

Serial Killers: Evolution, Antisocial Personality Disorder and
Psychological Interventions

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	2
Abstract.....	4
Introduction.....	5
The Serial Killer Phenomena.....	6
The Landscapes of the Serial Killer.....	9
Clinical Aspects of Serial Killers.....	12
Defining Antisocial Personality Disorder: What is Evil?.....	20
Media and Culture.....	31
Case Studies.....	36
Jack the Ripper.....	36
Ed Gein.....	42
Jeffery Dahmer.....	45
Adolfo Constanzo.....	48
Richard Ramirez.....	50
Charles Manson and the Manson Family.....	54
Harold Shipman.....	60
Ted Bundy.....	63
John Wayne Gacy.....	67
David Berkowitz, “Son of Sam”.....	71
Aileen Wuornos.....	74
Tying it all Together.....	77
References.....	79

Abstract

Serial killers as a phenomenon have been a part of American history for generations.

There are many theories as to why people go on to become murderers, such as various mental disorders with the most prevalent disorder believed to be linked to serial killers being antisocial personality disorder.

There are many different ways to test adolescents and young adults for antisocial personality disorder and other personality disorders as well as different ways to intervene.

Throughout this paper, I will explain the different types of testing that can be done in order to determine whether or not someone has or is at risk for antisocial personality disorder and some intervention strategies. The last portion of my paper is case studies of some known and not so well known serial killers and their short biographies. Included in their case studies are their histories growing up and how they evolved into the murderers that they became and what the consequences of their actions were.

Serial Killers: Evolution, Antisocial Personality Disorder and Psychological Interventions

In 1960, at the beginning of the Cold War, Alfred Hitchcock tapped into the American psyche and fear of the psychopath as the dominant threat to American security with the release of the film “Psycho” (Genter, 2010). It is believed that “Psycho” was the most visible document to issue a warning about deviant behavior lurking within each individual.

The National Mental Health Study Act of 1955 established the Joint Commission on Mental Illness and Health in order to collect data on the psycho-therapeutic profession. Through their study they were able to determine that despite differences in class position or education level that most Americans felt “a persistent undercurrent of isolation” and a sense of helplessness in the face of events” (Genter, 2010). And so by the time that “Psycho” premiered in 1960, the image of the psychopath had already infiltrated the American imagination.

The concept of the psychopathic personality however originated in the early nineteenth century with the research of J. C. Prichard, who formulated the notion of “moral insanity” to refer to a number of mental deficiencies that led to violent or undesired behaviors. According to Prichard’s findings “certain individuals lacked the “natural feelings” of respect and responsibility and therefore lacked the ability to restrain themselves from socially unacceptable behavior” (Genter, 2010).

In general, by the 1950’s the “psychopath was characterized by stunted psychological development that produced sexually chaotic behavior, including excessive masturbation and homosexuality, and by morally deficient behavior ranging from petty crimes to excessive violence” (Genter, 2010 p. 140). The distinction of the psychopath

from the ordinary criminal was due to the lack of guilt and failure to have a definable reason for committing crimes.

The Serial Killer Phenomena

“People say evil is like pornography, they know it when they see it, but can debate whether or when it is harmful,” states Dr. Michael Welner, a forensic psychologist who is quoted by the researcher Richard Whittington-Egan in his article titled, “The Serial Killer Phenomena.” But, throughout time, there seems to be an agreement about what evil is.

In talking about what constitutes evil it leads to the discussion of what is a serial killer and how do they differ from a mass murderer? A mass murderer is defined as someone who kills numbers of people for any one or number of the normally recognized classic motives (i.e. greed, power, revenge, etc.), whereas the serial killer kills primarily for compulsive sexual reasons (Whittington-Egan, 2008). The term “serial killer” however was not coined until the 1970s by FBI agent Robert K. Ressler in an attempt to label those who have committed multiple murders. The most general definition of a serial killer is that of one who has murdered a minimum of three to four people over a period of time with a cooling off period between each one of varying length.

Most serial killers can be defined as a Caucasian male, between the ages of 18 and 32 and are usually heterosexual. There have been few exceptions to this definition such as John Wayne Gacy, who was bisexual, and Jeffery Dahmer and William Bonin who were homosexual. Additionally there have been a few female serial killers and some who have eluded capture for several decades, such as the B.T.K. killer, Dennis Rader who was 59 years old at the time of his capture (Whittington-Egan, 2008.)

In looking at serial killers in general, they, as a group can be broken into two basic groups—the psychotics—those who are genuinely insane and are the minority among serial killers. They often hear voices or see visions and have difficulty perceiving reality from fiction and murder is a symptom of their illness (Wittington-Egan, 2008).

The second group that they can be broken into is the psychopaths, also known as sociopaths—these killers are sane. They know right from wrong but do not care and often lack conscience and empathy. They feel no guilt or remorse over their actions and kill because they want to; they like it.

Dr. Joel Morris, psychologist, who is a founding member of the International Committee of Neuroscientists to Study Episodic Aggression, has distinguished seven different phases of serial killer activity.

Stage one is titled the aura stage. This stage includes day dreams and fantasies about committing the murder and carrying out the crime.

The second stage is known as the trolling stage. This is the time in which the killer goes out to find their potential victim and essentially hunts them and makes initial contact with them.

The third stage of the serial killer's activity is known as the wooing stage. This is the point in which, after trolling and hunting out their "prey" they lure the victim into their clutches. The Fourth stage after that is the actual capture of their victim.

The fifth stage is the actual act of murder itself. The sixth stage of the killer's activity after the kill is known as totem, which is when the killer collects trophies or souvenirs of the murder. They take something to remind them of the person that they

killed or the circumstances surrounding the crime itself—an article of clothing or jewelry from the victim or something from the scene.

Finally, the seventh and final stage of the serial killer's activity is known as the depression stage, the post-homicidal deflation. They have finished what they have set out to do and now are drained of whatever energy had compelled them to commit the murder in the first place (Wittington-Egan, 2008).

Common among serial killers' character is being a loner, having difficulty in relationships, and also exhibit psychopathic lack of empathy, conscience or remorse. Moreover, their dominant characteristic tends to be arrogance (Wittington-Egan, 2008).

A significant characteristic among serial killers is their fascination with police and law enforcement. They often study police and FBI and when asked what profession they would like, many choose law enforcement. Some may have in fact tried to become police officers but did not make it—a lot end up as security guards (Wittington-Egan, 2008).

Science has been trying to discover if there is any way to predict who will become a serial killer and who will not. One theory that is being tested but does not seem to be widely accepted is the theory of chromosomal imbalance—that is, the presence of an extra male 'Y' chromosome in the genes. It is thought that this could be the culprit for some people being more violent than others and therefore, it may explain why some people become serial killers. However, it is still unclear as to how or why this would be the case. This theory is still widely discounted. However, serial killers held in prison or asylums are studied extensively. They are interviewed by experts for hours on end and every detail of their childhood traumas are recorded as well as their memories and

feelings of how they felt when they were committing their last crimes. In America, their brains are scanned before and after death for physical and physiological clues to their behaviors. It is still not known what their findings may reveal about their subjects (Wittington-Egan, 2008).

