1996

Male Serial Killers and the Criminal Profiling Process: A Literature Review

Jennifer R. Phillips

Eastern Illinois University

This research is a product of the graduate program in Psychology at Eastern Illinois University. Find out more about the program.

THESIS REPRODUCTION CERTIFICATE

TO: Graduate Degree Candidates (who have written formal theses)

SUBJECT: Permission to Reproduce Theses

The University Library is receiving a number of requests from other institutions asking permission to reproduce dissertations for inclusion in their library holdings. Although no copyright laws are involved, we feel that professional courtesy demands that permission be obtained from the author before we allow theses to be copied.

PLEASE SIGN ONE OF THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS:

Booth Library of Eastern Illinois University has my permission to lend my thesis to a reputable college or university for the purpose of copying it for inclusion in that institution's library or research holdings.

_____   7/10/96
                    Author   Date

I respectfully request Booth Library of Eastern Illinois University not allow my thesis to be reproduced because:

_____

_____

_____

_____   _____
            Author   Date

Male Serial Killers and the Criminal Profiling

Process: A Literature Review

(TITLE)

BY

Jennifer R. Phillips

THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF

Master of Arts

IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOL, EASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY
CHARLESTON, ILLINOIS

1996

YEAR

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THIS THESIS BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING
THIS PART OF THE GRADUATE DEGREE CITED ABOVE

7/10/96

DATE

ADVISER

7/11/96

DATE

DEPARTMENT HEAD

Male Serial Killers and the Criminal Profiling Process:

A Literature Review

Jennifer R. Phillips

Eastern Illinois University

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Dedication

This paper is dedicated to my grandpa Bob who passed away shortly before its completion. He did not live to see the bound copy or my degree, but I know where he is now, and I know that he is proud.

Acknowledgments

To Dr. Bill Kirk: I want to thank you for being my thesis advisor, my graduate advisor, my professor, and my friend. You have truly been an inspiration to me. But most importantly I want to thank you for giving me the flexibility over the past two years to write a thesis like this and to pursue some unconventional goals. I'm not sure where I would be right now if you had not given me the chance to be myself. There were times when I wondered if it was all worth it, and I know I wasn't always the perfect advisee, but I want to thank you from the bottom of my heart for your support and understanding. Thank you for helping me get this far.

To Dr. Reed Benedict: I want to thank you for being a part of this committee, for your friendship, and for your valuable input. You tolerated me in the beginning when I didn't have a clue and when I really didn't care. You tolerated me during the slow times, and you tolerated me during the successful times. You kept me motivated and grounded when I couldn't do that myself. And I want to thank you for teaching that Criminal Justice class--otherwise two great minds would not have had this opportunity to think alike! Thanks for being you.

To Dr. Russell Gruber: I want to thank you for being a part of this committee and for never failing to make me laugh. Thank you for always allowing me to add my personal twist to things and for encouraging me to express my opinions and to think for myself. You kept telling me that someday this would be done, and now I finally know you were right.

To my parents: Thank you for your many years of love and support. And thank you for giving me the idea that eventually lead to this thesis and which will hopefully lead me to the FBI.

Abstract

A review of the relevant psychological and sociological literature regarding serial killers is presented. Also described is the investigative process and the procedures involved in constructing accurate criminal profiles. This paper examines the definition, characteristics, and classifications of male serial killers. Additionally, the paper discusses various motivations for killing serially, the importance of fantasy, and emotional, cognitive, and behavioral processes in the serial killer. The process of criminal profiling, which is a relatively new and innovative proactive and reactive investigative procedure, is also described as a tool used frequently in the investigative process of serial homicides. Also described is the importance of criminal profiling and the overall effectiveness of professionally constructed criminal profiles.

PREFACE AND RATIONALE

Serial murderers have long been a cause of fear among the general public and a source of scrutiny among law enforcement and social scientists. Such criminals have often been difficult to apprehend as well as understand. Many serial killers successfully elude law enforcement for years, leaving a long list of victims in their wakes, including "Jack the Ripper", the "Hillside Strangler(s)", Ted Bundy, Edmund Kemper, John Wayne Gacy, and Jeffery Dahmer, to name just a few. Interestingly, females are absent from this list. The proof of existence of female serial killers is controversial, thus seldom documented in the literature. We as a public have been confronted with male serial killers for nearly a century, with a dramatic rise in the number of victims falling prey to serial murderers in the 1970s and 1980s. Within the past two decades strong efforts have been made to more fully comprehend and more aggressively pursue these violent criminals.

Criminal profiling is a relatively new investigative tool used in the apprehension of violent offenders. In the 1970s, the Behavioral Science Unit of the Federal Bureau of Investigation began profiling various violent crimes in which the offender displayed psychopathology in order to provide law enforcement with possible answers to the question, "What type of person would commit this sort of crime?" Criminal profiling is a process which provides investigative organizations with specific information regarding the type of person who committed a certain crime. The intent of gathering such information is to provide the criminal justice system with a social and psychological

assessment which leads to a comprehensive profile of a suspect. This profile aids law enforcement organizations in detecting and apprehending violent criminals.

The specific purpose of this paper is to integrate the current literature regarding male serial killers with that of criminal profiling, a synthesis which is lacking in the existing literature. The general purpose is to extensively discuss male serial killers and the manner in which law enforcement and social science fields combine to produce accurate and useful criminal profiles of serial killers.

The procedure followed throughout this comprehensive examination has been a gathering and synthesis of all available archival data relating to serial killers and the process of criminal profiling. The available data were collected from descriptive books and empirical and descriptive journal articles.

Many of the pioneering studies cited in this review were conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the mid-1980s on a group of 36 incarcerated sexual murderers. Each study was designed to understand different facets of serial killers and to assist in the development of a scientific profiling system. The group of 36 murderers participated in a number of different studies with separate groups of FBI agents working together and in conjunction with other professionals. These studies are cited numerous times throughout this paper, and when discussed, the particular study in which they participated will be given for the clarity of the reader. In addition, it should be menitoned at the outset that many of the authors cited in this paper either are or have been affiliated with the FBI's

Behavioral Science Unit in some capacity. Authors who were affiliated and who have contributed to the existing body of knowledge will be denoted as such. Other contributions to the understanding of serial killers and criminal profiling which are cited in this paper are made primarily by sociologists and psychologists.

The series of studies conducted by the FBI has provided a strong research base which contributes to the scientific methodology for studying serial killers and for profiling. It would be helpful intitially to briefly describe one research study of interviewing techniques used with these 36 murderers by the FBI which has been one of the milestones in serial killer research. This particular study examined the interviewing process which FBI agents followed after the 36 sexual murderers were incarcerated. This investigation was conducted in hopes of adding to law enforcement's knowledge of interviewing techniques, and it was conducted to provide insight for interviewing suspects in order to identify a killer. In addition, this research added to the growing body of knowledge about criminal profiling and developing profiles of serial killers. The study serves as a prototype upon which much of the knowledge of serial killers and profiling is based. A synthesis of this study will provide the reader with an overview of the material which will be discussed in greater detail in this paper.

After a serial murder suspect is apprehended and incarcerated, there follows an interview by law enforcement agents which is conducted to gain information about the crimes. According to Bartholomew, Milte, & Galbally (1975) that standard interviews were not satisfactory for eliciting information in that the offender being interviewed,

who is usually of at least average intelligence, quickly learned not to say things that may have been interpreted as detrimental to his chances of release. In the opinion of Bartholomew et al. psychological testing was also likely to produce misleading results because it is not difficult for an intelligent person to recognize the type of answer that should be given if early release is the goal for any criminal. Although refinements are needed in the area of forensic psychological testing, the FBI has been instrumental in developing and utilizing interviewing techniques that elicit specific information from violent serial offenders. In 1985 the FBI conducted a study of interviewing techniques that may be employed in homicide investigations ("Interviewing Techniques", 1985). The 36 subjects of this study were incarcerated serial sexual killers.

It was necessary prior to beginning these interviews that the interviewers were thoroughly familiar with all pertinent existing information, including crime scene photos, records, and files ("Interviewing Techniques", 1985). This information can be used not only to draw conclusions about the offender but also to establish an interest in the offender. By showing interest, respect is conveyed to the individual, which is an initial objective in establishing rapport. It is often difficult in cases of brutal and violent crimes to show respect to an offender, but it often allows the interviewer to get to the point of the interview more quickly since less time will be spent by the offender in evaluating the interviewer ("Interviewing Techniques"). Rapport is the key communication link in most interviews. Once FBI agents established rapport and the offender recognized this, the interviewer was allowed to lead the interview and was able to re-establish communication

when it began to fail. Investigators gained rapport by mirroring the offenders' verbal and nonverbal behaviors below the conscious level of each offender ("Interviewing Techniques").

Initially, rapport was established prior to questioning ("Interviewing Techniques", 1985). The questions were generally organized around the four phases of murder which will be discussed in a more detailed manner in Chapter 2: (a) precrime phase, (b) murder event, (c) disposal of the body, and (d) postcrime phase ("The Split Reality of Murder", 1985). When questioning offenders about precrime behavior, the conscious motive for the murder was often elicited by asking the offender "what triggered the murder?" Those murderers who had conscious intent to murder were able to describe their motives in detail. Those who murdered without conscious motive would usually say they could not remember why they killed, but they were able to describe their feelings before the murder ("Interviewing Techniques").

When eliciting information from the convicted serial sexual murderers about the event, it was found that the offenders who deliberately planned the murder through fantasy continued to remember aspects of the murder and would offer this information to the interviewers ("Interviewing Techniques", 1985). This information was critical, but the events that the offender avoided or refused to discuss also provided important information about areas where strong emotions may have existed. During questioning about the second phase of murder, the interviewers concentrated on important aspects of the event such as how the offender gained access to the victim, transportation of the victim from

one location to another, what the murderer did sexually before, during, and after the

victim's death, methods of torture, behaviors after the victim's death (such as mutilation or

amputation), and thoughts and feelings during these acts ("Interviewing Techniques").

Information regarding the third phase of murder, the disposal of the body, was also

elicited. After the murder, offenders were confronted with the decision of what to do with

the body. The FBI's interviews with these offenders illustrated the importance of fantasy

in disposing of the victims' bodies ("Interviewing Techniques", 1985). Questions

concentrated on how the offender left the scene, what was taken from the body or the

crime scene, and what thoughts and feelings the murderer experienced during the various

acts ("Interviewing Techniques").

Often a series of behaviors occured after the murder. Within this context an

understanding of these behaviors helped shed light on the entire behavioral process

("Interviewing Techniques", 1985). Interviewers asked the offenders what was done

immediately after the murder. Such behaviors that occurred after murders included

washing or changing clothes, going out with friends, and eating or sleeping well.

Interviewers also elicited information about how offenders thought and felt about the

murder, whether they dreamt about the murder, and whether they returned to the crime

scene, attended the funeral, read about the murder in the newspaper, or talked to the

police. Interviewers also included questions about the recovery of the body, including

whether the offender assisted in its recovery, whether they were present when the body

was recovered, and whether their confession was necessary for the police to find the body ("Interviewing Techniques").

CHAPTER 1

UNDERSTANDING SERIAL KILLERS

This chapter will introduce the reader to serial killers. Several definitive categories of serial killers and serial killing behavior will be specified to provide a foundation on which to build a composite profile which many serial killers fit. Additionally, a brief history of the journalistic documentation of serial killers will be studied, as will statistical incidence of recent crimes perpetrated by serial killers. The developmental and social histories of serial killers will be examined next, followed by concrete characteristics and patterns displayed by serial killers.

Much of the works cited in this review use terms which will be used interchangeably. General terms which will be used to discuss serial killers or the numerous killings that they have committed include multiple murder, serial murder, serial homicide, and, sometimes, mass murder, mass killings, and mass homicide. It should be understood, though, that a "mass murderer" is most often different from a "serial murderer" or "serial killer". Generally speaking, the mass murderer is one who murders a group of people at one time, such as with a bomb. When the term "mass" is used here, its meaning will be clarified.

There is often a sexual element to serial killings, so with this added element, the discussion will turn to sexual homicide, or serial sexual homicide. This sexual element is often sadistic in nature, meaning that the perpetrator enjoys inflicting extreme pain on the victim before actually murdering him or her. This added factor of sadism then necessitates

the need for discussion of sadistic murder as well. Both sexual and sadistic homicidal acts have been perpetrated multiple times on multiple victims and can escalate from a single-episode murder to serial murder.

Definitive Categories: Serial Killers, Serial Sexual Killers, and Serial Sadistic Killers

A universal definition of "serial killer" has not yet been used in the literature, probably due to the number of interchangeable terms that are used to describe similar acts. This has made classifying serial cases extremely difficult. According to Jenkins (1989), scholars differ on whether serial homicide should include only acts without rational motive. In Browning and Gerassi's (1980) view, a person would not be described as a serial killer if he or she murdered for profit or political motive, nor would murderers who killed as part of organized crime or acts resulting from political or industrial violence be considered serial killers. Individuals who are motivated by such external sources to murder several victims are beyond the scope of this paper and beyond the definitions used herein. Liebert (1985) asserted that a major difficulty in the agreement on one definition may be due to the reliability of subjective assessments and interpretations of crime scenes in order to determine motivations for the murder. The applications of crime scene investigation are vague at this time, but as profiling becomes more scientific, subjective approaches will fade and give way to more rigorous methodology. Subjective interpretations, however, are all that is available at this time, so they must be used as bases

for education and investigation if there is any hope of apprehending these murderers.

Several definitions suggested by various authors generally define the act (serial murder) or actor (serial murderer), or they define related elements of serial murder. For instance, most authors agreed that the central feature of serial murder is repetition (Egger, 1984; Geberth, 1986; Gresswell & Hollin, 1994; Liebert), while other factors may vary slightly, for example one's reasons for killing serially and methods of victim selection. There does appear to be a general assumption underlying the conceptualization of a case of apparent serial murder from which different definitions can be generated. This assumption is that a person murders over a span of time and in a certain definable space, and there is a common motivation in the otherwise random appearance of the killings (Liebert).

Egger (1984) included six features in his "working definition" of serial murder. According to this definition, there must be at least two murders, and there is usually no relationship between victim and perpetrator. The murders are committed at different times and have no direct connection to previous or subsequent murders, and the murders often occur at different locations. A very important feature of serial murder according to Egger (1984) is that the murders are not committed for material gain, such as money or insurance, but rather they are compulsive acts or are directed at gratifying needs which have developed through fantasy. Additionally, subsequent victims have characteristics in common with earlier or later victims. Egger (1984) specified that in many known serial cases, the killer has been a male. Levin and Fox (1985) further specified that serial killers

are generally white males. It is according to these specifications that this paper will only discuss male serial killers.

Geberth (1986) described serial murder as murder that involves the killing of separate victims with time lapses between murders. These time breaks, called "cooling off" periods, may be as short as two days or they may last for weeks or months.

Serial murder was specifically defined by Egger (1990), Holmes and DeBurger (1988), and FBI affiliates Ressler, Burgess, and Douglas (1988) as one-on-one murder which is repetitive and involves a stranger, having a motive known only to the murderer. Ressler, Burgess, and Douglas further suggested that the nature of serial murder becomes sexual when evidence includes the following: the victim's state of dress or lack thereof; the exposure of sexual parts of the victim's body; sexual positioning of the victim's body; insertion of foreign objects into the victim's body cavities; evidence of sexual intercourse, either oral, anal, or vaginal; and evidence of a form of substitute sexual activity, sexual interest, or sexual fantasy.

Sexual homicide is often a constituent of serial murder and was defined generally by FBI affiliates Burgess et al. (1986) as one person killing another in the context of power, control, and aggressive brutality. Sexual homicide is an act of control, dominance, and performance that is representative of an underlying fantasy of violence, sex, and death ("The Split Reality of Murder", 1985).

Sadism is often sexual in nature and thus is related to serial homicide. Sadism is often described in terms of inflicting pain or humiliation on another in order to receive

sexual gratification (Langevin et al., 1988). MacCulloch et al. (1983) defined sadism as the following:

> the repeated practice of behavior and fantasy which is characterized by a wish to control another person by domination, denigration, or inflicting pain, for the purpose of producing mental pleasure and sexual arousal (whether or not accompanied by orgasm) in the sadist (p. 20).

In practice, the sadist may receive pleasure from four components of his deviant sexual behavior, including domination and control; fear and terror of the victim; inflicting physical injuries on the victim; and rituals, cannibalism, and sexual excitement by an unconscious or dead victim (Langevin et al., 1988).

In addition to these general categories of serial murder, there are additional, more specific classifications and typologies. One classification is the organized serial killer, meaning that the serial killer's approach to a victim and crime are orderly, well-planned, and well-executed. Conversely, disorganized serial killers approach their murders in a frenzied, sudden manner, and the murders are not neatly performed (Ressler, Burgess, & Douglas, 1988). These classifications will be specifically addressed in Chapter 2. Other typologies which will be discussed in Chapter 3 include visionary, hedonistic, missionary, and power-control oriented killings (Holmes & DeBurger, 1985). Briefly, many visionary serial killers have hallucinations and delusional beliefs which lead them to kill certain types of victims, while hedonistic serial killers often kill for the thrill of it (Holmes & DeBurger, 1985). According to the FBI, serial lust murderers are often considered members of a

subcategory of hedonistic serial killers because of the sexual enjoyment experienced in the violent act (Hazelwood & Douglas, 1980). Missionary serial killers often feel that they have a mission to complete, such as ridding the world of a particular class or type of person, for example, prostitutes. Lastly, power-control oriented serial killers are often driven by the desire to have complete life and death control over other human beings (Holmes & DeBurger, 1985).

History and Incidence of Serial Killings

Serial killers have been a documented phenomenon in the United States for nearly a century. According to Jenkins (1989), a body of work titled Modern Criminal Science made available the work of such scholars as Ferri, Lombroso, and Gross between 1910 and 1915. This provided a new vocabulary by which multiple murders could be explained and interpreted. The period between 1900 and 1940 seemed especially promising because this was the first time that the phenomenon of multiple murder was first noted, defined, and studied in America (Jenkins). During this 40-year time period there were at least 24 documented instances where 10 or more victims were thought to have been murdered by the same killer (Newton, 1988).

While it may seem that serial murder is not a major concern for the public in general, reportedly there are serial murderers who are active now. In the late 1980s the Federal Bureau of Investigation estimated that there were about 45 multiple murderers active in the United States at any one time (Busch & Cavanaugh, 1986). Specifically, in

1986, Burgess et al. reported that the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports data for 1984 indicated that 22% of that year's homicides were "motiveless killings". The reader should interpret this statistic with caution, however, because "motiveless killings" is a broad category which includes serial sexual murder as well as serial killing without motive and single killings. "Motiveless killings", such as the serial killings discussed herein, are viewed in contrast to killings which are motivated by money or other material gain. Jenkins (1989) offered a more specific statistic about the incidence of serial murder, reporting that between 1971 and 1989 there were several hundred serial murder cases, and at least 49 of these involved 10 or more victims. Said another way, in at least 49 cases, one murderer was believed to be responsible for 10 or more murders. In several hundred of the serial murder cases that occurred in that 18 year span, one murderer was believed to be responsible for less than 10 murderers. All statistics of incidence of serial murder, however, should be interpreted with caution because it is nearly impossible to account for all murder victims who were killed by a serial murderer as opposed to a single murderer, and it is also nearly impossible to determine which killers are serial killers and which are single killers.

Childhood History and Social Development

A great deal of research points to the possibility that serial killers were not necessarily born to be murderous. Many were raised in broken homes filled with abuse and loneliness, and through time they retreated into a different world where they believed that

no one could hurt them again either physically or emotionally. According to Holmes and DeBurger (1985) many serial killers are born out of wedlock, and, as children, many endure physical, sexual, and emotional abuse.

One study conducted by the FBI ("The Men Who Murdered", 1985) on 36 serial sexual murderers yielded an information base regarding certain aspects of the serial sexual killer population. Because serial sexual killers are a specific subcategory of the broad category of serial killers, it seems that the findings by the FBI can be generalized somewhat to the global population of serial killers, particularly in regard to family background and childhood. In the FBI's study, an analysis of family histories revealed that multiple problems existed in the family structure of many serial killers. After reviewing the information elicited by the interviews, the FBI concluded that it was unlikely that most offenders experienced a good quality of life or positive interactions with family members. Specifically, it was evident from the following interview data that the offenders likely experienced a low level of attachment. One-half of the offenders' families included members with criminal histories, and over one-half of their families had psychiatric problems, while nearly 70% of the families had histories of drug abuse. In almost half of the killers' histories, sexual problems among family members were either suspected or present, and, importantly, many families had little attachment to a community, thereby reducing the child's opportunities to develop positive, stable relationships outside the family which might have compensated for the family's instability. Many killers in this study reported that they did not have satisfactory relationships with their fathers, and many of

their relationships with their mothers were reportedly very ambivalent in emotional quality.

Sixteen of the murderers in the study reported cold and uncaring relationships with their

mothers, and twenty-six reported such relationships with their fathers. Additionally, many

perceived parental discipline as hostile, unfair, inconsistent, and abusive. The participants

reported evidence of multiple kinds of abuse including psychological abuse (74%),

physical abuse (42%), and sexual abuse (39%) ("The Men Who Murdered").

In a study conducted by the FBI ("The Men Who Murdered", 1985), the majority

of the murderers involved did not finish high school. In interviews with these men, school

failure was frequently mentioned by them, suggesting that they may relate this early failure

to a continuing sense of inadequacy.

Many hypotheses exist regarding what specific events in a serial killer's childhood

may create a propensity toward multiple murder. Burgess et al. (1986) and Liebert (1985)

suggested that a serial killer's early history is often characterized by a failure of bonding

and attachment between the child and caretaker, most often a parent. Holmes and

DeBurger (1985) reported that some serial killers were outright rejected as children and

young adults by their parents. This lack of bonding and attachment encourages the child

to become cold and aloof and to retreat into a controlled world of fantasy. Many years of

solitude, aloofness, and vivid fantasies continuously coexist and perpetuate themselves and

eventually become a vicious cycle, each building on the other. This cycle may eventually

create a foundation for multiple murder. It must be recognized, however, that the mere

co-existence of these factors does not mean that a person has the predisposition to become

a serial killer. Rather, the factors have been identified as predisposing factors in the development of a multiple murderer. This limitation must be kept in mind when any developmental profiles are discussed.

Durkheim stated in 1951 that "the more weakened the groups to which [the individual] belongs, the less he depends on them, the more he consequently depends only on himself and recognizes no other rules of conduct than what are founded on his private interests" (as cited in Hirschi, 1969, p. 251). The theories presented by Burgess et al. (1986), Liebert (1985), and Holmes & DeBurger (1985) are in accord with Durkheim's statement throughout childhood, adolescence, and adulthood, and the theories parallel Hirschi's social bond theory. According to Hirschi, "control theories assume that delinquent acts result when an individual's bond to society is weak or broken" (p. 251). Hirschi discussed several elements of a bond to society: attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief, all of which are weak or lacking in a deviant person such as a serial killer. According to Martin and Fitzpatrick, a deviant person's lack of attachment can be viewed as a "failure to respond to the ordinary motivations founded in respect or regard for one's fellows" (as cited in Hirschi, p. 251). Hirschi views attachment as the sociological counterpart of the superego, or conscience.

Commitment, the second element of a social bond, is viewed as the counterpart of the ego, or common sense (Hirschi, 1969). Most people are committed to "conventional lines of action," (Hirschi, p. 253), investing time and energy into productive activities. When people consider committing a deviant act, they usually consider the costs of the

behavior and the chances they take of losing their investment in conventional behavior (Hirschi). Deviant individuals, for example serial killers, are not committed to conventional lines of action, thus they do not consider the risks of their behaviors.

Hirschi's (1969) third element of a social bond is involvement. The assumption of involvement is that most people are just too busy in their conventional lines of action to have time to participate in deviant behaviors. "To the extent that he is engrossed in conventional activities, he can not even think about deviant acts, let alone act out his inclinations" (Hirschi, p. 254). Serial killers, however, are not usually involved in conventional activities and thus do not appear to have many recreational interests outside of murdering, so they spend much time planning and fantasizing about their murderous acts.

The final element in Hirschi's (1969) social bond theory is belief. This theory assumes that there is "a common sense value system within the society or group whose norms are being violated" (Hirschi, p. 255). Usually both nondeviants and deviants believe a criminal act is wrong. However, some serial killers believe that they are entitled to act as they do. Following control theory, serial killers rationalize their behaviors. Hirschi's assumption is that "there is variation in the extent to which people believe they should obey the rules of society, and furthermore, the less a person believes he should obey the rules, the more likely he is to violate them " (p. 256). Serial killers have little belief in the rules of society, thus the likelihood of murder is high.

In 1963 McDonald found childhood behaviors of enuresis, fire setting, and

torturing animals to be common in the histories of many sadistic multiple murderers. Similarly many offenders interviewed by the FBI reported a history of sadistic behavior toward animals, such as killing, maiming, and threatening small animals, including cats, fish, and birds ("The Split Reality of Murder", 1985). McDonald saw these behaviors as indicative of a lack of emotional bonds between the child and others and as precursors to similar acts ultimately directed toward other people. Burgess et al., affiliated with the FBI, (1986) interpreted these behaviors as expressions of the child's developing fantasies of revenge.

