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ERIC W. HICKEY

SERIAL MURDERERS AND THEIR VICTIMS

SIXTH EDITION

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Introduction

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- To understand the many myths surrounding the phenomenon of serial murder and how society perpetuates those myths
- To explore the definition of homicide and the various classifications of murder in American society
- To explore the extent of mass and serial murder in the United States
- To examine the definitions and differences between mass and serial murder
- To evaluate case studies of mass and serial murder as they relate to the reality and frequency of multiple homicide in modern society

THE PHENOMENON OF SERIAL MURDER

Multiple murder is undoubtedly one of the most terrifying and fascinating phenomena of modern-day crime. We are frequently reminded of how vulnerable we can be when persons who decide to kill us can do so with relative ease. No one ever imagined a military psychiatrist going on a shooting rampage at Fort Hood, Texas, in 2009, killing 13 military personnel and wounding many others; a female college professor in 2010 in Alabama shooting six members of her department; a college student in 2011 in Arizona walking into a grocery store and shooting to death six people and seriously wounding many others, including a congresswoman; or a man walking into an IHOP restaurant in Nevada and shooting several people before ending his own life. As of 2011, investigators in Long Island, New York, have unearthed or located in wooded areas ten victims believed to be those of a serial killer. Other serial killers include the Craigslist Ripper or Gilgo Killer Joel Rifkin, an unemployed landscaper who confessed to murdering 17 prostitutes; and Robert Shulman,

responsible for the deaths of 5 other prostitutes. Multiple murder is one of the most sensationalized areas of research within the fields of criminology, psychology, and sociology. Getting down to the “real facts” of a case rather than getting caught up in the inevitable media barrage has become a task difficult for even the most stringent, reputable researchers. The problems are many and interrelated. Philip Jenkins (1994), in his book *Using Murder: The Social Construction of Serial Homicide*, provides a scholarly examination of how serial killing has been dealt with by the media, law enforcement personnel, and the public. Indeed, much of what we know, or claim to know, about serial murder is based on misinformation and myth construction. Nearly 20 years later many of those misperceptions continue, fueled by our interest in forensics and violent crime. One of the primary confounding myths of serial murder is that they are all, by definition, sexual. Schlesinger (2004) in his seminal work, *Sexual Murder*, notes that many seemingly sexual murders are not sexually motivated and that many sexual homicides are not overtly sexual (pp. 2–6). As a result of the sensational nature of this form of murder, the aura surrounding it has assumed a life of its own as it filters throughout both the public and private sectors of society.

SERIAL MURDER: FACT AND FICTION

In the summer of 1981 in Atlanta, Georgia, Wayne Williams, a young African American male, was arrested for his involvement in multiple homicides of young African American males. He was believed, at that time, to be one of the nation’s more prolific serial killers. This case brought increased focus on serial murder and the fact that not all serial killers are white, nor are the victims, and even children could be targets. Technology, specifically hair-fiber evidence, became a critical factor in convicting Williams, and forensic science became prominent in explaining why such evidence ultimately played a key role in linking Williams to the crimes. Over 20 homicides were attributed to Williams, most of them children, although he was actually convicted of murdering just two of his victims. The horror and fascination of this case focused media attention on Atlanta both during the homicides and after Williams’s capture. Within the next three years several more accounts of serial murder appeared in newspapers around the country. The American public had been invaded by a new criminal type, the serial murderer. Lurking in our communities, preying on hapless victims, serial murderers had suddenly emerged from the criminal underground—perhaps a product of the Vietnam War or possibly a by-product of technology and the moral decay of our society. In the past, most citizens simply assumed serial killers must be insane. No one knew for sure. But as the cases of serial murder increased, as did the body counts, the ever-growing reality of multiple murders began to intrude on public awareness. Something had to be done to stem the tide of homicides with no apparent motive.

In 1984 the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI; 1984a, 1984b; Ninety-Eighth Congress, 1984) appeared before the U.S. Senate to seek funding for the development of a program specifically targeting violent criminals. According to news accounts of the hearing, as many as 5,000 people per year were believed to be killed by serial murderers. Although this was factually not true, the numbers used to describe the victims in all categories of violent crime were, nonetheless, shocking and incredible. The public and public officials alike were horrified, and funding was procured for the program. For the next several years the incidence of serial murder was considered by the public to be pervasive in our society, though in fact this remained far from the truth. No one knew how many serial killers actually existed at any one time, but it was clear that the number of victims killed by such offenders did not even begin to approach 5,000. Where that inflated figure first originated is still a mystery. Perhaps a piece of information exchanged during an interview between the media and law enforcement personnel had been misinterpreted. What is important is not who started the rumors but that they were so quickly disseminated without ever being verified.

Such forms of disinformation are not new or uncommon. For example, when marijuana came into public view during the 1940s, a film, *Reefer Madness*, was distributed, depicting the powerfully destructive forces of the illegal substance. Clean, upstanding young men and women, on experiencing the effects of just one reefer, were transformed into raving, sex-crazed lunatics. Though amusing to us now, such exaggeration is disturbing in light of the film's original purpose and effects.

Much of the proliferation of disinformation is a result of public pressure to know more about a specific subject. In some respects, a symbiotic relationship has developed among law enforcement personnel, the media, and the public that serves, in fact, to encourage disinformation in regard to certain types of issues. Realizing this, some researchers, such as Philip Jenkins and others, began questioning the actual extent of serial murder. We do not question that serial murder occurs, but to what quantifiable and qualitative extent? This is the role of the social scientist: to objectively examine phenomena to determine their origin, nature, and impact on society.

Members of the community also want to understand the phenomenon of serial murder. A very popular and interesting radio program *Behind the Yellow Tape*, founded by Joey Ortega, can be found on www.blogtalkradio.com/behindthetellowtape as well as their companion blog www.behindtheyellowtape.wordpress.com. National and international forensic experts discuss investigative techniques, criminal psychology, current research in behavioral analysis, violent crimes, profiling, victimology and other relevant topics. Ortega is also the co-founder of the Ullemeyer group, a company that offers forensic and investigative services, training in forensic disciplines, investigative specialties and crime scene investigations to both private and public agencies. Their company, located in Santa Barbara, California can be found online at www.ullemeyer.com. Nadia Fezzani, an investigative journalist in Montreal, Canada, herself a victim of violent crime, decided to interview serial killers and publish her

findings. Her compelling book, *My Serial Killers*, (2011) documents the face to face interviews she conducted with these men. The apparent or perceived increase in the modern serial, or multiple, murder has incited interest among social scientists in several areas. Researchers have begun to explore the social, psychological, and biological makeup of the offenders in order to establish accurate profiles. In spite of their efforts, during the 1980s the body of knowledge about serial murders remained small compared to the number of unanswered questions—especially concerning the extent of the phenomenon. In more recent years law enforcement personnel and academicians have come closer to understanding the dynamics of serial killing and its etiology, or causation.

The pure sensationalism and horror of serial murder have also spawned a plethora of novels about such murders, and the figure of the cold-blooded and senseless serial killer has been exploited by the media: for example, in television documentaries and prime-time shows—such as those that depicted California’s Hillside Strangler, the BTK Strangler case, and the infamous Ted Bundy (*The Deliberate Stranger*)—and in various box-office thrillers. Because of the wide publicity given to serial murderers, a stereotype of this type of killer has formed in the mind of American society. The offender is thought of as a ruthless, bloodthirsty sex monster who lives a Jekyll-and-Hyde existence—probably next door to you. Increasingly, crime novels and movies have focused on multiple-homicide offenders. Consider the steady proliferation of multiple-homicide films in which serial killing occurs (see Table 1.1).

Although the list in Table 1.1 is not exhaustive, it is representative of each decade. It does not include films involving mass murder (the killing of a number of people all at one time) or horror films depicting vampires and murderous zombies, but only films portraying real people murdering other people. Notice the explosion of serial-murder themes between the early 1990s and 2008. More than half of those never made it to theaters but went straight to home-video release. In the privacy of one’s home, viewers are bombarded with graphic

TABLE 1.1 Increase in Films with Serial Killing, 1920–2008

Decade	Number of Serial Murder–Themed Films
1920s	2
1930s	3
1940s	3
1950s	4
1960s	12
1970s	20
1980s	23
1990s	150+
2000s	300++

SOURCE: © Cengage Learning, 2013.

killings, mutilations, and sexual torture. Clearly, this cinematic emphasis has added credibility to the notion of high body counts at the hands of ubiquitous serial-killer monsters.

In his 1987 book *The Red Dragon*, Tom Harris gave a fictional account of a serial killer who took great pleasure in annihilating entire families. Later his work was made into the movie *Manhunter*, an engrossing drama of psychopathology, blood, and carnage. At that time Hollywood was only beginning to realize the huge market for multiple-murder movies. Some years later, the next book by Harris and the derivative movie, both titled *Silence of the Lambs*, caught the American imagination. By 2001, movies such as *Copycat*, *Kiss the Girls*, the *Scream* trilogy, *Along Came a Spider*, *Hannibal*, the *Saw* series, *Hostel*, and *The Bone Collector* continued to exploit the public's fascination with serial murder without yielding much insight about the offender. Filmmakers, unable to adequately navigate the minds of serial offenders, resorted to technology and special effects to draw in viewers, as seen in the film *The Cell*. Other films, such as *Seven*, a dark, disturbing movie, attempted to offer some understanding of the murdering mind but confused viewers with the concepts of psychopathy, psychosis, and murder. By late 2003, a remake of the classic horror film *Texas Chainsaw Massacre* appeared in theaters just a few weeks before the confession and conviction of the Green River Killer, Gary Leon Ridgway, in the murders of 48 young women (see Profile 1.7). Serial-murder movies are now rivaled by a plethora of television and cable serials such as *CSI*, *Profiler*, *Forensic Files*, *Criminal Minds*, *Cold Case Files*, and *Dexter*. Viewers can now examine, from the comfort of their homes, theaters, computers, Kindles, and iPods, the minds and crimes of violent predators.

Novelists such as Easton Ellis, with his exploration of psychopathy, narcissism, sadism, and murder in *American Psycho* (later made into a movie by the same name), and Caleb Carr, author of the acclaimed serial-murder thriller *The Alienist*, clearly indicate that writers are familiarizing themselves with the topic of serial murder and have begun to inject some insightful and historical perspectives into their narratives. The fictional accounts of serial killing, however, often fail to surpass the horror described in nonfictional accounts of serial murder by writers such as Ann Rule, a former acquaintance of the serial killer Ted Bundy; Bundy was executed in January 1989. Besides her work on Bundy (*The Stranger Beside Me*, 1980), she has written about Jerry Brudos (*Lust Killer*, 1983), Randy Woodfield (*The I-5 Killer*, 1984), and Harvey Carnigan (*The Want-Ad Killer*, 1988).

MYTHS OF SERIAL MURDER

The result of such an array of cases of serial murder as well as media focus has given rise to several general myths surrounding the phenomenon. With every myth, just as in every stereotype, there is a measure of truth. The following are long-held myths surrounding serial killers.

<i>Myth</i>	<i>Fact</i>
1. They are nearly all white.	One in five serial killers is black.
2. They are all male.	Nearly 17% are female.
3. They are insane.	Insanity is a legal term. Very few offenders (2%–4%) are legally insane.
4. They are all lust killers.	Many are, but several cases do not involve sexual assaults, torture, or sexual mutilations.
5. They kill dozens of victims.	A few have high body counts but most kill under 10 victims.
6. They kill alone.	About one in four have one or more partners in murder.
7. Victims are beaten, stabbed, strangled, or tortured to death.	Some victims are poisoned or shot.
8. They are all very intelligent.	Most are of average intelligence.
9. They have high mobility in the United States.	Most offenders remain in a local area.
10. They are driven to kill because they were sexually abused as children.	Many kill as a result of rejection and abandonment in childhood.
11. Most serial murderers cannot stop killing.	Some serial killers stopped killing for several years before they killed again or until they were caught, including Dennis Rader (BTK), Jeffrey Gorton, Jeffrey Dahmer, and Theodore Kaczynski. Such offenders often substitute paraphilic behaviors or other diversions in lieu of killing.
12. Most serial killers want to be caught.	Like anyone, they learn and gain confidence from experience. Many want-to-be serial killers end up in prison after their first murder. Some become very adept at concealing their identities and may feel as if they will never be caught.

Throughout the 1990s, dozens of novels and nonfiction accounts of multiple homicide were published for the entertainment and sometimes enlightenment of the general public. Amid this proliferation, female serial killers were given increased attention in true-crime accounts of “black widows” (women who, for various reasons, kill their husbands, then remarry only to carry out the cycle of homicide again and again); nurses who kill their elderly, young, or otherwise helpless patients; mothers who murder their children; females who assist men in serial killing; and a few women who have stalked and murdered men.

