the conscious motivations. What we have called the basic needs are very often largely unconscious although they may, with suitable techniques, and with sophisticated people become conscious.

Cultural specificity and generality of needs.—This classification of basic needs makes some attempt to take account of the relative unity behind the superficial differences in specific desires from one culture to another. Certainly in any particular culture an individual's conscious motivational content will usually be extremely different from the conscious motivational content of an individual in another society. However, it is the common experience of anthropologists that people, even in different societies, are much more alike than we would think from our first contact with them, and that as we know them better we seem to find more and more of this commonness. We then recognize the most startling differences to be superficial rather than basic, *e.g.*, differences in style of hair-dress, clothes, tastes in food, etc. Our classification of basic

needs is in part an attempt to account for this unity behind the apparent diversity from culture to culture. No claim is made that it is ultimate or universal for all cultures. The claim is made only that it is relatively *more* ultimate, more universal, more basic, than the superficial conscious desires from culture to culture, and makes a somewhat closer approach to common-human characteristics. Basic needs are *more* common-human than superficial desires or behaviors.

Multiple motivations of behavior.—These needs must be understood *not* to be *exclusive* or single determiners of certain kinds of behavior. An example may be found in any behavior that seems to be physiologically motivated, such as eating, or sexual play or the like. The clinical psychologists have long since found that any behavior may be a channel through which flow various determinants. Or to say it in another way, most behavior is multi-motivated. Within the sphere of motivational determinants any behavior tends to be determined by several or *all* of the basic needs simultaneously rather than by only one of them. The latter would be more an exception than the former. Eating may be partially for the sake of filling the stomach, and partially for the sake of comfort and amelioration of other needs. One may make love not only for pure sexual release, but also to convince one's self of one's masculinity, or to make a conquest, to feel powerful, or to win more basic affection. As an illustration, I may point out that it would be possible (theoretically if not practically) to analyze a single act of an individual and see in it the expression of his physiological needs, his safety needs, his love needs, his esteem needs and self-actualization. This contrasts sharply with the more naive brand of trait psychology in which one trait or one motive accounts for a certain kind of act, *i.e.*, an aggressive act is traced solely to a trait of aggressiveness.

Multiple determinants of behavior.—Not all behavior is determined by the basic needs. We might even say that not all behavior is motivated. There are many determinants of behavior other than motives.⁹ For instance, one other im-

⁹ I am aware that many psychologists and psychoanalysts use the term 'motivated' and 'determined' synonymously, *e.g.*, Freud. But I consider this an ob-

portant class of determinants is the so-called 'field' determinants. Theoretically, at least, behavior may be determined completely by the field, or even by specific isolated external stimuli, as in association of ideas, or certain conditioned reflexes. If in response to the stimulus word 'table,' I immediately perceive a memory image of a table, this response certainly has nothing to do with my basic needs.

Secondly, we may call attention again to the concept of 'degree of closeness to the basic needs' or 'degree of motivation.' Some behavior is highly motivated, other behavior is only weakly motivated. Some is not motivated at all (but all behavior is determined).

Another important point¹⁰ is that there is a basic difference between expressive behavior and coping behavior (functional striving, purposive goal seeking). An expressive behavior does not try to do anything; it is simply a reflection of the personality. A stupid man behaves stupidly, not because he wants to, or tries to, or is motivated to, but simply because he is what he is. The same is true when I speak in a bass voice rather than tenor or soprano. The random movements of a healthy child, the smile on the face of a happy man even when he is alone, the springiness of the healthy man's walk, and the erectness of his carriage are other examples of expressive, non-functional behavior. Also the *style* in which a man carries out almost all his behavior, motivated as well as unmotivated, is often expressive.

We may then ask, is *all* behavior expressive or reflective of the character structure? The answer is 'No.' Rote, habitual, automatized, or conventional behavior may or may not be expressive. The same is true for most 'stimulus-bound' behaviors.

It is finally necessary to stress that expressiveness of behavior, and goal-directedness of behavior are not mutually exclusive categories. Average behavior is usually both.

Goals as centering principle in motivation theory.—It will be observed that the basic principle in our classification has fusing usage. Sharp distinctions are necessary for clarity of thought, and precision in experimentation.

¹⁰ To be discussed fully in a subsequent publication.

been neither the instigation nor the motivated behavior but rather the functions, effects, purposes, or goals of the behavior. It has been proven sufficiently by various people that this is the most suitable point for centering in any motivation theory.¹¹

Animal- and human-centering.—This theory starts with the human being rather than any lower and presumably 'simpler' animal. Too many of the findings that have been made in animals have been proven to be true for animals but not for the human being. There is no reason whatsoever why we should start with animals in order to study human motivation. The logic or rather illogic behind this general fallacy of 'pseudo-simplicity' has been exposed often enough by philosophers and logicians as well as by scientists in each of the various fields. It is no more necessary to study animals before one can study man than it is to study mathematics before one can study geology or psychology or biology.

We may also reject the old, naive, behaviorism which assumed that it was somehow necessary, or at least more 'scientific' to judge human beings by animal standards. One consequence of this belief was that the whole notion of purpose and goal was excluded from motivational psychology simply because one could not ask a white rat about his purposes. Tolman (18) has long since proven in animal studies themselves that this exclusion was not necessary.

Motivation and the theory of psychopathogenesis.—The conscious motivational content of everyday life has, according to the foregoing, been conceived to be relatively important or unimportant accordingly as it is more or less closely related to the basic goals. A desire for an ice cream cone might actually be an indirect expression of a desire for love. If it is, then this desire for the ice cream cone becomes extremely important motivation. If however the ice cream is simply something to cool the mouth with, or a casual appetitive reaction, then the desire is relatively unimportant. Everyday conscious desires are to be regarded as symptoms, as

¹¹ The interested reader is referred to the very excellent discussion of this point in Murray's *Explorations in Personality* (15).

surface indicators of more basic needs. If we were to take these superficial desires at their face value we would find ourselves in a state of complete confusion which could never be resolved, since we would be dealing seriously with symptoms rather than with what lay behind the symptoms.