According to Gresswell and Hollin (1994) these causal suggestions lie on two basic assumptions: (a) caretakers do not help the child cope with traumatic experiences because of the lack of emotional bonds (assuming that there is a traumatic experience in the killer's childhood), and (b) the child incorporates certain elements of the traumatic experience in violent daydreams and sadistic fantasies.

Burgess et al. (1986) argued that predisposed children may feel helpless because they may feel close to no one and so may retreat into a private world where rich fantasies provide a sense of power and control. As a result of the withdrawal into a fantasy world, these children often become increasingly dependent on fantasy to meet the many emotional needs that are not being met otherwise (Gresswell & Hollin, 1994). In a study conducted by the FBI ("The Men Who Murdered", 1985), many of the participant killers were able to describe the importance of a fantasy life in early development. These fantasies were primarily violent and sadistic in nature. Predisposed children may experience little

effective interaction with and control from family members, and they may miss opportunities to develop pro-social values and skills. Instead these children often develop increasingly distorted views of themselves and the process and quality of positive human relationships (Gresswell & Hollin). Burgess et al. (1986) thus suggested that future multiple killers may adopt increasingly antisocial views as well as a feeling of entitlement to express themselves in any chosen manner. This could be viewed as an effort by serial killers to attract the attention that was lacking during childhood.

A similar yet more concise theory regarding the propensity toward serial murder relates to the fact that many serial killers, including sexual serial killers, report growing up with hostile, extremely violent parents. Often serial killers harbor resentment and intense anger toward their parents, and sometimes this anger is generalized to all women or to people in general (Brittain, 1970; Burgess et al., 1986; Dietz, 1986; Holmes & DeBurger, 1985; Revitch, 1965). The act of murder may then be a serial killer's way of expressing hate toward his parents, usually more so toward his mother, and his emotionally impoverished childhood.

Another hypothesis comes from the viewpoint of a person's emotional development. According to Hale (1994), an early step in an individual's development involves the perception of having control over certain events, meaning that they may believe they have more control over external events than they really have. The next step in this development involves acquiring the ability to distinguish between events over which control can be exercised and events which are out of one's control. There is some

evidence, that people who are "stuck" at a preoperational stage have exaggerated perceptions of control over events (see Weisz and Stipek, 1982). Thus, a person at this stage of development may feel embarrassed at attempting to control events that a more developed person would interpret as external and out of one's control (Seidner et al., 1988). Additionally, persons at the preoperational stage of development are rather egocentric, meaning that they are unable to take the viewpoint of other people. Specifically, the ego seems to be at the center of the person's world (Piaget, 1952).

The last developmental stage occurs as individual become more likely to use social comparison when evaluating their performance rather than a set standard of mastery (Ruble, Feldman, & Boggiano, 1976; Veroff, 1969). The eventual outcome of the fully-developed individual is integration of both mastery and social comparison. The case with serial killers, however, is different. There seems to be some delayed development as many lack the capacity for social comparison that would encourage the understanding of various situations in which they were rejected (Hale, 1994). Instead, those individuals with a propensity toward serial murder still use their own standard of mastery in attempts to understand the situations in which they were rebuffed, and this leads to confusion and misunderstandings between serial killers and acquaintances.

Motivational Model Of Sexual Homicide

FBI affiliates Burgess et al. (1986) conducted a study with the 36 incarcerated sexual murderers who were studied repeatedly by the FBI. This particular study was not

designed to study motivation, but the research of Burgess et al. (1986) yielded much data about these offenders' motivations to kill. The model that emerged from Burgess et al.'s study is the Motivational Model of Sexual Homicide. This model of the developmental process some children who grow to become serial killers may go through, developed by Burgess et al. (1986), has five interacting components which emphasize relationships among (a) a child's ineffective social environment, (b) child and adolescent formative events, (c) patterned responses to these events, (d) resultant actions toward others, and (e) a killer's reactions via a mental "feedback filter" to the murderous acts. Each component will be discussed. It is important to understand at this point that the existence of problems during these formative stages does not necessarily mean that a child is predisposed to become a serial killer. However, a child who proceeds through these stages may be predisposed to developing further behavioral disorders and should be examined accordingly.

Ineffective Social Environment

Burgess et al. (1986) suggested that social bonding fails or becomes narrow and selective in an ineffective social environment. Caretakers, particularly parents, ignore, rationalize, or normalize various behaviors in the child, or through their own problems, they support the child's developing distortions and projections. The people who are significant to the child do not provide necessary nurture and protection. Rather they impose adult expectations on the child (Burgess et al., 1986).

Formative Events

Burgess et al.'s (1986) motivational model proposed that three factors contribute to child and adolescent formative events. The first factor is trauma, which includes physical or sexual abuse. Two assumptions are made regarding a child's reaction to trauma. Under the first assumption, non-normative events yield direct trauma (e. g., physical/sexual abuse) or indirect trauma (e. g., witnessing family violence). Within the context of the ineffective social environment just outlined, the distress caused by the trauma is ignored by parents or caretakers, and a child's fears are not discussed and put to rest. Often a child's memories of frightening and upsetting life experiences shape developing thought patterns. These thought patterns assist in developing structured, patterned behaviors which in turn help create daydreams and fantasies (Burgess et al., 1986). The traumatic events encountered by the child can be resolved successfully or unsuccessfully. An unsuccessful resolution perpetuates a child's helplessness, often with the appearance of aggressive fantasies aimed at achieving dominance and control over the situation which the child does not have in real life (Burgess et al., 1984; MacCulloch et al., 1983; Pynoos & Eth, 1985). The second assumption made regarding a child's reaction to early traumatic events is manifestations of the impact of stressful events, such as direct physical and sexual abuse, are very influential in the child's social development (Burgess et al., 1986; Conte, 1984; Pynoos & Eth, 1985). Concurrent with the abusive event, the child may experience an increased emotional/physiological arousal level. When this increased arousal level interacts with constant thoughts about the trauma, the child's

perceptions and patterns of interpersonal relationships may be altered. For example, the child may show aggressive behavior by striking out at the parents or by repeatedly attacking a pet (Burgess et al., 1986).

The second factor which contributes to child and adolescent formative events is developmental failure (Burgess et al., 1986). The child does not readily attach to his adult caretaker, particularly if the caretaker has inflicted the abuse on the child. The child does not listen or respond to limit-setting, and is often described as cold, aloof, and uncaring. As a consequence of the negative social attachment, the caretaker has no influence or control over the child and later over the adolescent.

The third contributing factor to formative events is that of interpersonal failure (Burgess et al., 1986). This is described as the failure on the part of the caretaking adult to serve as a positive role model for the developing child. There are various reasons for this interpersonal failure. One reason may be that the caretaker is absent and the child has no adult to provide guidance and structure. Another reason for the interpersonal failure is that the caretaker may serve as a poor role model by exhibiting various negative behaviors. An example of interpersonal failure may be a child who is reared in a violent home where physical aggression is associated with adult sexual behavior, possibly viewing physical abuse during a parental sexual encounter. Specifically, a child might observe his father yelling and swearing at and hitting his mother during sexual intercourse. Here the adults have not served as positive role models, and a positive interpersonal relationship has not formed. Additionally, sex is paired with physical and verbal abuse of women.

Patterned Responses

 According to Burgess et al.'s (1986) theory, children develop patterned responses to these traumatic events (i. e., being a victim of physical, emotional, or sexual abuse, or being witness to abuse against another). There are two subcategories which interact to generate fantasies. The first subcategory is critical personal traits. In the study conducted by Burgess et al. (1986), it was found that children have a propensity to develop negative rather than positive personal traits. These negative traits conflict with the formation of healthy social relationships. Thus there is increased social isolation which encourages a reliance on fantasy as a substitute for normal human encounters. Without these normal encounters and negotiations, children fail to develop corresponding social values, such as respect for other peoples' lives and property. The negative personal traits that are critical to this development include a sense of isolation, a preference for autoerotic activities and fetishes, rebelliousness, aggression, chronic lying, and a sense of entitlement (feeling as if one can do as he or she pleases without consequence because something is owed to him or her). Social isolation and aggression interact, restricting proper social development based on coping, pleasure, and companionship. There is little opportunity for interpersonal experiences that might modify a child's misconceptions of self and others. One's personal life then becomes dependent upon fantasy for development, and the fantasy life becomes the primary source for arousal, yielding emotions which are a confused mixture of sex and aggression (Burgess et al., 1986).

 The second subcategory which is important to the development of fantasy is

cognitive mapping and processing (Burgess et al., 1986). Cognitive mapping is the structure and development of thought patterns that give control to one's internal life (e. g., one's sense of self and beliefs about the world) and link the individual to the social environment (e. g., one's interpretation of others). Cognitive mapping and processing are aimed at self-preservation and equilibrium through the reduction of negative emotions such as terror, helplessness, and anxiety. In serial killers, the mapping is repetitive and lacking in socially enhancing cognitions. That is, the content of many serial killers' cognitions is antisocial, which moves serial killers toward an antisocial view of the entire world. What develops, according to Burgess et al. (1986), is a sense of entitlement to express oneself regardless of the impact that expression may have on others. The thoughts and actions are justified through the mapping process. The individual does not experience a positive interaction with the social environment because the individual's fantasies and thought patterns are substitutes for social relationships and are designed to stimulate them as well as to reduce tension. The imagined control and dominance over others become substitutes for a sense of mastery over internal and external experiences. The individual's cognitive mapping and processing structures include daydreams, nightmares, fantasies, and thoughts with strong visual components. The subjects of these structures deal with absolutes and generalizations which just do not occur in the real world (Burgess et al., 1986).

Actions Toward Others

The fourth component of this motivational model of sexual homicide concerns actions toward others. The internal worlds of many of the murderers described in the Burgess et al. (1986) study are preoccupied by thoughts of dominance over others. These thoughts are expressed in a wide range of actions toward others across the life span. During childhood development, serial killers' thoughts were expressed in acts of cruelty to animals, the abuse of other children, negative play patterns, stealing, and fire-setting. During adolescence and adulthood, the activities escalated to assaultive behaviors, arson, abduction, rape, nonsexual murder, and ultimately can include sexual murder involving rape, torture, mutilation, and/or necrophilia (Burgess et al., 1986). These activities suggest that a pattern of violence can be established, making it possible for that pattern to be broken with shrewd intervention. The early expression of cruelty to other humans and to animals is the foundation on which future assaultive acts may be built for two reasons. First, early violent behaviors are reinforced as the children are able to either express rage without experiencing any negative consequences or they are impervious to any admonitions or prohibitions against these acts. Second, impulsive and erratic behavior discourages friendships. The failure to develop friendships leads to isolation and interferes with the ability to resolve conflicts, to develop positive empathy, and to control impulses. Additionally, there is no challenge to their beliefs that are entitled to act as they do (Burgess et al., 1986).

Feedback Filter

The last component in this motivational model is a socially impaired feedback filter (Burgess et al., 1986). According to the feedback filter, a murderer reacts to and evaluates his actions toward others and toward himself. These reactions and evaluations influence the murderer's future actions. This reaction is termed the "feedback filter" because it both feeds back into a killer's patterned responses and filters earlier actions into a continued way of thinking. Through this feedback filter, a murderer's earlier actions are justified, errors are sorted out, and corrections are made to preserve and protect the internal fantasy world and to avoid restrictions from the external environment. A murderer develops increased knowledge of how to avoid punishment and detection. This feeds back into the patterned responses and enhances the details of the fantasy life (Burgess et al., 1986) and thus becomes a perpetual and dangerous feedback loop.

Developmental Importance of Humiliation and Embarrassment

A complimentary hypothesis to that proposed by FBI associates Burgess et al. (1986) was the hypothesis proposed by Hale (1994) regarding the importance of humiliation and embarrassment during the development of serial killers. Control over all situations is very important to many serial killers, and loss or perceived loss of this control is devastating to them. Often during a serial killer's development there is a significant situation which is perceived as humiliating. A situation the killer perceives as embarrassing involves an attack on self-worth. The serial killer integrates humiliation as

an internal drive, and in all situations the killer feels compelled to answer to the challenge to his self-worth (Hale). While this does not explain why some killers overcome the humiliation after a single murder while others continue to kill over time, it may be related to the fact that some serial killers suffer damaged self-esteems and feel the need to try to increase it by proving self-worth.

Luckenbill (1977) generated a theory noting the effect that having an audience has on a killer's satisfaction with the act. Generally, a person who has been humiliated in public can not just walk away from the challenge of restoring his image. Research by Isenberg (1980) has shown that the presence of an audience is critical to experiencing embarrassment, so, according to Hale (1994), the response must also occur in public, preferably in front of the same audience who witnessed the humiliation. It is only in this way that the humiliation can be rectified and "right" can be restored.

According to this theory, serial killers, however, do not perform in front of an audience, or at least an audience who survives to witness any rectification. It is possible that serial killers have experienced some sort of perceived humiliation during a life stage, and until the humiliation can be corrected, serial killers may feel that the passionate quest to perform a sacrifice to set matters "right" must continue. It is possible that serial killers must kill to overcome this intense shame, yet no audience survives to see that "right", according to a serial killer's belief system, has been restored (Hale, 1994).

It seems logical to ask why the serial killer does not just return to the perceived perpetrator of the humiliation and eliminate that person to set things "right" rather than

destroying many innocent lives (Hale, 1994). According to Hale, serial killers often remain under the control of the person who originally humiliated them. By creating this humiliation, the person (the humiliator) has blocked a basic drive within the future serial killer, that drive being free expression of a particular behavior. Serial killers may feel unable to confront the real cause of the humiliation. If this confrontation were possible, the humiliation would have been challenged long before it became suppressed and internalized (Hale).

Feelings and problems that serial killers experienced during formative periods in their lives may be transferred to stimuli that appear similar to the humiliator (Hale, 1994). For example, serial killers may transfer the affect from their mothers to females in general or to particular females (Revitch, 1965), and as a result actual victims are serving as scapegoats for the intended victim--in this example, the mother (Hale). Serial killers, then, may justify the act of murder as necessary to restore a previous wrong (Hale).

Essentially the humiliation hypothesis suggests that serial killers are driven to continue to kill because (a) No audience is present to bear witness to the fact that "right", according to a serial killer, has been restored, and (b) perhaps more importantly, the killer fails to remove the actual target of his humiliation (Hale, 1994).

Characteristics, Patterns, and Descriptions

The general appearance and demeanor of a serial killer would not allow a person to go out and recognize such a person in a crowd, but serial killers do have many

characteristics in common. These commonalities greatly assist in the search and apprehension during an investigation. Demographically, serial killers are under 35 years of age, usually falling between the ages of 25 and 34 (Brittain, 1970; Holmes & DeBurger, 1985; Leibman, 1989), and they are usually white males (Holmes & DeBurger; Levin & Fox, 1985).

Serial killers are usually quite intelligent, or at least "street smart". This intelligence may increase a serial killer's creativity and so may be necessary to engage in an active fantasy life. The serial killers' intelligence is also important because it allows for more careful planning of offenses and avoidance of detection by potential witnesses and police officials (Brittain, 1970; Holmes & DeBurger, 1985).

Many serial killers are described as extremely charming and charismatic, thus many of them are considered to be psychopathic (Holmes & DeBurger, 1985). Exhibition of charm and charisma as precursors to the commission of wrongful acts are two diagnostic criteria for psychopathy. Psychologists diagnose mental illness according to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fourth Edition (DSM-IV), and a diagnosis of psychopathy does not exist in the DSM-IV. The DSM-IV diagnosis that most closely parallels the definition of a psychopath is the antisocial diagnosis. The reader should be aware, however, that "psychopathy" is not diagnostically the same as "antisocial". It is often the charm exhibited by serial killers that allows them access to unsuspecting victims. According to Liebert (1985) these men are very skilled and convincing imposters, and serial killers dedicate this skill to a successful predatory

existence. Holmes and DeBurger (1985) and Liebert suggest this is an important factor in their narcissistic and psychopathic personality structures. However, not all serial killers would necessarily meet the antisocial diagnostic criteria suggested by the American Psychiatric Association in their Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (4th edition), or the DSM-IV (APA, 1994). Similarly, not all serial killers would necessarily meet the criteria for psychopathy set forth by Hare (1989) in the Hare Psychopathy Checklist-Revised, or Hare PCL-R.

The criteria stated in the DSM-IV for an antisocial diagnosis mandates that the individual exhibit at least three of the following behavior patterns: (a) failure to conform to social norms with respect to lawful behaviors as indicated by repeatedly performing acts that are grounds for arrest; (b) deceitfulness, as indicated by repeated lying, use of aliases, or conning others for personal profit or pleasure; (c) impulsivity or failure to plan ahead; (d) irritability and aggressiveness, as indicated by repeated physical fights or assaults; (e) reckless disregard for safety of self or others; (f) consistent irresponsibility, as indicated by repeated failure to sustain consistent work behavior or honor financial obligations; and (g) lack of remorse, as indicated by being indifferent to or rationalizing having hurt, mistreated, or stolen from another (APA, 1994).

While diagnostic criteria for psychopathy does not exist in the DSM-IV, the Hare PCL-R (1989) is used for these psychodiagnostic purposes. The Hare PCL-R, most often used on male prison inmates or psychiatric patients, utilizes a set of items that describes traits or behaviors which may or may not be characteristic of a psychopath. The items on

the Hare PCL-R generally correspond with the diagnostic criteria of the DSM-IV, but many of the Hare PCL-R criteria are more specific. The following are examples of rating items on the Hare PCL-R: glibness/superficial charm, need for stimulation, lack of empathy, impulsivity, irresponsibility, and lack of remorse (Hare, 1989).

Many serial killers appear to be "night people", selecting, stalking, and killing victims when most people are not aware of or alert to personal vulnerabilities (Holmes & DeBurger, 1985). According to Holmes and DeBurger (1985) and Langevin et al. (1988), serial killers enjoy killing with "hands-on" weapons such as knives, clubs, or fists. Specifically, research by Brittain (1970), FBI affiliates Dietz, Hazelwood and Douglas (1980), and Podolsky (1965) strongly suggested that some sexual serial killers strangle, beat, or knife their victims. The FBI's agent Dietz (1986) argued that many serial killers believe that guns end the act of murder too quickly.

According to Carlisle (1993) over the course of months or years of killing and eluding police, habituation sometimes occurs, and the act of killing does not produce the anticipated satisfaction or the satisfaction it once produced. In an attempt to increase the pleasure and level of excitement serial killers desperately want and need, a killer might intensify his activities with either an increase in frequency of crimes or an increase in the number and severity of sadistic acts. Sometimes killers intensify both frequency and severity of their crimes. Often when killers are forced to escalate these activities, their self-images deteriorate. Serial killers tend to have damaged self-images anyway (Liebert, 1985). In certain cases, Liebert asserted, serial killers sometimes become sickened by the

crimes and begin to experience self-hate. The overwhelming urge serial killers have to kill

works against the self-hate that developed, resulting in a decline in the congruence

between their emotions and behaviors. This dissonance makes it much more difficult to

continue to kill as they have done in the past. Toward the end of serial killers' careers,

criminal activities often become more sloppy, thus it may appear as though these killers

want to be caught and punished (Carlisle, 1993).

CHAPTER 2

BEHAVIORAL, CRIME SCENE, AND SERIAL KILLER CLASSIFICATIONS

Investigative agencies have found it very useful to classify various crime scenes according to the evidence displayed at the scene. According to FBI affiliates, the crime scene consists of the actual scene of the crime, the victim of the crime, and all other locations involved in the crime, including such areas as the recovery site when a homicide is committed in one location and the body is deposited in another location (Ault & Reese, 1980). The type of crime scene left behind provides much information about the type of killer who perpetrated the crime. This chapter will first examine the behavioral process of murder, a general process through which most serial killers progress during the commission of a crime. Understanding the phases of murder will then assist in the assessment of crime scenes and in understanding the types of crime scene classifications generated from the analysis of both tangible and intangible clues found at the scene of a murder. The FBI has classified several types of scenes as sexual, non-sexual, and unknown. Additionally, this chapter will combine crime scene classification information with information regarding the classification of serial killers. Generally, serial killers are classified as organized serial killers, disorganized serial killers, and mixed serial killers who, from crime scene structure, appear to have characteristics of both organized and disorganized serial killers. Little investigative information is available on serial killers of the mixed classification as these serial killers are not often encountered.

Behavioral Phases of Murder

With most serial killers, the entire murderous process is comprised of several

phases. The fantasies underlying serial murder, particularly serial sexual murder, drive a

killer's actions through the various phases of each murder. The FBI ("The Split Reality of

Murder", 1985) proposed that the process of murder has at least four major phases: (a)

precrime behavior, (b) the murder itself, (c) disposal of the body, and (d) postcrime

behavior.

Phase 1: Precrime Behavior

The FBI studied 36 murderers ("The Split Reality of Murder", 1985) and secured

information from them about their behavioral processes surrounding each murder. Murder

is a behavioral act, and motivations toward this behavior can include fantasy, plans, a

directive (a reason to kill), or triggering environmental cues which activate unconscious

fantasies for murder ("The Split Reality of Murder"). Those who murdered on a

conscious motivational level usually remembered their thoughts before the murder. On the

other hand, murderers who were motivated to act on an unconscious fantasy by an

environmental trigger were usually unable to recall their precrime behavior, but they could

remember how they murdered. Often these murderers found themselves in a

compromising position and reacted with an explosion of anger. These men who

experienced triggering cues usually described a spontaneous murder ("The Split Reality of

Murder"), and thus may fit the "disorganized" classification, which will be described later

in this chapter.

Phase 2: The Murder

According to the FBI, the second phase of the process of murder is the actual murder ("The Split Reality of Murder", 1985). This phase begins with the conscious reality of the selection of a victim. Some serial killers may maintain a list of criteria for choosing a victim, and many have been known to search for the "right" victim. A victim's history and circumstances may be important to the fulfillment of a serial killer's fantasy, and a victim may symbolize a person in the killer's past. When there is a delay between the apprehension of the victim and the actual murder, the delay may indicate conscious planning and rehearsal of the event ("The Split Reality of Murder").

Some killers, however, are not consciously motivated by fantasy, so, for example, they may be triggered to kill by a certain situation or person ("The Split Reality of Murder", 1985). If an offender believes the world is unjust and feels unfairly treated, the justification to kill is soon set in motion. For most serial killers, killing the victim moves the killers into another level of the fantasy. It is at this point that murder becomes reality, and the killer is confronted with a dead body ("The Split Reality of Murder").

All serial killers make some sort of response upon seeing the reality of death ("The Split Reality of Murder", 1985). Some cover the body, wash wounds, or respond in a way that demonstrates remorse or concern for the victim. Other killers either hide or bury the victim's body to keep the murder secret, thus remaining in control of the situation, while

others openly display the body in a public area, hoping the gruesome display will shock

and offend society ("The Split Reality of Murder"). Before the killing, many murderers

need to know that after it is over they will show no concern for the victim. This attitude

works for some, but not for all serial killers. Usually the act of murder goes beyond the

fantasies, and there is strong support for the fantasy and pleasure in the power of the kill

("The Split Reality of Murder").

Phase 3: Disposal of the Body

After a murder has been committed, a killer must decide what to do with the body

("The Split Reality of Murder", 1985). If a killer has not already confronted this fact in

fantasy, the choice may be made to go to the authorities. It is not clear why some serial

killers choose to dispose of the body while others choose to leave the body at the death

scene. Some killers become involved with the corpse in a sexually sadistic manner after

death. This sadistic sexual involvement may be part of the original fantasy, or it may be

part of the development of a new fantasy ("The Split Reality of Murder").

Phase 4: Postcrime Behavior

At this time, the murderer's fantasy has become a reality, and the murderer finally

feels a sense of purpose ("The Split Reality of Murder", 1985). The authorities have

begun looking for the murderer, so the murderer's energies are now focused on avoiding

detection and on improving the murderous methods for future murders. The discovery of

the body is important to this phase. Sometimes the discovery is included in the fantasy, so the murderer must try to maintain the excitement to make reality parallel fantasy. In an attempt to continue the excitement, the murderer may call or write to the police to provide anonymous information, or the murderer may be in the crowd at the scene where the body is discovered ("The Split Reality of Murder"). In a most extreme attempt to continue the excitement, especially when it seems that the body will not be discovered, the murderer may confess to the crime just to be able to accompany the police to the body's location ("The Split Reality of Murder").

Classification of Crime Scenes Through Crime Scene Analysis

FBI agents have been responsible for the preparation of many criminal profiles and have found it useful to first classify the type and organizational structure of the crime scene. Crime scenes are classified generally as sex-related, non-sexual, and unknown. Evidence of a sexual component anywhere within a crime scene justifies a classification of sex-related. According to the FBI, the organizational structure of a crime scene is determined by existing evidence of the amount of planning and premeditation by the serial killer and by the level of control the offender appears to have had over the victim ("Classifying Sexual Homicide", 1985).

Crime Scene Indicators for Sex-Related or Sexual Homicide

The FBI has determined several items of evidence which may be collected or

observed at a crime scene that may assist in the classification of a murder as sex-related

("Classifying Sexual Homicide", 1985). These evidentiary elements may include the

body's attire or lack thereof; exposure of the victim's sexual parts; sexual positioning of

the body; sexual injury; evidence of sexual activity on, in, or near the body; or evidence

of substitute sexual activity or sadistic fantasy. Similarly, a pilot study completed by FBI

agent Vorpagel (1982) generated data which indicated that only one of the following was

needed to secure a classification of sexual homicide from crime scene data: evidence of

sexual assault, position and attire of victim, injuries and body mutilation, or evidence of

sadistic fantasy. It should be addressed here that the crime scene, which is where the body

is found, can differ from the death scene, which is where the victim is killed (Vorpagel).