Researchers who have been examining the phenomenon of serial murder to promote greater understanding—and, they hope, develop intervention strategies—have also been busy. Case study analysis of serial murder has begun to provide researchers with insightful information, however tenuous. For example, Elliott Leyton (1986a) in his book *Hunting Humans* provides in-depth examinations of the lives and minds of a few contemporary U.S. serial killers and their relationships with their victims. In *Mass Murder: The Growing Menace* (1985), *Overkill* (1994), and *Extreme Killing* (2011), Jack Levin and James Fox assess some of the dynamics of serial and mass murder. Fox, Levin, and Quinet in *The Will To Kill* (2011) analyze the circumstances in which people kill one another and provide insights to family and school homicides. Ronald Holmes and James DeBurger, in their work *Serial Murder* (2010), formulate typologies based on material gathered from interviews with serial murderers. Holmes's second work, *Profiling Violent Crimes: An Investigative Tool* (2009), has become a useful tool in the investigation of serial murder. Steve Egger's work *Serial Murder: An Elusive Phenomenon* (1990) and his *The Killers Among Us* (2001) underscore several critical problems encountered by researchers and law enforcement investigators of serial murder. Robert Keppel, a law enforcement officer who has investigated several cases of serial killing, published his observations in *Serial Murder: Future Implications for Police Investigations* (1989). Jenkins (1994) has examined societal forces such as law enforcement, the media, and public interest, which have acted as catalysts in the emergence of the serial-murder phenomenon as a social construct. Also in recent years, a number of documentaries, such as CNN's *Murder by Number*, have critically examined the extent and impact of serial murder. In 1994, British television produced an award-winning documentary *To Kill and Kill Again* (Optomen Television, 1994). As a result of the case of Jeffrey Dahmer and other cases, serial murder began to be explored not merely as an act, but as a process. In 1996, several books examining serial murder, including *Serial Murderers and Their Victims*, first edition, were placed on the compact disc *Mind of a Killer*. This "serial-murder library" allowed researchers, students, and law enforcement personnel to access a vast amount of information, including biographies, photographs, and the investigative tools used to track serial killers. By 2001, other scholarly documentaries including *Understanding Murder* (the Learning Channel) aired on television and sought to examine the roles of psychology and biology in serial murder; in 2002 Court TV explored the careers of criminal profilers in *The Elite: The New Profilers*; in 2002 WE Channel examined female serial killers in *Black Widows: Explaining Women Who Kill Their Husbands*; and in 2010 CNN revisited the Wayne Williams case in *The Atlanta Child Murders*.

Many other people associated with research on serial murder have also contributed to the body of knowledge on the subject. For instance, Dr. Katherine Ramsland, a prolific author and professor of forensic psychology and criminal justice at DeSales University in Pennsylvania, has published scholarly articles and books involving serial murder. Two of her books I highly recommend are *The Human Predator: A Historical Chronicle of Serial Murder and Forensic Investigation* (Berkley, 2005) and *The Mind of a Murderer: Privileged Access to the Demons that Drive Extreme Violence* (Praeger, 2011). Philip Jenkins, at Pennsylvania State

University, has explored the social environments of serial murderers, whereas Candice Skrapec, a forensic psychologist in the Department of Criminology, California State University, Fresno, has gathered data on the psychogenic status of serial offenders. Al Carlisle, a psychologist at the Utah State Prison and Provo Canyon Boys School, has explored dissociative states and other forces that may affect the mind of a serial killer. David Canter and Donna Youngs at the University of Huddersfield, England, have organized the International Research Centre for Investigative Psychology, an impressive program that, among other things, emphasizes the application of science in geographic profiling of crimes and offenders. D. Kim Rossmo, formerly of the Vancouver Police Department, in his 1995 dissertation made a substantial contribution to the field of forensics through his geographic profiling of serial murderers. Now a senior research professor at the Center for Geospatial Intelligence and Investigation, Texas State University, he is considered to be one of the top geographic profilers in the world. Increasingly, both academicians and law enforcement personnel are becoming involved in the study and exploration of violent serial crime. While all of this research is critical in establishing a knowledge base, Haggerty (2009) notes that focusing on the etiology and biography of offenders is only part of the equation in understanding serial murder. He argues that serial killers are distinctively modern and that thus far “broader social, historical and cultural context have been largely ignored” (p. 168). He outlines six important preconditions for serial murder that have their roots in modernity:

- Mass media and the rise of celebrity status. Be a serial killer and appear in *TIME* magazine, have movies made about you, and gain a following of murder groupies.
- A society populated with strangers.
- A society void of value considerations that encourages extreme rationalization. Depersonalization of others and perceiving relationships as instrumental makes killing others so much easier and pleasurable.
- A cultural framework that through processes of denigration positions specific groups for increased predation, such as the elderly, children, prostitutes, homeless, and homosexuals.
- Opportunity structures that afford serial killers more access to certain victims such as females who now often work outside their homes, and, of course, prostitutes.
- Society can be engineered, and for some serial killers, they provide a service in ridding society of certain undesirable types of people. (pp. 168–187)

Haggerty has indeed provided a broader platform from which researchers can investigate and study serial murder. These structural and cultural frameworks may have significant utility in explaining multiple homicide and even help us understand how we might detect, investigate, prosecute, and categorize these forms of murder and murderers.

Law enforcement officials have been dealing with serial murders for many, many years. By the 1990s, however, the nature and sophistication of investigation techniques had changed. Computer technology, especially the development

of the Internet, expedited data collection and analysis. During the mid-1980s, the FBI established, at its Behavioral Science Unit in Quantico, Virginia (now referred to as the Investigative Support Unit), the Violent Criminal Apprehension Program (VICAP). VICAP is designed to collect detailed information on homicides throughout the United States. Investigators such as former FBI agents Robert Ressler and John Douglas, both pioneers in the investigation and classification of serial killers, collectively interviewed many notorious serial killers in the United States. Ressler and colleagues published their findings in *Sexual Homicide* (1988), which became a standard reference text for this form of murder. In addition, the U.S. government continues to develop programs such as the National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime (NCAVC) to focus specifically on repetitive offenders, including serial murderers.

NUMBERS AND TYPES OF MASS MURDERS AND SERIAL KILLINGS IN THE UNITED STATES

The number of murders in the United States fluctuated around 25,000 per year by the early 1990s. By that time, we had witnessed a 20-year period of murder and manslaughter rates increasing 300% while police clearance rates for these crimes had declined from 93% in 1962 to 74% in 1982 and to about 65% by 1995 (FBI, 1995). Homicide rates in the United States during this period appeared to be one of the highest of any Westernized nation. In recent years, however, we have seen a remarkable decline in violent crime. The last several years have seen fewer violent and property crimes. By 2003, areas of the United States were reporting 30-year lows in crime rates. The Centers for Disease Control (2001) found that in 1997, of the 5,285 workplace deaths, 14% were homicides, far behind deaths caused by mining and agriculture accidents. By 2002 the number of murders in the United States had dropped to just over 14,000, with a 1.1% increase in 2003 (see Table 1.2) and almost equal numbers of white and black residents being victimized, even though blacks constitute only 13% of the U.S. population (see Homicide Facts 2010). By 2007, murders in the United States had slowly continued to rise to over 17,000, but these were still nearly half the murder rates of the early 1990s. Between 1991 and 2010 murder rates dropped by 51%.

Homicide Facts 2010*

- An estimated 14,748 persons were murdered nationwide in 2010, a 4.23% decline from 2009.
- For homicides in which the age of the victim was known
 - 9.94% of murder victims were under 18
 - 32.86% were between the ages of 20 and 29

*National Center for Victims of Crime, 2011.

TABLE 1.2 United States Homicide Rates, 1987–2010 (Murder and Nonnegligent Manslaughter)

Year	Number of Murders	Rate per 100,000 Population
1987	20,096	8.3
1989	21,500	8.7
1991	24,703	9.8
1993	24,526	9.5
1995	21,606	8.2
1997	18,208	6.8
1999	15,522	5.7
2000	15,586	5.5
2001	16,037	5.6
2002	16,229	5.6
2003	16,528	5.7
2004	16,148	5.5
2005	16,740	5.6
2006	17,030	5.7
2007	16,929	5.6
2008	16,442	5.4
2009	15,399	5.0
2010	14,748	4.8

SOURCE: © Cengage Learning, 2013.

- 20.35% were between the ages of 30 and 39
 - 13.39% were between 40 and 49
 - 11.55% were between 50 and 64;
 - 4.55% were ages 65 and older.
- Homicides of teenagers ages 13 to 19 accounted for 12.41% of murder victims.
 - Males accounted for 77.4% of murder victims and 22.5% were female.
 - The sex of the offender was known in 73.19% of homicide cases. Among those cases, 90.27% of offenders were male and 9.73% were female.
 - In the majority of homicide cases 92% were 18 or older.
 - Whites accounted for 46.5% of homicide victims while 49.8% were black. For 3.7% of victims, race was classified as “other” or “unknown.”
 - Homicide was generally intra-racial: white offenders murdered 83% of white victims, and black offenders murdered 90% of black victims.
 - Homicides in which the type of weapon was specified, 68% of the offenses were committed with firearms.

The lower rate in violent crime, especially murder, is explained by several contributing factors. First, the U.S. economy, bolstered by new advances in technology, had been in a strong growth period for several years. Although an economic slowdown occurred after 2001 and was affected by the September 11 attack on the World Trade Center and subsequent war with Iraq, unemployment remained relatively low. Second, the victim's movement acted as a catalyst for many new legal reforms. For example, Mike Reynolds, the father of Kimberly Reynolds, who was gunned down while leaving a restaurant in Fresno, California, became the father of three-strikes laws, along with many other laws requiring harsher punishments for repeat offenders. Some states, such as New York, have seen a dramatic increase in the number of police officers on duty. Some argue that violent offenders eventually "age out" because they become too old to commit violent crimes. For whatever reasons, most likely a combination of factors, crime dropped dramatically and steadily until 2000. Behind the statistics is the reality that crime rates will inevitably rise again given the growing rates of unemployment, disasters such as Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans in 2005, and significant increases in the cost of living.

Though murder rates have been declining in general, it is clear from the data that certain types of homicides are occurring more frequently. While the majority of murders result from domestic and community conflicts, many murders are perpetrated by strangers. Because of a marked increase in stranger-to-stranger homicides, in some cities, such as Los Angeles, as many as 60% of all murders go without being prosecuted each year. The increasing number of serial murders is believed by some experts, including your author, to account for some of these unsolved cases.

Mass Murder

Serial murders, however, are not the only type of killings attracting considerable public attention. Mass murders, in which several victims are killed within a few moments or hours, seem to be occurring with greater frequency. In this context, the term *mass murder* does not refer to institutional mass murder as ordered by dictators or ethnic cleansing of groups of people as seen in Europe and Africa but rather the individually motivated and carried-out mass murders in the workplace or in private residences. The current frequency of mass murder in the United States has increased from approximately one case per month to approximately one case every 10 days (author's files). Part of the increase can be attributed to how we define mass murder. Although mass murders were once considered to involve public displays of violence (school attacks, for instance), we now must include domestic mass murders (the killing of some or all of one's family members and/or acquaintances). According to the FBI, killing four or more persons at one time is considered to be a *mass murder*. Over half of all attempted and/or completed mass murders in the United States involve domestic homicides. Other cases of mass murder involve offenders walking into schools, shopping malls, restaurants, or government offices and randomly shooting bystanders—as in April 1990, when a man released only the day before from a

psychiatric institution walked into a crowded shopping mall in Atlanta, Georgia, and began shooting everyone in his path.

PROFILES IN MODERN MASS MURDER IN THE UNITED STATES

- Jared L. Loughner, a 22-year-old pot-smoking army and college reject, was considered by the police to be angry and mentally unstable when he entered a shopping center in Tucson, Arizona, in 2011 and shot twenty people, killing six. His primary target was congresswoman Gabrielle Giffords, who was also critically wounded.
- Dr. Amy Bishop, a Harvard trained neurobiologist, shot six faculty members in a department meeting at the University of Alabama in 2010, killing three of them. She had been denied tenure (see Profile 1.1).
- Dr. Nidal M. Hasan, a psychiatrist and major in the military, shot over 40 military personnel, killing 13, at Fort Hood, Texas, in 2009. He had become a radicalized Muslim who viewed the United States as an aggressor nation (see Profile 1.2).
- Omar Thornton, 2010, shot and killed eight coworkers and himself at a beer distribution company in Manchester, Connecticut. He had just been terminated for stealing beer from the company.