The Landscapes of the Serial Killer

Serial murder and serial killers is an old phenomenon. In European countries stories of witches, werewolves and vampires may have been used to explain criminal behavior that was so hideous that standard interpretations seemed inadequate. Few such stories exist in America, and even rarer still are such stories outside of Puritan New England (Warf & Waddell, 2002).

With most data available on the number of serial killers and their victims to be based on anecdotal and case study evidence their exact number can only be estimated. This is due in part to the fact that the study of serial killers is a relatively new branch of forensics; the National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime, which is the centralized information center for the US law enforcement, was established in 1984 (Warf & Waddell, 2002).

Due to the poor data collection, generalizations about serial killers have to be viewed with caution. Conservative estimates of the total number of serial killers who have terrorized the US in the twentieth century range between 100 and 200, and this counts all participants in pairs, trios and groups.

As one would think, most serial killers are not technically insane. Insanity, in and of itself, is a legally specific term that addresses only the question of whether or not the killer knew at the time of the murder that the act wrong—most serial killers know that

their actions are wrong. The majority of serial killers, around two-thirds, however are clinically diagnosed using the DSM-IV and are said to be suffering from a Personality Disorder Cluster Type B, which is typically antisocial, borderline, histrionic, or narcissistic behavior. Additionally, people diagnosed with this type of personality disorder are emotionally unstable, prone to a grandiose view of themselves and their abilities, lack empathy and any sense of shame and are usually superficially charming, exploitive, and manipulative. The remaining 30 percent of serial killers have one or more psychoses such as schizophrenia (Warf & Waddell, 2002).

Frequently, serial killers are categorized by law enforcement as 'organized' or 'disorganized.' These terms not only help to summarize their behaviors but also serve as a descriptor for the two opposites in the mental illness continuum. Organized killers often appear outwardly as socially normal and typically plan their kills in advance. They have a means of transportation and take a murder kit with them containing tools that they need in order to commit the crime. They go to public places to find their victims who include prostitutes, the homeless, and teenagers, students on campuses or people in bars at night spots. Usually, their victims fit a specific profile that has a meaning only to them and they tend to be of the same race or ethnicity as they are. In contrast, disorganized serial killers often have advanced psychosis and lack impulse control. They do not plan their kills in advance. They usually use whatever means of murder are handy at the time of the kill and are less choosy about the physical characteristics of their victims.

Disorganized killers often have no means of transportation because they are usually incapable of holding a paying job for any length of time. Once it has been determined by law enforcement that the killer is disorganized, they can narrow their search for the

suspect within a mile or two of the murder scene because they would have escaped on foot and will live near the site. The police can also limit their suspect list to those who are only marginally employed (Warf & Waddell, 2002).

The distinction between the two types of killers, the organized and disorganized can become blurred if an organized killer is not caught. This allows their psychosis to become stronger and may lead them to become more disorganized as his need to kill increases and therefore his spatial behavior changes as well—his kills start becoming closer and closer to where he lives as time goes on (Warf & Waddell, 2002).

In looking at the overall population of violent criminals, the vast majority of them have been males. The overwhelming majority, 98 percent of known serial murderers have been men.

Warf & Waddell, 2002, stated “The idea that a woman could be capable of killing flies in the face of deeply patriarchal notions of women’s ostensibly ‘natural’ compassion and tenderness.” Therefore, women who do kill go against what is considered to be normal and natural among women. When female serial killers do strike, however, they tend to kill at home, by targeting their family members or they strike at care giving facilities.

Overall, serial killers tend to be white males, usually between the ages of 18 and 35 years of age and prey upon white female victims. There has not been any research into the reasons for this pattern, but it is believed that this is the usual pattern due to family dynamics and racial notions of sexuality and emotional bonds within white families that differ from ethnic minorities. Serial killers tend to only murder victims of

the same race or ethnicity—meaning that a young white male tends to kill only young white females (Warf & Waddell, 2002).

In contemporary social theory, the human body has come to symbolize various ideas and thoughts. It portrays many different meanings through cultural aspects such as art and even through political ideals such as women's rights and ethical standards of medical care. With serial killers, the human body is central in their quest for sadistic and sexual satisfaction. They strive for complete domination over the body and the mind of their victims. For some, such as Ted Bundy, who was a necrophiliac, the corpse of his victims was his goal, and the murder was the secondary goal. Other serial killers have similar goals in mind when they seek out their victims, some are looking simply to commit the murder itself while others are looking for sexual release and the murder is a part of their perversion (Warf & Waddell, 2002).

Clinical Aspects of Serial Killers

There is currently little known about what actually causes psychopathology and antisocial personality disorder. There has been however, a lot of attention paid to possible biological, social, psychological and environmental factors that may lead to psychopathy, but there are no definitive results to link their causation (Ogloff, 2006).

Early in mental health, the term psychopathy was the first personality disorder to be recognized in psychiatry. "Early on, the term psychopathy was used to refer to a range of personality disorders (psychopathic personalities) that were seen to be extreme forms of normal personality," as stated in the article by Ogloff. The term with the longest clinical tradition and that has been used the longest in psychology is psychopathy.

The American psychiatrist, Hervey Cleckley described the condition of psychopathy in his book, *Mask of Sanity*. In his book, he listed 16 different characteristics of psychopathy that he drew from his clinical experience.

1. Superficial charm and good intelligence.
2. Absence of delusions and other signs of irrational thinking.
3. Absence of 'nervousness' or psychoneurotic manifestations
4. Unreliability.
5. Untruthfulness and insincerity.
6. Lack of remorse and shame.
7. Inadequately motivated antisocial behavior.
8. Poor judgment and failure to learn from behavior.
9. Pathological egocentricity and incapacity to love.
10. General poverty in major effective reactions.
11. Specific loss of insight.
12. Unresponsiveness in general interpersonal relations.
13. Fantastic and uninviting behavior, with drink and sometimes without.
14. Suicide rarely carried out.
15. Sex life impersonal, trivial and poorly integrated.
16. Failure to follow any life plan. (as cited in Ogloff, 2006).

Throughout the evolution of the DSM and further research into personality disorders, it has been found that in order for someone to receive a diagnosis of antisocial personality disorder that there has to be evidence of some sort of conduct disorder before the age of 15. This means that the disorder has a long duration and its onset can be traced

back to adolescence in order to pin point whether there was a triggering episode for the individual.

Studies have found that patients who are released from psychiatric hospitals who have bipolar disorder or antisocial personality disorder were four times more likely to be violent after being discharged. Also, patients who have any other personality disorder are were found to be more than two times more likely to be more violent after being discharged from the hospital than those without a personality disorder (Gilbert & Daffern, 2011).

Personality disorders have been found to be central in determining violent recidivism in an offender. With a diagnosis of antisocial personality disorder, it is found that reconviction rates for attempted or completed murder, manslaughter, assault, robbery or rape were 3.7 times higher for people with this diagnosis than those without. Psychopathy has also been found to have strong correlation to violent recidivism (Gilbert & Daffern, 2011).