Vorpagel (1982) studied each of the above types of evidence needed for a

classification of sexual homicide. His results varied as to the timing of the sexual assault

in relation to the murder. Specifically, in one-third of the instances of sexual assault, the

assault occurred before death, in another one-third, sexual assault occurred both before

and after death, and in the remaining one-third the assault occurred after death. In cases

where no physical evidence of sexual assault was found, it is possible that penetration of

the body by stabbing or insertion of an object into the vagina or rectum of the victim was a

substitute for penile penetration. Moreover, evidence of an offender urinating, defecating,

or masturbating in the victim's house or on the victim's clothing was found in cases

classified as sexual in nature.

Regarding the attire and positioning of the victim's body, it must be determined if

the clothing was ripped off the body or carefully removed (Vorpagel, 1982). Additionally, it must be determined whether the motivation for removing the clothing was curiosity, exploration, or fantasy (Vorpagel).

When analyzing bodily injury and mutilation, it is important to scrutinize the number of stabs and cuts. Investigators must determine whether such injuries and mutilations were made before or after death, on what parts of the body they occur, the depth of the stab wounds, and whether there was excessive brutality (Vorpagel, 1982). This pilot study found that mutilation usually takes place after death and for purposes of defeminizing or dehumanizing through the destruction of specific body parts such as breasts, genitals, abdomen, or rectum (Vorpagel).

Evidence of sadistic fantasy is a very important component in some sexual homicide cases, but it is often hard to determine its existence. This difficulty, according to Vorpagel (1982), may be one reason that many crimes are not reported in the proper category. The element of sexual fantasy is most recognizable in the underlying sexual dynamics, but these important sexual dynamics are not well-understood. Vorpagel, of the FBI, suggests that investigators ask several questions. One of these questions is "Does the offender repeat the killing in a ritualistic manner, suggesting a sadistic fantasy?" What investigators are looking for here is a pattern of dates or times of killings, whether the style of killing is patterned, or if items are found missing from victims or their surroundings. These missing items, or props, are often part of a serial killer's fantasy life, and may include shoes and clothing. Often photographs of the victim, which were taken

by the offender either before or after the victim's death, are found during an investigation (Vorpagel).

Crime Scene Indicators for Non-Sexual and Unknown Homicides

As cases which have a sexual component are relatively simple to classify, so are the homicides without a sexual component. The FBI classifies cases which have no evidence supporting a sexual element as non-sexual in nature and thus are investigated as though a non-sexual perpetrator committed the murder ("Classifying Sexual Homicide", 1985).

The classification of unknown homicide is used when it is not obvious whether a murder was sex-related or not. Skeletons, for example, may not provide useful evidence, and partially decomposed bodies may give confused information, especially if the body was buried or has been mauled by an animal ("Classifying Sexual Homicide", 1985).

Classifications of Serial Killers According to Crime Scene Structure and Information

There has been some dissent among scholars over the classification of serial killers. Ressler, Burgess, and Douglas (1988) suggested that serial killers be grouped according to tangible and intangible evidence left at crime scenes. They contend that serial killers can be categorized as "organized" or "disorganized" according to information from the crime scene itself. The FBI discusses four aspects of crime scene structure in which there are

distinct differences between organized and disorganized offenders. These include the

murderer's action during the offense, victim characteristics, use of vehicle in the

commission of the crime, and the types of evidence left at the crime scene ("Crime Scene",

1985).

Organized Classification According to Crime Scene Structure

In the investigation of a crime scene, law enforcement officers may initially

observe that there is evidence that some semblance of order existed at the scene before,

during, and after the commission of the crime. This methodical organization suggests a

carefully planned crime aimed at deterring detection. Fantasy and ritual dominate the

actions of the organized serial killer, often apparent in obsessive-compulsive traits that

surface in crime scene patterns. The murder may be committed in an isolated area selected

by the serial killer. Organized killers work hard to avoid leaving evidence behind. The

body and other evidence are hidden from view or are disposed of far from the death scene.

Most organized serial killers bring weapons to the crime scene and take them when

leaving, and the way they use their weapons and restraints may suggest an element of

sadistic fantasy in the offender's plan ("Crime Scene", 1985; Vorpagel, 1982). Law

enforcement officers may notice restraints, such as ropes, chains, tape, belts, clothing,

chemicals, handcuffs, gags, and blindfolds, which would suggest control by the serial killer

over the victim ("Crime Scene"; Vorpagel). With some organized serial killers, the killing

is eroticized and ritualized, as in torture where death comes in a slow, deliberate manner.

Here the serial killer demonstrates the power he holds over another's life. The behavior of organized serial killers is usually not harshly aggressive until the victim's behavior ceases to be passive and compliant. Often rape is planned in addition to the murders, and sexual control is continued past conversation to demands for specific types of reactions during the sexual assault, including fear and passivity ("Crime Scene"; Vorpagel).

Organized serial killers typically select their victims according to common characteristics, including age, appearance, hairstyle, occupation, or lifestyle (Vorpagel, 1982). Often a murderer who has left a concealed or altered crime scene has stalked, abducted, and abused the victim, first encountering the victim in one place and then transporting him or her to another. During the initial encounter, a serial killer may establish a pseudo-relationship with the victim or use some sort of ruse in order to capture the victim, first by verbal means rather than by physical force, thus his demeanor is not suspicious (Vorpagel, 1982). A serial killer who engages victims in this manner would use some type of deceptive behavior. The serial killer, Jamie Gumm, in the movie The Silence of the Lambs from 1991 is a good example of an organized serial killer. In one nighttime scene, the young, white, male serial killer pretended to have an injured arm and attempted, with great difficulty, to move a large chair into the rear of a van when he saw his intended victim approach his area. The serial killer secured the young, white, female victim's sympathy at a time when she was very vulnerable (she was alone and it was dark), and then he secured her assistance with moving the chair. He thanked her repeatedly and graciously and instructed her to move her end of the chair into the rear of the van first. He

then entered the van and assaulted and kidnaped her, eventually taking her away and

torturing her for days.

Serial killers who are classified as organized often work at occupations below their

abilities, but they may be of average to above-average intelligence ("Crime Scene, 1985;

Vorpagel, 1982). They typically select easy work which allows them to engage in fantasy

without distraction and to maintain the necessary mental energy to plan future murders.

For example, this type of serial killer may choose to work as a meat butcher, practicing

and perfecting mutilation techniques (Vorpagel). They are considered socially and

sexually competent. However, parental discipline during childhood was inconsistent and

sporadic. Organized serial killers are usually mobile with a car in good working condition,

and they often state that their moods during their crimes were controlled. According to

the FBI, they may report being in an angry or depressed frame of mind at the time of the

murder, but organized serial killers usually admit that they were calm and relaxed during

the commission of the crimes ("Crime Scene"). There is often evidence of continued

fantasy on the part of the offender as they often take remembrances of the victim or the

crime scene, such as clothing, photographs, or jewelry. Organized serial killers usually

take these mementos so they can relive the pleasurable action through fantasy. This type

of serial killer tends to follow the crime in the newspaper, which is suggested by the

newspaper clippings often found during searches of the subject's residence ("Crime

Scene", 1985). These offenders may also try to assist in the murder investigation by

standing in the crowd at investigation sites in order to overhear officers discussing the

case. Sometimes these serial killers may call or write letters to the police to provide information relating to the murder. These serial killers have even been known to don a fake police badge and pretend to be an officer working on the case (Vorpagel), so that they may stay close to the scene and the case in order to relive the crime over and over again.

Interview data collected by FBI associates Ressler, Burgess, Douglas, et al. (1986) suggested that some organized serial murderers, in particular sexual serial killers, who had a conscious intent based on a motive to kill, reported that such factors as witnesses and location did not function as deterrents against killing because the murder fantasy was so well-rehearsed that everything was very controlled. Additionally, many of the serial sexual murderers in the Ressler, Burgess, Douglas, et al. study who had detailed fantasies about killing either believed that they would never be caught or that to be stopped they would have to be killed.

Disorganized Classification According to Crime Scene Structure

The appearance of the disorganized crime scene is very different from the organized scene. The overall presentation of the disorganized crime scene is that the crime was committed suddenly with no set plan of action for deterring detection. This crime scene shows great disarray; there is a spontaneous, symbolic, unplanned characteristic to the scene, and this scene is most likely the location of the murder ("Classifying Sexual Homicide", 1985; "Crime Scene", 1985; Vorpagel, 1982).

Disorganized serial killers tend to murder with a weapon obtained at the scene, and they often leave this weapon there. Few attempts are made to conceal the body, and fingerprints and footprints may be found at the crime scene. Evidence of use of restraints is usually not found at a disorganized crime scene since the victims are usually killed quickly and restraints are not necessary to subdue and control the victims ("Crime Scene"; Vorpagel).

Vorpagel (1982) suggested that serial killers who leave behind disorganized crime scenes often use what is called a blitz attack on their victims by approaching them from behind and suddenly overpowering them or killing them immediately. The chosen victim may be known to the killer, but specifications such as age and sex are less important to disorganized serial killers than to organized serial killers. They can not risk the victim could taking control of the situation. FBI agent Vorpagel would disagree with agent Dietz (1986) in that this type of serial killer usually likes to gain power over the victim quickly, and the use of a gun accomplishes this goal in short order. These serial killers typically use violent blitz attacks in locations where their impulsively and randomly selected victims are going about their usual business (Vorpagel). These offenders are usually preoccupied with recurrent obsessive and primitive thoughts and so are often in distressed states of mind at the time of the attack. This distressed state of mind may cause the serial killer to explode with aggression and, if the victim has not already been killed, the serial killer will murder during the aggressive explosion. These disorganized serial killers may also have well-defined delusional systems (Vorpagel), though it is the position

of this author that these serial killers are probably not psychotic, but rather have formed a protective wall around themselves through fantasy and from which they have created, in their opinions, effective thought processes.

With this classification of serial murderers, the death scene and crime scene are usually the same, and the victim is usually left in the position in which he or she was killed. However, if the serial killer has mutilated the body, it may be positioned in a way that is somehow significant to the offender. Mutilation to the face, genitals, and breasts, evisceration, amputation, and vampirism may be noted at many disorganized crime scenes, and these sadistic acts are usually performed postmortem. Some serial killers actively depersonalize the victim by concentrating on specific areas of the body for mutilation, while others dehumanize their victims by engaging in "overkill" or by excessively assaulting the victim's face. Such facial damage may indicate that the offender knows the victim or that the victim closely resembles a person in the killer's past who caused much emotional distress ("Crime Scene", 1985; Vorpagel, 1982). Additionally, the disorganized serial killer may attempt a variety of sexual acts, including ejaculating into an open stab wound in the victim's abdomen. Evidence of urination, defecation, and masturbation have been found at crime scenes which have been classified as disorganized. It is not uncommon for the disorganized offender to keep the dead body. For example, one murderer kept the bodies of two women he murdered for eight years. He made masks from their heads, and drums and seat covers from their skins ("Crime Scene").

According to the FBI's "Crime Scene" (1985) and agent Vorpagel (1982), serial

killers who are disorganized often have below-average intelligence and may be socially and

sexually inadequate. Very often they have never been married, and many were harshly

disciplined as children. Disorganized serial killers may report an anxious, confused, and

distressed mood during the crime, and many act impulsively under stress, choosing victims

within their own geographic areas. Disorganized killers tend to live and work in the area

of the crime scene. Some disorganized serial killers become preoccupied with obsessional,

primitive thoughts, often exhibiting significant behavioral changes. Some disorganized

offenders are fearful of people and usually feel insecure around others, which may be

related to the fact that many live alone or with a family member ("Crime Scene";

Vorpagel). In contrast to organized serial murderers, Ressler, Burgess, Douglas, et al.'s

(1986) data suggested that disorganized offenders who were not consciously aware of

their intent to kill were able to identify some factors which might have deterred their

killing activities. These deterrents included being in a populated area, the presence of

witnesses in the area, and cooperation by the victim.

Mixed Classification According to Crime Scene Structure

Little information is available on the existence of a mixed crime scene structure

and thus a mixed classification for serial killers. The FBI, however, has made an attempt

to classify serial killers who exhibit characteristics of both organized and disorganized

offenders. It is possible that at a crime scene in which both characteristics are displayed

two or more offenders may have been involved. It is also possible that serial killers begin

the crime in an organized fashion before preexisting plans deteriorate as unanticipated events occur ("Classifying Sexual Homicide", 1985). It is evident that more investigation in this area is needed.

Limitations to Application of Classifications

While it appears that there have been no limitations placed upon the "organized" and "disorganized" classifications by other scholars, this author suggests that there are clear limitations. These categories, however, are not "set in stone". It seems evident that these categories are not mutually exclusive. It is clear that some of the characteristics are going to overlap, and this is mentioned in the discussion of the mixed classification. Not all serial killers who live alone and who are sexually incompetent necessarily commit murder in a sudden and spontaneous manner. Take, for instance, Jeffery Dahmer. He lived alone, mutilated and sexually assaulted his victims' bodies, but many of his crimes were well-planned, and he was fairly well-equipped to conceal noises, odors, and storage problems. Also, the classifications do not seem to account for serial killers who plan their offenses so well that they make the crime scene appear disorganized to divert the investigation, which may be a staging issue, nor do they seem to account for serial killers whose levels of organization fluctuate over time. As more research is conducted about serial killers, more specific classifications will be created to account for some of the differences which currently exist in the classification system.

CHAPTER 3

TYPOLOGIES OF SERIAL KILLERS

While other sources ("Crime Scene", 1985) discussed the categorization of serial killers according to evidence left at a crime scene, Holmes and DeBurger (1985, 1988) suggested that serial killers should first be grouped in terms of geographical mobility, specifically those who are geographically stable or geographically transient. Holmes and DeBurger then suggested that serial killers be assigned to one of four typologies depending on the motives that are believed to control the killers' actions, including visionary, hedonistic, missionary, and power-control oriented. Each grouping will be discussed in this chapter.

Geographical Mobility

Serial killers who are considered to be geographically stable usually live in a particular area and kill victims within the general area of their residences. These killers are generally employed in the community and are well-known and well-respected (Holmes & DeBurger, 1985). Geographically transient serial killers tend to travel continuously throughout their murderous careers. They typically kill in one police jurisdiction and then quickly move on to another. These serial killers present a different set of problems to law enforcement than the geographically stable serial killers present in that these killers do not tend to remain in the area of the murder long enough to present themselves for questioning and speculation (Holmes & DeBurger, 1985).

The Visionary Killer

After the geographical mobility of serial killers has been determined, their exact typologies must then be ascertained. According to Holmes and DeBurger's (1985) typologies, the visionary serial killer is typically driven to kill because of perceived voices and visions which demand the murder of a certain person or persons. The visionary serial killer's murders may be legitimized by the visions that the killer has experienced. Visionary serial killers are unusual among serial killers as a whole because they are often considered to be psychotic (Holmes & DeBurger, 1985).

The Missionary Killer

Holmes and DeBurger (1985) asserted that missionary serial killers are not psychotic. This type of serial killer does not see visions or hear voices but effectively lives within and interacts with the "real world" everyday. The missionary serial killer has a mission to fulfill, whereby the decision may be made to rid the world of a group of people who are "undesirable" or "unworthy" to live with others. When this type of serial killer is arrested, friends and neighbors find it difficult to believe that the individual could be responsible for the deaths of so many people (Holmes & DeBurger, 1985). In this regard, missionary serial killers present a facade of normalcy. An example of a missionary serial killer is the Unabomber. While his methods of killing were unusual when compared to other, more "typical" serial killers, he is considered a missionary serial killer because he had a "mission" against science and technology and those associated with technological

advancement.

The Hedonistic Killer and Hedonistic Subtypes

Holmes and DeBurger's (1985) third type of serial killer is the hedonistic serial killer. In general, hedonistic serial killers kill simply for the thrill of it, because it is pleasurable and fun. Apprehension of these individuals is usually difficult, especially if they are geographically transient. The hedonistic killers' methods of killing make investigation troublesome for law enforcement, and these methods of killing may assist the killers in being able to escape detection for years (Holmes & DeBurger, 1985).

Gresswell and Hollin (1994) broke down the hedonistic type into three subtypes: (a) comfort-orientation, (b) thrill-orientation, and (c) lust murder. Comfort-oriented hedonistic serial killers are usually more focused on their murderous act rather than the process needed to complete the murder. These serial killers want to have the person dead rather than concentrating on the process and the satisfaction derived from it (Gresswell & Hollin). Thrill-oriented hedonistic serial killers usually kill primarily for the thrill and rush of excitement which the unique experience provides them rather than for any other reason (Gresswell & Hollin). In the subcategory of lust murder, which will be discussed more extensively in the next chapter, the act of killing is associated with some sexual fulfillment experienced in the murderous act (Gresswell & Hollin; Hazelwood & Douglas, 1980). With both thrill-oriented serial killers and serial lust murderers, the method of killing usually involves mutilation, dismemberment, anthropophagy (consumption of flesh or

drinking of blood), necrophilia, or other forms of sexual activity both before and after death (Gresswell & Hollin; Holmes & DeBurger, 1985).

The Power-Control Killer

According to Gresswell and Hollin (1994) and Holmes and DeBurger (1985) power-control oriented serial killers are motivated by the complete control they have over a helpless person's life. Sexual gratification is not necessarily a primary objective, but sexual activity may take place. Michaud and Aynesworth (1989) suggested that the basic source of pleasure is the power they have over their victims. Holmes and DeBurger (1985) stated that "holding the power of life or death over a victim is symbolically the ultimate control that one person can exert over another" (p. 33). Power-control oriented serial killers are not considered psychotic as they are aware of the rules and regulations they are expected to live by, but they choose to ignore these rules. These serial killers often experience inflated senses of self-importance and power. Power-control oriented serial killers tend to live by their own codes. These are the serial killers who most closely fit the pattern of psychopathic or sociopathic personalities (Holmes & DeBurger, 1985).

Limitations of Typologies

According to Gresswell and Hollin (1994), the typologies offered by Holmes and DeBurger (1985, 1988) have some limitations to their applications. First, Gresswell and Hollin suggested that the typologies are not all mutually exclusive and distinct categories.

More specifically, they assert that the motivations of the visionary serial killers and the missionary serial killers seem very similar and are separated only by the alleged presence of psychosis in the visionary group. Gresswell and Hollin also purported that the list of typologies is not exhaustive. For example, the list excludes such killers as "contact killers" because their motivations are extrinsic, as in killing for money.

It is likely that killers who are driven by money or hatred are dissimilar from those serial killers who commit "motiveless killings", or killings which do not appear to be motivated by external events. For example, a murder committed for purposes of monetary or material gain or as part of a contract (i. e., a hired contract killer) would be externally motivated. Repeat offenders who are motivated to kill by such sources are not considered serial killers and will not be further addressed in this document. The types of serial killings addressed in this paper are considered to have no external motive, or to be "motiveless", similar to those discussed by Burgess et al. (1986) and Holmes and DeBurger (1985).

A final limitation to Holmes and DeBurger's (1985) typologies of serial killers which Gresswell and Hollin (1994) discussed is that these typologies generally fail to establish connections between killer, victim, and environment, and the typologies do not appear to be flexible enough to accommodate a killer who may change motivations or victim selection over time. Further research should be directed toward this specification.

CHAPTER 4

SADISTIC AND LUST PRACTICES

A major component of many cases of serial homicide is that of extreme cruelty inflicted upon a victim by a killer, or an act of sadism. Sadistic, cruel acts are perpetrated upon victims in order to give killers pleasure, satisfaction, and feelings of power. The progression from sadism to sexual sadism, from sexual sadism to serial sadistic murder, and from serial sadistic murder to serial lust murder will be discussed in this chapter as well as specific typologies of each, and a brief case example of a serial lust murderer will be discussed.

Sadism and Sexual Sadism

It is evident that many serial murderers who have attracted massive public attention in recent years have been sadistic in their acts. Regarding sadism, Von Krafft-Ebbing suggested that "mastering and possessing an absolutely defenseless human object...is part of sadism" (as cited in MacCulloch et al., 1983, p. 20). Fenichel, more specifically, felt that sexual pleasure from torture could be based on the idea that "before I can enjoy sexuality I must convince myself that I am powerful" (as cited in MacCulloch et al., p. 20). Fenichel's remark seems to explain how one increases one's self-esteem by proving one's power over others. The reader will recall MacCulloch et al.'s definition of sadism, which is the "repeated practice of behavior and fantasy which is characterized by a wish to control another person by domination, denigration, or inflicting pain, for the

purpose of producing mental pleasure and sexual arousal (whether or not accompanied by orgasm) in the sadist" (p. 20). According to a specification of sadism made by Burgess et al. (1986), the psychiatric diagnosis of "sexual sadist" suggests that the essential feature of this paraphilia is the infliction of physical or psychological suffering on another person in order to achieve sexual excitement. For the purposes of this paper and for clarity, however, a sadist will be defined as one who inflicts pain on others to feel powerful. Sexual sadism is differentiated by the existence of a sexual motivator, or in other words, sadistic actions are inflicted for purposes of sexual excitement.

With sadistic killers, control can be considered to permeate the other dimensions of sadism. Control is the most important element in sadistic behavior (Langevin et al., 1988). Sadistic killers are emotionally aroused by the control and entrapment of their victims. Sadistic killers are also predators, and predatory activity is considered "the excitement of the hunt" (Langevin et al., p. 270). According to Langevin et al. much time and energy is devoted to selecting and apprehending victims. The control that sadistic offenders desire and achieve is so pervasive because victims are totally within the sadist's power, and helpless victims who are either injured or unconscious are certainly within the sadists' power, and the offender can act out with these powerless victims as he pleases (Langevin et al.). Langevin et al. reported that some sadists describe a greater excitement derived from sexual contact with an extremely frightened victim or a victim who pleads for mercy. The victim's active expression of utter fear, unfortunately, appears to be active reinforcement of the total control a sadist can exert over a victim.

Drukteinis (1992) reported that this torture and humiliation of the victim act as reinforcers for a sadist's need for complete dominance over victims. Cries of fear and pain only increase a sadist's perception of absolute power and possession. Considering only the sadistic behavior which is aimed at humiliating a victim and not the murdering behavior, this author speculates that it may be possible that some sadistic serial killers actively attempt to humiliate victims in order to "make up" for the humiliation they have endured in the past from others. In other words, it is possible that serial killers not only murder to make "right" some perceived wrong, which was discussed earlier, but it may also be possible that some intentionally inflict severe humiliation on their victims in further attempts to "right" perceived wrongs. Drukteinis further reported that some sadistic offenders have even been known to record their victims' cries on audiotape so they can play them repeatedly after the victim is dead in order to relive the pleasure and feelings of control.

It was the hypothesis of MacCulloch et al. (1983) that the wish for control is the most important force in sadistic behavior. The sadistic situations are often rehearsed many times in fantasies, and parts of these fantasies have often been played out in real life over a number of years (MacCulloch et al.). There are varying degrees of sadism and kinds of control that can be exerted by one person upon another, thus sadism may actually be manifested in several different ways. MacCulloch et al. discussed this range of controlling behaviors that sadistic offenders can exhibit. They suggested that these behaviors form a continuum beginning with subtle verbal control, moving through psychological control,

and ending with actual physical restraint such as bondage, imprisonment, hypnosis, anesthesia, and physical blows to render the victim unconscious or even dead (MacCulloch et al.).

Serial Sadistic Murder

Serial sadistic murderers are serial killers, as has been previously discussed, but they also are strongly sadistic and sexual in their activities, which set them apart from other serial killers. They have the general characteristics of serial killers and sadists outlined earlier in this paper, yet they possess many unique qualities which are important in understanding serial sadistic killers. It is important to make clear that the following descriptors are not characteristic of all serial sadistic murderers, and not all sadistic murderers are serial killers. This paper deals with the sadistic murderers who are also serial killers. The descriptions given here are a composite of the attributes which are often found in serial sadistic killers, but, it is important to note, other people who have not committed crimes possess similar traits. There is a problem with trying to predict which individuals exhibiting these characteristics will offend and which will not, but let it be clear that not all who exhibit this symptomatology will necessarily become criminals of this nature (Brittain, 1970).

Brittain (1970) outlined certain general characteristics of serial sadistic killers. He reports that they are most often male, and they are commonly very introspective and withdrawn, having few associates and usually no close friends. Brittain reported that

fathers are known to have been very authoritarian and punitive (Brittain, 1970).

As with most other serial killers, sadistic serial killers typically are daydreamers with very rich, active fantasy lives (Brittain, 1970). They often imagine vivid sadistic scenes which they eventually act out in some of their killings. In many ways, their fantasy lives are more important to them than their real lives, and so fantasy is, in a sense, more real to them. This decreases the value they place on real life and on other people (Brittain). In addition, their fantasies give them feelings of constant control over their lives.