In other cases a troubled parent or sibling has annihilated entire families. In recent years there have also been several instances of assailants walking into elementary or secondary schools, or sometimes just standing by the playground, and randomly shooting children (see Profile 1.3).

As mentioned, another type of mass murder includes the killing of family members. Based on the number of victims in each case, some domestic mass murders are viewed as *mini-mass murders* because relatively few victims (three to four) are killed. Consider the perpetrators under *Profiles in Modern Mass Murder in the United States*. There is not a *distinctive* profile of such killers. Some are mentally ill while others are just angry. Many are males but some are females. Some kill because they subscribe to political or religious ideologies at variance with the community in which they reside. Some are white, others black. Some are Asian, Hispanic, or African American while many are Caucasian. Some are very well educated in professional careers while others have high school educations in blue-collar jobs. Some do not work. Some kill at school or on college campuses, others where they work or live. Some kill their families while others kill coworkers or strangers. Some kill both relatives and strangers. Many use guns, but some use knives, fire, or bombs.

When combining all mass murders, mini-mass murders, and attempted mass murders, the incidence of such murders remains very high. Although the reality is that the United States is experiencing relatively low homicide rates (the actual

PROFILE 1.1 Dr. Amy Bishop, 2010

Although women are far less likely than men to commit mass murder, especially in the public sector, they can be just as deadly as men. Dr. Amy Bishop, 46, wife and mother of four children, had a long history of violent outbursts, but most people did not want to be involved or were not in a position to make the connections that linked her violent behavior. Those who did know her were able to witness some of her mood swings. So often her brilliance was diluted by her sudden bouts of rage when she felt ignored or treated unfairly. When she was 21, following a dispute at her parent's home, Amy loaded her father's shotgun and shot and killed her 18-year-old brother, Seth. She claimed it was an accident. Amy came down the stairs with the loaded shotgun saying that she wanted to see how it worked and now was trying to unload it. Told not to point the weapon at Seth, she did so anyway and shot him. She fled with the shotgun in hand to a car dealership, and when confronted by police refused to surrender the weapon. An officer had to disarm her. The family supported their daughter, saying that the shooting was accidental, and ultimately the investigation deemed the killing accidental. Twenty-six years later, following her assault on her university colleagues, the investigation into her brother's death was reopened and Dr. Bishop was also charged with his murder.

Amy continued throughout her life to act out in fits of rage. In 2002 she was charged with assault after screaming and hitting a woman in the head at a local IHOP restaurant because the woman had taken the last available booster seat for her child and Amy wanted to use it for one of her children. In 1994 she was questioned in a mail bomb plot against a doctor at Harvard University, where Amy had earned her doctorate and had worked sporadically in post-doctoral research. Eventually the investigation closed without charges against anyone. Her neighbors reported that she did not handle criticism from others well at all. Another person noted that she embellished her resume to indicate that she had worked at Harvard two years longer. Her students feared her at times, as she would move from empathy to anger in a moment. Her volatility caused several of her graduate students to leave her labs permanently. She was outraged when not placed as first author on a scientific article for publication even though she had no right to that position. She yelled at other people's children and could be extremely unfriendly.

She joined the University of Alabama as an assistant professor in the biology department. Her husband found work as a computer engineer at a start-up company. She and her husband had developed a special method of cell preservation that could change the way biomedical research is done. In 2009 she appeared on the cover of *The Huntsville R&D Report*. All seemed to be going well until she was turned down for tenure due to a weak research and publication record. She appealed the decision but was encouraged by her chair and others to start looking for work elsewhere. The family was under increasing financial stress, so Amy hired an attorney. She also started practicing with a firearm. In November 2009 her appeal was denied. February 12, 2010, Dr. Bishop attended a departmental faculty meeting, and after sitting quietly for about 30 minutes pulled out a handgun and shot six faculty members, killing three of them.

number of murders per 100,000 population), public perception, fueled by infrequent yet horrific mass murders such as Columbine, Virginia Tech, Fort Hood, Texas, and Tucson, Arizona, leads citizens to feel that murder is more common than ever (see Profile 1.4).

School mass murders, as a result of copycats, access to weapons, global media attention, and increased socialization to violence, have become a prominent

PROFILE 1.2 Nidal M. Hasan, the Ft. Hood Shooter, 2009

On November 5, 2009, Major Nidal Malik Hasan, 39, an American-born Muslim of Palestinian descent and a U.S. Army psychiatrist, entered Ft. Hood, the largest army base in the United States, near Killeen, Texas, and shot 45 military personnel at a medical clinic. Thirteen of those victims died from their wounds. Hasan was shot by a female civilian army police officer and is now paralyzed from the chest down. He currently awaits a court martial where he will face either life in prison with no possibility of parole or receive the death penalty. Hasan has been used as an example of persons sympathetic to radical Islam who have been radicalized to carry out acts of terror on American soil. However, Hasan may not have developed ties to any specific terrorist group, but may have become a lone wolf with sympathies toward radical Islam. Hasan was very stressed because he did not want to be deployed and be in a war zone involving other Muslims. Was Hasan experiencing cognitive dissonance in trying to deal with this conflict of interest between his sworn duty to the United States and his dedication to his faith? Or, perhaps he was disgruntled with his poor job performance review he received after working at Walter Reed Army Medical Center for six years. The investigation continues.

societal concern. There have been several major school attempted or completed mass murders in the United States in recent years (see Chart 1.1).

MASS MURDERER CLASSIFICATIONS

Several mass murderer typologies developed by Holmes and Holmes (2000) at the University of Louisville are presented here, including three typologies from other authors. Their thorough classification of mass murderers identifies behavioral and psychological characteristics of these offenders:

1. **Family Slayer or Annihilator**—a person who kills his family and commits suicide.
2. **Murderer for Profit**—a person who kills in order to profit materially. Murderers for profit may kill their family or other groups of people such as coworkers or friends. In 2000, Joseph Kibwetere, leader of the Ugandan cult members of the Movement for the Restoration of the Ten Commandments of God, murdered over 700 followers to avoid having to return money and possessions they had entrusted to him.
3. **Murderer for Sex**—a person with the primary goal to sexually torture, rape, and murder the victims; a comparatively rare typology. Richard Speck forced his way into a nurses' residence and raped and tortured eight nurses to death (Levin and Fox, 1985).
4. **Pseudo-Commando**—a person with an obsession for guns and a fantasy for murder. James Huberty walked into a McDonald's restaurant, shot 21 people to death, and wounded another 19 victims (Dietz, 1986).

PROFILE 1.3 Marcus Wesson, 2003

Wesson, 57, a quirky man with dreadlocks, was a cult leader of his own family who controlled how, when, and where they would live their lives. He told them that he saw himself as God and they better see him in that light as well. When he walked to a store his wives walked several paces in the rear. He held contempt for women and used them to satisfy his wants and needs. His daughters and nieces bore him children as he moved his “family” to various locations in California. At one point Wesson kept his family sequestered in a large tent for 12 years in the Santa Cruz Mountains. They finally settled in Fresno, where the family lived quietly and the sexual abuse was kept secret. One of his wives, Elizabeth, married Wesson when she was 8 years of age, was pregnant by 14, and by 26 years of age had given birth 11 times. The children were “home schooled” and were seldom seen by the general public. Wesson kept nine coffins in his small home as a reminder of what could happen to them.

Two nieces who fled his control decided to go back for the children he had fathered by them. He had warned his family for many years to be prepared for the devil in a blue uniform and wearing a badge. The end was near, and now that day had come. When Wesson saw police and his two nieces standing outside his home, he said that he would cooperate and give them the children. Instead, he gathered all his children/wives together in their suicide pact. The eldest was 25, followed by a 17-year-old. The remaining seven were all under the age of nine. Wesson shot each one in the temple and tossed the bodies in a pile in a bedroom. Of course Wesson, being the coward he was, did not kill himself, but instead surrendered to police and blamed the killings on his 25-year-old daughter/wife who also had been shot and killed. Some of his own sons later defended Wesson, stating that their father was a wonderful man who loved his children and would never harm any of them. Other accounts offered more insight: Wesson abused his family emotionally, physically, and sexually and manipulated them using fear for his own gain. Years later, and with more clarity on how they had all been victimized by Wesson, some of the surviving children and Elizabeth related how he was a master manipulator and at times extremely violent. Being with him was like being in prison where punishments for even minor infractions of his rules could lead to 30 days of physical abuse. The violence and threat of violence was only one of his forms of control. He held prayer sessions and Bible studies that lasted hours. He wrote his own version of the Bible to meet his vision. When the boys were old enough to work they turned all they earned over to Wesson. The sexual abuse for the girls started around age seven or eight.

Marcus Wesson now resides on death row in San Quentin State Prison.

5. **Set-and-Run Killer**—a person who plans an escape route following the killing aftermath. An example is the bombing of the Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, where 168 people, including 19 children, perished. Other set-and-run killers may use poisons or set fires.
6. **Psychotic Killer**—a person suffering from acute or chronic psychosis who is considered to be legally insane.
7. **Disgruntled Employee**—a person who seeks revenge for real or imagined wrongs at the hands of coworkers or employers. During the 1990s, several incidents of postal workers killing coworkers and supervisors spawned the phrase *going postal*.

**PROFILE 1.4 Andrew Kehoe, America's Mass Murderer of Children:
The Bath School Disaster, 1927**

Born in 1872 and raised by a stepmother following the early death of his mother, Andrew Kehoe bore much resentment about his mother being replaced. Working at the oil stove one day the stepmother accidentally caught herself on fire. Andrew, now 14, threw a bucket of water on the fire that caused it to spread even further and as a result, the stepmother died from her burns. This event may have been a harbinger for his mass murder.

Kehoe married in 1912 and bought a farm in the Bath Township, Michigan. He was known to be a controlling man with a quick temper against those who disagreed with him. A member of the local school board, Kehoe was angered by a property tax levied to fund a new school building. This tax, he believed, was a financial hardship as his wife, Nellie, was suffering from tuberculosis that required extensive medical care. In truth, Kehoe had an extensive collection of farm machinery and tools that could have been sold to cover his mortgage, but he was not about to compromise. Ultimately the financial strains caused Kehoe's farm to go into foreclosure.

Approximately one year prior to the school attack Kehoe began purchasing over a ton of pyrotol, an incendiary explosive used for excavation. He also purchased boxes of dynamite in small enough quantities so as not to draw attention and conducted practice explosions on his farm. Because Kehoe was a school board member and a handyman, he had full access to the school and spent many hours installing his explosives. Kehoe not only had a plan to blow up the school but he also planned to kill anyone who came to their rescue after the explosion. He filled his car with metal tools, nails, piping, and other pieces of metal and packed the trunk with dynamite. He also placed pyrotol firebombs throughout his farm. A day or two prior to the school attack Kehoe killed his wife by blunt force trauma to her head. On May 18, 1927, Kehoe detonated the firebombs at his home, destroying his farm animals and his wife's body. The large fire drew many volunteer firefighters from the area. An hour later, at 9:45 A.M., the school bombs were detonated in the north wing of the building, killing 38 elementary school children and 2 teachers. Another injured child died a few months later. About one hour later Kehoe arrived amid the chaos and rescue efforts. Summoning the school superintendent to his car, Kehoe detonated his vehicle, killing himself, the superintendent, an 8-year-old boy, the postmaster, and his father-in-law. Investigators later found another 500 pounds of bombs hidden in the school's south wing. Final death toll: 45.

Kehoe had left a note on his fence that read: Criminals are made, not born.

8. **Disciple-Type Killer**—a person who commits murder at the behest of a charismatic leader such as Charles Manson.
9. **Ideological Mass Murderer**—a person, especially a cult leader, who is able to persuade others to kill themselves or each other, as in the cases of Jim Jones (Jonestown Massacre), Herff Applewhite (Heaven's Gate), and David Koresh (Waco Massacre).
10. **Institutional Mass Murderer**—a person who commits mass murder as a crime of obedience when ordered to by his or her leader. This often is manifested in the form of genocide, "ethnic cleansing," and religious bigotry as occurred in the Kosovo region, the Stalin farm collectivization, Armenian and Nazi Holocausts, and the Crusades (Hickey, 2000).