The General Aggression Model, GAM, draws on current theoretical approaches such as cognitive neoassociation and social learning and unifies them. The model then argues that aggressive acts rarely happen without the convergence of multiple sudden situational factors and predisposing personal characteristics and identifies the various constructs that operate in the current situation to initiate the aggression alongside those who exert an influence over a longer period of time (Gilbert & Daffern, 2011).

Through the GAM, aggressive behavior is then understood to be a result from a series of experiences that have prepared the individual to behave aggressively in different

situations. While intention to harm is the immediate goal in mind for the aggression, the ultimate goal may differ.

There have been two kinds of aggression-related schematic content proposed based on the GAM. The first, aggressive behavioral scripts, are acquired through observation of others, and serve to define situations and guide behavior. The process of using, and positive reinforcement of the aggressive scripts cause them to become firmly established as structures and as a consequence they become well-rehearsed and highly accessible to the individual. The second kind of schematic structure influencing aggression is the normative beliefs. These consist of cognitions about the perceived appropriateness of the behavior. These beliefs serve to guide the evaluation of social behavior and help to search out appropriate behavioral scripts in a given situation and filtering out aggression. The GAM was developed in order help explain the differences in aggressiveness and then may help to clarify the relationship between personality disorders and violence (Gilbert & Daffern, 2011).

Emotional dysfunction and maladaptive behavior that characterizes personality disorders is conceptualized as being maintained by maladaptive cognitive schema. The work of Young, Klosko, & Weishaar, 2003, proposes that personality pathology is initiated by rigid core beliefs called Early Maladaptive Schema (EMS). EMS develops early in life and is a relatively realistic adaptation to the environment around them and becomes elaborated upon throughout their lifetime. Young and colleagues suggest that dysfunctional behaviors develop in response to the presence of EMS (Gilbert & Daffern, 2011).

Along with the GAM, a range of EMS may be involved in aggression. Commonly, feelings of hostility and emotional pain underlie a large number of EMS which the GAM suggests are key activators of aggression-related knowledge structures. Additionally, EMS has been speculated to be a contributor to chronic aggressive behavior.

Currently, research into aggressive scripts is limited due to the lack of standardized measurements that are available for this purpose. Thus far, the presence of cognitive structures can only be inferred from self report and cognitive paradigms. Other forms of measurement have been used as well, including studying of offense narratives, self-report measures of aggressive scripts, and implicit association tasks (Gilbert & Daffern, 2011).

Theoretically, subjects who have been diagnosed with antisocial personality disorder will have a greater difficulty with tolerating distress than those without the diagnosis. In a study conducted by Sargeant, Daughters, Schuster, Curtin and Lejuez, a sample of 107 substance-dependent patients in an inner-city substance use residential treatment facility were each given a behavioral task to complete. With each participant, they were told that once they completed their task they would each receive a \$25 grocery store gift coupon for their participation and that their actual amount of reward would be based on the time in which they completed each task. Specific details of their task were purposefully kept vague in order to prevent other factors, such as reward sensitivity to influence the outcome of the experiment.

Each of the participants in the experiment were given the Psychopathic Personality Inventory (PPI), a 187 item self-report measure that assesses the primary

personality traits of psychopathy as they were described by Cleckley (1941).

Additionally, the participants were also asked to complete the Diagnostic Interview for DSM-IV Personality Disorders (DIPD-IV). The DID-IV tests for twelve different personality disorders, including the ten that appear in the DSM-IV, as well as depressive and passive-aggressive personality disorders. This assessment is what is used then for the study in order to determine which of the participants had antisocial personality disorder (Sargeant, et al., 2011).

For the actual experiment that the authors of the study, they utilized a modified version of the Paced Auditory Serial Addition Task (PASAT). For this task, a series of numbers were flashed on a computer screen and participants were asked to add the presented number to the previously presented number before the next number appears on the screen. The participants were told their score increased by one point with each correct answer and incorrect or omitted answers would not affect their score. The task itself consisted of three levels, each with increasing difficulty and decreasing of time (Sargeant, et al., 2011).

With analysis of the scores of the participants, it was clear that those participants with a diagnosis of antisocial personality disorder had a greater difficulty with the experimental task as it got harder and faster, adding to their distress and inability to tolerate it. This result goes along with previous research that has supported the same idea that those who exhibit signs of antisocial personality disorder or any other personality disorder have a greater disadvantage when it comes to tolerating stress and other situation that they feel are out of their control or that they feel distress about (Sargeant, et al., 2011).

Personality disorders, specifically those associated with antisocial behavior are controversial due to the constant changes in the Mental Health Act of England and Wales as well as the changes in the DSM. The first time criterion for antisocial behavior appeared in the DSM was in its third edition in 1980. Still, personality disorders have long been the focus of research and theorization among researchers and psychoanalysts (Pickersgill, 2009).

One of the lead researchers into antisocial personality disorders has been Adrian Raine of Richard Perry University who is a professor of criminology and psychiatry at the University of Pennsylvania, with a PhD in psychology from York. He has been researching antisocial personality disorder and behaviors since the 1980s and has focused on neurobiological correlates that affect the behaviors. He is known for his MRI studies that examine the volume of ‘grey matter’ in the prefrontal cortex of individuals shown to have antisocial personality disorder. This area of the brain is “associated with executive functioning which includes the ability to discriminate between conflicting thoughts, suppress urges and work towards a goal,” (Pickersgill, 2009).

Raine and his colleagues argue that those with antisocial personality disorder have a reduced volume of grey matter compared to those who do not meet the diagnosis of antisocial personality disorder. This suggests that this deficit may underlie some of the characteristics associated with the disorder (Pickersgill, 2009).

Other research into brain structural causes for antisocial personality disorder focuses on the amygdala. The amygdala is considered to play an important role in processing emotion. James Blair of the US National Institute of Mental Health is one of the more prominent researchers in this area. It is his assertion that antisocial personality

disorder is an emotional disorder and a dysfunctional amygdala is at the heart of the problem.

Another growing area of study into personality disorders and antisocial behaviors is molecular genetics, specifically something that is called ‘neurogenetics,’ which is the study of the roll of genes in the nervous system that includes the brain. A leader in this research is Essi Viding, a leader in Developmental Psychopathology at University College London and Research Associate in the Institute of Psychiatry. His work focuses on exploring the effects of the neurotransmitter serotonin in the brain (Pickersgill, 2009).

Throughout the research into the causes of antisocial personality disorder and psychopathy there is not a clear consensus regarding what causes these conditions. However, neuroscientists in this field of study do not necessarily exclude environmental factors that may contribute to these conditions as well (Pickersgill, 2009).

A well-developed theoretical model of behavior, developed by British psychologist, Hans Eysenck takes into account biological factors that influence temperament is the biosocial personality theory. This theory model takes into account three biological temperament source traits with socialization experiences and general intelligence. The three traits include Psychoticism (P), Extroversion (E), and Neuroticism (N) (Kemp & Center, 2000).