Brittain (1970) reported that serial killers are often without remorse or conscience regarding their crimes, regardless of the cruelty and horror involved. These killers have no concern for the moral implications of their offenses and usually treat the crimes casually, as if murder is a normal part of life. Serial sadistic killers most often know they are responsible for their crimes, but usually they only feel sorry for their legal consequences. Sadistic serial killers usually feel no pity for their victims, and while they will often express regret for their crimes when asked, they usually do not, at least early in their careers, actually feel the remorse. Sometimes, however, sadistic serial killers do appear to feel a sense of regret for their offenses, but it is often shallow, insincere, and very ineffective against preventing future crimes (Brittain). Brittain suggests that since deep remorse does not seem to cloud their thinking and judgment, this may actually be a protection for them if they are suspected of the crimes. Their calm demeanors make it more difficult for others to suspect them of such crimes and believe they are guilty. For example, upon questioning

serial sadistic killers often feel different from others and are isolated. It is beneath a reticent masquerade which lies a deep aggression that can not be expressed normally. According to Brittain serial sadistic killers do not relate well with other people and so are insecure, sometimes feeling inferior, except in regard to their offenses. The elaborate planning and contemplation put into their offenses may make them feel superior to other people; sometimes they even feel god-like. By virtue of this superiority, others become, to serial sadistic murderers, inferior, without rights, and can be used in any way for their gratification (Brittain). Serial sadistic killers are likely to murder after they suffer a perceived attack against their masculinity or a loss of self-esteem. In many cases the sadistic serial killers are vain, egocentric, and narcissistic, and it is through their vanity that they are often convinced that they can murder and evade detection by being more resourceful than the police (Brittain).

According to Brittain (1970) the mannerisms of serial sadistic murderers may outwardly be considered effeminate, but this may simply be called "an over-politeness or over-refinement for his social group" (p. 199). It can, however, be to the degree that homosexuality is suspected, although they do not usually demonstrate many typically homosexual characteristics. Many, though, have had a history of some homosexual activity, but it may be known only to the participants.

As is the case with most serial killers, sadistic serial killers tend to report unhappy childhoods and family constellations. These killers frequently report having a strongly ambivalent relationship with their mothers, both loving and hating them. Often their

about the murder, they do not become agitated and nervous as would be expected, but rather they tend to remain relaxed. It seems to this author, however, that some expression of nervousness and fear might be more of a distraction to the police and seem more "normal" because it seems that an innocent person who was accused of a heinous crime would be quite agitated, fearful of consequences, and adamant about his or her innocence.

Excited by violence, sadistic serial killers often have a strong interest in weapons such as guns and knives, and they may have large collections of these weapons (Brittain, 1970). Their attraction to these weapons, however, goes far beyond the attraction of an ordinary hobbyist. Sadistic killers may "love" their guns and knives, handling, dismantling, and cleaning them gently for long periods of time. They may report having feelings for them, and they may have special favorites, even giving some "pet" names (Brittain).

Similarly, a characteristic often found in sadistic murderers is a strong interest in Naziism and Nazi concentration camps. Many murderers have fantasies of working in concentration camps, describing tortures they would use (Brittain, 1970). Sadistic serial killers may also express an interest in, or practice of, black magic. Their interest in Naziism and black magic seems to be borne out of the fact that in both there seems to be the desired combination of sex, cruelty, and control over others. Many sadistic serial killers feel that Naziism and black magic give them the authority to commit forbidden acts of extreme cruelty while exonerating them from guilt and responsibility. Sadistic serial killers are also known to collect and study books which relate to their perversions, including books on Naziism, black magic, torture, erotica, cruelty, and weapons (Brittain).

Sadistic serial killers tend to suffer from several perversions, often requiring privacy when the perversions are being performed (Brittain, 1970). For example, many dress up in female clothing at times, but unlike true transvestites, they do not usually want to be seen by others while they are transvested. No one may even know they engage in this activity. Sometimes they are interested in photography, and some even photograph themselves when transvested. Such a killer was visually portrayed in the movie The Silence of the Lambs when the serial killer applied makeup, donned a wig, and dressed in his "woman suit" made of human skin and danced provocatively in front of a video camera. Additionally, some sadistic serial killers take pornographic pictures of other people (Brittain).

As previously mentioned, sadistic serial killers are excited by violence and cruelty whether it is exhibited in books, films, fact, or fantasy, and their sadism is expressed in many ways. Stabbing or hanging of the object the violence is directed toward is most common. As with other serial killers, sometimes there is a history of violence toward animals, but ironically, these killers are very attached to animals. Thus, the only animal which seems to be safe from a sadist's violence is one belonging to a sadistic killer himself (Brittain, 1970).

Sadism and masochism are commonly related, so there may be evidence in a murderer's home of some masochistic practices. For example, "there may be ropes for self-tying or self-hanging, straps, chains, or handcuffs" (p. 203). Whips and other tools of torture and punishments may be present, while evidence of fetishism may also be evident

(Brittain, 1970).

The sadistic serial killer's actual murderous act may be carefully preplanned, as with many other serial killers, and preparations may be made days or weeks before. This careful planning is done by intelligent men. They work hard to ensure that there is little to associate them with their victims, usually selecting the victims by chance or for some reason not obvious to others. This shrewd planning can make a murderer's detection by police quite difficult (Brittain, 1970).

According to Brittain (1970), these murderers tend to become very excited at the time of the crime, often using more force than is necessary to kill their victims (overkill). This is true, however, of many other murderers as well. At the time of the murder, a sadistic serial killer's sense of reason is decreased, and his sex drive and the urge to have power take control of his actions. The sight of a victim's suffering can excite these killers more, and the brutality can be accelerated by the expressed and visual helplessness and fear expressed by the victim (Brittain).

A sadistic serial killer's method of choice for killing victims is frequently by asphyxiation except when gross and mutilating violence or multiple stabbing is used. As discussed by Dietz (1986), these killers usually state that shooting is too sudden a way of killing, and the pleasure would be over much too soon. Rather, the killers explain, in asphyxia, by increasing and decreasing the pressure, "they have in their power to give their victims their lives or to take their lives from them" (p. 204). Some serial killers feel god-like when they have this extreme amount of control over another person (Brittain,

1970).

According to Brittain (1970), if other injuries are found on the sadistic serial

killer's victim's body, they are most likely to the sexual organs. If there is gross, mutilating

violence, it most likely will be on the abdomen, or there may be many stab wounds. Bite

marks are commonly found on the breasts and neck, but may be found in other places.

Such behaviors as mutilation, butchering of victims, forcing of objects into the victims'

vaginas or rectums, performance of sexual acts both before and after death, and

consumption of various portions of victims' flesh are prominent in sadistic serial killers

(Drukteinis). The consumption of flesh, or cannibalism, discussed by Drukteinis, is

considered to be the ultimate power over another individual. A cannibalistic sadistic serial

killer may be of the belief that one can totally engulf another's life by consuming their flesh

(Langevin et al., 1988). According to Langevin et al., some sadists may engage in rituals

used to intimidate victims or to emphasize just how much they are in control of the

situation. Some sadistic serial killers choose to act out once the victim is dead, once they

are certain that they have achieved total control and they are free to do as they please with

the victim's body. In these instances necrophilia is suspected as the motive (Langevin et

al.). McDonald (1963) importantly suggested that while such varied actions as mutilation

after death, mutilation before death, and cannibalism may be sexually gratifying to some

sadistic murderers, these activities do not necessarily indicate that the sadistic murderer

was sexually excited while performing the acts, nor is he necessarily a sexual sadist.

While these murders are sexually motivated, sexual intercourse and orgasm do not

always occur (Brittain, 1970). Sometimes sadistic murderers masturbate beside the victim, and sometimes a phallus-substitute is used in place of intercourse. Such a phallus-substitute may be "a piece of wood, a cylindrical electric torch, or other similar object" (p. 204), and these objects may be inserted with great force into the victim's vagina or rectum. A victim's body is usually found in the position in which the assault took place. Usually no attempt is made to arrange the limbs, which is representative of a final degradation of the victim in an attempt to offend the victim's, and police officers' modesty (Brittain).

According to Brittain (1970), after the murder is complete sadistic serial killers tend to feel relaxed, as reportedly do other serial killers. Sometimes these murderers feel disappointed after the murder because the murder has not brought the degree of pleasure and excitement which was anticipated, and problems have not been solved by this murder. There is no psychological closure that was hoped for. Thus, sadistic serial killers will commit other crimes in further attempts to release recurring sexual tension. When sadistic serial killers are not apprehended, it is very likely that they will continue to commit murder using stable methods (Brittain).

After apprehension occurs, these perpetrators are described as being very calm and relaxed while sitting in court, listening to evidence of their actions with an indifference close to boredom (Brittain, 1970). When the murderers finally admit to the murders or talk about the crimes after being found guilty, any expression of regret or remorse for what they have done carries little weight. For example, prior to the sentencing hearing in

the Jeffrey Dahmer trial, Dahmer apologized to the court and to the victims' families. He stated, "I feel so bad for what I did to those poor families and I understand their rightful hate. I know I will be in prison for the rest of my life" (as cited in Palmer & Knudten, 1994, p. 13). Many people doubted his sincerity because of his past history of malingering, believing he was just an egotistic con artist (as cited in Palermo & Knudten). Serial killers enjoy talking about what they have done, feeling a great sense of satisfaction from this. These killers will often report "feeling better" after talking so freely (Brittain). As with most other criminals who have been found guilty of a crime, sadistic serial killers are just sorry that they were caught. The killers do enjoy, however, the great deal of attention they receive because of the crime.

According to Dietz et al. (1990) serial sadistic murderers are fascinated with police activities and paraphernalia, as are non-sadistic murderers, and this fascination is reflective of an offender's fantasies of and strivings for power. Serial sadistic murderers are careful to select strangers as their victims to reduce the chances of being linked together. Serial sadistic killers hold their victims captive in order to reshape their behavior through training and to prolong their suffering. Their victims are told what to say during the assaults so the offender can recreate previously fantasized scenarios with idealized partners. Often, victims' corpses are concealed to reduce the likelihood of being discovered and the murderer being apprehended. Like other serial killers, sadistic serial killers often take personal items belonging to victims and keep them as trophies of their conquests, or they are used to remember and relive the murder through fantasy (Dietz et al.).

Dietz et al. (1990) concluded that sadistic serial murderers select in advance the location where the victims are taken, which is one aspect of the careful planning they perform. Sadistic serial killers often use some sort of pretense when approaching their victims, and, once apprehended, they beat, bind, gag, and blindfold their captives, ultimately killing them by strangulation. Multiple sexual acts are usually perpetrated upon the victims, including anal rape, forced fellatio, vaginal rape, and penetration with foreign objects. Torture is intentional, and records of the offenses are often kept by the perpetrator (Dietz et al.).

Research by Ressler, Burgess, et al. (1986) suggested that serial killers in their study who were sexually abused as children tended to kill their victims first to achieve control before making any sexual expression. This type of sadistic murderer may not necessarily have intercourse with the body but rather may masturbate over or beside the body. Additionally, sadistic murderers who were sexually abused as children tend to mutilate the victim's body after committing the murder, possibly in order to release pent up tension. This sadistic murderer may also release tension by using phallus substitutes (Brittain, 1970). Ressler, Burgess, et al. (1986) theorized that undisclosed and unresolved early childhood sexual abuse may be a contributing factor in the development of bizarre, sexual, sadistic behavior characterized in a subclass of serial killers. Additionally, evidence from Ressler, Burgess, et al.'s (1986) study suggested that sexually abused murderers are more likely to engage in such paraphilias as sexual contact with animals, bondage sex, fetishism, obscene phone calls, indecent exposure, pornography, frottage

(rubbing of the genitals against the hip or buttocks of unsuspecting victims in crowded

areas), and cross-dressing. They are also more likely to report sexual conflicts, sexual

dysfunction, and sexual incompetence (Ressler, Burgess, et al., 1986).

Lust Murder

There is some confusion in the literature about whether sadistic homicide and lust

murder are distinct, and this confusion is consistent with the lack of uniform terminology

where serial killers are concerned. Guttmacher (1960) referred to purely sadistic murders

as lust murders, and Karpman (1954) described lust murderers as almost always psychotic

and sexually impotent. Podolsky (1965) agreed generally with Karpman in that Podolsky

believed that some mental illness was common with lust murderers, but contrary to

Karpman's theory, he also believed that lust murderers were usually able to perform

satisfactory intercourse, but only if intercourse was preceded or accompanied by a strong

emotion such as fear or hatred. Rada (1978) agreed with Karpman and Podolsky that the

vast majority of lust killers seem to be either overt or latent psychotics with poor control

and explosive breaks from reality. Liebert's (1985) position was similar to Karpman's in

that lust killers are generally very inept lovers and that they can be well-mannered, gentle,

reserved, religious, timid men. de River (1950a) defined lust murder as a murder from

which death resulted from extreme torture and was perpetrated in order to relieve sexual

tension. Further, de River (1950a) stated that lust murderers receive sexual satisfaction

only through physical injury or torture of the victims, and lust murder is accompanied by

acts of serious perversion, including vampirism, cannibalism, and necrophilia.

Hazelwood and Douglas (1980) contended that the lust murderer is unique and distinguished from the sadistic killer by the involvement of a mutilating attack or displacement of the breasts or genitals. It is this author's suggestion that both the sadistic serial killer and the serial lust killer may be subtypes of the hedonistic serial killer typology set forth by Holmes and DeBurger (1985), but that the sadistic serial killer and the serial lust killer may be on a continuum of severity and horror, and the serial lust killer may be the more severe of the two. It should be noted here that much of the literature discusses the lust murderer as a one-time murderer, while this discussion will examine a less-frequently occurring subgroup of lust murderers, the serial lust murderer. Both phrases will be used here interchangeably.

Characteristics of Lust Murderers

According to Hazelwood and Douglas (1980), it is very likely that most serial lust murderers, as with most serial killers, were either abused or neglected as children, likely experiencing much familial conflict in their early lives. This familial conflict may have made it difficult to develop and eventually use adequate coping, or defense, mechanisms to negotiate conflicts in a healthy manner. Much stress, frustration, and resultant anxiety, combined with the inability to effectively cope, may lead a person to withdraw from a society perceived as hostile and threatening. These negative emotions are internalized, and the individual may become isolated from others socially and emotionally in an attempt

to avoid pain. One type of lust murderer, the disorganized asocial lust murderer, which will be discussed in mor detail later in this chapter, may eventually choose suicide as a coping mechanism in the alternative to continuing a life filled with loneliness and frustration (Hazelwood & Douglas).

As a consequence of living isolated and bewildered lives, serial lust killers tend to have poor self-images like most serial killers (Hazelwood & Douglas, 1980). Lust killers' family and friends often describe these individuals as nice, quiet people who keep to themselves and who never realized their potentials for success. Of course, lust killers are known only to family and friends by the facade of normalcy they wear everyday (Hazelwood & Douglas). As adolescents, many lust murderers may have participated in voyeuristic activities or theft of women's clothing. These activities substituted for an inability to approach women sexually in a mature and confident manner (Hazelwood & Douglas).

Most lust murderers, regardless of personality type, present a facade of healthy relationships and effective, even superior, performance, according to Liebert (1985). Often lust murderers are quite intelligent, sometimes falling into the superior range of intelligence. This intelligence, therefore, allows lust murderers to skillfully masquerade as imposters. This high intelligence, however, does not mean that lust murderers are normal people despite their apparent superior level of functioning and apparent normal relationships. On the contrary, lust killers usually have primitive personality abnormalities, which have been defined by Hazelwood and Douglas (1980). These primitive

personalities render lust killers incapable of normal intimacy. Lust killers may be able to maintain effective facades as imposters but are not normal or adaptive enough to establish and nurture the intensive bonding that healthy relationships require (Liebert).

According to Hazelwood and Douglas (1980) organized nonsocial personality types, in particular, harbor intense feelings of hostility, but they choose not to internalize the hostility and withdraw from society. Rather, they overtly express their hostility through aggressive and apparently senseless acts against society, usually beginning to demonstrate this hostility while passing through puberty and into adolescence. As adolescents, nonsocials are often described as conceited troublemakers and manipulators. The goal of these killers is to get even with society and to inflict pain and punishment on others, and lust murder is the final expression of their loathing. Disorganized asocial lust murderers also feel rejected by society and hatred for the world, but they withdraw and internalize their feelings, living within a fantasy world until they act out their fantasies on their victims (Hazelwood & Douglas).

Lust killers in general overcome resistance through slaying their victims. Overcoming resistance seems to be one of the motivating factors in this type of murder (Podolsky, 1965). Lust murder, Geberth (1986) suggested, is an example of a sensational homicide, one committed for the attention it is expected to draw. Lust murder is usually a sexually-motivated murder, though there is some disagreement on this point, and it involves torture, violent sexual trauma, mutilation, or disembowelment (Geberth, 1986).

According to Podolsky (1965), lust murderers generally are characterized by the

following: (a) periodic outbursts due to recurring compulsions or attacks of sexual desire; (b) nearly always cutting or stabbing, particularly of the breasts and genitals, frequently with sucking or licking of the wounds, biting of the skin, and sometimes a desire to drink the blood and eat the flesh of the victim; (c) sometimes erection and ejaculation followed by violation of the victim (often there is no attempt at intercourse); and (d) usually normal behavior until the next outburst.

In crimes classified as lust murders, the types of injuries sustained by the victims are of great importance. The most frequent injuries include the mutilation of the genitals or the cutting out thereof. The next most frequent injuries are disembowelment, plunging of a stick or umbrella into the vagina or anus, tearing out the victim's hair, severing breasts, and choking (Podolsky, 1965).

Podolsky (1965) stated that in most documented cases of lust murder, "the killing replaced the sexual act" (p 176), with no sexual intercourse occurring at all. In these cases, sexual pleasure is derived from "cutting, stabbing and slashing the victim's body, ripping open her abdomen and plunging the hands into the intestines, cutting out and taking away her genitals, throttling her, and sucking her blood" (p. 176). These activities constitute "pathological equivalents of coitus" (Podolsky, p. 176).

The Crime of Lust Murder

Hazelwood and Douglas (1980) proposed two types of individuals who commit lust murder according to their personality styles: (a) organized nonsocial personality, and

(b) disorganized asocial personality. They also proposed that there are certain factors which may indicate the personality type involved: (a) location of the body, (b) evidence of torture or mutilation having occurred prior to death, (c) smearing of the victim's blood, (d) evidence of penile penetration or anthropophagy, and (e) availability of physical evidence at the scene. These factors will be discussed according to personality type.

Organized nonsocial lust murderers typically exhibit total indifference to the interests and welfare of society, showing an irresponsible and self-centered attitude (Hazelwood & Douglas, 1980). These killers do not like people in general, but they do not avoid them because most organized nonsocial lust murderers are capable of displaying an amiable facade for as long as it takes to manipulate people toward their personal goals. Through this manipulation, it is easy to see that organized nonsocial personality types are methodical and cunning people. It is this cunning and methodical operation which allows the nonsocial to leave behind little physical evidence which could connect the offender with the murder. Organized nonsocials completely recognize the criminality of their acts and their impact on society. That is the reason why they murder in the lust manner. They typically live some distance away from the crime scene, and they cruise in their vehicles for their victims (Hazelwood & Douglas).

On the other hand, disorganized asocial personality type lust murderers exhibit some characteristics of societal aversion in that they prefer their own company to that of others (Hazelwood & Douglas, 1980). It is for these reasons that disorganized asocials are considered to be loners. They have difficulty in maintaining interpersonal relationships

and therefore feel lonely and rejected. Disorganized asocial types lack the cunning of the organized nonsocials, and they commit their crimes in a more frenzied, less systematic manner. These lust killers are likely to live or work in close proximity to their crime scenes because in these places they feel more secure and at ease (Hazelwood & Douglas).

The two personalities also differ by the manner in which they dispose of their victims' bodies. The organized nonsocial typically commits the crime in a secluded area and may later move the body to another area where it is more likely to be found (Hazelwood & Douglas, 1980). Organized nonsocial personalities move the body to a more public place because they like the excitement caused by the body's discovery and the impact the discovery has on the victim's community. In contrast, the disorganized asocial personality tends to leave the victims' bodies at the scene of death. The scene of death is fairly open to the eye of the casual observer, and usually no attempt is made by lust murderers to conceal the body. Nonsocial personality types often return to the scene to determine whether the body has been discovered and to check on the progress of, or to insert themselves into, the police investigation. Asocial offenders may return to the scene of the crime before the body is discovered to mutilate the body further or to mentally relive the experience (Hazelwood & Douglas).

Most lust killers in general have some characteristics and methods of operating in common. Lust killers tend to premeditate their murders through fantasy, but they may act spontaneously when an opportunity becomes available (Hazelwood & Douglas, 1980). Victims are usually unknown to lust killers, are of the same race and opposite sex, and the

murders are typically committed in a brutally sadistic manner. Death usually results from strangulation, blunt force, or the use of a sharp, pointed instrument. Disorganized asocial lust killers typically use weapons of opportunity and often leave their weapons at the scene, whereas the nonsocial may carry a weapon and take it when leaving the scene. According to FBI agents, torture and mutilation before death usually indicates that the offender is of the organized nonsocial type (Hazelwood & Douglas).

An analysis of a lust killer's choice of weapon can be very useful to the investigation (Hazelwood & Douglas, 1980). de River (1950b) suggested that the actual instrument may be symbolic to the serial lust murderer, and it may be symbolically placed in a position next to the body of the victim. The use of particular weapons can be considered a source of pride for some killers, and the use of these weapons can be sexually gratifying to the offenders.

The bodies of lust killers' victims usually display gross mutilation and/or displacement of the breasts, genitals, or rectum, and the victims may have been stabbed excessively or slashed with a sharp instrument. Death usually occurs soon after abduction or attack, and the mutilation tends to take place postmortem (Hazelwood & Douglas, 1980). Regarding the typical lust murderer and the actions thereof, de River (1950a) stated:

> the lust murderer usually, after killing his victim, tortures, cuts, maims, or slashes the
> victim in the regions on or about the genitalia, rectum, breast in the female, and about
> the neck, throat, and buttocks, as usually these parts contain strong sexual significance

to him, and serve as sexual stimulus [sic] (p. 40).

Regardless of when torture and mutilation is performed, dissection of the body holds different significance for the two types of serial lust murderers (Hazelwood & Douglas, 1980). Organized nonsocial lust murderers may dissect the victim's body as an attempt to impede identification of the victim. Disorganized asocial offenders, on the other hand, tend to view their victims as a curious child approaches a new toy with many working parts. They perform an exploratory examination of the sexually significant parts of the victim's body to determine how they function and appear beneath the surface, much like medical students examine cadavers. Sometimes serial lust murderers smear themselves with their victims' blood, or they smear the surface on which the body rests. Disorganized asocial lust killers are more known for this activity as it relates more to the frenzy of the attack (Hazelwood & Douglas).

Lust murder is not usually motivated primarily by sex in that lust murderers do not abduct and murder in order to have sex with victims (Hazelwood & Douglas, 1980). Liebert (1985) reported, however, that lust murderers often need the murder act to arouse their sexual interests and desires. Disorganized asocial lust murderers are not expected to complete penile penetration because penetration is primarily associated with organized nonsocial types in the form of necrophilia. The necrophilic activity by the nonsocial reflects the desire to outrage society and to call attention to the nonsocial's total contempt for societal acceptance. The asocial is more apt to insert foreign objects into bodily orifices in a probing and curiosity-motivated manner, but brutal force is often evident.

Some lust killers compulsively dismember or disembowel a victim and masturbate to orgasm (Rada, 1978). Indications of ejaculation may be found on or near the victim or the victim's clothing (Hazelwood & Douglas; Liebert).

Lust murderers, as with other serial killers, often take some sort of "souvenir" with them, usually an object or a piece of clothing belonging to the victim (Hazelwood & Douglas, 1980). Sometimes, however, they may take more personal reminders, including a lock of hair, a finger, or a part of the body with some sexual association. Serial killers take these reminders so they can relive the events in later fantasies. Asocial offenders may take the ultimate souvenir with them by committing an anthropophagic act, meaning that they may either drink the victim's blood or eat part of the victim's flesh (Hazelwood & Douglas, 1980).

Brief Case Example

Jeffrey Dahmer is best described by Hazelwood & Douglas (1990) as an organized nonsocial lust murderer. He was indifferent to the feelings of others, was self-centered in his attitude, and perpetrated his crimes on others in a methodical and shrewd manner. Palermo and Knudten (1994) reported that Dahmer's cruel behavior was a source of pleasure and excitement. Dahmer was driven by the fantasy of power and control over others as a reaction formation to his feelings of insecurity, rejection, and loneliness. Palermo and Knudten stated that Dahmer's fantasy of power was evident in this statement:

Before that, when I was fifteen, I saw a guy about 18 years old while I was walking

about five miles away from home. At the time I had thought of sawing a baseball bat

in two to make it small enough to carry on a bike. I liked him and I had the idea of

hitting him on the head and having sex with him (p.10).

According to Palermo and Knudten (1994) his loneliness was exemplified by the

following:

I wanted to keep him there...I didn't want to lose him...I found him very good

looking...I wanted to keep some memorials of him...I continued to lie next to his dead

body kissing him...It was not hate or love, it was lust--lust would be a better word (p.

10).

As with most organized nonsocial lust killers, Dahmer was a necrophiliac, engaging in

sexual intercourse with some of his victims' bodies. Palermo and Knudten (1994) stated

that "his sexuality combined with basic aggressive behavior and manifested itself in a

sadistic manner, as in the lust murderer" (p. 11).