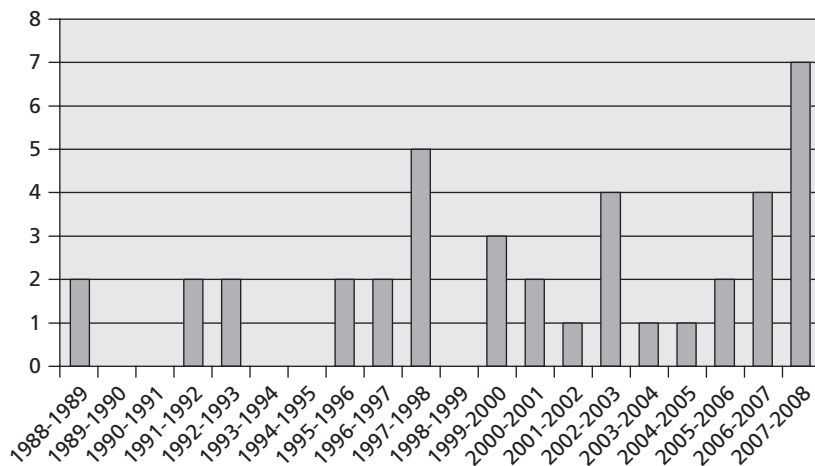


CHART 1.1 School Shootings in the United States, 1988–2008

SOURCE: © Cengage Learning, 2013.

Although researchers have barely begun to collect data on such crimes, certain commonalities emerged from their findings that offenders are primarily white, male, and encompass a wide age range. Invariably, handguns, semiautomatic guns, and rifles are the weapons used to kill suddenly and swiftly. But when we control for gender, race, ethnicity, victim preference, mode of killing, and other variables, we also see that there are nearly as many exceptions as there are those who “fit” the general stereotype.

Although victims are often intentionally selected by the killer (for example, a former boss, an ex-wife, or a friend), other persons who happen to be in the area also become collateral prey. Some offenders, simply frustrated by perceived injustices and inequities, lash out at groups of victims who bear no relationship to them. Table 1.3 gives a brief listing of modern-day mass murderers.

Unlike serial killers, the mass murderer appears to give little thought or concern to his or her inevitable capture or death. Some are killed by police during the attack, whereas others kill themselves once they have completed the massacre. In some cases offenders surrender to police and offer no resistance. With the exception of those who murder their families, most appear to commit their crimes in public places. In cases in which families are murdered, the killer, if he does not commit suicide, usually leaves ample evidence to lead to his or her arrest.

As stated earlier, some mass murders appear to be premeditated—as in the case of Charles Whitman, who fired on unsuspecting victims from the bell tower at the University of Texas at Austin. He carried a footlocker full of supplies, including food and ammunition, to the top of the tower in preparation for his attack. Conversely, some cases of multiple homicide may be sparked by what could be viewed as a trivial remark, simply a minor insult or provocation. However, in both cases, those who engage in multiple homicide appear to do so in an effort to regain, even for a brief moment, a degree of control over their lives. To the observer, this motivation may not appear rational. To the killer, however, it may make perfect sense, given his or her psychological disorientation.

TABLE 1.3 A Sampling of Modern Mass Murderers

Year	State	Offender	Death Toll
1927	Michigan	Andrew Kehoe	Bombed a school—37 children, 8 adults dead
1949	New Jersey	Howard B. Unruh	Shot neighbors—13 dead
1955	Colorado	Jack G. Graham	Bombed a plane with his mother on it—44 dead
1966	Illinois	Richard F. Speck	Stabbed/strangled nurses—8 dead
1966	Texas	Charles Whitman	Shot students and bystanders—16 dead
1966	Arizona	Robert B. Smith	Shot women in beauty salon—5 dead
1974	Louisiana	Mark Essex	Shot police officers—9 dead
1975	Ohio	James Ruppert	Shot family members—11 dead
1976	California	Edward Allaway	Shot coworkers—7 dead
1977	New York	Fred W. Cowan	Shot coworkers—6 dead
1982	California	Humberto de la Torre	Revenge arson against uncle—killed 25 in hotel blaze
1982	Pennsylvania	George Banks	Shot family and acquaintances—13 dead
1984	California	James O. Huberty	Shot patrons at McDonald's—21 dead
1985	Pennsylvania	Sylvia Selgrist	Shot several in mall—2 dead
1986	Oklahoma	Patrick Sherrill	Shot coworkers—14 dead
1987	Florida	William B. Cruse	Shot persons at a mall—6 dead
1987	Arkansas	Ronald G. Simmons	Shot family—16 dead
1988	California	Richard Farley	Shot workers in a computer company—9 dead
1988	Minnesota	David Brown	Axed family—4 dead
1988	Illinois	Laurie Dann	Shot, poisoned many—1 dead
1988	North Carolina	Michael C. Hayes	Shot neighbors—4 dead
1989	California	Patrick Purdy	Shot several children in school yard—5 dead
1990	Florida	James E. Pough	Shot 13 in an auto loan company—8 dead
1990	New York	Julio Gonzalez	Set fire to a nightclub—87 dead
1991	Michigan	Thomas McIlvane	Shot 9 at post office—4 dead
1991	Iowa	Gang Lu	Shot 6 people at the University of Iowa—5 dead
1991	Texas	George Hennard	Shot 45 people in Luby's restaurant—23 dead
1992	California	Eric Houston	Shot 14 at high school—4 dead
1993	Texas	David Koresh	Fire/shooting, murder/suicide pact—101 dead

TABLE 1.3 Continued

Year	State	Offender	Death Toll
1993	California	Gian L. Ferri	Shot 14 at a law firm—8 dead
1993	New York	Colin Ferguson	Shot 25 in commuter train—6 dead
1993	Arizona	Jonathan Doody	Shot several in Buddhist temple—9 dead
1995	New York	Michael Vernon	Shot 8 in a store—5 dead
1995	Oklahoma	Timothy McVeigh, Terry Nichols	Bombed federal building in Oklahoma City—168 dead, including children in day-care center
1996	California	Joshua Jenkins	15-year-old allegedly beat/stabbed family—5 dead
1997	Kentucky	Michael Carneal	14-year-old shot students—3 dead
1997	South Carolina	Arthur Wise	Shot several workers in a parts plant—4 dead
1997	California	Daniel Marsden	Shot 2 coworkers—wounded 4 and killed himself
1997	California	Arturo Torres	Shot ex-boss and 3 others—killed by police
1998	Arkansas	Mitchell Johnson, Andrew Golden	13-year-old and 11-year-old shot students—5 dead
1998	Connecticut	Matthew Beck	Shot 3 supervisors and president of Connecticut Lottery Corp., then killed himself—4 dead
1998	Oregon	Kip Kinkel	15-year-old shot 28 students—2 dead—after killing his parents
1999	Georgia	Mark Barton	Shot 22 at stock trading companies—9 dead—after beating his wife and two children to death
1999	Hawaii	Bryan Uyesugi	Shot and killed 7 coworkers at Xerox office
1999	Colorado	Eric Harris, Dylan Klebold	Two seniors at Columbine High School shot and killed 12 students, 1 teacher. Killers committed suicide.
2000	Florida	Dexter Levingston	Mildly retarded man kills 4 relatives and a 12-year-old girl by shooting and stabbing them with machete and screwdriver
2000	Kansas	Reginald and Jonathan Carr	Assaulted, raped and shot, execution style, 5 young adults
2000	Pennsylvania	Richard Baumhammers	A former immigration lawyer, who hated non-whites, shot and killed 5 men in Pittsburgh: 1 Jew, 2 Asians, 1 African American, and 1 man of Indian descent
2001	Texas	Andrea Yates	Drowned her 5 children, one at a time
2003	Illinois	Salvadore Tapia	Shot former coworkers at an auto parts factory—6 dead
2004	California	Marcus Wesson	Charged with shooting and killing his 9 children

(continued)

TABLE 1.3 Continued

Year	State	Offender	Death Toll
2004	Florida	Troy Victorino and 3 teens	Charged with beating 6 adults to death while they slept
2005	Minnesota	Jeffrey Weise	Student at Red Lake High School shot and killed his grandfather, grandfather's girlfriend, 5 students, 1 teacher, and 1 security guard—9 dead. Killer committed suicide.
2005	Wisconsin	Terry Ratzman	Churchgoer shot 11 people at a church service in a hotel—7 dead. Killer committed suicide.
2006	Pennsylvania	Charles Roberts	Milk truck driver shot 6 Amish girls in a schoolroom—4 dead. Killer committed suicide.
2006	Indiana	James Stewart, Desmond Turner	Shot 4 adults and 3 children—7 dead
2006	Washington	Kyle Huff	Shot 8 people at a rave party—6 dead. Killer committed suicide.
2007	Virginia	Seung-Hui Cho	Student at Virginia Tech shot 57 people—32 dead. Killer committed suicide.
2008	Ohio	Michael Davis	Set fire to a house, killing 2 women and 4 children—6 dead
2008	Kentucky	Wesley Higdon	Killed 5 coworkers before killing himself
2009	California	Ervin Lupoe	Shot his wife, 5 children, and himself
2009	Ohio	Devon Crawford	Shot his wife, sister-in-law, 3 young children, and himself
2009	Alabama	Michael McLendon	Shot 5 family members and 5 others before killing himself
2009	North Carolina	Robert Stewart	Shot 8: an employee and 7 patients in a nursing home
2009	California	Devan Kalathat	Shot his 2 children and 3 relatives before killing himself
2009	New York	Jiverly Wong	Killed 13 at an immigration center before committing suicide
2009	Washington	James Harrison	Killed his 5 children before killing himself
2009	Texas	Nidal M. Hasan	Shot and killed 13 military personnel at Ft. Hood, TX, and wounded 30 others
2010	Connecticut	Omar Thornton	Shot dead 8 coworkers before killing himself
2011	Michigan	Rodrick Dantzler	Killed 7 including his daughter and ex-girlfriend before killing himself
2011	New York	Maksim Gelman	Killed 4 in a stabbing rampage and attempted to kill others

TABLE 1.3 Continued

Year	State	Offender	Death Toll
2011	Arizona	Jared L. Loughner	Shot 6 to death in a store, including a young girl, and wounded several others
2011	Arizona	Carey H. Dyess	Shot 5 to death, including the attorney representing his fifth wife in divorce settlement. He then shot himself
2011	Indiana	David E. Ison	Shot and killed 4 members of a family and a neighbor shot to death
2011	Ohio	Michael Hance	Shot and killed 7 victims: his girlfriend, her relatives, and some neighbors

SOURCE: Authors files, 2011.

It would appear that not all mass murderers are motivated by similar circumstances, yet the final outcome is the same. Feelings of rejection, failure, and loss of autonomy create frustrations that inevitably overwhelm them, and they experience a need to strike back. And for many killers the best way to lash out against a cold, forbidding society is to destroy its children. Gunning down children in a schoolyard not only provides the needed sense of power and control but is also a way of wreaking vengeance where it hurts the community the most. According to a 2000 *New York Times* study of 100 “rampage” mass murders,* where 425 people were killed and 510 injured, the killers:

1. Often have serious mental health issues
2. Are not usually motivated by exposure to videos, movies, or television
3. Are not using alcohol or other drugs at the time of the attacks
4. Are often unemployed
5. Are sometimes female
6. Are not usually Satanists or racists
7. Are most often white males, although a few are Asian or African American
8. Sometimes have college degrees or some years of college
9. Often have military experience
10. Give pre-attack warning signals
11. Often carry semiautomatic weapons obtained legally
12. Often do not attempt escape
13. Half commit suicide or are killed by others
14. Most have a death wish (Fessenden, 2000)

White (2000), in her study of mass murderers, found that most offenders who kill in the workplace do not attempt suicide and do not force authorities

*These murders were generally not domestic, robbery, or gang related.

to kill them or try to evade arrest. In contrast, domestic mass murderers usually commit suicide or are killed by police. The single most salient factor in such rampage mass murders is mental disorder and/or mental illness. Some mass murderers, so deeply depressed, become schizophrenic or psychotic. Others suffer from severe anxiety and personality disorders. These are not rational people at the time of the murders, even when their behaviors are calculated and decisive. Many of them are not legally insane but suffer from severe psychological dysfunctioning as a result of both chronic and acute stress (see Profile 1.5).

The social impact of mass murders tends to be restricted to the communities in which they occurred. Increased security at schools, office buildings, and shopping malls is the usual response, including improved social services to better identify potentially dangerous individuals. However, the track record in predicting criminal behavior thus far has been dismal. Recognizing potential mass murderers is usually a matter of hindsight; we are quick to attach motivating factors and personality defects to offenders once they have vented themselves on their victims. The fact remains, however, that mass murders, in relation to other crimes—even other forms of homicide—are relatively rare, and they appear to occur as randomly as serial killings do.