Using Eysenck’s model, one can predict that individuals with high P, E, and N run the greatest risk for development of antisocial behaviors. These risks are strengthened by poor socialization and below average intelligence which is associated with low academic achievement. The P trait is primarily associated with development of

antisocial behavior with elevations of the E and N being secondary (Kemp & Center, 2000).

Additionally, Eysenck added a fourth trait to his model of temperament theory. It is not a part of his original three personality traits, but can play a factor in the development of antisocial behavior in an individual as well. This fourth trait or variable is the Lie (L) Scale. The current interpretation of this measurement is to measure conformity to social expectations rather than a concealment measure (Kemp & Center, 2000).

Defining Antisocial Personality Disorder: What is Evil?

The FBI estimates that at any given time there is between 200 and 500 serial killers at large and they kill 3,500 people a year. Why are people so fascinated by serial killers? A theory posed by Robert I. Simon, is that he has a hunch that people are fascinated by serial killers because of their perceived resemblance to Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. Most serial killers tend to appear normal on the outside; they can be your neighbor, may hold down a job and pay taxes. From this false outward appearance of “Dr. Jekyll,” comes the dark side of humanity in the form of Mr. Hyde, the murderer (Simon, 2000).

An example of this outward normalcy that people talk about when it comes to serial killers was John Wayne Gacy. He was a building construction contractor, twice married and an active member in the community and joined the Jolly Joker Club where he created the character, Pogo the clown. Gacy himself even once said “A clown can get away with murder,” and he did so, by raping, sodomizing, torturing and strangling thirty-three young men over the course of ten years (Simon, 2000).

With such examples of people who seem outwardly normal, it causes people to actively wonder about the dark side of human behavior. Serial killers seem to be at the far end of the spectrum for what is considered to be normal human behavior. However, it still leads people to think to themselves, “I am human. Serial killers are human. Am I, like them, capable of monstrous deeds?” Most people conclude that they are not capable of such monstrous acts and conclude that the answer to this question is no (Simon, 2000).

Still, the question of what is evil remains. Evil is a complex concept to think about and even more complex to define. Psychiatrists and especially forensic psychiatrists struggle to figure out what evil truly is and how to define it in terms that people can understand.

“Evil is the intentional or gratuitous infliction of harm by individuals committed against other individuals, groups or other societies,” defines Simon. He excludes from his definition unintended or negligent acts that produce harm due to the idea that in order for evil to exist it has to be a conscious act rather than an accidental act. He then goes on to explain further about evil and its nature, “Evil is the exclusive province of human beings; it does not exist among animals.” According to his definition, Simon argues that humans are the only beings capable of evil and of harming one another.

Determining whether or not something is evil is a moral judgment which is influenced by subjectivity and context of the act itself. Society may label an act as evil which then leaves the psychiatrist to understand the act within the framework of mental illness and how it affects daily life.

Empathy is essential in development of relationships. Psychopaths may be able to sense what someone is thinking or feeling, but they do so in order to use it to their

advantage. They do not care whether their actions are causing pain or harm to the other person—they are only interested in getting what they want from their victim and will not think twice about taking the other person's life in order to get what they want or feel they deserve from them. Temporarily suspending empathy for another is essential for someone to intentionally harm others and is usually accomplished by dehumanization and devaluing the other person (Simon, 2000).

In looking at the different types of serial killers, in 1988, Holmes and DeBurger came up with a classification system that consists of five different types of sadistic lust-type killers. These types include visionary, mission-oriented, hedonistic, control-oriented and predatory (Simon, 2000).

The visionary sadistic killer is the least common type of serial killer. This type of killer is considered to be psychotic and insane. They can have hallucinations and/or delusions where he or she hears voices or sees visions that instruct them to kill. They often attribute the voices or visions to God or the devil. They often believe that they will be rewarded in heaven by eliminating a supposed evil group or person in society. Some serial killers often claim that they are acting under hallucinations and try to convince doctors and law enforcement that they are suffering from a mental illness, though this is rarely the case. Visionary sadistic killers may only experience temporary breaks from reality, but they are so bizarre that incarceration or hospitalization is necessary—they do not need to be out of touch with reality at all times in order to be considered psychotic (Simon, 2000).

The second type of sadistic lust-type killer that has been identified is the mission-oriented sadistic killer. This type of killer is focused on eliminating what he or she feels

is an undesirable group of people. Sometimes mission-oriented killers may also focus on victims who are substitutes if their intended target is unavailable (Simon, 2000).

The third type, hedonistic sadistic killers, murder for pleasure and thrill. These types of killers may also be divided into three different subcategories: lust-oriented, thrill-oriented, and comfort-oriented.

Lust-oriented killers are either a disorganized asocial type or an organized nonsocial type. The disorganized nonsocial type of killer usually has below average intelligence and is socially and sexually incompetent. Their crimes are almost always spontaneous and involve a random victim; they sexually violate the body after death and leave the body and weapon in view at the scene of the crime.

The organized nonsocial, lust-oriented type usually has above-average intelligence and is socially and sexually competent. They strategically target a stranger and are aggressive with the victim prior to death and demands submission. The body and weapon are usually disposed of or hidden. This type of killer is irresponsible and self-centered, but is fully aware of the criminal nature of their actions (Simon, 2000).

The second category of hedonistic killers is the thrill-oriented murderer. This type of killer is motivated by a need for excitement brought on by killing. Thrill-oriented killing often involves a drawn-out murder because the killer gets most of the pleasure from the process of the murder rather than the actual kill itself (Simon, 2000).

The third type of hedonistic killer is the comfort-oriented type. This type of murderer kills to profit economically from the death, usually through inheriting money, property business gains, or other material rewards. He or she may marry and kill his or her spouses repeatedly for the inheritance. Often, women serial killers fall into this

category. A human being's life is measured in terms of its monetary worth (Simon, 2000).

The fourth type of sadistic lust-type killer is the control-oriented sadistic killer. This type of killer receives gratification from having power over their victims. They enjoy the thrill of deciding whether their victim will live or die as well as how they will die and when. At the same time, they receive gratification from the attention that they receive from their victims during the ordeal. These types of killers often have a deep fantasy life that begins at an early age—they fantasize about having complete power and control over their victim's destiny (Simon, 2000).

The fifth type of sadistic lust-type serial killer is the predatory sadistic killer. This type of killer is attracted to the hunt and the kill. They view killing as a sport or recreational activity. The goal in their hunting and killing of humans is not to restore peace to their minds and self but to simply murder continually without internal prohibitions to prevent it (Simon, 2000).

There are commonalities in the history and personality characteristics that link the different types of sadistic serial killers. Many of the behaviors that are present as adults have been developing in them since they were children. The rage that they feel toward others that they exhibit toward others may have been building up since childhood. As children, serial killers often show cruelty toward animals and their peers. As they age, their rage grows; they abuse, mutilate and kill in order to achieve sexual pleasure (Simon, 2000).

Forensic scientists, psychologists and sociologists who have studied serial killers have found that the majority of them have had long and devastating periods of social

deprivation and psychological neglect during their childhood. Many have family histories of mental illness, drug and alcohol abuse, and criminal activity. Many have experienced serious emotional abuse and have developed into sexually dysfunctional adults (Simon, 2000).