CHAPTER 5

MOTIVATIONS FOR SERIAL KILLERS

While serial homicide is generally considered to be "motiveless" because it is not extrinsically motivated, there are various intrinsic motivators which drive serial killers to continue murdering innocent victims. Psychological motivational models and integrational motivations models for killing continuously will be discussed in this chapter. Finally, the importance of fantasy as a motivational factor will be discussed.

Motivations for Killing Serially

While the early part of this paper was devoted to defining the serial killer generally, that definition is not complete without discussing motivation because serial murder is defined, in part, by the nature of the killer's motivations (DeHart & Mahoney, 1994). Generally, serial murder is considered to be "motiveless" in the sense that serial murder is not usually perpetrated for financial or property gain or for other external reasons. There are, however, several different motivating factors which have been discussed in the literature. These factors will be outlined briefly here, then two major motivational theories will be discussed according to their subtheories.

As was presented earlier, the actions of serial killers are usually quite methodical, and the actions include almost ritualized behaviors and planning, with dominance, power, and control as motivational themes (Drukteinis, 1992). Throughout this paper, the elements of power and control have been constant in their importance to most serial

killers. It is quite evident that having power and control over others is a deep need for these serial killers and is thus a very strong motivator. Brittain (1970) and Dietz (1986) noted that, particularly for the sex-related killings, publicity is a powerful motivator. This may take the place of the attention that they did not attract as children, and the fact that they have attracted this attention means that they are powerful, which is a similar motivator.

Another motivator receiving much attention in the literature, particularly for sex killings, is sadism or sadomasochism (Brittain, 1970; Dietz, 1986; Hazelwood & Douglas, 1980; Podolsky, 1965). The pleasure of another's suffering may be felt during the crime, but some serial killers also receive much pleasure from seeing the mourners for the victim suffer as well (Dietz).

The paraphilia of sexual homicide itself may be a strong motivator because of the experience of the entire "act". The "act" includes obtaining the victim, performing ritualistic acts, engaging the victim sexually either before or after death, killing the victim, disposing the body, eluding detection, and following the police investigation in the media. The pleasure received from each of these acts singularly and as a whole provides a compelling motive for continuing to kill (Burgess et al.,1986). Similarly, DeHart and Mahoney (1994) suggested that a serial killer's motive, which is often sexual in nature, has an intrinsic locus, and it commonly involves gratification derived from the act of the murder itself.

Hale (1994) hoped to show through his paper that serial murder is often a crime of

passion involving the release of repressed emotions. It is the opinion of this author that, while serial murder may be a crime of passion, it is not a crime of passion in the usual sense in that it is not committed without premeditation and planning. In general, these crimes are well-conceived in advance. Moreover, they may serve to release repressed emotions of fear and anger.

Fantasies have played an important role in this discussion of serial murder, and their importance will be further addressed in a later section. Fantasies certainly play a motivating role for serial killers. According to Egger (1984), serial killers' motives are not usually for material gain. That premise has been used as a foundation for this paper. As such, serial killing is often a compulsive act aimed specifically at gratification based on fantasies. Holmes and DeBurger (1985) would agree with Egger and disagree with Hale (1994) that serial murder seldom reflects either passion or premeditation stemming from motives of personal gain. Instead, serial murder tends to reflect nonrational or irrational motives or goals in general. Holmes and DeBurger (1985) discussed a shocking aspect of contemporary serial murder which is that many serial killers believe that violence against human beings is a normal and acceptable means of implementing and achieving their goals and motivations. This belief is most likely reflective of their abused and lonely childhoods.

Psychological Motivational Models

Several important motivational theories are derived from the psychological school of knowledge. Those that will be discussed in this paper include the development and

learning theory approaches of conditioned fusion of sex and aggression model, a social

learning model, and conditioned conscience model (DeHart & Mahoney, 1994).

The development and learning theory approach of conditioned fusion of sex and

aggression outlined by DeHart and Mahoney (1994) emphasizes the principles of

conditioning through which a cognitive fusion of sexuality and aggression may result from

traumatic sexual experiences. According to this model, an individual learns to anticipate

sexuality as an accompaniment to aggression, and the two experiences may be viewed as

inseparable. A potential serial killer's association between sexuality and violence is

cultivated and reinforced as violent fantasies result in intense sexual arousal (DeHart &

Mahoney).

The social learning model, a common sense model discussed by DeHart and

Mahoney (1994) as a part of the developmental and learning theory approaches, suggests

that the availability of information about murder (for example, on television or in movies)

may provide potential killers with insight regarding the crimes and procedures that may be

taken to avoid detection. Furthermore, media attention may provide an incentive for

"copycat" killings, and depictions of violent sexuality (through pornography) and

aggression may increase a viewer's inclination to commit such acts due to disinhibition,

violence-as-myth promotions, and perceived reinforcement (e. g., feelings of relief or

elation after the act). One of the most controversial theoretical models of serial murder is

based on the work of Bandura (1973) who argued that observing violence leads to violent

actions on part of the observer. This author believes that while observation may

encourage some people to act out in a violent manner, a propensity for violent behavior must be part of the individual's personality composite before observing violence will cause a person to go out and repeat the observed act or to commit some other violent act.

A third developmental and learning theory approach which attempts to explain the motivation to commit serial murder is the conditioned conscience model. According to Bandura (1973), behavioral psychologists have explained aggression as a conditioned response either to direct or vicarious reinforcement. Other behavioral psychologists have also explained aggression as a function of deficient conditioning, with "normal" behavior being viewed as a result of a conditioned conscience. Through consistent social application of punishment, most individuals learn to eventually anticipate negative consequences of behavior. The resultant anxiety response, perceived as "conscience", inhibits aggressive behavior. According to such theories, serial killers fail to internalize social mores and thus lack inhibition against aggression. Therefore, they have no conscience. Failure to demonstrate ordinary social learning may result from a killer's personal alienation from society. Consequently there are indications that serial murderers may be profoundly isolated individuals who often display symptomatic manifestations of alienation such as normlessness, meaninglessness, powerlessness, isolation, and self-estrangement (Seeman, 1959).

Integrational Motivational Model

An integrational motivational model of murder is the model that is followed at the

FBI's Behavioral Science Unit. Researchers from this unit have developed a motivational model of sexual homicide which integrates psychological forces and physiological factors that might lead to serial murder (Burgess et al., 1986; Ressler, Burgess, & Douglas, 1988). According to this model, the source of a serial killer's deviance is an ineffective social environment in which a child is not provided with adequate social bonding or guidance. The formative events in a child's life may be filled with trauma, thereby causing sustained emotional or physiological arousal in the child in the absence of appropriate environmental structure. In the absence of this structure, a child may develop a diminished emotional response. In the alternative, if the trauma stops, a child may develop certain behavioral responses in order to maintain the level of arousal to which he has become accustomed. The process would then result in a need for arousal similar to that of sensation-seekers who seek an ever-increasing level of excitement to satisfy their needs. Children who experience trauma may then develop antisocial or asocial personality traits and distorted methods of cognitive processing as coping mechanisms. According to researchers at the Behavioral Science Unit (BSU), behavioral manifestations of these coping mechanisms could intensify alienation by distancing social contacts. In addition, these individuals may create defensive responses within other persons, thereby eliciting antagonistic feedback which would encourage the negative development of the serial killer. Eventually a person's development would be so distorted that intensifying aggressive and violent responses would develop (DeHart & Mahoney, 1994).

Fantasy as Motivation

Throughout this paper, the word "fantasy" has been mentioned repeatedly, but its definition and role have not been discussed thoroughly. The definition and role of fantasy are very important to the development and maintenance of serial killing behavior and must be understood if one is to attempt to fully comprehend serial killers. A literature review has generated definitions of "fantasy" created by FBI agents and affiliates. All are very similar and can be combined to form the following definition: a fantasy is an elaborate set of thoughts (or cognitions) with great preoccupation (characterized by rehearsal), anchored in emotion, and originating from daydreams (Burgess et al., 1986; "Interviewing Techniques", 1985; Prentky et al., 1989). To supplement the definition and understanding of "fantasy", Singer (as cited in Burgess et al., 1986) provided a definition for "daydreaming" which stated that daydreaming is "any cognitive activity representing a shift of attention away from a task" (p. 256). Burgess et al. (1986) further suggested that fantasies are usually experienced as thoughts, but an individual may also be aware of images, feelings, and internal dialogue while experiencing a fantasy. The FBI stated in "Interviewing Techniques" that "the subject may only be aware of images, feelings, and internal dialogue at certain heightened times" (p. 28).

Carlisle (1993) discussed fantasy in a similar manner and defined fantasy as "an imagery process in which a person attempts to obtain vicarious gratification by engaging in acts in his mind which he currently is not able to do (or does not dare do) in reality" (p. 26). This definition assumes that an individual recognizes the difference between fantasy

and reality. The line between fantasy and reality is blurred with serial killers. Carlisle (1993) explains that fantasy is a mechanism by which a characteristic, such as anger, can take on a form with a specific objective. Similarly, ongoing and intense fantasies are also mechanisms by which hate and bitterness can begin to become dissociated and compartmentalized from the more moral aspects of the mind (Carlisle, 1993).

It is clear that everyone has fantasies and daydreams, and usually the fantasies and daydreams are quite healthy and natural. Singer (as cited in Burgess et al., 1986) observed that 96% of adults reported that they daydreamed several times a day. Singer (1974) discussed the two most common daydream "plots", the "conquering hero" and the "suffering martyr" themes. In a conquering hero fantasy, the daydreamer plays the role of a famous, rich, or powerful person. These daydreams seem to reflect needs for mastery and escape from the frustrations of everyday life. Daydreams in which the individual plays the role of the suffering martyr focus on feelings of being hurt, neglected, rejected, or unappreciated by others. Other characters within the fantasies eventually regret their past actions and realize what a wonderful person the daydreamer was all along. It seems evident that serial killers would engage in both types of fantasies given their histories of abuse and neglect and their need for attention and power. Beres (1961) noted that fantasy may either act as a substitute for a particular action, or it may assist in preparing for action. In a study conducted by FBI associates Prentky et al. (1989), violent fantasy was present prior to murder for 86% of the serial murderers in their sample and in only 23% of the single murderers in their sample. These results suggest a possible functional

relationship between fantasy and repetitive assaultive behavior.

There have been a few popular explanations for the strength of fantasies and linking sexual arousal to fantasies. First, Abel & Blanchard (as cited in Prentky et al., 1989) suggested that the "repeated pairing of...fantasized cues with orgasm results in their acquiring sexually arousing properties" (p. 890). MacCulloch et al. (1983) thus suggested that the shaping of the fantasy may be understood in terms of classical conditioning. Prentky et al. (1989) also supported the notion that fantasies and orgasm are paired through classical conditioning by stating that the more the fantasy is rehearsed, the more power it acquires and that stronger the association between fantasy and sexual arousal becomes. For example, masturbation is first paired with sexual arousal and orgasm. Then an individual begins to fantasize while masturbating, and the two are paired with sexual arousal and orgasm. Finally, fantasizing without masturbation elicits sexual arousal and orgasm. In a person's youth, early cognitive fantasies often lead to behavioral tryouts that are precursors to criminal behavior (MacCulloch et al.). Burgess et al. (1986) hypothesized that serial killers are motivated to murder by their thought patterns. Over time, their patterns of thinking emerged from or were influenced by early life experiences.

In addition to the classical conditioning model which links sexual arousal with deviant fantasy, Bandura (1969) similarly proposed that at least three social learning variables may be important early during one's childhood in the linkage of fantasy with arousal. The three variables are (a) parental modeling of deviant behavior in a blatant or prolonged manner, (b) repeated associations between the modeled deviant behavior and a

strong positive emotional response from the child, and (c) reinforcement of the child's deviant response. It appears that the reinforcement can be viewed in two ways. First, reinforcement of the response can be the pleasure elicited by the fantasy. Second, the reinforcement can be in the form of punishment, depending on the child's relationship with the parents and depending on whether the child is caught by the parents during the fantasy-arousal association. Some children only receive attention from their parents when they have been bad and are being punished. This attention becomes reinforcing, and thus the child may continue to engage in such behaviors which will allow him to be punished and given attention. Additionally, Bandura (1969) also suggested in support of the classical conditioning model that selective reinforcement of deviant fantasies through paired association with masturbation over a long period of time may help to explain not only the power of the fantasies, but also why they are so resistant to extinction.

The role of fantasy in a serial killer's life is very strong. For some it is more important than it is to others, but for all, it is a large part of their lives, allowing them to escape from a world of hate and rejection. Fantasies and the purposes they serve are complex and numerous, but they must be broken down and understood to further complete this profile of serial killers.

General Components of Fantasy

For many serial killers, fantasy is a distinct reality from the other reality of the social world. Serial killers' existence is split into two realities. One reality is the social

world, the real world, where people do not commit murder. The other reality is the psychological reality of fantasy that is a stimulus for serial killers to commit horrible crimes. Serial killers exist in a split reality because they are usually extremely preoccupied with their very real fantasies ("The Split Reality of Murder", 1985). This existence in a fantasy world usually begins during childhood. Children who experience extreme emptiness and engage in excessive daydreaming may eventually reach the point where the identity created through their fantasies actually becomes a compartmentalized, controlling personality factor in their lives (Carlisle, 1993). The personalities that exist in the worlds children create for protection evolve into dominant, destructive personalities.

According to the FBI, serial killers never consider their fantasies to be abnormal. Fantasies provide a sense of control which seems to be lacking in the social world, and over time, the fantasies of serial killers become obsessions ("The Split Reality of Murder", 1985). During a potential serial killer's adolescence and adulthood, the fantasy life which has been a hiding place for so long begins to inject itself into everyday social behavior. It is at this point that the fine line between reality and fantasy begins to blur. At this time the offender begins to become noticeably more aloof and isolated, spending more time thinking about his fantasies than acting on them. It is quite possible that this social isolation helps to repress the desire to act on the fantasies ("The Split Reality of Murder").

A study conducted by the FBI ("The Split Reality of Murder", 1985) indicated that the murderers in their study were aware of longstanding preferences for and engagement in fantasies, and they were devoted to fantasies that were sexual in nature. Sometimes

these serial killers even fantasized about self-victimization, including ordering their own evisceration. The participants in the study indicated that prior to their first murders, the fantasies focused on the actual killing, while fantasies after the first murder tended to focus on perfecting various aspects of the murder. After that first murder and the attempt at making the fantasy a reality, the entire structure of the fantasy must be changed in order to continue killing since the killer's entire reality has changed. After the first murder has been committed, the fantasy evolves and solidifies, more exactly defining the motivations and intent to kill. As the motivation evolves, so do the fantasies, which feed off of each other. Eventually as more murders are committed, they become more organized due to the rehearsal of the fantasies and emotions accompanying them ("The Split Reality of Murder").

Fantasies can engulf a person. According to Carlisle (1993), when an individual becomes totally absorbed in a fantasy, that person becomes completely dissociated from everything else. This dissociation serves to protect the individual from pain and to create excitement. Anger and emptiness, two emotions which originally assisted in the creation of the fantasy life, actually become the motivators which drive the fantasy further. Feelings of excitement and relief are generated while the individual is actively involved in the fantasy, but when the fantasy is over, the feelings of emptiness and anger return and are perpetuated because the fantasy has given the individual a taste for the real thing, which a serial killer anticipates as being even better than the fantasy (Carlisle, 1993).

Prentky et al. (1989) agreed with MacCulloch et al. (1983) that once barriers

against an individual acting out the fantasy are removed, a person is more likely to participate in a series of increasingly more accurate "trial runs" in which attempts to make fantasy a reality are imagined. The trial runs, however, usually do not match the fantasy exactly, nor are they as fulfilling as imagined, so a killer feels the need to rework the fantasy with a new victim (Prentky et al.). Carlisle (1993) reports that over time, a serial killer may turn more often to a fantasized pseudo-existence whenever there are feelings of depression, emptiness, and stress, further running away from the problems. This turn to the pseudo-existence leads to a dual life with a dual identity. One identity is associated with reality and the people he associates with everyday, and the other identity is a secret identity which exhibits the control and power that the individual wishes to have over others (Carlisle, 1993).

According to the FBI ("Interviewing Techniques", 1985), one of the indicators of the presence of a fantasy with serial killers is the great amount of detail given by the killer during interviews. These details provide the most accurate information regarding how a killer actually operates. Detailed planning of crimes elicited by fantasy rehearsal was a statement of superiority, intelligence, and control for most of the killers interviewed ("Interviewing Techniques"). Fantasies provided a sense of power and control, which was what most serial killers in the study so desperately wanted. Fantasies also provided the killers with intense emotional stimulation. Additionally, in some cases the fantasies actually appeared to protect serial killers from becoming totally disorganized and psychotic ("Interviewing Techniques").

Results of a study by FBI agents and associates Prentky et al. (1989) indicated that

serial killers showed a higher frequency of paraphilias (sexual perversions) than did

single-time murderers. This evidence of paraphilia suggests that serial killers have more of

a preference for fantasy than do single-time murderers. The finding also suggests that the

paraphiliac may also be seen as a "fantasy-stimulus collector who seeks out secret

experiences to add to the private world of sex and fantasy" (Prentky et al., p. 890).

Similarly, Ressler, Burgess, Hartman, et al. (1986) stated that "the complexity and

bizarreness of the offender's fantasy life needed to obtain and sustain emotional arousal

suggest that the ultimate expression of his perversion is in the mutilation of the victim" (p.

280).

Fantasy Related to Each Killer Subtype

The information regarding the importance of fantasy in the lives of serial killers in

general which was just discussed holds true for most serial killers, regardless of their

degrees of activity and personality structures. There are, however, some themes and facts

that are more unique to the sexual serial murderer which must be discussed briefly here.

Burgess et al. (1986) reported on several themes common in the fantasies of sexual serial

killers. The themes include dominance, revenge, violence, rape, molestation, power,

control, torture, mutilation, inflicting pain on self and others, and death. It is the

preoccupation with themes of aggression, detailed cognitive activity (i. e., rich fantasies),

and an elevated state of arousal which eventually move a person to act on the

psychological fantasies (Burgess et al., 1986; "The Split Reality of Murder", 1985). These fantasies are an important part of a sexual serial killer's personality, and they lie beyond "normal" sexual, consenting, pleasure-based daydreams because of their aggressive, sadistic, and destructive content. Fantasies become so vivid to these individuals that they provide a most powerful stimulus for a sexual serial killer to act them out with any unfortunate victim of opportunity ("The Split Reality of Murder").

Building upon the earlier discussion on the role of fantasy for serial killers in general, MacCulloch et al. (1983) logically suggested that fantasies and sadistic acts are linked and that fantasy drives the sadistic behavior. Schlesinger and Revitch (as cited in Burgess et al., 1986) suggested that it was unknown how many people activate sadistic fantasies and in what context this activation may occur. Schlesinger and Revitch (as cited in Burgess et al., 1986) advise, however, that once the sadistic fantasy builds to a point where internal stress is intolerable and an emotional expression is forthcoming, the road for certain sadistic activity is paved.

MacCulloch et al. (1983) studied sex killers who experienced sadistic fantasies and found that from an early age, these men had problems both in social and sexual relationships. MacCulloch et al. suggest that the failure in social and sexual approach may be partially responsible for the development of feelings of inadequacy and lack of assertiveness in sexual killers. The inability to control the real world leads the men into a fantasy world where they have control. This fact has been well documented in this paper. The fantasy of control and dominance will be repeated because of the emotional relief it

provides from the constant feelings of failure (Ressler, Burgess, Hartman, et al., 1986).

MacCulloch et al. (1983) suggested that when the element of sexual arousal is combined with the sadistic fantasy, the shaping and content of the fantasy may be viewed, as was discussed earlier, according to a model of classical conditioning. MacCulloch et al. also suggested that the classical conditioning model of sadistic fantasy and sexual arousal may explain the strength and permanence of sadistic fantasies in sadistic killers as well as the progression of these fantasies from nonsexual to sexual and the progression of the actual crimes from nonsexual to sexual.

In their study of sadistic killers' fantasies and actions, MacCulloch et al. (1983) discussed nine cases which included descriptions of the progression of sadistic fantasies. The sadistic participants stated that their fantasies were continuously altered to maintain their efficiency as a source of pleasure and arousal. The power of the fantasies was increased as was the sadistic content. Additionally, fantasy based on earlier behavioral "try-outs" of the main fantasy sequence were increased. MacCulloch et al. noted that one of the most interesting factors about sadistic serial killers to emerge from their study was the prevalence of behavioral "try-outs" of the fantasy.

The very nature of its horror makes it easy to believe that lust murder is premeditated in obsessional fantasies by both disorganized asocial and organized nonsocial lust murderer personality types (Hazelwood & Douglas, 1980). As for most serial killers, fantasy provides lust murderers with a way of escaping a world filled with hate and rejection. When a serial lust killer acts out the fantasy and commits the crime of murder,

the killer's goal is to destroy a victim and to become that victim's sole possessor. For a

lust murderer, a victim may represent something which is greatly desired sexually but is

unattainable and unapproachable in the "real world" (Hazelwood & Douglas). Reinhardt

(1957) discussed the function and process of fantasy in lust murder:

> By fantasy the murderer attempts to wall himself in against the fatal act, while at the
>
> same time gratifying the compulsive psychic demands in the development and use of
>
> fantasy. These sadistic [fantasies] seem to have preceded the brutal act of lust murder.
>
> These fantasies take all sorts of grotesque and cruel forms. The pervert, on this level
>
> of degeneracy, may resort to pornographic pictures, grotesque and cruel literary
>
> episodes, out of which he weaves his fantasies. On these his imagination dwells until
>
> he loses all contact with reality, only to find himself suddenly impelled to carry his
>
> fantasies into the world of actuality. This is done, apparently, by drawing human
>
> objects into the fantasy (p. 208-209).

It is commonly accepted that most "normal" people often have fantasies (Singer, as

cited in Burgess et al., 1986), and many people often have sexually explicit fantasies

(Crepault & Couture, 1980). Schlesinger and Revitch (1983) suggested, however, that

merely having a sadistic or homicidal fantasy does not mean that the fantasy will be acted

out. In actuality, according to Prentky et al. (1989), fantasies may serve the function as a

substitute for behavior. So given that some "normal" men engage in sadistic fantasies, a

question arises: if sadistic fantasy plays a role in the creation and maintenance of sadistic

behavior, which it seems to do, then what factors lead some people to act out their

fantasies while others do not (MacCulloch et al., 1983)? As this author suggested

previously, there must be some sort of deep-seated propensity which drives some people

to commit heinous acts based on their fantasies. It will take much more research in the

area of fantasy and motivation to answer MacCulloch et al.'s question and to precisely

define the propensity.

The Fantasy-Related Process of Becoming a Serial Killer

Fantasy is an important aspect in the development of a serial killer, beginning in

childhood and strengthening though adolescence and adulthood. Fantasy is also a

component in the planning of a murder and becomes part of the process of becoming a

serial killer. Carlisle (1993) discussed a "process" of becoming a serial killer which he

refers to as "the creation of the 'shadow'". Carlisle (1993) explained that a vicarious

enjoyment of fantasy is increased through a sort of hypnotic trance, and the combination

of the enjoyment and the trance create an appetite for power which grows out of control.

By acting on the fantasy, the dark side, or "shadow", becomes a more permanent part of

the individual's personality structure. In an interview with Michaud and Aynesworth

(1989), Ted Bundy revealed his thoughts on how a psychopathic killer is created. Bundy

stated:

There is some kind of weakness that gives rise to this individual's interest in the kind of

sexual activity involving violence that would gradually begin to absorb some of his

fantasy...eventually the interest would become so demanding toward new material that

it could only be catered to by what he could find in the dirtybook (sic) stores...(p. 68).

Carlisle (1993) suggested that once a person has fantasized enough about killing, the time may come when an actual event, much the same as what has been fantasized about, actually presents itself. At this time and under the right circumstances, a serial killer finds himself automatically performing the acts that have been practiced so many times in fantasy. Carlisle (1991) also suggested that some serial killers tend to dissociate themselves from the crime. After the crime has been committed, some killers' minds return to the "real world", and they sometimes feel surprise, guilt, or horror that such a heinous murder could have happened. Within the killer there is a sense of repulsion regarding the murder, but there is also usually a sense of peace, satisfaction, and excitement. If that peaceful feeling is extreme, as if a heavy load has been lifted off the person's shoulders, then it is very likely that the person will become a serial killer (Carlisle, 1993).

Over time, the "shadow" becomes stronger because the individual has crossed the final boundary and most of the inhibitions against killing have been overcome, and guilt has been repressed (Carlisle, 1993). At this stage, the killer may begin tempting fate by engaging in some pre-murderous activities believing this will help satisfy the hunger that is still growing inside, and promising that the activities will never escalate to murder again. Unfortunately, the time comes when the overwhelming urge to feel that power and control appears again and the individual gives in to the temptation and kills again (Carlisle, 1993).

CHAPTER 6

SERIAL MURDER: BEHAVIOR, COGNITION, AND EMOTION

To understand serial killers more fully, it is necessary to understand their behavioral processes, thought processes, and feelings. This chapter will discuss the behavioral phases of murder, the importance of cognition to serial killers, emotional expression by serial killers, explanations for serial killing behavior, and the possibility of insanity as a defense for serial killers.