PROFILE 1.5 Mark Barton, Portrait of a Mass Murderer, 1999

He was a stock day trader at the All-Tech Investment Group in Atlanta, Georgia. On July 29, 1999, Barton armed himself with over 200 rounds of ammunition and with his Glock 9mm and Colt .45 went to Momentum Securities, a brokerage firm. After some small talk he shot and killed four people. He then calmly drove over to All-Tech and killed five more people. As he left he was overheard saying, "I hope this won't ruin your trading day." Barton would later shoot himself in the head as police cornered him in Atlanta. He was angry over the loss of \$100,000 in day trading in recent weeks. The money he was investing had been collected from a life insurance policy that he had taken out on his first wife, Debra, in 1993. Only a month after the policy was in force, Debra and her mother Eloise Spivey were found chopped to death with a hatchet. Police believed that Barton was the killer but lacked evidence to arrest him. Barton eventually was given \$450,000 of the life insurance money, but by then he had already found his new wife, Leigh Ann, a woman with whom he was having an affair while still married to Debra. His new life, however, was far from peaceful. Barton, once suspected of molesting his daughter Mychelle as a small child, underwent a court-ordered evaluation. The psychologist noted during testing that Barton was capable of committing homicide. More insightful words would be hard to find. In one of his final notes he wrote, "I don't plan to live very much longer, just long enough to kill as many of the people that greedily sought my destruction."

Just prior to the mass murder in Atlanta, Mark Barton, 44, murdered his second wife, Leigh Ann, 27, his son, Matthew, 12, and daughter, Mychelle, 8. Barton would later write on his suicide note that his sweetheart (Mychelle) and buddy (Matthew) died "with little pain." Each of the children died from hammer blows to the head while they slept, then were placed underwater in the bathtub to be sure they were dead. He wrapped sheets and towels around each of the three bodies to only allow their faces to show and placed a teddy bear on Mychelle and a video game on Matthew.

Bifurcation in Mass Murder

Within cases of mass murder there are some important distinctions worth noting. One of these is *bifurcation*. Most mass murders usually occur at or around one distinct location such as a school, an office building, or a private residence. In some mass killings an offender begins his/her murders in one location and then moves to another building or address to continue the killing (see Profile 1.4). These bifurcated attacks, although not common, continue to occur periodically.

Public to public events that are deemed mass murders are extremely rare, such as Seung-Hui Cho, the Virginia Tech mass murderer who began his killings in one campus location, waited a period of time, then went to another location and killed many more students and faculty (see Profile 1.6). In 2011 another mass murderer in Norway, Anders Breivik, bombed government buildings in downtown Oslo, killing seven. Two hours later and many miles away on Utoya Island he shot and killed another 69 victims. The same year in Carson City, Nevada, a 32-year-old Mexican immigrant walked up to a man sitting on a motorcycle outside an IHOP restaurant and shot him with a rifle. He then entered the restaurant and shot several national guardsmen, killing two of them. Upon exiting the IHOP the gunman walked into the parking lot and took aim at various stores close by and began shooting at them before finally killing himself.

Private to public mass murders, however, are much more likely to occur when mass murder events are bifurcated. These events usually involve an individual who kills family members and/or friends at a private residence, after which they proceed to enter a public place such as a business or school and kill more victims. Several offenders killed their spouse, parent(s), and/or children before traveling to public locations to continue the killings. Michael McLendon shot his mother and her four dogs before going to other private and public locations to continue his killings.

Bifurcation of mass murder events may help in understanding the mind-sets of such killers. Indeed, mental illness is commonly found in mass murderers, yet there are some who are not suffering from severe cognitive distortions, hallucinations, hearing voices, and paranoia. Others exhibit a spectrum of personality disorders, such as James Huberty, who told his wife one day that he was “going to hunt humans” and then proceeded to shoot 35 victims, killing 21, at a McDonald’s restaurant. Charles Whitman carefully planned his mass murder by first killing his wife and mother, then climbed the bell tower at the University of Texas, Austin, and shot 46 people, killing 16. In some cases the offender bifurcates the events because he does not want to leave his family members to endure the aftermath of his murders. Others kill their family members because they are the primary targets and then proceed to other public or private locations to kill more. Usually these events involve rifles or handguns.

A Sampling of Bifurcated Mass Murders in the United States 1950–2011

1927 Andrew Kehoe—45 dead, 58 wounded

1950 Ernest Ingenito—9 dead, 1 wounded

1966 Charles Whitman—16 dead, 32 wounded

PROFILE 1.6 Virginia Tech Massacre, 2007

"You forced me into a corner," said Seung-Hui Cho. "You had a hundred billion chances and ways to have avoided today. ... But you decided to spill my blood. You forced me into a corner and gave me only one option. The decision was yours. Now you have blood on your hands that will never wash off."

On April 16, 2007, 23-year-old Seung-Hui Cho left his dormitory on the Virginia Tech campus armed with a 9mm pistol and a .22-caliber handgun. He entered a coeducational residence hall that housed 895 people and shot to death a 19-year-old female freshman and a 22-year-old male resident assistant. About two hours later, Cho entered an engineering classroom building about a half mile from the initial shootings. He chained the front doors locked from the inside and made his way to the second floor. Cho killed another 30 people in four different classrooms before turning the gun on himself. At least 15 other people were wounded in the shootings. Another 60 students were injured as they ran or leapt to safety from the windows of their classrooms.

Cho's underlying psychological diagnosis at the time of the shootings remains a matter of speculation. In the ensuing investigation, police found a suicide note in Cho's dorm room that included comments about "rich kids," "debauchery," and "deceitful charlatans." On April 18, 2007, NBC News received a package from Cho time-stamped between the first and second shooting episodes. It contained an 1,800-word manifesto, photos, and 27 digitally recorded videos in which Cho likened himself to Jesus Christ and expressed his hatred of the wealthy. Various sources concluded that because of Cho's inability to handle stress and the "frightening prospect" of being "turned out into the world of work, finances, responsibilities, and a family," Cho chose to engage in a fantasy where "he would be remembered as the savior of the oppressed, the downtrodden, the poor, and the rejected."

Looking over his life, one can see a long history of psychological problems. Cho, a South Korean who had moved to the United States at age eight, was a senior English major at Virginia Tech. At the age of three, he was described as shy, frail, and wary of physical contact. In the eighth grade, Cho was diagnosed with depression as

- 1971 Douglas Dean—5 dead
- 1987 Ronald G. Simmons—16 dead, 4 wounded
- 1989 John M. Taylor—4 dead, 1 wounded
- 1991 Andrew Brooks Jr.—6 dead, 2 wounded
- 1991 Joseph M. Harris—4 dead
- 1998 Kip Kinkle—4 dead, 22 wounded
- 1999 Mark O. Barton—9 dead, 13 wounded
- 1999 Lawrence Hensley—4 dead, 1 wounded
- 2005 Jeffrey Weise—10 dead, 5 wounded
- 2006 Jennifer San Marco—7 dead
- 2009 Michael McLendon—11 dead
- 2010 Christopher Speight—8 dead

well as selective mutism, a social anxiety disorder that inhibited him from speaking. Cho's family sought therapy for him, and he received help periodically throughout middle school and high school. High school officials worked with his parents and mental health counselors to support Cho throughout his sophomore and junior years. However, he eventually chose to discontinue therapy.

When he applied to Virginia Tech, school officials did not report his speech and anxiety-related problems or special education status because of federal privacy laws that prohibit such disclosure unless a student requests special accommodation. However, his psychological problems continued.

During the fall semester of 2005, one of Cho's professors expressed concern over his "sinister" writings. He was asked by the professor to either change his writing style or leave his poetry class. Cho responded, "You can't make me." The co-director of the Creative Writing program removed him from the class and tutored him one on one. He was again asked to attend counseling, but refused.

In November and December of 2005, Cho was investigated by the university for stalking and harassing two female students. After the investigation, he was ordered to have no contact with them. After this order, Cho sent a suicidal instant text message to a roommate. His message was reported to campus authorities and he was taken by campus police to a local community services center where he received a voluntary counseling evaluation. He was determined to be "mentally ill and in need of hospitalization." This evaluation, declaring him "an imminent danger to self or others," was sent to court. Cho was taken to a psychiatric hospital and evaluated by a psychologist. The psychologist concluded that Cho "presents an imminent danger to himself as a result of mental illness." The court ordered that Cho receive follow-up outpatient treatment, but reports indicate he did not seek out services. In February, Cho began purchasing weapons and ammunition and began videotaping his manifesto. In a few weeks Cho carried out the largest school massacre in the history of the United States.

SOURCE: NYTimes, MSNBC, CNN, ABC News, Roanoke Times.

2011 Rodrick S. Dantzler—7 dead, 2 wounded

2011 Eduardo Sencion—5 dead, 7 wounded

Differences among Mass, Serial, and Spree Murderers

In both mass and serial murder cases, victims die as the offender momentarily gains control of his or her life by controlling others. But the differences between these two types of offenders far outweigh the similarities. First, mass murderers are generally apprehended or killed by police, commit suicide, or turn themselves in to authorities. Serial killers, by contrast, usually make special efforts to elude detection. Indeed, they may continue to kill for weeks, months, and often years before they are found and stopped—if they are found at all. In the case of the California Zodiac Killer, the homicides appeared to have stopped, but an offender was never apprehended for those crimes. Perhaps the offender was

incarcerated for only one murder and never linked to the others, or perhaps he or she was imprisoned for other crimes. Or the Zodiac Killer may have just decided to stop killing or to move to a new location and kill under a new modus operandi, or method of committing the crime. The killer may even have become immobilized because of an accident or an illness or may have died without his or her story ever being told. Speculation exists that the Zodiac Killer has stalked victims in the New York City area. The Zodiac case is only one example of unsolved serial murders, many of which will never be solved.

Second, although both types of killers evoke fear and anxiety in the community, the reaction to a mass murder will be much more focused and locally limited than that to serial killing. People generally perceive the mass killer as one suffering from mental illnesses. This immediately creates a “they versus us” dichotomy in which “they” are different from “us” because of mental problems. We can somehow accept the fact that a few people go “crazy” sometimes and start shooting others. However, it is more disconcerting to learn that some of the “nicest” people one meets lead Jekyll-and-Hyde lives: a student by day, a killer of coeds by night; a caring, attentive nurse who secretly murders sick children, the handicapped, or the elderly; a building contractor and politician who enjoys sexually torturing and killing young men and burying them under his home. When we discover that people exist who are not considered to be insane or crazy but who enjoy killing others for “recreation,” this indeed gives new meaning to the word “stranger.” Although the mass murderer is viewed as a deranged soul, a product of a stressful environment who is just going to “explode” now and then (but of course somewhere else), the serial murderer is seen as much more sinister and is more capable of producing fear.

The third difference is that the mass murderer kills groups of people at once, usually within a few minutes or hours, whereas the serial killer individualizes his or her murders. The serial killer continues to hurt and murder victims, whereas the mass murderer makes his or her “final statement” in or about life through the medium of abrupt and final violence. We rarely, if ever, hear of a mass murderer who has the opportunity to enact a second mass murder or to become a serial killer. Similarly, we rarely, if ever, hear of a serial killer who also enacts a mass murder.

The mass murderer and the serial killer are quantitatively and qualitatively different, and disagreement continues about their characteristics just as it does about the types of mass and serial offenders that appear to have emerged in recent years. White (2000) thoroughly examined the differences between mass and serial murderers and summarized the differences as shown in Table 1.4. An important change from White’s findings is that the current number of murders required in a case to be classified as serial murder is two (FBI, 2008).

Researchers also distinguished *spree* murders from mass and serial murders as being three or more victims killed by a single perpetrator within a period of hours or days in different locations. They often act in a frenzy, make little effort to avoid detection, and kill in several sequences. Offenders may kill more than one victim in one location and travel to another location. There appears to be no cooling-off period even though the murders occur at different places (Greswell and Hollin, 1994). These murders, sometimes called *cluster killings*,

TABLE 1.4 Differences Between Mass and Serial Murderers

	Mass	Serial
Murder is means of control over life	✓	✓
Usually arrested or killed at crime scene	✓	
Often commits suicide after the crime	✓	
Eludes arrest and detection		✓
Likely to travel and seek out victims		✓
Evokes long-term media/public attention		✓
Kills individuals		✓
Kills several in short period of time	✓	
Murders viewed as single incident	✓	
Minimum number of victims agreed on by researchers	4	4
Murderer is usually white male	✓	✓
Motivated primarily by material gain or revenge	✓	
Victims usually female		✓
Firearms are the common choice of weapon	✓	
Kills in spontaneous rage	✓	

SOURCE: Data from White, 2000.

tend to last a few days, weeks, or even months. In 1997, Andrew Cunanan, a 27-year-old from San Diego, California, went on a four-state killing spree that culminated in the murder of fashion designer Gianni Versace in Florida. Cunanan feared that he might be infected with the AIDS virus and vowed revenge on whomever was responsible. Some of the five men he murdered were gay and some were not. Upon killing them with guns, knives, and blunt objects, Cunanan would steal cars and money from his victims. He continued to kill as he journeyed southeastward toward his final murder and suicide. The problem with the concept of spree murder is that investigators and researchers cannot agree on how to adequately define *cooling off*. As of 2008 experts have collectively agreed that the concept of spree murder be eliminated and that such offenders be included with other cases of serial murder (FBI, 2008).