As children, these individuals perceived the discipline that they received as unfair, hostile, abusive, and inconsistent. Relationships with their mothers were usually cold and uncaring. “Many serial murderers have had intense, smothering relationships with their mothers—relationships filled with both abuse and sexual attraction,” Simon quotes in her article from Egger, 1998.

Serial murderers are unable to develop and effectively use defense mechanisms due to the abuse that they experienced as children. This leads to difficulties in school, social situations and in work environments. The brutal environment that they grew up in increases the risk of violence they exhibit as adults and as they have intense rage and frustration built up the only way that the serial killer knows how to express it are through rage and violence (Simon, 2000).

The abusive and neglectful experiences that the serial killer experienced while growing up contributes to their need to control their victim and their sadistic association between sex and violence. The serial killer has not reached emotional maturity and cannot deal with violent and sadistic fantasies in an appropriate way. “Through the course of his formative psychosexual development, the individual comes to be sexually gratified by deviant means,” states Simon (p. 6).

Antisocial personality disorder occurs in only 3% of men and 1% of women in the general population; however, these individuals are responsible for an excessive amount of

crime and violence as well as social distress within society. One does not need to have antisocial personality disorder in order to commit a crime and those who have the disorder will not necessarily commit a crime either. This personality disorder occurs in all races, cultures and ethnic groups (Kaylor, 1999).

As crime, violence and victimization are social problems, society has turned to the mental health profession to “fix” this problem. Mental health practice is based on the human capacity for change and growth and focuses on a positive attitude toward making that change. Those with antisocial disorders tend to be more egocentric and their more antisocial traits may be more unconscious and the person may often fail to see them as a problem. Changing character traits becomes even more of a problem when the person does not see a reason for the change or understand why they need to change. The therapeutic alliance between the client and the therapist is based in trust and in order for that to be established there has to be a common goal in mind which is difficult to establish when dealing with antisocial personality disorder (Kaylor, 1999).

In looking at the biological causes of mental disorders scientists and psychologists are looking more and more into genetic links. Currently there is a genetic link for antisocial personality disorder that is supported by adoption studies. Antisocial personality disorder occurs at a higher rate than average in children of antisocial men, even when they are adopted away at infancy (Harvard Mental Health Letter, 1987, (Kaylor, 1999).

Other neurological predispositions to antisocial personality disorder have been explored. The biological hypothesis is that impulsive and violent behavior may stem from brain dysfunction or damage secondary to head injury, disease or toxic chemical

substances, low levels of serotonin, to trace elements in hair of toxins, focal lesions of the temporal lobe and serotonergic dysfunction (Kaylor, 1999).

Although antisocial personality disorder is present in all cultures, there are aspects in American culture that provide a fertile environment for its development.

Individualism and paternalism, or machismo, are constructs that are valued at both the personal and macro levels of our society (Kaylor, 1999).

Research shows that men are more often diagnosed with antisocial personality disorder and women are usually diagnosed with some other personality disorder such as histrionic or borderline. It is possible that this is the result of a sex-based bias by those who do the labeling or by the biological differences between the sexes. Another explanation however, could be that in our society it is more common to condone aggression in men than it is in women (Kaylor, 1999).

The diagnosis of antisocial personality disorder poses an ethical dilemma. On one side, those with antisocial personality disorder cannot understand mortality because of the disorder. On the other side, the disorder should not be an excuse for them to not take responsibility for their behavior. The question that is, whether or not antisocial personality disorder should be considered a psychiatric concept or an ethical one. It has been suggested by some psychologists that antisocial personality disorder should be eliminated as a psychiatric diagnosis because it offers the opportunity to make value assessments rather than clinical assessments. Still, some argue that the question of whether antisocial personality disorder is useful as a psychiatric diagnosis should be separated from the question of whether or not people with the disorder should be held responsible for the moral and legal responsibilities of their actions (Kaylor, 1999).

In looking at the evolution of murderers, many of them have had a history of cruelty to animals in their childhood. It is suggested that many murderers in the United States showed what is called the “MacDonald triad” in childhood, which include enuresis, fire setting and cruelty to animals. It is widely believed that cruelty to animals in a family tends to be associated with child abuse, partner abuse and elder abuse (Petersen & Farrington, 2007).

In the third edition of the DSM which was released in 1987, physical cruelty to animals was added to the list of criterion symptoms for the diagnosis of conduct disorder and was retained in the 1994 DSM-IV and in the 2000 DSM-IV-TR editions. It has been suggested that animal cruelty may be the earliest detectable symptom of conduct disorder in children. However, its association with conduct disorder and other psychiatric disorders has not been firmly established. There seems to be no research that relates the presence of animal cruelty as a conduct disorder symptom to the probability of a later diagnosis of antisocial personality disorder (Petersen & Farrington, 2007).

There are different types of animal cruelty and defining what they are exactly can be difficult due to culturally sanctioned activities that harm animals, differing attitudes toward different species, and a continuum of severity that can range from teasing to torture. In 1993, Ascione defined cruelty to animals as “socially unacceptable behavior that intentionally causes unnecessary pain, suffering or distress to and/or death of an animal” (Petersen & Farrington, 2007).

Ascione and Lockwood suggested in 2001 that cruelty to animals in children can fall into three different categories:

1. Exploratory/curiosity-based animal cruelty: children in this category are likely to be preschoolers, poorly supervised and lacking in training in the physical care and treatment of a variety of animals, especially family pets.

2. Pathological animal cruelty: these children tend to be older than those in the first category and pathological malfunction may be the cause of their animal cruelty. Their animal cruelty may be linked to childhood histories of physical abuse, sexual abuse and exposure to domestic violence.

3. Delinquent animal cruelty: these children are most likely adolescents whose animal cruelty may be a symptom of antisocial personality disorder. (as cited in Petersen & Farrington, 2007).

Assessment of animal cruelty and abuse in children is important for early detection and to prevent further violence toward animals to go on. Currently there are six different assessment tools that are used in measuring animal cruelty in children.

1. Interview for Antisocial Behavior (IAB): this is a tool that is used for measuring a variety of forms of antisocial, aggressive and destructive behaviors that includes animal cruelty. Developed by Kazdin and Esveldt-Dawson in 1986, they report that their measure had acceptable levels of internal consistency. The problem, however, is that it relies solely on parental reports of overt behavior.

2. Children and Animals Assessment Instrument (CAAI): This was the first extensive instrument to measure animal cruelty. It's used to gather data on people's experience with animals, including cruelty to animals, either committed or observed. It is a paper-and-pencil, self and parent report inventory that produces a score based on Ascione's nine aspects of cruel behavior (severity, frequency, duration, recency, diversity

across and within categories, number of animals within a type, level of concern for the animal, covert, isolate and empathy). It was found that these aspects could be reliably measured using a questionnaire format.