Importance of Cognitions in Serial Killers

Serial killing behavior, by its very nature, is maintained because these killers murder several times, and it is likely that cognitions play a role in the behavioral maintenance. The cognitive approach emphasizes the importance of thoughts and other mental processes, focusing directly on such mental processes as how the brain takes in information; how the brain uses its functions of perception, memory, thought, judgment, and decision-making to process that information; and how the brain generates integrated patterns of behavior (Bernstein, Roy, Srull, & Wickens, 1988). Gresswell and Hollin (1994) created an analysis of factors which maintain serial killing behaviors, and there are three key cognitive processes involved in the maintenance of these behaviors: Cognitive Inhibitory Processes, Cognitive Inhibitory Facilitating Processes, and Operant Processes.

Cognitive Inhibitory Processes

According to Gresswell and Hollin (1994) cognitive processes have been considered to play a major role in the etiology of serial murder, principally in overcoming or preventing the learning of aggressive responses. The versatile model developed by Burgess et al. (1986), in conjunction with other FBI studies, suggested that because of the integrated early childhood experiences, people who eventually commit serial murder feel alienated and isolated. As part of the poor childhood experience which then evolves into a similar adult experience, the individual "filters out" via the feedback filter any social feedback which might inhibit aggressive behavior (Burgess et al., 1986).

Burgess et al. (1986) suggested that sexually motivated serial killers may never have acquired the ability to respond empathically to others. Burgess et al. (1986) also suggested that cognitive processes such as depersonalization of victims, failure to internalize inhibitions against aggression, and a belief that violence against others is justifiable precede homicidal behavior. Gresswell and Hollin (1994) cautioned against assuming that all serial killers have not acquired inhibitory belief systems. An equally plausible explanation is that some serial killers have had to learn means of overcoming the inhibitions against murder. Gresswell and Hollin suggested that the cognitive processes of depersonalization of victims and overcoming inhibitions against murder may also occur during fantasy rehearsals of the offenses as well as during the actual aggressive act.

Cognitive Facilitating Processes

The importance of the role of fantasy has been discussed in detail in Chapter 5, but in brief review, several researchers have addressed the role of fantasy as both a precursor to serial killing and as a coping response by which serial killers deal with life's pressures (Brittain, 1970; MacCulloch et al., 1983; Ressler, Burgess, & Douglas, 1988). FBI associates Prentky et al. (1989) specifically found that fantasy preceded serial sexual murder for 86% of the serial killers in their study who confessed to a history of violent fantasies, compared to only 23% of single-time murderers reporting a similar history.

Operant Processes

According to Gresswell and Hollin (1994) engagement in violent fantasy, trial runs, and murder appear to be rewarded by intense positive feelings of power and control with associated pleasant changes in arousal, together with a simultaneous distraction from aversive consequences. Such deviant behaviors as were just discussed are positively reinforced in that they lead to rewarding outcomes for the individual, and the behaviors are negatively reinforced as they allow an escape from the aversive realities of everyday life.

Prentky et al. (1989) suggested that since a perfect match between fantasy and reality is never made, the reality is never quite as good or as rewarding as the fantasies have promised. Further attempts at reinforcement with new victims are made in continuing attempts to achieve a closer match between fantasy and reality. These attempts

are likely to be only partially successful, producing only short-term positive effects and thus creating intermittent schedules of reinforcement. This type of schedule inevitably makes behavior resistant to extinction and quite susceptible to recovery (Prentky et al.).

Emotional Expression in Serial Killers

It is clear that serial killers do experience various emotions and react according to these emotions. This is evident by the fact that serial killers begin to kill as a result of increasing feelings of frustration, anger, rejection, and powerlessness (Leibman, 1989). Similarly, Liebert (1985) considered serial murder to be a combination of very primitive emotions. Brittain (1970) suggested that in many respects serial killers are emotionally flattened by the fantasized cruelty and by the actual murders. This affective flattening is necessary for serial killers because if there was no emotional flattening, serial killers would be unable to tolerate the very thought of murder (Brittain). It seems that by repeated exposure to fantasies of extreme cruelty, serial killers become cynical, indifferent, and insensitive to the crimes and the horror inflicted on innocent victims (Brittain).

Some serial killers typically feel sexual excitement during and after a murder, and various other emotions have been reported by serial killers (Drukteinis, 1992). According to Drukteinis, some serial killers may feel more frightened during and after a murder than anticipated while others are surprised by the level of excitement felt. Serial killers commonly feel a sense of pleasure or triumph in the power exerted over others (Drukteinis), and others experience feelings of revenge (Revitch, 1965). Other killers are

exhilarated by the fact that they have killed, and this excitement may influence serial killers

to kill again (Drukteinis). Some serial killers are surprised to feel a sense of horror after

committing murder, and afterward these killers express a wish to be caught because of

feelings of lack of control (Ressler, Burgess, & Douglas, 1988). Intense feelings of anger

are overpowering for some serial killers who proceed to attack women immediately

following an intensely frustrating event precipitated by a mother, wife, or sister. Beneath

the surface of this anger and hostility toward women, the various combinations of

emotions previously discussed are usually elicited (Revitch).

Explanations for Serial Killing Behavior

There have been several attempts to explain the behavior of serial killers. Carlisle

(1993) and Brown (1991) suggested that the behavior of serial killers may be either

psychotic or psychopathic. Brown also suggested that the criminal behavior of serial

killers may be due to a variety of sexual disorders because of the sexual nature of the

criminal activity. Brown discussed the possibility that the repetitive nature of the crimes

suggests obsessions and compulsions, and the abused childhoods of many serial killers

suggest dissociation.

Carlisle (1993) and Brown (1991) asserted that while it seems almost obvious that

the behavior of serial killers ought to be explained in terms of psychoses because of the

violent and sadistic nature of the acts, psychiatric data usually contradict such a diagnosis.

Research by Dietz et al. (1990) and Rosman and Resnick (1989) indicated that the vast

majority of sexually sadistic criminals and necrophiliacs do not suffer from any psychoses in the traditional sense of experiencing delusions and hallucinations or illogical thinking. Bourguignon (as cited in Brown) suggested that a clear majority of serial killers, possibly as many as 90%, are not psychotic.

Instances of serial murder, serial sexual murder in particular, can provide a great release from anxiety (Brown, 1991). Podolsky (1965) referred to this buildup of anxiety as an "affective storm". These periodic outbursts which result from a need for release from anxiety function much the same as compulsions. Carlisle (1993) stated that "the compulsion is a combination of the planning, the hunt, the capture, the power and control over the victim, the terror she shows, and the possession of the person, often both before and after death" (p. 33). Walter (1984) suggested that a serial killer's need to relieve intense anxiety through the physical enactment of violence may prevent a psychotic regression and may thus be a motivator for the individuals to continue to translate sadistic fantasies into sadistic murder. Data obtained by the FBI (Burgess et al., 1986; Prentky et al., 1989; Ressler, Burgess, et al., 1986) supported Walter's (1984) theory in that the murderers studied by the FBI usually reported feeling a great sense of relief from anxiety after the crime, or in Podolsky's view, after the "affective storm" the murderers often eat and sleep well.

From this compulsion develops what Carlisle (1993) referred to as an obsessional search for the high. As part of this search, serial killers tend to flaunt their skills and feelings of superiority, sometimes teasing the police. Serial killers are very impressed with

the fact that they can kill people and not get caught, planning, stalking, and murdering

with much skill. Sometimes serial killers take great risks because of feelings of being

invulnerable to detection and capture (Carlisle, 1993). As time progresses, subsequent

murders are often not as satisfying as the first, not reaching the level of satisfaction that is

provided by the fantasies. At this time, serial killers' search for the "high" becomes

obsessive. Some killers may try to fight the controlling influence of the obsession, but

soon the killers give in to the struggle and allow the obsession to dominate (Carlisle,

1993).

A term commonly used to describe many serial killers is "psychopath" (Brown,

1991). The criteria for the classification of "psychopath" was outlined in Chapter 1, but a

brief review of the psychopathic personality is necessary here. The term psychopath refers

to a person who has a clear perception of reality but lacks feelings of remorse and

commits crimes for immediate gratification with no regard for the pain caused by the

criminal activity. Psychopaths generally do not have a conscience. Carlisle (1993)

asserted that the term "psychopath" accurately describes the behavior of many serial

killers, but it does not account for the psychological processes that go on inside

individuals which lead serial killers to kill for pleasure. It does not explain whether serial

killers' lack of conscience results in the killing, or if psychological pain causes violent

tendencies which result in the blocking of moral behaviors (Carlisle, 1993). While the

term psychopath quite accurately classifies most serial killers, there are killers who do

experience strong guilt feelings when they kill, which shows some capacity for remorse.

Despite this regret, however, serial killers continue to kill (Carlisle, 1993). Brown believed that the probability for a diagnosis of antisocial or sadistic personality and any sexual disorder is extremely high for serial killers by the definition of their crimes and from evidence of their social histories.

An area of diagnostic explanation which, according to Carlisle (1993), has not received enough exploratory examination includes concepts of reality, dissociation, and compartmentalization. These concepts combine to form what many serial killers refer to as a dark, sinister, twisted self, or another personality, that desires dirty and evil experiences which would have created deep feelings of disgust earlier in life. Specifically, Carlisle (1993) stated "the process of dissociation is a normal psychological process which provides an opportunity for a person to avoid, to one degree or another, the pressure of memories and feelings which are too painful to tolerate" (p. 26). Dissociation is a continuum of experiences ranging from simply blocking out painful events to the extreme of Multiple Personality Disorder where personalities are separate compartmentalized entities (Carlisle, 1993).

The story of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde (Stevenson, 1963) is a fictional account of a man who uses chemical experimentation to become transformed into two separate entities, each having its own set of realities and each having completely opposite intentions. This story has been used to describe the opposing personality states of some serial killers whose violent behaviors are incongruent with the public image displayed to others (Carlisle, 1993). Carlisle (1993) offered three examples of the Jekyll & Hyde

Phenomenon.

Example 1: Ted Bundy

Ted Bundy was a college graduate who later went to law school and obtained good grades. He worked on a Crisis Line in order to help others. Bundy is believed to have killed over 30 victims (Carlisle, 1993).

Example 2: Christopher Wilder

Christopher Wilder was an affluent co-owner of a construction business, and he owned Florida real estate worth nearly a half-million dollars. He always had many girlfriends and was well-liked by those who lived around him. He killed eight victims, torturing many (Carlisle, 1993).

Example 3: John Wayne Gacy

John Wayne Gacy was a successful businessman who also dressed as a clown to lift the spirits of sick children in local hospitals. Each year he sponsored a celebration for approximately 400 Chicago residents at his own expense. He killed more than 30 victims and buried many beneath his house and in his backyard (Carlisle, 1993).

A closely related diagnostic possibility which has received a minimal amount of attention and which may be worth examining further is the possible existence of Multiple

Personality Disorder in some male serial killers. Research by Putnam (1989) indicated that male Multiple Personality Disorder patients, or MPD patients, may escape detection because presentation of MPD by males often differs from a "classic" presentation, or presentation of MPD by females. Male MPD patients tend to express outward violence rather than the inward violence usually expressed, and so are thus seen more often in the criminal justice system rather than in psychiatric systems. Putnam's notion was supported by the work of Bliss and Larson (1985) who found a high percentage of male sex offenders suffering from MPD. If there is such a diagnosis of MPD for male serial killers, it would account for the multiple diagnoses of psychosis and psychopathy existing within the same individual since multiple personalities may reflect different pathologies in the same person (Putnam).

Although many psychological aspects in the backgrounds of serial killers and people suffering from MPD are nonspecific and may seem to be unrelated, the series of behavioral steps in the formation of sexual homicide, specifically, described that by Burgess et al. (1986) can be understood as the combination of an ineffective social environment, a traumatic childhood, compartmentalization of traumatic memories, and development of "other" personalities through fantasy. Putnam (as cited in Brown, 1991) states that "this is generally the accepted process in the development of multiple personality disorder" (p. 18).

The Insanity Defense for Serial Killers

General knowledge of serial killing behavior likely leads people to consider serial

killers as "sick", "crazy", or "insane", in lay terms. It is obvious that serial killers' behavior

is "abnormal" in that it is unusual and different from the norm. If serial killers are insane,

it would be easier to explain their brutal behaviors. But if serial killers are not insane, how

can these horrible behaviors possibly be explained? It is this author's opinion that there is

no simple explanation, and therefore no simple defense, for the behaviors.

It should be made clear that as far as the criminal courts are concerned, "insanity"

is a legal term, not a psychiatric term (Hickey, 1991). The legal system uses the term

"insanity" to define an offender's state of mind at the time of an offense. A person can be

declared insane at the time of the commission of a crime and only for that period time

(Hickey). An element of most crimes is criminal intent, also known as mens rea or guilty

mind. Before the possibility of insanity is considered, the offender's wrongful state of

mind must be proven and distinguished from accidents and non-criminal motives

(Drukteinis, 1992). Even when criminal intent has been proven, a defendant may present

additional evidence to show a lack of blameworthiness due to insanity (Drukteinis). It is

the responsibility of the trial judge or jury to determine the degree of mens rea, or the

guilty state of mind, of a defendant at the time of the commission of the crime for which a

trial is being conducted (Halpern, 1991).

Insanity has been defined by three main models, the M'Naughten Rule, the Durham

Rule, and the ALI (American Law Institute) Test, and an insanity defense is allowed in

some form in almost every state (Drukteinis 1992). The M'Naughten Rule, which is the

narrowest definitional model of insanity, states:

> To establish a defense on the ground of insanity, it must be proved that at the time of
>
> the committing of the act the party accused was laboring under such a defect of reason
>
> from disease of the mind that he did not know the nature and quality of the act; or if
>
> he did, then he did not know it was wrong (as cited in Hickey, 1991, p. 38).

The "irresistible impulse test" was added to this definition of insanity. The "irresistible

impulse test" states that even if an individual knew what he was doing and that it was

wrong, he could not control himself (Bromberg, 1979). Under the M'Naughten Rule and

the Irresistible Impulse Test, defense counsel only has to prove that an offender could not

exercise self-control during the commission of the crime (Hickey, 1991). The M'Naughten

Rule is used today in about 16 states to determine if an offender was unable to distinguish

between right and wrong as a result of a mental disability (Hickey).

While the M'Naughten Rule of insanity focused on defect, the Durham Rule

attempted to broaden the definition by adding the notion of mental disease or mental

infirmity to the legal concept of insanity. The Durham Rule (as cited in Drukteinis, 1992)

states that "an accused is not criminally responsible if his unlawful act was the product of

mental disease or defect" (p. 534). In cases where the Durham Rule was used, juries had

no standards to follow but instead had to rely heavily on psychiatrists' opinions regarding

defendants' mental faculties. As a result, nearly all states have discontinued the use of the

Durham Rule (Hickey, 1991).

According to Drukteinis (1992), the Durham Rule was replaced with what is now the most commonly used definition for insanity which was formulated by the American Law Institute (ALI) from the United States v. Brawner decision and became part of the Model Penal Code. It is generally referred to as the ALI Test and states:

A person is not legally responsible for criminal conduct if at the time of such conduct, as a result of mental disease or defect, he lacked substantial capacity either to appreciate the criminality (or wrongfulness) of his conduct, or to conform his conducts to the requirements of the law (Section 4.01 of the Model Penal Code).

It should be noted that a lack of substantial capacity does not mean total impairment (APA, 1983). Appreciation of criminality suggests an affective, more emotional and more personalized approach, and the ability to conform with the requirements of the law and to control one's actions introduces the concept of choice into the definition of insanity (Drukteinis, 1992). The ALI Test allows the independent finding that the defendant was unable to "conform his conduct", or to control his behavior. This is in essence the "irresistible impulse test" (Drukteinis).

According to Melton, Petrila, Poythress, and Slobogin's findings in 1978, it was not just the presence or absence of mental illness that made an offender legally responsible or not responsible for crimes. Rather, it was the individual's state of mind at the time of the offense, intention to cause a specific result, or awareness that the individual's conduct would probably lead to some form of victimization. Mental illness or defect alone are not sufficient causative factors for exoneration. The criminal's intent and awareness of the

consequences of the act are fundamental for determining criminal responsibility (Melton et al.).

According to Hickey (1991), less than 1% of all criminal cases use the insanity plea, and most of these are unsuccessful. Those who do plead insanity are generally non-violent offenders. While it seems that serial killers would often use this defense, serial killers rarely use the insanity plea (Hickey). The insanity defense was used in the jury trial of Jeffrey Dahmer (Palermo & Knudten, 1994). His defense counsel and the defense psychiatric expert claimed that he was suffering from Necrophilia, a paraphilic disorder not otherwise specified, part of the Sexual Disorders as reported in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (3rd edition--Revised), or DSM-III-R (APA, 1987). Defense experts believed Dahmer's Necrophilia was manifested in psychosis, which is contrary to the criteria in the DSM-III-R (Palermo & Knudten). Defense experts testified that Dahmer was suffering from Necrophilia and was therefore unable to conform to the requirements of the law. The prosecution experts accepted the defense experts' diagnosis of Necrophilia and supported it, but these prosecution experts did not support its psychotic nature. The professional psychiatric opinion of the expert in forensic psychiatry who was appointed by the Circuit Court was that Dahmer would best be classified as: (a) Personality Disorder Not Otherwise Specified, severe in type, with antisocial, obsessive-compulsive, sadistic, fetishistic, borderline, and necrophilic features, and (b) Alcohol Dependence (APA, 1987; Palermo & Knudten). Prosecution experts testified that Jeffrey Dahmer was legally sane at the time of the crimes and was able to

conform to the requirements of the law (APA, 1987; Palermo & Knudten; Von Krafft-Ebbing, 1965). This was evidenced by his calculated planning, risk avoidance, and tendency to act on weekends (Palermo & Knudten). Ten jurors out of twelve found Jeffrey Dahmer legally sane at the time he committed each of the fifteen murders for which he was on trial, and he was sentenced to fifteen consecutive life terms in prison without the possibility of parole (Palermo & Knudten).

CHAPTER 7

CRIMINAL PROFILING

A comprehensive profile of serial killers has been constructed. We can now explain how profiling is used in the process of a criminal investigation. This chapter will examine the following topics: the investigative process; the history of the criminal profiling process; the goals and rationale of profiling; the primary uses of criminal profiling; behaviors evaluated in a criminal profile; offender and victim characteristics contained in criminal profiles; the overall effectiveness of profiling; profiling's status as an art or a science; and the FBI's programs for apprehending violent criminals.

Historical Antecedents

Criminal profiling is not a new concept. During World War II the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) employed a psychiatrist, William Langer, to construct a profile of Adolph Hitler (Ault & Reese, 1980; Enter, 1989). Langer assembled all information available about Hitler at the time, and based on the information he received, Langer made a diagnosis, described Hitler's personality, and accurately predicted how Hitler would react to defeat (Langer, 1972).

After the success of Langer's (1972) profile of Hitler, profiling was used in the 1950s and 1960s by psychiatrists in attempts to assist police in the identification of such infamous criminals as the Mad Bomber of New York and the Boston Strangler (Pinizzotto, 1984). In the 1970s, profiling took on a new dimension. Whereas early

profiles were constructed by psychiatrists, law enforcement officials began to experiment

on their own in the 1970s with the concept of profiling (Enter, 1989). This new approach

used the "accumulated investigative experience" of veteran criminal investigators to

develop profiles. Such a new approach was first used in 1971 at the FBI Academy in

Quantico, Virginia (Pinizzotto; Ressler, Burgess, et al., 1986).

Since 1971 the FBI has been involved in assisting city, county, and state law

enforcement agencies in their investigations of unsolved murders by preparing profiles of

unidentified killers after extensive examination of the crime scene data, victim

characteristics, and autopsy reports ("Classifying Sexual Homicide", 1985). Many of

these crimes were considered "motiveless" and were analyzed by the agents to have a

sexual component. They devised a new typology which inferred a motivational

framework that included expectations, planning, and justification for the criminal actions

as well as "hunches" regarding postcrime behaviors. Consequently, special emphasis was

placed on the thinking patterns presumed to dominate murderers' actions indicating

differences in acts committed against victims and suggesting motivational subcategories

(Ressler, Burgess, et al., 1986).

In 1979 the FBI began a more formalized and research-oriented approach to

profiling (Enter, 1989). Special Agents John Douglas and Robert Ressler began a

research project which involved interviewing incarcerated serial sexual murderers, and at

this time experts from the psychiatry and mental health fields were asked to assist in the

research (Committee on Government Operations, 1986). In January, 1983, the Behavioral

Sciences Unit (BSU) at the FBI Academy was formed. Much of the FBI's early research

on developing profile information has come from their extensive interviews with convicted

offenders. The profiling of serial murderers was the first project attempted by the BSU,

and it was based upon the interviews of 36 convicted serial sexual murderers ("The Men

Who Murdered", 1985). Many subsequent interviews with these 36 murderers were

conducted by FBI agents and their affiliates. In July, 1984, the National Center for the

Analysis of Violent Crime (NCAVC) was formed as part of the BSU (Committee on

Government Operations). The importance of the NCAVC will be discussed in more detail

later in this chapter.

The primary purpose of the BSU of the FBI Training Division is instruction (Ault

& Reese, 1980). Courses in criminology, abnormal psychology, sociology, hostage

negotiations, interpersonal violence, and other behavioral science-related areas are taught

at the Academy to FBI agents and police officers (Ault & Reese). The early investigative

and training efforts of the BSU have lead to the current trend of training professional

personality profilers who are often called upon after training to assist in ongoing criminal

investigations in which the FBI is not directly involved (Pinizzotto & Finkel, 1990).

Process of Investigation

Typically, after a case of apparent serial murder has been detected by law

enforcement, an investigation is immediately launched. While the complete investigative

process is beyond the scope of this paper, it will be helpful to familiarize the reader with

the general process. According to FBI affiliates Ault and Reese (1980), a police officer must arrive at the crime scene and work backward in an effort to reconstruct the crime, formulate a hypothesis of what has occurred, and then launch a systematic and logical investigation to determine the killer's identity. During the investigative process tangible items of evidence are carefully collected, identified, initialed, logged, and packaged for later examination (Ault & Reese).

Certain types of evidence, however, can not be easily collected for later examination. According to Geberth (1986), there are psychodynamics and behavioral evidence of psychopathology left by the perpetrator at the scene which are often evaluated by psychologists and psychiatrists. In traditional therapy or research, psychologists have a person available to study. The clinician then explores that person's behaviors and experiences in order to establish relationships that reveal insights and information about that particular person (Canter, 1989). In police investigations, the various behaviors are available for the psychologist's evaluation, but the details of the person who performed the behaviors are not (Canter). Essentially, psychologists who assist law enforcement in criminal investigations must work backward to determine the identity of an individual from certain criminal behaviors rather than determining particular behaviors from an individual.

Geberth (1986) stated that "the participation of psychologists and psychiatrists with the necessary experience and background in the criminal investigation is a common sense approach to assume in these types of inquiries" (p. 494). This particular specialty is referred to as Forensic Psychology or Forensic Psychiatry. For a number of reasons it is

often difficult to include these specialists in police investigations (Canter, 1989). Police

officers are often unwilling to include behavioral experts in investigations unless some

mutual trust and reciprocal benefits will be gained. This creates a cycle that is inefficient

since it is difficult for psychologists to make a contribution to a case without having

experience, yet it is difficult to gain experience until a contribution can be made (Canter).

The inclusion of the Behavioral Science Unit within the FBI has helped to integrate

psychological evaluations of crime scenes with law enforcement evaluations and has thus

increased the level of trust between behavioral experts and law enforcement professionals.

Attempts have recently been made to familiarize the public with the effectiveness of the

profiling process. A notable, popular work which recently documented the investigative

process and progress of the BSU is Mindhunter by John Douglas, a retired special agent

who was a pioneer in the integration of psychological profiling with law enforcement

investigations. Douglas recounts his years of criminal profiling with the FBI and discusses

many of his investigative experiences.

Definition of Criminal Profiling

There are several variations of the definition of "criminal profile", "criminal

personality profile", "psychological profile", and "offender profile", but each definition is

quite similar. Profiling is the application of behavioral science theory and research to the

profiler's knowledge of patterns which may be present at various crime scenes (Brittain,

1970; Lunde, 1976). "The profiling process is defined by the FBI as an investigative

technique by which to identify the major personality and behavioral characteristics of an

offender based upon an analysis of the crime(s) an individual has committed" (Douglas &

Burgess, 1986, p. 9). FBI agent McPoyle (1981) defines a profile as a "concise

biographical sketch which outlines the significant, readily observed features of an

individual" (p. 87). In addition, McPoyle also states that a "criminal psychological profile

concerns itself with the psychological and behavioral characteristics of an 'unknown

subject' which are manifested through the means and methods employed by the

perpetrator of the crime being investigated" (p. 87). In 1986 the Committee on

Government Operations (as cited in Enter, 1989), defined profiling as "an investigative

technique by which to identify the major personality and behavioral characteristics based

upon the crime(s) he or she has committed" (p. 52). Enter stated that "profiling focuses

on the substance and content of the criminal acts for investigative purposes" (p. 52),

emphasizing the apprehension of unidentified violent criminals "by utilizing what profilers

have learned from prior cases and from convicted offenders" (p. 52). Pinizzotto (1984)

explained that through a close examination of the crime scene a person is able to

extrapolate relevant psychological material that leads to a profile. Forensic investigators

allow a crime scene and a victim to essentially "tell" what type of person committed a

crime (Pinizzotto).