Perhaps the most critical stumbling block that today stands in the way of understanding serial murder is the disagreement among researchers and law enforcement personnel about how to define the phenomenon.

DEFINING HOMICIDE, MURDER, AND SERIAL MURDER

The reader should be clear about how we categorize various types of murders based upon familial relationships and group identification as well as how we define the taking of a person's life. Many murders are committed within

families by other family members, while other murders are committed on a global scale.

- *Neonaticide*: killing of a newborn within the first 24 hours of his or her life.
- *Infanticide*: killing of an infant child who is less than one year of age.
- *Siblicide*: typical in survival behavior of animal groups, the term is also used to refer to the killing of an individual by a sibling or siblings or facilitated by the parent(s).
- *Fratricide*: killing of one's brother or sister. Often used in terms of military fratricide or the act of killing a relative(s) or countrymen. Used also to describe the killing of one's own military forces, such as "friendly fire" incidents.
- *Prolicide*: killing one's own children, including infanticide and killing of a fetus in utero. Commonly referred to as *filicide*, which usually refers to the killing of a minor, including a stepchild.
- *Parricide*: killing of a parent(s) or other relative. *Patricide* refers to the killing of one's father, while *matricide* is the killing of one's mother.
- *Genocide*: extermination of a specific racial, ethnic, religious, or national group of people.

Each state in the United States has very specific criteria for defining murder. *Justifiable homicide* is sometimes referred to as "no fault" homicide, and usually involves the killing of someone under necessity or duty. These killings lack criminal intent. This can include various forms of defense of family, self, or others. *Manslaughter* can be either *voluntary manslaughter* that involves the killing of another person(s) in the heat of passion, in the commission of another felony, or in self-defense. *Involuntary manslaughter* is sometimes referred to as negligent homicide and involves the killing of another person(s) while committing a non-felony offense such as reckless driving (also referred to as vehicular manslaughter). A person who chooses not to maintain the brakes on his car, which results in a car crash that takes the life of one or more persons, is usually determined to be guilty of negligent manslaughter. Of course, there may be exceptions depending upon circumstances and the state in which the offense occurred.

In California, to receive a death sentence an offender must be "death eligible," which means that the person must have committed a homicide, specifically murder. All homicides are not illegal, however. In some cases, such as self-defense or when the state holds an execution, the killings are viewed as homicides and are not considered illegal killings. The issuer of the death certificate of a man executed in California noted the cause of death as being a homicide, for example. Indeed, a *murder* requires an illegal taking of another's life specifically formed around intent. Such determinations are made based upon provocation, cooling off periods, and what a reasonable person would be expected to do under the circumstances leading to the killing.

From a judicial point of view the most serious of murders are those that are *capital* cases involving *premeditated murder*, or the willful, intentional killing of another person(s). Such cases may qualify a person, if convicted, for a death sentence. However, most persons convicted of *first-degree* murder find their way into lengthy prison terms rather than a death sentence. First-degree murder usually includes *felony murder*,

or murder committed while in the course of committing another felony, such as killing someone while robbing a bank. Other forms of first-degree murder may involve poisoning, lying in wait, torture, use of explosives, and in some states, such as California, using armor-piercing bullets or doing a “drive-by” killing.

Usually for a sentence of death the offender must have willfully, deliberately, and with premeditation murdered another with *special circumstances*. These special or aggravating circumstances in first-degree murder may include a prior murder by the offender; multiple murders; killing of a peace officer, witness, prosecutor, or judge; lying in wait; torture with intent to kill; murder due to race, ethnicity, religion, or nationality; felony murder; and use of poison. Even when an offender does receive a death sentence, the likelihood of actually being executed is minimal. In California the average length of time for an appeals process to be completed is over 16 years. Most of the condemned in California die of natural causes, commit suicide, or are murdered by fellow inmates.

Serial murder, one of those special circumstance categories, draws a lot of media attention. In February 1989, the Associated Press released a story about a serial killer who preyed on prostitutes in the same area of Los Angeles that harbored the Southside Slayer.* He was believed to have killed at least 12 women, all with a small handgun. The news story referred to the victims as “strawberries”—young women who sold sex for drugs. Farther north, the Green River Task Force in Seattle, Washington, continued to investigate a series of murders of at least 48 young women over a 21-year span (see Profile 1.7). When the corpses of boys and young men began appearing along the banks of the Chattahoochee River in Atlanta, Georgia, during the early 1980s, police became convinced a serial killer was at work in the area.

The preceding cases are typical of murders one might envision when characterizing victims of serial killers. The media quickly and eagerly focus attention on serial killings because they appear to be so bizarre and extraordinary. They engender the kinds of headlines that sell newspapers: “The Atlanta Child Killer,” “The Stocking Strangler,” “The Hillside Strangler,” “The Sunday Morning Slasher,” “The Boston Strangler,” ad infinitum. The media focus not only on how many victims were killed but also on how they died. Thus they feed morbid curiosity and at the same time create a stereotype of the typical serial killer: Ted Bundy, Ed Kemper, Albert DeSalvo, and a host of other young, white males attacking unsuspecting women who are powerless to defend themselves from the savage sexual attacks and degradations by these monsters.

Egger’s (1984) global definition of serial murder attempts to create parameters for the behavior:

Serial murder occurs when one or more individuals ... commits a second murder and/or subsequent murder; is relationshipless (victim and attacker are strangers); occurs at a different time and has no connection to the initial (and subsequent) murder; and is frequently committed in a different geographic location. Further, the motive is generally not for material gain but

*Identity unknown; killed 12–20 victims between September 1983 and May 1987. Offender believed to be black and to have enjoyed mutilating his young female victims.

PROFILE 1.7 Gary Leon Ridgway, the Green River Killer, 1982–1998

In 2001, a 52-year-old truck painter was arrested in connection with the murders of seven prostitutes, drug addicts, and young female runaways in the Seattle, Washington, area. DNA and microscopic paint particles linked him to most of the murders. Police also suspected him for the murders of over 40 more street women. All of his victims, except for three women in their 30s, were between 15 and 26 years of age. Most of the killings, known as the Green River Murders, occurred in the mid-1980s as bodies began surfacing along the Green River near Seattle suburbs. In 2003, Ridgway negotiated an agreement with the district attorney's office to confess to 42 of those murders as well as 6 other murders not tied to the Green River killings. In exchange for his confession he escaped the death penalty and received life in prison with no chance for parole. This ended one of the longest murder investigations ever conducted in the United States. Gary Ridgway, with 48 victims, now holds the record for the most serial-murder convictions in the history of the United States.

Ridgway did not travel around the nation in search of victims but chose them mostly from the area in which he lived. In retrospect, there were many clues that pointed to Ridgway as a suspect. In 1980, a prostitute accused him of choking her but the police let him go. In 1982, he was field interviewed by Port of Seattle police while in a parked car with prostitute Kelli McGinness, 18. McGinness disappeared in June 1983. That same year he pled guilty to solicitation of an undercover policewoman posing as a prostitute. In 1983 Ridgway became the prime suspect in the disappearance of Marie Malvar, who was last seen fighting with him in his truck. By 1984, Ridgway became the primary Green River Killer suspect but, professing his innocence, he passed a polygraph in 1985. Although semen samples had been collected from Ridgway, they were only used to determine blood types and not for identification of a specific person. Circumstantial evidence and inconclusive physical evidence kept investigators from trying Ridgway for fear that he would be acquitted. With the introduction of viable DNA evidence and a desire to avoid a trial, Ridgway decided, like so many other serial killers, to negotiate a deal that would spare his life. He led investigators on dozens of searches that yielded four more sets of remains.

The Green River Killer turned out to be, on the surface, a rather unexceptional person. Born in Utah in 1949 to Tommy Newton and Mary Rita Steinman, Ridgway graduated from high school in 1969 after being held back two grades. He joined the Navy in 1969 and was honorably discharged in 1971. His first marriage in 1970 ended in divorce in 1972. His second marriage in 1973 lasted until 1981, just one year before he would embark on his murderous career. His son Matthew was born to his second wife in 1975. He married for the third time in 1988 and legally separated in 2002. His third wife said they had a happy marriage and that he was a reliable, regular employee at the same job for 32 years.

Ridgway was a sociable man who liked to drink beer, read his Bible at work, hunt, fish, and work in his yard. He was considered by others to be meticulous, overbearing at times, but friendly. He was always careful not to talk about himself. He liked to go on vacations with his third wife and travel in their RV. He liked to proselytize to convert fellow workers to Christianity. First a Baptist and later a Pentecostal, Ridgway enjoyed doing missionary work to spread the Word of God. He watched religious television programs that often brought him to tears.

But Ridgway nurtured a dark side that included over 20 years of soliciting prostitutes. As a teen he often was the one who was getting into trouble at school and his grades were barely passing. He lived in a home dominated by his mother. He frequently watched as his father submitted to emotional and physical abuse from his mother. He became estranged from his father. He tried to hire on as a police officer but was rejected. He enjoyed telling sex-related jokes and passing on tips on how to

approach streetwalkers. He found himself sexually attracted to his mother. He often sexually harassed female coworkers at his job as a painter. As a young adult he developed an attraction to prostitutes and was extremely concerned about his physical appearance. He also had a temper and in 1982 choked his second wife. Ridgway harbored immense rage toward women that he eventually unleashed on prostitutes.

Within two years after the first Green River murders began, an unsigned letter appeared that was poorly written and had most words running together. It began, "what you eedtonoaboutthegreenriverman." The next line read, "dontthrowaway," and typed at the bottom was "callmefred." The FBI profiler, at the time, was confident that the letter was not authentic. Unfortunately the analysis was wrong and 19 years later Ridgway discussed "his roadmap to his murders" letter during his confession. It was sent to throw off investigators and was the only written communication that he ever made during his nearly 21-year killing career. The letter made reference to necrophilia and fingernail clippings taken from some of his victims. Some of the letter was true, but the clues given were misread by authorities and media. Near the bottom of the letter is the line, "Oehatkindofmanisthis," or "What kind of man is this?"

Ridgway picked up many of his victims along Highway 99 south of Seattle. The Sea-Tac Strip, as it was known in the 1980s, was heavily trafficked by prostitutes. Ridgway said he strangled many of the women, mainly runaways and prostitutes, during sex, and that he left some bodies in "clusters." He noted that he quite enjoyed choking his victims and that killing prostitutes was a "career." He said he enjoyed driving by the sites afterward, thinking about what he had done. Sometimes he stopped to have sex with the bodies.

The following are excerpts of Ridgway's confession to authorities:

I killed most of them in my house near Military Road, and I killed a lot of them in my truck, not far from where I picked them up ... I killed some of them outside. I remember leaving each woman's body in the place where she was found. ... In most cases when I killed these women I did not know their names. Most of the time I killed them the first time I met them and I do not have a good memory of their faces. I killed so many women I have a hard time keeping them straight.... I picked prostitutes as my victims because I hate most prostitutes and I did not want to pay them for sex. I also picked prostitutes as victims because they were easy to pick up without being noticed. I knew they would not be reported missing right away and might never be reported missing. I picked prostitutes because I thought I could kill as many of them as I wanted without getting caught.... I liked to drive by the [body] clusters around the county and think about the women I placed there. I usually used a landmark to remember a cluster and the women I placed there. Sometimes I killed and dumped a woman intending to start a new cluster and never returned because I thought I might get caught putting more women there....