3. Boat Inventory on Animal-Related Experiences (BIARE): This is a semi-structured inventory that includes a set of questions that help the child disclose animal abuse in the home, whether they have been abused, and whether they have abused an animal. It can be used as a screening and information gathering instrument. It was developed to gain information about a wide range of events to determine if animal-related trauma, cruelty, or support, are part of the history of a child, adolescent or adult. Unfortunately, this measurement instrument has not been standardized or normalized.

4. Children's Attitudes and Behaviors Toward Animals (CABTA): This instrument distinguishes between different types of animal cruelty. It looks at typical and malicious cruelty to animals. It is thought by its developers that this tool holds promise as a reliable and relatively quick and valid assessment of childhood animal abuse. There has yet to be any quantitative measures of reliability and validity that have been published that prove this point.

5. Physical and Emotional Tormenting against Animals (PET Scale): This is a new self-administered scale that measures physical and emotional abuse against animals by adolescents and preadolescents. It was developed to assess the prevalence and frequency of different types of animal abuse. The scale measures direct and exposure to animal abuse.

6. The Clinical Assessment of Juvenile Animal Cruelty: This is a clinical manual that serves as a guide in assessing the severity of juvenile animal cruelty and is intended

to lead the mental health practitioner into the most effective treatment approach for the child and family. Included in it are ready-to-use interview and assessment protocols which lead to simple and practical clinical assessments. According to some of its evaluators, this measure is possibly the most comprehensive measure of juvenile animal cruelty that has yet to be developed. (as cited in Petersen & Farrington, 2007).

It is widely believed among researchers that when animals are abused people are often at risk, or the other way around. Frequently studies have shown that animal cruelty is frequently a risk factor for the presence of human violence in the home. It is often argued that the cycle of violence often begins with violence against animals. Although, we are to remember that violence against animals does not cause violence to people, it may make violence more likely since it can cause the perpetrator to become desensitized to suffering in general (Petersen & Farrington, 2007).

Media and Culture

What is it about people who like horror? What is it about horror that people like? Why do some people like horror films and books and other people do not? A taste for horror is seen as a taste for something seemingly abnormal and therefore is seen as needing special explanation in terms of personality features that are not usually available to the casual observer. How could anyone want to be horrified or disgusted unless there was some deeply hidden reason which they were not aware of?

A common argument for why horror appeals to people is known as the ‘beast within,’ which addresses the apparent catharsis that it provides for deeply-seated psychoanalytically intelligible desires. It is based on the belief that “human beings are rotten to the core.” The ‘beast within’ theory is generally claimed to be applicable to all

humans—to be human, it suggests, is to be a beast as well. However, it does not explain why in some cases people like horror and in other cases people do not (Tudor, 1997).

Frequently, books about serial killers mirror actual crimes which sometimes blur the line between fiction and reality. The 1981 novel *Red Dragon*, by Thomas Harris seemed to anticipate the 1985 crimes of the “Night Stalker,” Richard Ramirez, and his novel, *The Silence of the Lambs* seemed to mirror the crimes of Jeffrey Dahmer. The popularity of these books suggests that people are not reading them to escape, but are reading them because it allows them to face and sometimes even befriend these current horrors (Caputi, 1993).

As Caputi states it, “serial killers of the late-20th century tend to ‘generate legends and attract cult-like behavior,’ in that they are ‘celebrated...along a cultural gamut including made-for TV movies, rock’n’roll songs, horror fantasies, jokes, pornographic magazines such as *Hustler*, and extreme sadist publications” (Grixti, 2004).

In a sense such “celebrations” usher such figures as Jeffery Dahmer into a hall of fame where historical murderers gain mythical proportions. Criminals, psychopaths and murderers have consistently attracted the attention of writers and their readers in all types of fiction. Murderers have tended to be depicted in terms to frighten and disturb their readers.

Many commentators have pointed out that Jack the Ripper is probably the most influential and mythologized murderer of recent history, and the fictional accounts of him have put him in the roll of a street-cleaning avenger to a blood-curdling challenger of any belief in the prevalence of sanity or security in advanced society. Other mass murderers that have been re-imagined through fiction include Vlad the Impaler, who is

mythologized as Dracula; Gilles De Rais, who was accused of torturing and murdering between 140 and 800 children as well as murdering six of his seven wives, whose life inspired the legend of “Bluebeard.” And, Elisabeth Bathory, who was a Hungarian Countess and fictionalized as “Countess Dracula,” in a 1960s horror film, was convicted in 1611 for killing up to 650 girls and bathing in their blood in order to halt the aging process (Grixti, 2004).

Fictionalizing serial murderers as inhuman monsters in literature is one way in which we can come to terms with the disruptions that are generated in order to preserve the preferred form of our own identity. Due to its general formulaic nature, popular fiction allows us to safely engage in exploring the darkness of the murderer. It is a way for the public to disarm them and dress them up in whatever way they see fit to make themselves feel more comfortable, more safe (Grixti, 2004).

Throughout the 20th century, vampires have been the subject of numerous serious and comic representations in movies, books and television programs. Dracula has been transformed into different manifestations such as the Count on *Sesame Street*, Count Duckula and Quackula the Vampire Duck in children’s television cartoons. There is even “Count Chocula” cereal and numerous other examples of how the vampire myth has been personified and used. Within a cultural context that engages in transformation like this, the practice of designating serial killers as monsters can be seen as little more than a first step in making them less threatening by placing them within a multilayered entertainment industry. We don’t worry about being attacked by vampires anymore, instead we have been taught by our consumer-oriented society how to neutralize, eat, and consume them instead (Grixti, 2004).

The genre of “True Crime” is a style of popular writing with roots in medieval literature. Generally, these are narratives of social crisis performed around domestic familiarity. In many of these narratives, the serial killer is described as an example of, and confirmation of American decadence. However, patterned deaths are neither modern nor are they especially American. The killer who murders repeatedly and in a compulsively characteristic way can be found in classics of high literature as well as in myth, folk-tale and legend (Ingebretsen, 2000).

Though the idea of the serial killer in literature is not new, the threat that it is seen to pose must always seem to be new and urgent in order to keep readers and the public in general interested. The rhetoric of fear, anxiety-laden words, such as “epidemic” and “roving” are typical of even seemingly objective news or academic studies. The urgency is often explicit, such as the subtitle of Joel Norris’ *Serial Killers: The Growing Menace*. Serial killer narratives are a part of a tradition of comfort texts, stories that simultaneously give moral guidance as well as public reassurance and punishment (Ingebretsen, 2000).

Additionally, reading ‘true crime’ can make for social complications. Authoring these narratives suggest that they understand their complicity, in various ways to the problem that they wish to document. For example, some authors of these narratives have acknowledged that their subjects’ have derived inspiration for their actions from texts not unlike their own. Albert Desalvo, “The Boston Strangler” stated that he liked “detective books,” while Ted Bundy wanted “back copies” of stories “done on rape cases.” No text is safe, however for the charge of responsibility. Even “classic fairy tales of trolls and

goblins” are present as indicators of Jeffrey Dahmer’s early deviancy (Ingebretsen, 2000).