Geberth (1981) and Hazelwood and Douglas (1980) suggested that a

psychological profile is an educated attempt to provide investigative agencies with specific

information regarding the type of person who committed a certain crime. From an

investigative point of view, a profile can be a valuable tool in identifying and pinpointing suspects. Geberth (1981) suggested that there are limitations to the use of profiles, and they should only be used in conjunction with certain reliable techniques typically employed during the investigative process.

There has been dissent among scholars over whether criminal profiling is an art or a science. While this question will be addressed in a later section in this chapter, Crace (1995) asserts that "offender profiling is the science of making logical deductions about possible suspects for any given crime based on shared patterns of behavior of those who commit certain crimes" (p. 29). Traditionally the most valuable and applicable evidence found at a crime scene were blood, semen, and/or fingerprints. Profiling proposes, however, there are less-recognized clues which also assist in the detection of an offender (Crace). These clues include the choice of victim, the location, the nature of the assault, what is and is not left behind at the scene, what is and is not said to the victim (more important when the victim has not been murdered), and whether the victim is killed. The challenge of profiling is interpreting these clues correctly (Crace).

The agents who have worked in the FBI's Behavioral Science Unit may be considered the experts in the field of criminal profiling, and agent Vorpagel (1982) stated that "profiling, prepared by the FBI behavioral science unit, is an attempt to assist in focusing investigative attention on individuals whose personality traits closely parallel the traits of others who have been convicted of committing crimes similar to those under review" (p. 156). Vorpagel defined a profile as a concise biographical sketch that outlines

the significant, readily observable features of a person's behavioral patterns and tendencies. Such analyses not only predict future types of behavior, but the causal factors or motivations also become evident. This knowledge of causation allows the profiler to isolate the past history of criminals and aid in identification (Vorpagel).

Rationale and Goals for Criminal Profiling

Depending on the source, the process of criminal profiling has many bases. According to McPoyle (1981), one basis of criminal profiling stems from the belief that crime scenes can contain leads that do not lend themselves to being collected or examined, including rage, opportunity, panic, love, and confusion. By working a crime scene "psychologically", an investigator may find what type of individual is the most likely suspect (McPoyle). According to FBI agents Ault and Reese (1980), another premise for profiling is simply the understanding of current principles of behavioral sciences such as psychology, sociology, criminology, and political science. The foundation for a good profile, according to Ault and Reese, is a good crime scene examination and adequate interviews with victims and witnesses.

In addition to having several bases, criminal profiling also has several goals. Holmes (1989) has outlined three goals of psychological or criminal profiling. He suggested that the first goal of profiling is to provide the criminal justice system with a social and psychological assessment of an offender. The purpose of this goal is clear in that it contains basic information about an offender's core psychological and sociological

personality variables, and it also focuses the investigation. Holmes suggested that the second goal of profiling is to provide the criminal justice system with a psychological evaluation of belongings found in the possession of the offender. In other words, the psychological profile may suggest items the offenders may have in their possession, including souvenirs, photographs, and pornography. The third goal of profiling, according to Holmes, is to provide interviewing suggestions and strategies.

In accord with Holmes' (1989) first goal, FBI affiliates McPoyle (1981) and Ault and Reese (1980) suggested that one purpose or goal of profiling is to focus an investigation onto specific suspects. Enter (1989) similarly suggested that a primary purpose of profiling is to assist the investigators in the identification and apprehension of violent offenders. Likewise, Geberth (1981) asserted that a main objective of psychological profiling is to "provide an investigator with a personality composite of the unknown subject(s) that will aid swift and judicious apprehension" (p. 46). In examining the long-term objectives, agents Ault and Reese suggested that by using information obtained from incarcerated individuals, in much the same manner as agents Douglas and Ressler (Committee on Government Operations, 1986) did in their ground breaking research for the FBI, profiles may provide law enforcement officers with such perpetrator information as race, sex, age range, marital status, general employment, possibility of a police record, and whether the individual might strike again. Much of this information is obtained from studying the methods of approach to the victim, injuries to the victim, and characteristics of the type of victim selected (Ault & Reese). If a potential perpetrator of

a profiled crime is identified and is in custody already, then the information in the profile can be used to make a "personality assessment". This personality assessment may assist in determining if the person in custody could have committed the crime, and if so, the assessment could assist in determining a strategy for interrogating the individual (Enter).

Assumptions of the Profiling Process

According to Holmes (1989) three assumptions are made regarding the profiling process. The first assumption is that a crime scene reflects an offender's personality. This is a basic assumption on which it is logical to base the rationale of profiling. Consider the effectiveness of profiling if the crime scene were not indicative of the pathology assessment. Profiling would then be ineffective as the assessment would not aid in directing the investigation.

The second assumption of the profiling process is that the offender will not change his personality (Holmes, 1989). Clearly, the cores of people's personalities do not change fundamentally over time. Certain aspects of personality, however, do change over time due to time, circumstance, and pressure, but the central core is stable. This is the same with criminal personalities. Criminal personalities do not change, and this resistance to change results in the committing of a certain crime again in a similar manner. Not only will the criminal commit the same crime again, he may also force a victim to act out a scenario which he has forced past victims to perform (Holmes).

The third assumption of criminal profiling is that the method of operation remains

similar (Holmes, 1989). According to Geberth (1983) it is the perpetrator's behavior that is displayed in the crime scene and not the offense per se that determines the suitability of a case for profiling. Crime scenes display clues that professional profilers refer to as "signatures" of the perpetrators. No two offenders are alike as no two crime scenes are alike. As certainly as psychometric tests determine psychopathology, crime scenes reflect pathology within a personality. More information concerning method of operation, also known as modus operandi, and signature will be found in a later section of this chapter.

Applications of Criminal Profiling

Not all investigations are enhanced by the use of a criminal profile. For Ault and Reese (1980) "it is important that this investigative technique be confined chiefly to crimes against the person where the motive is lacking and where there is sufficient data available to recognize the presence of psychopathology at the crime scene" (p. 25). The presence of psychopathology is key, and profiling is essentially useless without it. Criminal profiling is productive when used in cases where the perpetrator has left behind evidence of mental, emotional, or personality abnormalities (Geberth, 1981; McPoyle, 1981). Offenders leave behind "personality signatures" at the scenes of crimes involving the following behaviors: sadistic torture, as in sexual assaults; evisceration; postmortem slashing and cutting; motiveless fire setting; lust and mutilation murders; ritualistic crimes; and rapes (Geberth, 1981; McPoyle). McPoyle, in association with the FBI, suggested that it was the behavior of the perpetrator as evidenced in the crime scene and

not the crime itself which determines the suitability of the case for profiling. FBI affiliates Miron and Douglas (1979) also applied profiling techniques in order to identify individuals who make written or spoken threats of violence. Reiser (1982) found profiling useful for hostage negotiation situations, and Casey-Owens (1984) utilized profiling procedures in identifying anonymous letter-writers.

The Profiling Process

According to McPoyle (1981), the basic concepts of criminal psychological profiling are easily learned, but the application of these concepts requires a well-trained practitioner. In developing a criminal profile, qualified profilers draw from their experience, utilize deductive reasoning skills, and examine an adequate amount of appropriate evidence to assemble a personality composite that may be useful in the apprehension of an unknown subject. Douglas and Burgess (1986) suggested that the process used by an individual preparing a criminal personality profile is very similar to the process used by clinicians to make diagnoses and treatment plans. In both processes data is collected and assessed, then the situation is reconstructed, and hypotheses are formulated. Next a profile is developed and tested, and finally the results are reported.

Once it has been determined that a crime scene displays evidence of a mental or personality abnormality and profiling is requested, a five-step process usually follows (Ault & Reese, 1980; Geberth, 1983; Vorpagel, 1972), but Douglas and Burgess (1986) suggested that the addition of two steps may provide the profiler with more information.

In the five-step process, the first step is to conduct a comprehensive study of the nature of

the criminal act and the types of persons who have committed similar offenses in the past.

The second step involves directing a thorough analysis of the specific crime scene. In

analyzing crime scene characteristics prior to preparing a profile, it is preferable to have

access to the crime scene prior to its disturbance. This, however, is usually impossible, so

in place of being at the scene, the profiler must acquire investigative incident reports;

autopsy protocols and lab results; detailed photographs of the victim's body, scene and

surrounding area, as well as a map depicting the victim's last known location in relation to

his or her present location; and any known information pertaining to the victim and his or

her activities (Ault & Reese; Hazelwood & Douglas, 1980; McPoyle, 1981). The

profiler intentionally avoids immediate knowledge of possible suspects since this could

cloud the objectiveness of the profile (McPoyle). After a complete analysis of the crime

scene, an in-depth examination of the background and activities of the victim(s) and any

known suspect(s) is conducted. The fourth step in the profiling process consists of a

formulation of probable motivating factors of the offender(s), and during the fifth step of

the criminal profiling process a description, or profile, of the offender is developed. The

description is based on overt characteristics associated with the offender's probable

psychological features (Ault & Reese; Geberth, 1981; Vorpagel).

The seven-step process described by FBI agents Douglas and Burgess (1986) has

several steps in common with the above-described five-step process, but includes

additional critical steps that should yield a most comprehensive criminal profile. In accord

with the five-step model, the first step in Douglas' process is the complete evaluation of

the criminal act. Second, the specifics of the crime scenes are comprehensively evaluated,

followed by a comprehensive analysis of the victim. Preliminary police reports should be

evaluated by the profiler, followed by the examination of a medical examiner's autopsy

protocol which must be evaluated as well if the crime involved a murder, as in a case of

serial murder. The sixth step in this profile-generating process is the development of the

profile with critical offender characteristics. Finally, the profiling expert should offer

investigative suggestions based on the construction of the profile (Douglas & Burgess).

Behaviors Evaluated in a Criminal Profile

Investigating crime scenes does not simply involve collecting tangible pieces of

evidence. Behavioral evidence is often present at a crime scene, and this behavioral

evidence must be evaluated by a qualified professional. Criminal investigators must

possess a working knowledge of psychological processes and unconscious motivations in

order to competently evaluate a scene which displays an offender's psychopathology

(Rossi, 1982). Rossi discussed the role of crime scene behavioral analysts in contrast to

the role of psychological or criminal profilers. The phrase "crime scene behavioral

analyst" is often used synonymously with "psychological profiler" as the two are closely

related and work together, but they perform two different processes. Profilers outline

one's psychological attributes and characteristics of behavior. The preparation of a profile,

then, requires data that reflect those attributes, which, once identified, are outlined.

According to Rossi, a crime scene behavior analyst is required to possess a self-awareness from which develops a flexibility of mind that results in the ability to break free from conventional logic and traditional behavioral parameters. This mental state is necessary for a crime scene behavior analyst to understand and apply the dynamics of unconscious behavior to the acts of another person. Rossi emphasized the importance of understanding that human behavior is purposeful at more than one level of motivation simultaneously.

Rossi (1982) suggested that crime scene behavioral analysts utilize a number of supporting sources of information, many of which parallel those sources utilized by criminal profilers. Behavioral analysts utilize the following sources: presence at the crime scene in conjunction with or immediately following the forensic scientist, analyses of photographs and videotapes of the crime scene, criminalistic analyses of physical evidence, forensic anthropological analyses, and forensic pathological and medical analyses. In Rossi's opinion, forensic pathological and medical analyses may be the most significant sources of information because these reports provide data regarding a victim's experiences which offer insight into the behavioral dynamics of the crime.

Theoretically, criminals' actions are direct reflections of the interactions they have with other people. Canter (1989) stated that one of the most important psychological questions regarding these behaviors is "what aspects of those criminal transactions can be fruitfully traced to other aspects of the criminal's past or present life?" (p. 25). FBI agents Ault and Reese (1980) stated that the primary psychological evidence a profiler looks for is motive. Agents Douglas and Munn (1992), however, proposed that three different

types of behavior exhibited in a crime scene are helpful in constructing a psychological or criminal profile. These behaviors are modus operandi, signature, and staging.

Modus Operandi

Modus operandi (M. O.), also known as method of operation, is an offender's actions while committing a crime (Douglas & Munn, 1992). When investigators attempt to link cases together (i. e., serial murder), M. O. is significant, but many investigators make the mistake of placing too much importance on the role of M. O. when linking crimes. M. O. is a learned behavior that is dynamic and malleable. The M. O. develops over time and continuously evolves and changes as offenders gain experience and confidence (Douglas & Munn). Criminals refine their modus operandi as they learn from the mistakes that have lead to arrests. Victims' responses can significantly influence the evolution of M.O., for example by using more violence or different means of subduing subsequent victims. Offenders continuously change and reshape their modus operandi to meet the demands of each crime (Douglas & Munn).

Signature

Violent serial offenders often display another element of criminal behavior during the commission of a crime, referred to as the signature or "calling card" (Douglas & Munn, 1992). This type of conduct is a unique and integral part of a criminal's behavior and goes beyond the actions necessary to commit the crime. The fact that fantasy often

gives rise to violent crime has been discussed in several earlier sections of this paper, and it has been made clear that as some individuals brood and daydream, they develop a need to express these violent fantasies. When the fantasies are finally acted out, some aspect of each crime demonstrates a unique, personal expression or ritual based on the fantasies. Merely committing the crime, however, often does not satisfy the needs of some offenders, and this inadequacy of the fantasy compels some offenders to move beyond the scope of the crime and perform a much-needed ritual (Douglas & Munn). When offenders display rituals at a crime scene, they have left their signatures, or individual "calling cards". Crime scenes reveal unusual characteristics or bizarre offender input that occur during the commission of a crime; this is how crime scenes manifest the signature aspect. An offender's use of extremely vulgar or abusive language, or preparing a script for a victim to read represents a verbal signature. The use of excessive force or brutality demonstrates another aspect of an offender's signature (Douglas & Munn).

Unlike the M. O., the signature never changes (Douglas & Munn, 1992). The signature aspect remains a constant and enduring characteristic of each offender. It should be noted, however, that signature aspects may evolve, such as in the case of a lust murderer who performs more postmortem mutilation as he moves from crime to crime. Additionally, certain elements of an original signature may become more fully developed over time, and a signature is not always evident at every crime scene because of unexpected circumstances such as interruptions or unexpected victim responses (Douglas & Munn).

<u>Staging</u>

When investigators approach a crime scene, they look for behavioral "clues" left by the perpetrator (Douglas & Munn, 1992). As the investigators analyze crime scenes, several facts may arise that are quite bizarre. These details may contain certain oddities that serve no purpose in the commission of the crime and may overshadow the underlying motive of the crime. This confusion may be the result of staging. At a crime scene investigators must determine if the scene is really disorganized or if an offender has staged the scene to appear careless and disorganized. Staging occurs when someone purposely alters a crime scene before police arrive (Douglas & Munn).

According to Douglas and Munn (1992) staging takes place for two reasons: (a) to direct the investigation away from the most logical suspect, and (b) to protect the victim or victim's family. Offenders who stage the crime scene in an attempt to redirect the investigation are usually offenders who do not just happen along upon a victim. Rather, these offenders who stage a crime scene are usually people who have some prior association with victims. When offenders staging crime scenes come in contact with law enforcement, attempts will be made to steer the investigations away from themselves, most often by being overly helpful or distraught (Douglas & Munn). People who stage crime scenes in order to protect the victim or victim's family usually do so in instances of rape-murder crimes or autoerotic fatalities. In these cases staging is done by a family member or person who finds the body in an attempt to restore some dignity to the victim since such victims are usually left in degrading positions (Douglas & Munn).

Douglas and Munn (1992) discuss "red flags" to staging, which are mistakes or inconsistencies which may lead law enforcement to realize that the scene has been staged. Those who stage crime scenes usually make the mistake of arranging the scene to look how they think it ought to look. In doing this, offenders experience much stress and do not have the time to make sure all the pieces fit together logically. Consequently, inconsistencies in forensic findings and in the overall "big picture" of the crime scene will appear (Douglas & Munn). These inconsistencies serve as what Douglas and Munn call "red flags" of staging, in that these red flags serve to prevent an investigation from becoming misguided. To ensure that an investigation does not become confused, investigators should examine closely all crime scene indicators separately and then examine them together in context with the "big picture". The crime scene indicators that should be closely scrutinized include but are not limited to method of entry, offender-victim interaction, and body position (Douglas & Munn).

Linking Cases

When investigators attempt to link cases based on offender behavior at the crime scene, modus operandi plays an important role, but Douglas and Munn (1992) cautioned against using the M. O. as the only criteria to connect crimes, particularly with serial offenders who tend to alter the modus operandi through experience and learning. Often an offender's first offenses differ significantly from later offenses in terms of M. O. The signature, however, tends to remain the same regardless of where the offense lies in a

series. Although the ritual may evolve, the theme remains constant, so the signature aspect should receive greater consideration than M. O. and victim similarities during the investigation and profiling process. Douglas and Munn stress, however, that M. O. and victim characteristics should never be discounted when attempting to link cases of serial violence.

In addition to the behaviors discussed above, there are many other behavioral indicators that may be present at a crime scene which may influence a profiler's opinion about a criminal and the crime scene. Vorpagel (1982) outlines several behaviors that have been known to affect profilers' opinions and to thus affect criminal profiles. These factors include opportunity, locale, victimology, and positioning of the body. In addition there is a systematic inquiry process which must be followed when evaluating a crime scene and creating a profile, particularly the crime scene left behind by a lust murderer. The following questions are considered by FBI agent Vorpagel to be critical in this process:

How much mutilation is performed in life or in death, or after death. Is there caption and asportion of body parts, or are the eviscerated, excised, evulsed parts left behind? Is there evidence of vampirism, cannibalism, souvenir-taking, exploration, curiosity, or torture. Is there evidence of panic, confusion, disorder, or preplanning and premeditation in the scenes. Does the scene exhibit fantasy, fetishism, ritualism or symbolism, or is there remorse, undoing, or restitution after the fact. Has there been some form of sexual assault and if so, was it "normal" or "abnormal". What is normal

or abnormal? This depends on locale, scene, victimology, experience of perpetrator, and the state you are in. Is there defeminization or dehumanization? (p. 156). Each of these behavioral questions should be addressed at each crime scene in order to develop a comprehensive profile that may lead to the swift apprehension of the criminal (Vorpagel).

Profile Characteristics

Profile characteristics are characteristics that identify a particular criminal subject as an individual (Ressler, Burgess, et al., 1986). The individual characteristics which are compiled into a profile are identified after crime scene differences have been established. It is important to note that the difference between profile characteristics and crime scene characteristics is that crime scene characteristics are the tangible clues left at (or missing from) a crime scene where the victim's body is found. Profile characteristics are grouped by the FBI into four categories: (a) background variables, (b) variables describing the criminal's situation before the crime (the precrime state), (c) variables relating to residence, vehicle use, and distance to the crime scene, and (d) postoffense behavior variables (Ressler, Burgess, et al., 1986).

According to the FBI's associate McPoyle (1981) "each criminal personality profile is drawn from the unique circumstances of the particular case involved; but a typical criminal personality profile as provided by the Behavioral Science Unit of the FBI contains some or all of the following: age, sex, race, marital status, intelligence, scholastic

achievement, lifestyle, rearing environment, personality style/characteristics, demeanor, appearance and grooming, emotional adjustment, evidence of mental decompensation, pathological behavioral characteristics, employment/occupational history, work habits, residency in relation to crime scenes, socioeconomic status, sexual adjustment, prior criminal arrest history, and motive" (p. 89). The FBI ("Classifying Sexual Homicide", 1985; Hazelwood & Douglas, 1980) agree with McPoyle on the importance of the inclusion of these profile characteristics. Ault and Reese (1980) of the FBI and Geberth (1983) would include many of the same factors in a profile, but they also would include the offender's probable reaction to questioning by police, whether the person might strike again, and the possibility that this person has committed similar crimes in the past.

In addition to offender characteristics, victim characteristics are also important in most criminal profiles. Regarding the victim, Ault and Reese (1980) would include the following information in the profile: past and present occupations, past and present residences, reputation both at work and in the neighborhood, physical description, including dress at the time of the incident, marital status, educational level, past and present financial status, information and background of the victim and victim's family, physical and mental medical histories, fears, personal habits, social habits, alcohol and drug use, hobbies, friends and enemies, recent changes in lifestyle, and recent court action.

Limitations of Criminal Profiling

As stated in an earlier section, Geberth (1981) emphasized the fact that profiling should only be used in conjunction with sound investigative techniques. Hazelwood and Douglas (1980) stressed that what can be done in the area of criminal profiling is limited and that prescribed investigative procedures should not be halted, changed, or replaced upon receipt of a profile. The information included in a profile should be considered and utilized as another investigative tool (Hazelwood & Douglas). Successful research by the FBI does not imply that all unsolved cases can be successfully profiled ("Crime Scene", 1985). Rather, the FBI's research indicates that significant variables have been identified in crime scene analysis ("Crime Scene"). Possibly the most important fact to understand regarding criminal profiling, which Ault and Reese (1980) stressed, is that a suspect who fits a profile is not automatically guilty because many innocent people may fit a particular profile.

Effectiveness of Criminal Profiling

A frequently asked question regarding profiling is "does psychological profiling work?" According to Enter (1989) one of the major criticisms of psychological profiling concerns its accuracy, and therefore, its overall validity and reliability. Levin and Fox (1985) stated that a research survey of police agencies utilizing profiles indicated that in only 17% of the cases which were eventually solved "did the profile directly help to identify a suspect" (p. 176). As a result of these findings, certain groups have decided that

"many expect too much from psychological profiles" (Levin & Fox, p. 176). Although this author does not criticize Levin and Fox's findings, it seems that their research would have benefitted from the inclusion of information regarding the level of profiler experience so it would be evident whether novice profilers or experienced profilers completed the profiles referred to in the study.

In an effort to determine the overall effectiveness of the profiling process and its results, Pinizzotto and Finkel (1990) conducted an outcome and process study which was guided by two major questions: "Are professional profilers more accurate than nonprofilers in generating personality profiles and correctly identifying offender features from crime scene details? Is the process that the profilers use qualitatively different from that of the nonprofilers?" (p. 215). Pinizzotto and Finkel conducted this study to provide precise answers to both outcome and process questions because of the growing use of personality profiles and the fact that this growing use is based largely on testimonials and accuracy figures that were not obtained through controlled studies.

The first research question concerns the outcome of personality profiling, and it examines the accuracy of the profiling conducted by experts and the degree to which these profiles are accurate (Pinizzotto & Finkel, 1990). In other words, Pinizzotto and Finkel ask if the professional profilers' claim of expertise in criminal personality profiling can be substantiated when compared against control groups of experienced detectives, clinical psychologists, and college students. The second research question concerns the process of criminal personality profiling. Specifically, Pinizzotto and Finkel hoped to determine

how profilers and nonprofilers organize and recall knowledge related to a crime scene investigation. Experienced profilers may be able to give meaning to material that might appear to nonprofilers as random and inconsequential, so it is assumed here that because of this imposed knowledge, the experienced profilers will organize and recall the details of a crime scene differently than novice profilers (Pinizzotto & Finkel).

Participants in Pinizzotto and Finkel's (1990) study were profilers, police detectives, clinical psychologists, and undergraduate college students. The four profilers were current or former FBI agents who worked in the Behavioral Science Unit training police detectives in criminal profiling. Six police detectives had participated in one year of personality profiling training at the FBI, and another six detectives had no formal training in personality profiling, but they were experienced police investigators in both homicide and sex offenses. The six clinical psychologists as well as the undergraduate students were uneducated and untrained in both criminal profiling and criminal investigations (Pinizzotto & Finkel).

Pinizzotto and Finkel (1990) asked profilers, detectives, clinical psychologists, and college students to first read both a homicide case and a sex offense case. After reading the cases, the participants were asked to cover all the material and write down as many details of the case as he or she could recall. After completing the recall of details task, each participant was asked to write down all those details from the crime scene that he or she felt were necessary and important to be used in writing a profile concerning the characteristics of the type of person who would commit a crime such as the one the

participants just read about. The participants were also asked to write down the reason why they felt those details were important and what the details told the participants about the person who committed the particular crime. The next stage of the experiment involved the participants answering 20 multiple choice questions about the suspect. The last step in the study was a lineup task. Five written descriptions of possible suspects were given to each participant. From these descriptions, the participants were asked to order each of them from one to five, with one being the most likely suspect and five being the least likely suspect (Pinizzotto & Finkel).

The results of Pinizzotto and Finkel's (1990) study indicate that profilers and detectives recalled significantly more details than did the groups of clinical psychologists and students. Additionally, profilers recalled more details that were considered to be necessary and important to profiling. The integration of these findings suggests that recall per se may not be the crucial factor in explaining why profilers generate more accurate profilers than detectives. Rather, it is the profilers' greater skill in extracting and designating more detailed information as necessary and important than the detectives' skill that is associated with outcome accuracy. Concerning the process issue, the results indicate that profilers do not appear to process the information in qualitatively different ways from nonprofilers in their creation of profiles. There are, however, numerous quantitative process differences that favor the profilers over all nonprofiler groups for both cases (Pinizzotto & Finkel).

Profiling: Art or Science?