Ridgway, in response to a detective asking him to rank himself on a scale of 1–5, with 5 "being the worst possible evil person that could have done this kind of thing," viewed himself as a 3 because, in his words, "*for one thing, ah, I killed 'em, I didn't torture 'em. They went fast.*"

One interesting fact about Ridgway is that he became a prime suspect in the 1980s but still continued to murder over the next 15 years. He confessed to murders occurring in 1990 and 1998 but may have killed several others during that timeframe. In addition, he claimed responsibility for four sets of unidentified remains. Ridgway did not enter pleas to seven deaths previously attributed to the Green River Killer, though he remains a suspect in those deaths.

is usually a compulsive act specifically for gratification based on fantasies. The key element is that the series of murders do not share in the events surrounding one another. Victims share in common characteristics of what are perceived to be prestigeless, powerless, and/or lower socioeconomic groups (that is, vagrants, prostitutes, migrant workers, homosexuals, missing children, and single and often elderly women). (p. 351)

But is this definition too restrictive? For those in law enforcement, serial killing generally means the sexual attack and murder of young women, men, and children by a male who follows a pattern, either physical or psychological. However, this definition fails to include many offenders and victims. Consider the BTK Strangler (BTK meaning bind, torture, and kill) serial killer of the mid-1970s who killed all of his victims in a 3.5-mile radius in Wichita, Kansas. He first killed a family and then went on to kill young women. This change in victim selection seems at odds with general characteristics of serial killers. The BTK Strangler resurfaced in 2004 and disclosed evidence that he had continued killing into the 1980s and beyond. Like the Zodiac Killer, the BTK enjoyed taunting police. The fact that Robert Beattie, a lawyer, was writing a book on the BTK Strangler when the killer suddenly resurfaced further supported the notion of this killer's need for recognition. Another example took place in 1988 in Sacramento, California, where several bodies of older or handicapped adults were exhumed from the backyard of a house where they were supposed to have been living. Investigators discovered that the victims had been killed for their social security checks. It was apparent that the killer had premeditated the murders, had selected the victims, and had killed at least six over a period of several months. Most law enforcement agencies would naturally classify this case as a serial killing—except for the fact that the killer was female. Because of rather narrow definitions of serial killing, females are generally not classified as serial killers even though they meet the requirements for such a label. One explanation may simply be that we rarely, if ever, hear of a female “Jack the Ripper.” Women who kill serially generally use poisons to dispose of their victims and are not associated with the sexual attacks, tortures, and violence of their male counterparts (see Chapters 6 and 9).

Redefining Serial Murder

To include all types of serial killers, the definition of serial murder must clearly be as broad as possible. For instance, Hickey (1986), by simply including all offenders who through premeditation killed three or more victims over a period of days, weeks, months, or years, was able to identify several women as serial killers. However, there exists such confusion in defining serial killing that findings can also easily be distorted. In addition, current research presents some narrow operational definitions of serial murder without any documented assurances that the focus does not exclude pertinent data. To suggest, for example, that all victims of serial murder are strangers, that the killers operate primarily in pairs, or that they do not kill for financial gain is derived more from speculation than verifiable evidence, given the current state of serial-murder research.

In essence, *serial murderers* should include any offenders, male or female, who kill over time. Most researchers now agree that serial killers have a minimum of two victims (FBI, 2008). Usually there is a pattern in their killing that can be associated with the types of victims selected or the method or motives for the killing. This includes murderers who, on a repeated basis, kill within the confines of their own home, such as a woman who poisons several husbands, children, or elderly people in order to collect insurance. In addition, serial murderers include those men and women who operate within the confines of a city or a state or even travel through several states as they seek out victims. Consequently, some victims have a personal relationship with their killers and others do not, and some victims are killed for pleasure and some merely for gain. Of greatest importance from a research perspective is the linkage of common factors among the victims—for example, as Egger (1985) observed, the “victims’ place or status within their immediate surroundings” (p. 3). Commonality among those murdered may include several factors, any of which can prove heuristic in better understanding victimization.

San Antonio Symposium

To that end the Federal Bureau of Investigation’s Behavioral Analysis Unit at the National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime hosted a symposium in San Antonio, Texas, in 2006 and invited 150 experts in the fields of psychiatry, forensic psychology, law, criminal investigation, and behavioral analysis. One of the general purposes of the symposium was to create a definition of serial murder that could be used by all people who investigate and research multiple homicides, specifically serial murder. Federal law passed by the United States Congress titled Protection of Children from Sexual Predator Act of 1998 (Title 18, United States Code, Chapter 51, and Section 1111) defines serial murder:

The term “serial killings” means a series of three or more killings not less than one of which was committed in the United States, having common characteristics such as to suggest a reasonable possibility that the crimes were committed by the same actor or actors.

The definition was to establish criteria when the FBI could be involved in assisting local law enforcement agencies in their investigations of serial murder and was not intended to be a general definition for serial murder. Those attending the San Antonio symposium created a general definition of serial murder that would include specific factors including the requirements of one or more offenders, two or more murdered victims, the killings should be occurring in separate events at different times, and the time period between murders separates serial murder from mass murder. As a result the following definition for serial murder was crafted: ***the unlawful killing of two or more victims by the same offenders in separate events*** (FBI, 2008, p. 12).

This broad definition accomplishes two important tasks: It identifies the actual number of killings necessary to be considered as serial murder (two or

more) and allows for a variety of persons who commit multiple homicides over time to be included. Indeed, this definition can include persons who kill for altruistic purposes such as gang or organized crime hit men, persons motivated primarily for financial gain, domestic terrorists, persons who illegally euthanize the elderly and dying, etc. The group noted the following categories as the primary motivations of serial killers:

- Anger: defenders are motivated by rage or hate toward society or subgroups within American society
- Criminal enterprise: offenders commit serial murder to gain status or other tangible or intangible rewards such as drugs and/or organized crime activities
- Financial gain: the primary focus of the offender is monetary gain from the killings. This often involves “black widow” killings, serial robbery homicides, and multiple homicides insurance or welfare fraud
- Ideology: serial murder to promote the goals and philosophies of specific individuals or groups including racial/ethnic attacks and murders of specific gender groups
- Power thrill: persons who commit serial murder for excitement and empowerment
- Sexual: persons who kill repeatedly for sexual purposes in attempts to gain physical sexual gratification and/or fulfill sexual fantasies
- Psychosis: persons with serious mental illness that may include visual or auditory hallucinations, delusions, and/or paranoia (p. 24)

These findings significantly expand the public perception that serial killers are synonymous with sexual predators and opens the door for researchers to explore other categories of persons who kill serially, including women who repeatedly kill their newborns, healthcare professionals who prey on patients, and serial arsonists who are willing to kill people for financial gain. Indeed, criminologist Gwenn Nettler noted that there are many roads, many whys, and many contingencies in understanding criminal behavior.

TYPOLOGIES OF SERIAL MURDER

Much of our information and misinformation about criminal offenders is based on taxonomies, or classification systems. Megargee and Bohn (1979) noted that researchers usually created typologies based on the criminal offense. This invariably became problematic because often the offense comprised one or more subgroups. Researchers then examined repetitive crime patterns, which in turn created new complexities and problems. Megargee and Bohn further noted that, depending on the authority one chooses to read, one will find between 2 and 11 different types of murderers (pp. 29–32).

Although serial murder is believed to represent a relatively small portion of all homicides in the United States, researchers are engaged in the task of

classifying serial killers. Consequently, various typologies of serial killers and patterns of homicides have emerged. Not surprisingly, some of these typologies and patterns conflict with one another. Some are descriptions of causation, whereas others are diagnostic in nature. In addition, some researchers focus primarily on individual case studies of serial killers, whereas others create group taxonomies that accommodate several kinds of murderers.

Wille (1974) identified 10 different types of murderers covering a broad range of bio-socio-psychological categories: Depressive; Psychotic; Afflicted with organic brain disorder; Psychopathic; Passive aggressive; Alcoholic; Hysterical; Juvenile (a child is the killer); Mentally retarded; and Sex killers. Lee (1988) also created a variety of labels to differentiate killers according to motive, including Profit; Passion; Hatred; Power or Domination; Revenge; Opportunism; Fear; Contract killing; Desperation; Compassion; and Ritual killers.

Even before American society became aware, in the early 1980s, of serial murder as anything more than an anomaly, researchers had begun to classify multiple killers and assign particular characteristics and labels to them. Guttmacher (1973) described sadistic serial murderers as those who derive sexual gratification from killing and who often establish a pattern, such as the manner in which they kill or the types of victims they select, such as prostitutes, children, or the elderly. Motivated by fantasies, the offender appears to derive pleasure from dehumanizing his or her victims. Lunde (1976) recognized and noted distinctions between the mass killer and the serial killer, notably that the mass killer appears to suffer from psychosis and should be considered insane. In contrast, he found little evidence of mental illness among serial killers. Danto (1982) noted that most serial murderers might be described as obsessive-compulsive because they normally kill according to a particular style and pattern.

Researchers create profiles of the “typical” serial killer from the accumulating data on offenders and victims in the United States. The most stereotypic of all serial murderers are those who in some way are involved sexually with their victims. It is this type of killer who generates such public interest and alarm. Stories of young women being abducted, raped, tortured, and strangled appear more and more frequently in the newspapers.

Holmes and DeBurger (1988, pp. 55–60) have characterized four types of serial murderers and examined the motives reported to have influenced the offenders. The formation of these typologies is based on specific assumptions about the phenomenon of serial killers. These assumptions include the belief that such crimes are nearly always psychogenic, meaning that such behavior is usually stimulated not by insanity or economic circumstances but by “behavioral rewards and penalties.” The “patterns of learning” are related to “significant others” who in some way reinforce homicidal behavior. A second assumption involves an “intrinsic locus of motives,” whereby motives are explained as something only the offender can appreciate because they exist entirely in his or her own mind. Most “normal” people have great difficulty in fathoming why someone would want to kill other people. However, in the mind of the killer the motivations are often very meaningful. In a final assumption, Holmes and DeBurger explain that the reward for killing is generally psychological even though some killers may benefit

materially from their crimes. According to these “core characteristics,” Holmes and DeBurger (1988) identify the following four types of serial killers:

1. **Visionary Type**—such murderers kill in response to the commands of voices or visions usually emanating from the forces of good or evil. These offenders are often believed to be suffering from some form of psychosis.
2. **Mission-Oriented Type**—these offenders believe it is their mission in life to rid the community or society of certain groups of people. Some killers may target the elderly, whereas others may seek out prostitutes, children, or a particular racial/ethnic group.
3. **Hedonistic Type**—offenders in this category are usually stereotyped as “thrill seekers,” those who derive some form of satisfaction from the murders. Holmes and DeBurger also identified subcategories in this typology, including those who kill for “creature comforts” or “pleasure of life.” This would include individuals such as Dorothea Montalvo Puenta of Sacramento, California, who was arrested in November 1988 for allegedly poisoning to death at least seven destitute elderly victims in order to cash their social security checks. Another subcategory Holmes and DeBurger refer to is “lust murderers,” which includes offenders who become sexually involved with the victims and often perform postmortem mutilations.
4. **Power/Control-Oriented Type**—in this typology Holmes and DeBurger contend that the primary source of pleasure is not sexual, but the killer’s ability to control and exert power over his helpless victim. Some offenders enjoy watching their victims cower, cringe, and beg for mercy. In one case an offender killed his young victims only after he had been able to break their will to survive. Once the victim had acquiesced, the offender would complete his task and slaughter him or her.

These general classifications of serial killers are useful in organizing existing data. Such motivational taxonomies help us to understand why certain offenders take the lives of their victims. Levin and Fox (1985) have also constructed types of serial murders including sexual or sadistic killings that appear to mirror Holmes and DeBurger’s subcategory of “lust murders.” Another typology similar to Holmes and DeBurger’s hedonistic subtypes is described by Levin and Fox as murders of expediency or for profit (1985, pp. 99–105). Their third typology identifies “family slayings” as a major category of murder. This type does not appear to be particularly consistent with their prior two categories, which are constructed from motivational dynamics.

Although family killers could be motivated by sadism or expediency, with few exceptions they are generally blood related to their victims and kill them all in a relatively short period of time. However, the noting of this inconsistency should not be viewed as a criticism of Levin and Fox’s work.*

*In the data set constructed by Levin and Fox, 33 cases are identified involving 42 offenders, including those who had been involved in simultaneous incidents of murder and cases of serial killing. Little differentiation is noted between simultaneous and serial murder.

PROFILE 1.8 Elias Abuelazam, the Serial Stabber, 2010

Elias Abuelazam, 34, a Christian Arab and naturalized U.S. citizen, was arrested while boarding an Israeli flight to Tel Aviv in Atlanta, Georgia. He was charged with 18 attacks on men in Ohio, Michigan, and Virginia. Fourteen of the attacks occurred in the Flint, Michigan, area. Five of the Michigan victims died from their stab wounds. Witnesses reported a man getting out of a van, walking up to men on the street, asking for help or directions, and then stabbing them before fleeing. Most of the victims were African American or had darker skin, but race has yet to be determined as a motive in this case. Abuelazam had been detained on two prior occasions for the stabbings but had been released as police determined that he was not their suspect. Since his arrest for the murders police have announced that Abuelazam also has a 2007 arrest warrant for a “family based assault.”

Instead we are obliged to recognize the need for other typologies that may not be constructed solely on the basis of apparent motivations.