Thwarting of unimportant desires produces no psychopathological results; thwarting of a basically important need does produce such results. Any theory of psychopathogenesis must then be based on a sound theory of motivation. A conflict or a frustration is not necessarily pathogenic. It becomes so only when it threatens or thwarts the basic needs, or partial needs that are closely related to the basic needs (10).

The role of gratified needs.—It has been pointed out above several times that our needs usually emerge only when more prepotent needs have been gratified. Thus gratification has an important role in motivation theory. Apart from this, however, needs cease to play an active determining or organizing role as soon as they are gratified.

What this means is that, *e.g.*, a basically satisfied person no longer has the needs for esteem, love, safety, etc. The only sense in which he might be said to have them is in the almost metaphysical sense that a sated man has hunger, or a filled bottle has emptiness. If we are interested in what *actually* motivates us, and not in what has, will, or might motivate us, then a satisfied need is not a motivator. It must be considered for all practical purposes simply not to exist, to have disappeared. This point should be emphasized because it has been either overlooked or contradicted in every theory of motivation I know.¹² The perfectly healthy, normal, fortunate man has no sex needs or hunger needs, or needs for safety, or for love, or for prestige, or self-esteem, except in stray moments of quickly passing threat. If we were to say otherwise, we should also have to aver that every man had all the pathological reflexes, *e.g.*, Babinski, etc., because if his nervous system were damaged, these would appear.

It is such considerations as these that suggest the bold

¹² Note that acceptance of this theory necessitates basic revision of the Freudian theory.

postulation that a man who is thwarted in any of his basic needs may fairly be envisaged simply as a sick man. This is a fair parallel to our designation as 'sick' of the man who lacks vitamins or minerals. Who is to say that a lack of love is less important than a lack of vitamins? Since we know the pathogenic effects of love starvation, who is to say that we are invoking value-questions in an unscientific or illegitimate way, any more than the physician does who diagnoses and treats pellagra or scurvy? If I were permitted this usage, I should then say simply that a healthy man is primarily motivated by his needs to develop and actualize his fullest potentialities and capacities. If a man has any other basic needs in any active, chronic sense, then he is simply an unhealthy man. He is as surely sick as if he had suddenly developed a strong salt-hunger or calcium hunger.¹⁸

If this statement seems unusual or paradoxical the reader may be assured that this is only one among many such paradoxes that will appear as we revise our ways of looking at man's deeper motivations. When we ask what man wants of life, we deal with his very essence.

IV. SUMMARY

- (1) There are at least five sets of goals, which we may call basic needs. These are briefly physiological, safety, love, esteem, and self-actualization. In addition, we are motivated by the desire to achieve or maintain the various conditions upon which these basic satisfactions rest and by certain more intellectual desires.
- (2) These basic goals are related to each other, being arranged in a hierarchy of prepotency. This means that the most prepotent goal will monopolize consciousness and will tend of itself to organize the recruitment of the various capacities of the organism. The less prepotent needs are

¹⁸ If we were to use the word 'sick' in this way, we should then also have to face squarely the relations of man to his society. One clear implication of our definition would be that (1) since a man is to be called sick who is basically thwarted, and (2) since such basic thwarting is made possible ultimately only by forces outside the individual, then (3) sickness in the individual must come ultimately from a sickness in the society. The 'good' or healthy society would then be defined as one that permitted man's highest purposes to emerge by satisfying all his prepotent basic needs.

minimized, even forgotten or denied. But when a need is fairly well satisfied, the next prepotent ('higher') need emerges, in turn to dominate the conscious life and to serve as the center of organization of behavior, since gratified needs are not active motivators.

Thus man is a perpetually wanting animal. Ordinarily the satisfaction of these wants is not altogether mutually exclusive, but only tends to be. The average member of our society is most often partially satisfied and partially unsatisfied in all of his wants. The hierarchy principle is usually empirically observed in terms of increasing percentages of non-satisfaction as we go up the hierarchy. Reversals of the average order of the hierarchy are sometimes observed. Also it has been observed that an individual may permanently lose the higher wants in the hierarchy under special conditions. There are not only ordinarily multiple motivations for usual behavior, but in addition many determinants other than motives.

- (3) Any thwarting or possibility of thwarting of these basic human goals, or danger to the defenses which protect them, or to the conditions upon which they rest, is considered to be a psychological threat. With a few exceptions, all psychopathology may be partially traced to such threats. A basically thwarted man may actually be defined as a 'sick' man, if we wish.
- (4) It is such basic threats which bring about the general emergency reactions.
- (5) Certain other basic problems have not been dealt with because of limitations of space. Among these are (a) the problem of values in any definitive motivation theory, (b) the relation between appetites, desires, needs and what is 'good' for the organism, (c) the etiology of the basic needs and their possible derivation in early childhood, (d) redefinition of motivational concepts, *i.e.*, drive, desire, wish, need, goal, (e) implication of our theory for hedonistic theory, (f) the nature of the uncompleted act, of success and failure, and of aspiration-level, (g) the role of association, habit and conditioning, (h) relation to the

theory of inter-personal relations, (i) implications for psychotherapy, (j) implication for theory of society, (k) the theory of selfishness, (l) the relation between needs and cultural patterns, (m) the relation between this theory and Allport's theory of functional autonomy. These as well as certain other less important questions must be considered as motivation theory attempts to become definitive.

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