There is some dissent among profiling professionals over the status of profiling as an art or science. Previously in this chapter Crace (1995) was quoted as defining profiling as a science, but there are many professionals who believe that profiling is much more of an art than a science, though steps are being made to develop profiling into a scientific application. Ault and Reese (1980) and Hazelwood and Douglas (1980), all of the FBI, suggested that profiling is not an exact science, and Vorpagel (1982) agreed, calling profiling an art, "a viable, growing valuable adjunct to solving violent crime" (p. 159). Canter (1989) emphasized the fact that the use of a behavioral perspective by the FBI is not unique. Although details had not been published prior to Canter's discussion on offender profiling, he mentioned that there is evidence that many police forces throughout the world have used informed psychological perspectives in guiding their criminal investigations. Canter recognized that FBI agents have made much progress in developing a scientific research base to their investigative activities by carrying out very detailed interviews with 36 convicted serial murderers (e. g., see Ressler, Burgess, et al., 1986), and several studies that included these 36 murderers have been mentioned in this paper. However, it was Canter's opinion that the lack of a stronger research effort means that the development of criminal profiles is still far more of an art than a science. Canter conceded, however, that there have been definite accomplishments from the application of the art of profiling, and it is quite appropriate to seek directions for its development into a field of scientific psychology. The FBI is the leader in data collection in studies of

profiling in general and in profiling serial killers, diligently working to expand the

knowledge base into a more scientific methodology. Research dedicated to this task is

conducted at the National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime.

The National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime and The Violent Criminal

Apprehension Program

It is apparent that there is still a distance to go before criminal profiling is accepted

as a science, and much research is still needed in the area. The FBI has taken great strides

toward developing a strong research base for criminal profiling as a criminal justice

response, and one major project created by the FBI is the National Center for the Analysis

of Violent Crime, or NCAVC. The NCAVC became operational in 1984 and is a law

enforcement-oriented behavioral science and computerized resource center that

consolidates research, training, and operational support functions (Brooks, Devine, Green,

Hart, & Moore, 1987). The center provides assistance to law enforcement agencies

confronted with unusual, bizarre, or extremely vicious or repetitive violent crime (Brooks

et al.). The pioneering use of artificial intelligence technology in crime analysis and

criminal profiling provided the groundwork for the automation of the NCAVC (Icove,

1986). NCAVC's profiling experts have taken advantage of artificial intelligence

technology to capture the elusive decision-making rules associated with the profiling of

serial violent criminals (Icove).

Local law enforcement agencies can submit their investigations of serial, mass, and

sensational homicides as well as sex crimes and other investigations to the NCAVC for

analysis and identification of similar crime patterns that may exist in other areas and that

may be related (Geberth, 1986). NCAVC's analysis of crime patterns are based on modus

operandi, victimology, physical evidence, suspect description, and suspect behavior

exhibited before, during, and after the crime (Geberth, 1986).

The NCAVC consists of four programs, each aimed at different goals. The

programs are Research and Development, Training, Profiling and Consultation, and the

Violent Criminal Apprehension Program (VICAP) (Brooks et al., 1987). The NCAVC's

Research and Development Program studies violent criminals, their victims, and crime

scenes from a local law enforcement perspective. The program utilizes the local law

enforcement's perspective to gain insight into the criminals' personalities, to understand the

motivations for the criminals' behaviors, and to examine how the criminals have been able

to elude law enforcement efforts to identify, locate, apprehend, prosecute, and incarcerate

them (Brooks et al.).

The Training Program of the NCAVC familiarizes the criminal justice community

with the NCAVC's resources. The Training Program provides innovative and current

training for local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies, selected behavioral

scientists, and others who must deal with matters of violent crime (Brooks et al., 1987).

As discussed in an earlier section, the Training Program offers courses in criminology,

abnormal psychology, sociology, hostage negotiations, interpersonal violence, and other

behavioral-science related areas (Ault & Reese, 1980).

NCAVC's Profiling and Consultation Program provides consultation with and opinions of experienced criminal profiling investigators and behavioral scientists (Brooks et al., 1987). The Profiling and Consultation Program conducts careful and detailed analyses of violent crimes on a case-by-case basis in order to construct profiles of the unknown offenders so that the scope of an investigation can be narrowed to focus more readily on likely suspects (Brooks et al.).

Perhaps the most far-reaching of the NCAVC's programs is the Violent Criminal Apprehension Program, or VICAP. VICAP is a nationwide data information center designed to collect, collate, and analyze specific violent crimes reported to the NCAVC using the latest computer and communications technology (Geberth, 1986; Howlett, Hanfland, & Ressler, 1986). VICAP provides a nationwide clearinghouse to review reports submitted by law enforcement agencies regarding information on crimes which meet the following criteria: (a) solved or unsolved homicides or attempts, especially those that involve abduction, are especially random, motiveless, or sexually oriented (involving mutilation, dismemberment, torture, or violent sexual trauma), or suspected to be part of a series; (b) missing persons where circumstances strongly suggest foul play and the victim is still missing; and (c) unidentified dead bodies where the manner of death is known or suspected to be homicide (Brooks et al., 1987; Geberth, 1986; Howlett et al.).

The VICAP computer system is located at FBI Headquarters in Washington, DC. VICAP crime reports are entered on-line from NCAVC at Quantico, Virginia, via a secure

telecommunications network (Icove, 1986). When a new case is entered, the VICAP

computer system simultaneously compares and contrasts over 100 selected modus

operandi categories of the new case with all other cases stored in the database. After

overnight processing, a computer report is returned to the VICAP analyst handling the

case. This report lists, in rank order, the top 10 cases that were most similar to the new

case. This crime pattern analysis technique, called template pattern matching, was

specifically designed for VICAP and programmed by the FBI's Technical Services Division

(Icove). According to FBI affiliates Brooks et al. (1987), VICAP's goal is to provide all

law enforcement agencies that report to VICAP similar patterns of violent crime with the

necessary information to initiate a coordinated multiagency investigation which will lead to

the swift identification and apprehension of the offender responsible for the crimes. It is

important that cases in which the offender has already been arrested or identified are still

submitted so that unsolved cases in the VICAP system can be evaluated for possible

linkage to known offenders. As was detailed earlier in this section, VICAP's identification

of similar patterns is made by analyzing M.O., victimology, physical evidence, suspect

description, and suspect behavior exhibited before, during, and after the crime (Geberth,

1986).

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY

This paper has offered the reader a comprehensive review of the literature regarding serial killers and the process of criminal profiling. Understanding the complexities of serial killers is difficult and at time unpleasant, but hopefully it has been made less taxing by this review. This document progresses from the general definitional level of serial murder to the examination of childhood histories and the social development of individuals who grow to become serial killers. It is evident that the childhood development of many individuals who grow to become serial killers is characterized by neglect and isolation. This impoverishment propels serial killers to rely on fantasy which eventually becomes a central part of their motivations.

Characteristics and patterns of behavior exhibited by serial killers were summarized, and the various classification systems were discussed according to crime scene structure, crime scene information, and serial killer typology. Most serial killers proceed through four behavioral phases when engaging in murderous activities, first progressing through an initial phase where they contemplate the murder through fantasy. This is followed by the murder, and then issues concerning disposal of the body are confronted. Finally, murderers progress through a detection-avoidance process where they try to avoid detection. In addition, during the detection-avoidance process, serial killers contemplate improvements which could be made to their techniques, providing

more effective and pleasant murders. Different classifications of serial killers exhibit different kinds of behavior. Some serial killers are organized in their manners of selecting and killing victims, while others are disorganized in their murderous behaviors. Additionally, certain experts promote the classification of serial killers into different typologies according to their apparent motivations: the visionary serial killer, the missionary serial killer, the hedonistic serial killer, and the power-control oriented serial killer.

The elements of sadistic and lust practices were outlined, including many of the gruesome behaviors that serial killers enjoy, such as evisceration, vampirism, cannibalism, and necrophilia. Not all serial killers exhibit these particular behaviors, but those who receive pleasure from inflicting pain and torture on victims do carry out these behaviors.

Psychological and integrational motivational models for killing serially were discussed, outlining some of the needs that are met by killing serially and how these needs were not appropriately met during their childhoods in socially acceptable manners. The importance of the role of fantasy for the different serial killer subtypes was also examined extensively. As children serial killers become conditioned to rely on a world of fantasy for the fulfillment of such needs as love, friendship, fun, and understanding.

The serial killer's cognitions and emotional expressions were considered. Specifically, cognitive processes which malfunction in serial killers (cognitive inhibitory processes) and processes which increase serial killers' motivations (cognitive facilitating processes and operant processes) were discussed. In addition, serial killers' emotional

expressions were addressed, disputing an assumption that serial killers do not experience emotions.

The second major component of the paper described the investigative process of criminal profiling. Profiling is the process which provides investigative agencies with information regarding what type of individual may have committed a certain type of crime. Profiling seems to be of optimal benefit when used for the crimes of rape, arson, serial violent crimes, and instances of murder where there is evidence of extreme mutilation. The cardinal rule for profiling is that it can only be used for crimes where there is evidence of psychological abnormality on the part of the perpetrator. The steps of the profiling process have been developed, and it has been established that investigators must have access to crime scene photos, autopsy protocols, and background information about the victims to profile a crime competently.

The majority of authors have agreed that profiling has not reached the status of science. The profile-generating process is not a magical process; it is a systematic progression where many pieces of information are analyzed and synthesized into a coherent profile of a killer or killers. The profiling process is based on years of research and countless comparisons between present and past cases. The integration of behavioral experts with investigative experts is paramount in developing reliable criminal profiles, and it is necessary that investigative agencies rely on each other for shared information on past experiences and present challenges. It appears that with more rigorous and standardized investigative procedures and continued alliance between the field of psychology and law

enforcement, the profiling process will become a scientific application.

In constructing a profile, FBI profilers specifically examine the behavioral expression of modus operandi (method of operation), signature (the unique "calling card" left by an offender at a crime scene), and staging (the altering of a crime scene). In addition, several offender and victim characteristics are included in a profile. Critical offender characteristics include age, sex, occupational history, and socioeconomic status. Victim characteristics are also important in criminal profiles, and these include the victim's and family's background and past and present occupations, to name a few.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation has initiated and refined programs directed at detecting and preventing future acts of violent crime. Within the Behavioral Science Unit at the FBI, four programs were designed to further the research in the area of criminal profiling. The VICAP program in the NCAVC are the most well-known and far reaching of the programs, with VICAP maintaining a large database for comparison by state and local government of apparent serial murder cases.

The FBI pioneered major studies aimed at understanding the many facets of serial killers and profiling not only serial killers, but other violent criminals. Much of the information available comes from the FBI's numerous and very informative studies and experiences. Little information about profiling serial killers has been derived from other sources. The level of expertise in the areas of serial killers and profiling achieved by the FBI is internationally renowned. The FBI constructed a solid information base in the 1970s and 1980s regarding the classifications and behaviors of serial killers from which

more concrete techniques for accurate profiling have evolved. The numerous studies by the FBI on incarcerated sexual killers has provided much information regarding serial killers, and the studies have provided the motivation for more studies to be conducted. The information obtained from similar studies will be used to further strengthen the overall validity and reliability of criminal profiling, particularly the criminal profiling of serial killers, by providing a much wider knowledge base. Further studies will provide much more data on general demographic characteristics as well as the importance of fantasy and overt behaviors displayed by serial killers. Continued investigative studies will assist in the formulation of more objective applications of profiling rather than the more subjective applications that are currently available.

Given the current status of research efforts, the following issues seem to warrant further examination. Future research should be directed at first defining the serial killer specifically and then standardizing this definition. More information must also be obtained about early and later childhood experiences of serial killers. Children who experience trauma parallel to the trauma experienced during the childhoods of serial killers should be monitored, and intervention should be made to prevent the possible development of serial killing tendencies. Similarly, further investigation should be made into the identification of risk factors within clinical and imprisoned populations. In addition to the FBI, state investigative agencies might conduct extensive interviews with convicted serial murderers in much the same manner as the FBI has done in order to elicit significantly more behavioral information, which can be used in improving the investigative and profiling

processes. Additionally, information on the effective use of criminal profiling should be made more readily available to police organizations and behavioral professionals, and forensic classes such as those taught in the FBI's Training Program should be made more available to professionals who are interested in learning some of the relevant skills. A major research question which should also be addressed is whether there is a reliable and concrete way that investigators and psychologists can predict serial killing behavior.

It is the hope of this author that this comprehensive study of serial killers and criminal profiling has informed the reader of the composite behavioral characteristics of serial killers and the role and process of criminal profiling. This basic knowledge is necessary to foster an understanding and to encourage further descriptive and empirical research investigations. Perhaps with continued understanding of serial killing tendencies, we as investigative and behavioral professionals can learn to recognize the early deviant behavioral signs which may lead to serial killing behavior and provide deviant adolescents and young adults the assistance they desperately need before innocent victims are senselessly murdered.

References

American Psychiatric Association. (1983). Statement on the insanity defense. American Journal of Psychiatry, 40, 6.

American Psychiatric Association. (1987). Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (3rd ed., rev.). Washington, DC: Author.

American Psychiatric Association. (1994). Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (4th ed.). Washington, DC: Author.

Ault, R. L., & Reese, J. T. (1980). A psychological assessment of crime profiling. FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, 49, 22-25.

Bandura, A. (1969). Principles of behavior modification. New York: Holt, Reinhart & Winston.

Bandura, A. (1973). Aggression: A social learning analysis. Engelwood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Bartholomew, A. A., Milte, K. L. & Galbally, F. (1975). Sexual murder: Psychopathology and psychiatric jurisprudential considerations. Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology, 8, 143-152.

Beres, D. (1961). Perception, imagination, and reality. International Journal of Psychoanalysis, 41, 327-334.

Bernstein, D. A., Roy, E. J., Srull, T. K., & Wickens, C. D. (1988). Psychology. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Bliss, E. L., & Larson, E. M. (1985). Sexual criminality and hypnotizability. Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 173, 522-526.

Brittain, R. P. (1970). The sadistic murderer. Medical Science and the Law, 10, 198-207.

Bromberg, W. (1979). The use of psychiatry in the law: A clinical view of forensic psychiatry. Westport, CT: Quorum Books.

Brooks, P. R., Devine, M. J., Green, T. J., Hart, B. L., & Moore, M. D. (1987). Serial murder: A criminal justice response. The Police Chief, 54, 40-44.

Brown, J. (1991). The psychopathology of serial sexual homicide: A review of the possibilities. American Journal of Forensic Psychiatry, 12, 13-21.

Browning, F., & Gerassi, J. (1980). The American way of crime. New York: G. P. Putnam's.

Burgess, A. W., Hartman, C. R., McCausland, M. P., & Powers, P. (1984). Response patterns in children and adolescents exploited though sex rings and pornography. American Journal of Psychiatry, 141, 656-662.

Burgess, A. W., Hartman, C. R., Ressler, R. K., Douglas, J. E., & McCormack, A. (1986). Sexual homicide: A motivational model. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 1, 251-272.

Busch, K. A., & Cavanaugh, J. L. (1986). The study of multiple murder. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 1, 5-23.

Canter, D. (1989). Offender profiles. The Psychologist, 2, 12-16.

Carlisle, A. L. (1991). Dissociation and violent criminal behavior. Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice, 7, 273-285.

Carlisle, A. L. (1993). The divided self: Toward an understanding of the dark side of the serial killer. American Journal of Criminal Justice, 17, 23-36.

Casey-Owens, M. (1984). The anonymous letter writer: A psychological profile? Journal of Forensic Science, 29, 816-819.

Classifying sexual homicide crime scenes. (1985). FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, 54, 13-17.

Committee on Government Operations. (1986). The federal role in investigation of serial violent crime (CGO Publication No. 61-388). Washington, DC: U. S. Government Printing Office.

Conte, J. R. (1984). Progress in treating the sexual abuse of children. Social Work, 29, 258-263.

Crace, J. (1995). Inside the criminal mind. New Statesman and Society, 8, 29-30.

Crepault, C., & Couture, M. (1980). Men's erotic fantasies. Archives of Sexual Behavior, 9, 565-581.

Crime scene and profile characteristics of organized and disorganized murderers. (1985). FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, 54, 18-25.

DeHart, D. D., & Mahoney, J. M. (1994). The serial murderer's motivations: An interdisciplinary review. Omega, 28, 29-45.

de River, J. P. (1950). Crime and the sexual psychopath. Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas.

de River, J. P. (1950). The sexual criminal. Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas.

Dietz, P. E. (1986). Mass, serial, and sensational homicides. Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine, 62, 477-491.

Dietz, P. E., Hazelwood, R. R., & Warren, J. (1990). The sexually sadistic criminal and his offenses. Bulletin of the American Academy of Psychiatry and Law, 18, 163-178.

Douglas, J. E., & Burgess, A. E. (1986). Criminal profiling: A viable investigative tool against violent crime. FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, 55, 9-13.

Douglas, J. E., & Munn, C. (1992). Violent crime scene analysis; Modus operandi, signature, and staging. FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, 61, 1-10.

Drukteinis, A. M. (1992). Serial murder: The heart of darkness. Psychiatric Annals, 22, 532-538.

Egger, S. A. (1984). A working definition of serial murder and the reduction of linkage blindness. Journal of Police Science and Administration, 12, 348-357.

Egger, S. A. (1990). Serial murder: An elusive phenomenon. New York: Praeger Publishers.

Enter, J. E. (1989). Psychological profiling and the predator criminal: A new for of criminological inquiry? Quarterly Journal of Ideology, 13, 49-57.

Fenichel, O. (1946). The psychoanalytic theory of neurosis. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Geberth, V. J. (1981). Psychological profiling: Practical homicide investigation. Law and Order, 29, 46-49.

Geberth, V. J. (1983). Practical homicide investigation. New York: Elsevier.

Geberth, V. J. (1986). Mass, serial, and sensational homicides: The investigative perspective. Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine, 62, 492-496.

Gresswell, D. M., & Hollin, C. R. (1994). Multiple murder: A review. The British Journal of Criminology, 34, 1-14.

Guttmacher, M. (1960). The mind of the murderer. New York: Grove Press, Inc.

Hale, R. (1994). The role of humiliation and embarrassment in serial murder. Psychology, a Journal of Human Behavior, 31, 17-23.

Halpern, A. (1991). The insanity defense in the 1st century. International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 35, 187-189.

Hare, R. D. (1989). The Hare PCL-R: Rating Booklet. Toronto, Ontario, Canada: Multi-Health Systems, Inc.

Hazelwood, R. R., & Douglas, J. E. (1980). The lust murderer. FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, 49, 18-22.

Hazelwood, R. R., & Douglas, J. E. (1990). The lust murderer. In Criminal Investigative Analysis: Sexual Homicide (pp. 129-133). Quantico, VA: U. S. Department of Justice--FBI.

Hickey, E. (1991). <u>Serial murderers and their victims</u>. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Hirschi, T. (1969). A control theory of delinquency. In J. Jacoby (Ed.)., <u>Classics of criminology</u> (pp. 251-258). Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, Inc.

Holmes, R. M. (1989). <u>Profiling violent crimes: An investigative tool</u>. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Holmes, R. M., & DeBurger, J. E. (1985). Profiles in terror: The serial murderer. <u>Federal Probation, 49</u>, 29-34.

Holmes, R. M., & DeBurger, J. E. (1988). <u>Serial murder</u>. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Howlett, J. B., Hanfland, K. A., & Ressler, R. K. (1986). The Violent Criminal Apprehension Program VICAP: A progress report. <u>FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, 55</u>, 14-22.

Icove, D. J. (1986). Automated crime profiling. <u>FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, 55</u>, 27-30.

Interviewing techniques for homicide investigations. (1985). <u>FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, 54</u>, 26-31.

Isenberg, A. (1980). Natural pride and natural shame. In A. Rorty (Ed.), <u>Explaining emotions</u> (pp. 355-383). Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Jenkins, P. (1989). Serial murder in the United States 1900-1940: A historical perspective. <u>Journal of Criminal Justice, 17</u>, 377-392.

Karpman, B. (1954). <u>The sexual offender and his offenses</u>. New York: Julian Press.

Langer, W. C. (1972). <u>The mind of Adolph Hitler</u>. New York: Basic Books.

Langevin. R., Ben-Aron, M. H., Wright, P., Marchese, V., & Handy, L. (1988). The sex killer. <u>Annals of Sex Research</u>, <u>1</u>, 263-301.

Leibman, F. H. (1989). Serial murderers: Four case histories. <u>Federal Probation</u>, <u>53</u>, 41-45.

Levin, J., & Fox, J. A. (1985). <u>Mass murder: America's growing menace</u>. New York: Plenum Press.

Liebert, J. A. (1985). Contributions of psychiatric consultation in the investigation of serial murder. <u>International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology</u>, <u>29</u>, 187-199.

Luckenbill, D. (1977). Criminal homicide as a situational transaction. <u>Social Problems</u>, <u>25</u>, 176-187.

Lunde, D. (1976). <u>Murder and madness</u>. San Francisco: San Francisco Book Company.

MacCulloch, M. J., Snowden, P. R., Wood, P. J. W., & Mills, H. E. (1983). Sadistic fantasy, sadistic behaviour and offending. <u>British Journal of Psychiatry</u>, <u>143</u>, 20-29.

McDonald, J. M. (1963). The threat to kill. <u>American Journal of Psychiatry</u>, <u>120</u>, 125-130.

McPoyle, T. J. (1981). The investigative technique of criminal personality profiling. Your Virginia State Trooper, 3, 87-89.

Melton, G., Petrila, J., Poythress, N., & Slobogin, C. (Eds.). (1978). Psychological evaluations for the courts. New York: Guilford Press.

The men who murdered. (1985). FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, 54, 2-6.

Michaud, S., & Aynesworth, H. (1989). Ted Bundy: Conversations with a killer. New York: Signet.

Miron, M. S., & Douglas, J. E. (1979). Threat analysis: The psycholinguistic profile. FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, 48, 5-9

Newton, M. (1988). Mass murder: An annotated bibliography. New York: Garland Reference Library of Social Science.

Palermo, G. B., & Knudten, R. D. (1994). The insanity plea in the case of a serial killer. International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 38, 3-16.

Piaget, J. (1952). The origins of intelligence in children. New York: International University Press.

Pinizzotto, A. J. (1984). Forensic psychology: Criminal personality profiling. Journal of Police Science and Administration, 12, 32-40.

Pinizzotto, A. J., & Finkel, N. J. (1990). Criminal personality profiling: An outcome and process study. Law and Human Behavior, 14, 215-233.

Podolsky, E. (1965). The lust murderer. Medico-Legal Journal, 33, 174-178.

Prentky, R. A., Burgess, A. W., Rokous, F., Lee, A., Hartman, C., & Douglas, J. (1989). The presumptive role of fantasy in serial sexual homicide. American Journal of Psychiatry, 146, 887-891.

Pynoos, R. S., & Eth, S. (1985). Children traumatized by witnessing acts of personal violence: Homicide, rape, and suicidal behavior. In S. Eth & R. S. Pynoos (Eds.)., Post-traumatic stress disorders in children (pp. 17-44). Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Press.

Rada, R. (1978). Clinical aspects of the rapist. New York: Grune & Stratton. Reinhardt, J. J. (1957). Sex perversions and sex crimes. Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas.

Reiser, M. (1982). Crime-specific psychological consultation. The Police Chief, 49, 53-56.

Ressler, R. K., Burgess, A. W., & Douglas, J. E. (1988). Sexual homicide: Patterns and motives. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Ressler, R. K., Burgess, A. W., Douglas, J. E., Hartman, C. R., & D'Agostino, R. B. (1986). Sexual killers and their victims: Identifying patterns through crime scene analysis. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 1, 288-308.

Ressler, R. K., Burgess, A. W., Hartman, C. R., Douglas, J. E., & McCormack, A. (1986). Murderers who rape and mutilate. Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 1, 273-287.

Revitch, E. (1965). Sex murder and the potential sex murderer. Diseases of the Nervous System, 26, 640-648.

Rosman, J. P., & Resnick, P. J. (1989). Sexual attraction to corpses: A psychiatric view of necrophilia. Bulletin of the American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law, 17, 153-163.

Rossi, D. (1982). Psychological profiling and crime scene behavioral analysis. The Police Chief, 49, 152-155.

Ruble, D., Feldman, N., & Boggiano, A. (1976). Social comparisons between young children in achievement situations. Developmental Psychology, 12, 192-197.

Schlesinger, L. B., & Revitch, E. (1983). Sexual dynamics of antisocial behavior. Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas.

Seeman, M. (1959). On the meaning of alienation. American Sociological Review, 24, 783-790.

Seidner, L., Stipek, D., & Feshback, N. (1988). A developmental analysis of elementary school-aged children's concepts of pride and embarrassment. Child Development, 59, 367-377.

Singer, J. L. (1974). Daydreaming and the stream of thought. American Scientist, 62, 417-425.

The split reality of murder. (1985). FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, 54, 7-11.

Stevenson, R. L. (1963). Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. New York: Scholastic Book Service.

Veroff, J. (1969). Social comparison and the development of achievement motivation. In C. Smith (Ed.), Achievement-related motives of children (pp. 46-101). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Von Krafft-Ebbing, R. (1965). Psychopathia sexualis: With special reference to the antipathetic sexual instinct. A medico-forensic study. New York: Bell.

Vorpagel, R. E. (1982). Painting psychological profiles: Charlatanism, coincidence, charisma, chance, or a new science? The Police Chief, 49, 156-159.

Walter, R. A. (1984). An examination of the psychological aspects of bite marks. American Journal of Forensic Medical Pathology, 5, 25-29.

Weisz, J., & Stipek, D. (1982). Competence contingency and the development of perceived control. Human Development, 25, 250-281.