Most people associate homicidal thoughts and tendencies with psychopathology. Homicidal fantasies have been found to be prevalent in patients with a history of substance abuse, bipolar disorder, and schizophrenia. The general idea is that thoughts of killing someone are associated with other distressing psychopathological processes. However, recent theorizing and empirical evidence suggests that homicidal fantasies may be a relatively normal phenomenon. This may explain some of why people enjoy crime novels and movies—they can see someone live out their fantasies without they, themselves carrying it out (Crabb, 2000).

In looking at popular television series’ that glorify the life of serial killers and their crimes, one series that has come about recently and has gained a large fan base has been the Showtime series, *Dexter* (Lasswell, 2009).

“Dexter,” is the type of serial killer that the audience is rooting for. He channels his murderous impulses into the service of removing bad people from the world. Originally, when the program debuted in 2006, the producers and creators expected criticism but instead they received nothing.

According to the author of this article, “*Dexter* represents a new low: the feel-good serial killer. The he’s-a-monster-no-he’s-not strategy of the show was apparent from the first episode, when (Dexter) Morgan abducts the director of a boys’ choir who moonlights as a serial killer specializing in the murder of his charges,” Lasswell comments.

The voiceovers in the program bring the viewer into Dexter's thoughts and are believed to be part of the pleasing aspects of the program. The viewer is literally brought into the mind of a serial killer and is allowed access to his private thoughts and feelings about what he is doing and why. Dexter goes on in his voiceovers to explain that he only kills those who have escaped being caught. Those people who the system has let slip through the cracks. In a sense, *Dexter* doesn't glorify the murders, it glorifies the murderer. It glorifies what he is doing: killing those who he sees as being bad in society while ignoring how he goes about taking care of them (Lasswell, 2009).

Case Studies

The following section will be devoted to the study of various serial killers; some are well-known, some not so well-known. It is my goal with this section to illustrate the different types of killers that are out there, their different neurosis and to illustrate how "normal" some of them appeared to be before their crimes were discovered by the rest of the world.

Jack the Ripper

Jack the Ripper is considered to be the definitive serial killer. His career as a killer established the serial killer in the public's mind as the most terrifying of all criminals. Though his crimes were committed over a century ago, his legend still captures the public's attention to this day. The haunting violence of his murders—the disemboweling and removal of organs as well as the setting in Victorian Whitechapel, England keeps his legend alive today. But, what keeps the legend of Jack the Ripper so much a part of popular culture and lore is the fact that the actual murderer was never caught (Greig, 2006f).

Due to the fact that Jack the Ripper was never apprehended a seemingly endless scope of speculation about who he could have been has been explored over the years. Crime novelist, Patricia Cornwell supposedly spent \$8 million of her own money in an effort to prove that Victorian painter Walter Sickert was the murder, a claim that seems a bit weak to some experts (Greig, 2006f).

The killer, known as Jack the Ripper made himself known to the world on August 31, 1888 with the murder of a prostitute Mary 'Polly' Nicols. Initially, this murder did not attract too much attention as this was the third murder of a prostitute in London's East Side that year in spite of its unusually brutal nature. In a little more than a week the killer struck again. The victim was also a prostitute, Annie Chapman who was also known as 'Dark Annie.' She had been killed in the same manner as Polly Nicols, except this time the killer had disemboweled her and mutilated her body even more. Investigators at the scene of the crime were amazed, in spite of the horror of the scene, by the precision of the cuts made to the victim's body; it seemed possible that the killer had medical training and was familiar with dissecting bodies in the morgue (Greig, 2006f).

The murderer did not strike again until September 30th of that year, but this time he committed two murders. The first victim was Elizabeth Stride, also known as 'Long Liz,' who was a seamstress and an occasional prostitute. She was killed with only a knife wound to the throat and it is believed that this is because the killer was interrupted during his crime. The second victim that night was also a prostitute known as Catherine Eddowes, but this attack had all of his characteristic mutilations. In addition to the murder of Catherine Eddowes someone had also written on the wall "The Juwes are not the men that will be blamed for nothing." Not knowing what this message meant or who

wrote it, the police had this message removed from the wall in order to prevent any anti-Jewish hysteria from developing (Greig, 2006f).

Before the double murder, The Central news Agency received a letter supposedly from the killer. There had already been many such letters but many had been proven to be hoaxes. However, when this letter arrived within hours of the double murder the agency passed the letter along with the other letters that they had received to the police. The writer in these letters signed himself as 'Jack the Ripper,' causing a sensation in the press—the murderer now had a name (Greig, 2006f).

Two weeks later, another letter arrived, sent to George Lusk, the head of the Whitechapel Vigilance Committee. This letter appeared to be written by a different author than the previous ones as this writer seemed to be less literate, but it was more chilling. The return address simply said 'From Hell.' Enclosed with the letter was a piece of a human kidney which the writer claimed to have belonged to Catherine Eddowes. The killer had indeed removed Catherine Eddowes' kidney (Greig, 2006f).

Three weeks went by and then the killer strikes again. Once again the victim was a prostitute, Mary Kelly. Unlike the other murders, this killing took place indoors, in a room in Miller's court; her body was destroyed. She had been partially skinned, disemboweled, grotesquely arranged and a number of trophies were removed from her body, including a fetus, as Kelly was pregnant at the time. The public prepared itself for the next murder, but it never came. There was a knife murder of a prostitute two years later and another two years after that but neither were anything like the Ripper killings. It seemed that Jack the Ripper had vanished (Greig, 2006f).

Since the Ripper murders, detectives, both amateur and professional have speculated about who he, or even in some cases, she was. Some suspects have included Queen Victoria's grandson Prince Eddy in an apparent rage against the prostitute that supposedly gave him syphilis; Sir William Gull, the Queen's surgeon, as a part of a conspiracy to cover up the fact that Prince Eddy had conceived an illegitimate child with a Whitechapel girl; and a Liverpool businessman James Maybrick, the supposed author of *The Ripper Diaries*, which were published in 1994 and are generally thought to be fake (Greig, 2006f).

On the morning of November 15, 1892, thousands of people gathered around Newgate Prison in London, England to await the execution of the prisoner within. The criminal that the crowd was waiting to be executed was McGill-trained physician, Thomas Neill Cream (Foran, 2006).

As various city and prison officials looked on and hangman, James Billington placed his hand on the lever that would send the man to his death, Cream allegedly started to speak. "I am Jack," he began but was cut off as the trap doors opened and his neck was snapped by the hangman's noose. Was he about to claim that he was Jack the Ripper? (Foran, 2006).

Cream, who was born in Glasgow, Scotland, entered McGill University in Montreal, when he was twenty-two where he studied medicine for the next four years. During this time, he had the reputation among his schoolmates and professors as a wild and extravagant young man. He was well-supported by his wealthy father and dressed in high-priced clothing, adorned himself with flashy jewelry and traveled in a stylish

carriage. In spite of his wild ways, Cream graduated with merit, receiving his medical degree in 1876 (Foran, 2006).