The FBI, through application of early profiling techniques, identified the characteristics of “organized” and “disorganized” murders (Ressler et al., 1988). Using information gathered at the scene of the crime and examining the nature of the crime itself, agents constructed profiles of the offenders, which in turn were categorized as “organized” or “disorganized.” For example, an organized murderer is often profiled as having good intelligence and being socially competent, whereas the disorganized offender is viewed as being of average intelligence and socially immature. Similarly, some crime investigators often find that organized offenders plan their murders, target strangers, and demand victims to be submissive, whereas disorganized killers may know their victims, inflict sudden violence on them, and spontaneously carry out their killings (Ressler et al., 1988, pp. 121–123).

More specifically, organized killers profiled as lust murderers (an offender sexually involved with his victim) by the FBI possess many of the following personal characteristics:

1. Highly intelligent
2. High birth-order status
3. Masculine image
4. Charismatic
5. Socially capable
6. Sexually capable
7. Occupationally mobile
8. Lives with partner
9. Geographically mobile
10. Experienced harsh discipline
11. Controlled emotions during crime

12. High interest in media response to crime
13. Model inmate

The organized lust killer also exhibits fairly predictable behaviors after the crime, including a return to the crime scene, a need to volunteer information, enjoying being friendly with police, expecting to be interrogated by investigators, sometimes moving the victim's body to a new location, or exposing the body to draw attention to the crime.

The disorganized offender is characterized as follows:

1. Below-average intelligence
2. Low birth-order status
3. Socially immature
4. Seldom dates
5. High school dropout
6. Father often under- or unemployed
7. Lives alone
8. Has secret hiding places
9. Nocturnal
10. Lives/works near crime scene
11. Engages in unskilled work
12. Significant behavioral changes
13. Low interest in media attention
14. Limited alcohol consumption
15. High anxiety during crime

According to the FBI, the disorganized lust killer also exhibits a variety of predictable behaviors following a murder, including returning to the crime scene, possibly attending the funeral or burial of victim, keeping a diary, changing employment, becoming religious, experiencing changes in personality, and submitting personal advertisements in newspapers regarding his victims (FBI, 1985). Although such profiles were helpful in understanding offender behavior, the *organized-disorganized* dichotomy has proven to be a stepping-stone to more advanced profiling techniques as researchers delve inside the minds of serial murderers. To understand such offenders can help to curb their behavior both through efforts of law enforcement and most importantly by addressing the etiological roots of the crimes.

In the quest to comprehend why serial murderers treat the lives of others so callously, research usually focuses on the perceived overt motivations of the offenders. Did they kill for money? Thrills? Were they focusing on hatred, revenge, sexual pleasures, or other likely motivations? We erroneously assume that if we stare long and intently enough at a perceived motivation for homicidal behavior we will be able to comprehend the dynamics of its etiology. What we

A	Specific victims Specific methods	Variety of victims Specific methods	B
C	Specific victims Variety of methods	Variety of victims Variety of methods	D

FIGURE 1.1 Factors for Constructing Typologies
 SOURCE: © Cengage Learning, 2013.

must not forget is that the amount of research to date in the area of multiple homicide is limited. Recognizing this handicap, researchers, whether they are involved with the technical forensics of a case or responsible for classifying or typing offenders, must be willing to explore other factors that may contribute to motivations or to the construction of typologies. To say a serial killer murdered as a result of greed, hatred, or fantasy may easily obscure other important variables. For example, the types of victims or the methods used to kill may point to other reasons why the murders occurred.

Figure 1.1 illustrates just one of the many possible combinations of factors that may assist researchers in the construction of typologies. Because we have only begun to explore serial murder in an organized manner, we may find that matching variables may generate new ways of conceptualizing offenders' behavior or victimization patterns. In Figure 1.1, each cell refers to victims and methods of killing victims. Ted Bundy, for example, sought out young, attractive females whom he bludgeoned and tortured to death. He was particularly specific in both victim selection and method of killing. David Bullock of New York was suspected in 1982 of killing at least six victims, including a prostitute, his roommate, and several strangers, by shooting each one. In this case the killer sought out a variety of victims but used a specific method to kill them. In the case of Richard Cottingham, also known as "The Ripper," the killer hunted prostitutes in New Jersey and New York. Even though he went after specific targets, he varied his methods of killing. Finally, Herbert Mullin, of California, is believed to have killed 13 victims, including campers, hitchhikers, friends, and people in their homes, using a variety of methods. Why is it that some offenders have no specific victims as targets whereas others are extremely particular in whom they choose to murder? And why do some offenders always follow a ritualistic pattern of killing but others use different methods of killing their victims?

Some serial killers such as Ted Bundy always go hunting for their victims and, once they find a suitable person, kill and dispose of the body in remote areas. Conversely, some serial killers wait at home for their victims to walk into their traps, similar to the spider awaiting the fly. In some cases the victims are killed and buried

on the offender's property. John Wayne Gacy is believed to have killed 33 young males, most of whom became buried trophies under the offender's home. In other cases offenders advertise in the newspapers for offers of employment, marriage, and so on, waiting for unsuspecting victims to ring their doorbell. Each of these modus operandi may be useful in generating particular typologies of serial killers.

Hickey (1986), in noting specific variations in the degree of mobility exercised by offenders, has delineated three distinct groups of offenders: (1) traveling serial killers, who often cover many thousands of miles each year, murdering victims in several states as they go; (2) local serial killers, who never leave the state in which they start killing in order to find additional victims (Wayne Williams, for example, operated in several different law enforcement jurisdictions in and around Atlanta, Georgia, but never had a need to move elsewhere); and (3) serial killers who never leave their homes or places of employment, whose victims already reside in the same physical structure or are lured each time to the same location. These "place-specific" killers include nurses (male and female), housewives, offenders who are self-employed, and other individuals or accomplices who prefer to stay at home rather than go out hunting for victims.

Each new typology raises the issues of motivation and etiology. We may find sometimes that typologies overlap one another or that one generates more explanations and understanding than do others. For the present, researchers continue to examine the phenomenon of serial killing from a multitude of perspectives. Different perspectives will continue to generate a variety of typologies and operational definitions of serial murder. Which typologies seem the most appropriate depends on who is applying them. What is important to remember is that the limited research done so far on serial murder leaves considerable room for new ideas.

METHODOLOGY USED IN THIS BOOK

The data for the present study were gathered through biographical case study analysis of serial murderers and their victims. Given the 200-plus-year time frame of this study and general limited accessibility of many offenders, the author interviewed several serial killers, reviewed cold case files, and completed close retrospective examinations of all serial murder cases. This form of analysis is commonly employed in examining the lives of serial killers. As Glaser and Strauss (1967) have convincingly argued, there are systematic methods in conducting qualitative research that may point toward theoretical explanations for social behavior. Their notion of "grounded" theory as a methodology includes what they refer to in their work as *constant comparisons*. By examining different groups or individuals experiencing the same process, we learn to identify structural uniformities. Grounded theory stresses a systematic, qualitative field method for research. The present study is based on cases of serial murder within the time-frame of 1800–2011. The cases were identified through as many avenues as possible, including interviews, newspapers, journals, bibliographies, biographies,

computer searches of social science abstracts, and, of course, the data set from the first edition of this book, until the process became repetitive or redundant and new information ceased to be found.

Unfortunately, one can never be sure of the precise moment that data collection should be halted. Depending on one's range of definitions for serial murder, one technically could include in one's research killings committed by individuals who work as enforcers within the realm of organized crime, political and/or religious terrorists who kill repeatedly, and members of street gangs. One might also include those who repeatedly tamper with food and medicinal products, bringing death to persons who ingest them; those who practice euthanasia; or—based on a certain ideological perspective—those who carry out abortions in clinics. From a historical perspective one might also include the gunslingers of the Old West who frequently killed in order to promote themselves and their lifestyles.

Although each of these typologies and perspectives might be worth attention, this study excluded them from its overall operational definition of serial murder. Instead, only cases appearing in a text or a news report in which an offender had been charged with killing two or more individuals over a period of days, weeks, months, or years were included. In addition, patterns of conduct and victim-offender relationships were examined to determine offenders' motivations for homicide.

A few exceptional cases were also included in which offenders were reported to have killed only one victim but were suspect in other slayings or in which evidence indicated their intent to kill others. To justify inclusion, the homicides had to be deliberate, premeditated acts whereby the offender selected his or her own victims and acted under his or her own volition. Often a distinct pattern emerged in the method of killing or in the apparent motives for the murders. Usually the murders were to some degree motivated by sex, money, vengeance, hatred, or an unidentifiable impulse to kill. Each case was analyzed for specific data, including the timeframe and the geographic locations of the criminal behavior, the number of victims, the relationship of victim to offender, age and gender of particular victims, and the degree of victim facilitation (responsibility of the victim for his or her own death). Critics of this research point out the impossibility of identifying all serial murderers, thereby leaving open to question the accuracy of general profiles constructed in this study. Indeed, we can never know for sure the actual number of serial killers, but given their notoriety the chances of society not being alerted to them are few. In addition, each time this study is replicated with similar results more strength is added to the constructed profiles. As Dr. John R. Fuller, a noted criminologist, observes, one of the greatest strengths of this research is the cases themselves. Each case, properly investigated, can provide a treasure trove of information that helps researchers and investigators understand the minds and behaviors of serial killers.

This sixth edition of *Serial Murderers and Their Victims* provides more scientific analysis of offender behavior and updated coverage of serial-murder cases. Spanning the timeframe between 1800 and 2011, the data represent the approximate number of victims of over 100 female offenders and over 550 male

offenders in the United States. These offenders total nearly 650 serial killers and represent over 500 cases (some cases were team killers and had more than one offender). They are responsible for a minimum range of 3,500 homicides to a maximum of 5,650 homicides. This victim range is specified because a few serial murderers killed so many people that only close approximations of the actual number can be ascertained. Difficulty occurs in accurately determining the number of victims of serial murderers, especially when one is dealing with a few offenders who have allegedly killed over a hundred people. Indeed, the majority of these particular cases occurred in the 19th century, when record keeping was not as accurate or efficient as it is today. Often data sources are not consistent in reporting figures for these “super” serial killers. In addition, some of the data on victims may have been exaggerated because of the sensational nature of the crimes. Consequently, the killers in these cases were excluded from our study, as were the killers in unsolved cases of homicide in which serial murder was suspected. Although the data do not represent an exhaustive study of serial murderers, they do form one of the largest and most varied assortments of multiple killers ever studied.

The sixth edition of this text offers much more insight into serial murder through greater exploration of the bifurcation of mass murderers and expanded classifications of murder in Chapter 1. Serial killer cult cases are examined in Chapter 2 and psychotic serial killers in Chapter 3, including two cases of persons deemed insane while they carried out their murders. In Chapter 4 we examine juvenile school shooters and serial killers who began their murders as teenagers. In Chapter 5 we explore the female sex offenders as predators, and pedophile priests/pastors. Chapter 6 introduces readers to serial killers who work in the health care industry as nurses, orderlies and doctors to and prey upon unsuspecting victims. Chapter 7 also examines highway predators who abduct victims in one state, kill them in another, and deposit their bodies along interstates. Chapter 8 examines serial killers who kill in teams of two or more and how they operate as teams to stalk and kill their victims. Updates on female serial killers are provided in Chapter 9 as well as updates of victimization in Chapter 10. Some new and fascinating cases of international multiple homicides including Anders B. Breivik of Norway, Col. Russell Williams of Canada and Muti murders in South Africa are found in Chapter 11. Finally current issues in profiling, a discussion of the gravity scale, ongoing investigations of cold case files, and an analysis of the frog boys case in South Korea complete the revision of the concluding Chapter 12. Several new cases have been selected for this new sixth edition involving sexual predators and paraphilia including The Banana Man. Also, new cases of serial murder have been included: Jerry Marcus, Anthony Sowell, Russell Williams, Elias Abuelazam (Profile 1.8), and Loren Herzog, and as well as new profiles of mass murderers: Marcus Wesson, Nidal Hasan, and Amy Bishop. More discussion again is presented exploring psychopathy and the *DSM* and the need for more research into neurobiology and its role in violent behavior.

A 2011 summary interview by your author with a recently discovered cold case serial killer, Larry Hall, is included in Chapter 12, as well as the cold case file

of Joseph Naso, the Alphabet Killer is documented in Chapter 11. These additions will assist readers in understanding why serial sexual predators are victim selective and how some are able to kill for several years without detection. Updates of current literature and research have been added throughout the sixth edition. Finally, 2011 updates are provided for some tables, charts, and graphs.

In tandem with the increasing number of serial-murder typologies is the expanding literature that attempts to sort out and explain why such a phenomenon occurs with such regularity. The next three chapters examine a plethora of literature, including medical, biological, psychological, cultural, sociological, structural, philosophical, religious, and environmental perspectives.