Not long after graduation, Cream met and seduced a young woman named Flora Eliza Brooks, a daughter of a prosperous hotel owner in Waterloo, Quebec. When she became pregnant with Cream's child, he took it upon himself to perform an abortion. She fell ill as a result and after learning what had happened, her father tracked him down, brought him back to Waterloo, and forced him—at gunpoint—to marry her. The next day, however, he left his bride and headed to England to continue his medical studies at St. Thomas's Hospital in London where he attended lectures until 1878 working periodically as an obstetrics clerk and spending his free time courting women (Foran, 2006).

Cream then returned to Canada in May of 1878 after spending some time in Scotland and gaining qualification of the Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons in Edinburgh. He then proceeded to open up a medical practice in London, Ontario where he began a career as an illegal abortionist (Foran, 2006).

A year after arriving in the Ontario town, the body of a young woman, Kate Gardener was found in an outhouse located behind his office building. A bottle of chloroform was found next to the body and the death was quickly ruled as suspicious. It was discovered prostitution district and was known to local police as a backstreet abortionist that they kept their eye on. He narrowly escaped prison for the murder of a patient who died as a result of a botched abortion. Another of his patients, Ellen Stack died after taking medicine that was prescribed by him. He then attempted to blackmail the pharmacist that had made up Stack's prescription, sending the innocent man

threatening letters. No charges were brought against Cream in spite of the pharmacist's complaints to police (Foran, 2006).

Finally in 1881, police were able to put Cream behind bars for something: the murder of a sixty-one-year-old man by the name of Daniel Stott. Stott had been regularly sending his thirty-three year old wife, Julia into the city to pick up pills that Cream had been marketing as a remedy for epilepsy. He soon began an affair with the woman and after convincing her to take out a life insurance policy on her husband, gave her pills full of strychnine to give him. Stott died within minutes of taking the pills. Although Cream was given a life sentence for this murder, he was released from prison in June 1891 after having his term reduced to seventeen years and then obtained early parole (Foran, 2006).

After his release from prison, Cream returned briefly to Canada and then made his way back to England, eventually ending up in a room on Lambeth Palace Road in South London. Soon after his arrival in London, now horribly addicted to drugs, Cream began another murder streak—poisoning four Lambeth prostitutes within seven months—a fifth intended victim decided against taking the strychnine-laced pills that he had offered her; she later testified against him in court. Before being sent to hang for his crimes, Cream admitted to his jailers that he deserved his sentence and admitted to killing many other women (Foran, 2006).

One theory against the notion that Dr. Thomas Neill Cream was Jack the Ripper is the fact that in 1888 the year that the murders occurred, he was behind bars in Joliet, Illinois, serving time for the murder of Daniel Scott. This prompts most ripperologists to dismiss Cream as a suspect, but it does not deter all of them. In a 1974 issue of *The Criminologist*, a Montreal writer Donald Bell published an article titled “Jack the Ripper:

The Final Solution?” in which he supported Cream as the murderer. He maintained in this article, as well as another that he published in the *Toronto Star* in 1979 that Cream could have been let out of prison long before his official release time of 1891 (Foran, 2006).

In the 1880s, apparently the penitentiary in Joliet was corrupt among its prison authorities so it may have been possible for Cream, whose father died in 1887, to take advantage of this situation using his inheritance from his father to gain an early escape and keep his jailers quiet about his early escape. This would have made it possible for him to then be in London during the time of the Jack the Ripper murders—and the fact that he was an illegal abortion doctor played into the idea that the murderer had a medical background and a possible grudge of some kind against women. However, with all of the speculation, there probably will never be a definitive answer as to who Jack the Ripper really was (Foran, 2006).

Ed Gein

Ed Gein is not one of the most prolific serial killers since there are only two murders that were ever definitively tied to him, but he was the inspiration for the murderer in Alfred Hitchcock's *Psycho*. His crimes also inspired the *Texas Chainsaw Massacre* and the “Buffalo Bill” character in Thomas Harris' *The Silence of the Lambs* (Greig, 2006d).

In Gein's kitchen and wardrobe were bowls made of human skulls; a wastebasket made of human skin; a breastplate made of a woman's complete skinned torso, and even a belt constructed completely from female nipples (Greig, 2006d).

Ed Gein was born in La Crosse, Wisconsin on August 27, 1906 and was the second son of Augusta and George Gein. Soon after he was born the family moved to a farm in nearby remote Plainfield. His father was a drinker who worked as a tanner and a carpenter while his mother, who was extremely religious, dominated the family and ran a grocery store in La Crosse (Greig, 2006d).

While growing up, Gein's mother drilled into him and his older brother Henry the sinfulness of women and the evilness of premarital sex, or any sex for that matter. She disapproved of her children having any friends of any kind. As Gein grew up, he became a sexually confused loner with a fondness for escapist books and magazines. As an adult, Gein continued to have an isolated existence working on the farm along with his parents and brothers. Things only started to get bad for Gein when family members began to die off (Greig, 2006d).

In 1940, George died and his sons started taking odd jobs in town to make ends meet. Gein worked as a handyman and even at times as a babysitter and the townspeople thought of him as likeable and trustworthy.

In 1944, Henry, Gein's brother died, under circumstances that seem now, looking back to be suspicious circumstances. Both brothers were fighting a fire in nearby marshes and got separated. When the fire cleared, Henry was found dead; his body however was found in an unburned area and there was bruising on his head. The cause of death however was recorded as being smoke inhalation (Greig, 2006d).

Later on, in December of 1945, Gein's mother, Augusta died of a stroke following an argument from a neighbor. Gein's first response after her death was to nail her bedroom door shut and leave the room just the way that it was the day that she died. His

second response was to start grave robbing. He also became fascinated with human anatomy and was particularly interested in reading about the first sex-change operation undertaken by Christian Jorgensen and even considered having a sex-change operation himself (Greig, 2006d).

Then along with a disturbed local man named Gus, Gein started visiting local graveyards and taking souvenirs, sometimes whole bodies, and more often selected body parts. He would hunt through the local newspaper to learn of freshly buried female corpses. During these years, he began to manufacture his macabre household decorations and eventually his grave robbing failed to satisfy his obsession (Greig, 2006d).

In December 1954, a fifty-one year old woman called Mary Hogan disappeared from the bar that she ran in Pine Grove, Wisconsin. Gein was among the potential suspects but there was no hard evidence to connect him so the police had no reason to visit his home. This is only one of the two murders that can be positively attributed to Gein (Greig, 2006d).

The second murder that he was positively attributed to was that of Bernice Worden. On November 16, 1957, she was abducted from her hardware store in Plainfield, Wisconsin. This time, the police had a pretty good clue as to who was responsible. The victim's son had told them that Ed Gein had asked his mother for a date and another local resident recalled hearing Gein say that he needed to buy some antifreeze from her store on the day that she died. A receipt for antifreeze was found lying in the store and the police decided to go and see Gein (Greig, 2006d).

Bernice Worden's corpse was hanging from the rafters of Gein's place. Her head was cut off, and she was gutted. On further inspection by the police, it was found that her

head had been turned into a makeshift ornament and her heart was sitting in a saucepan on the stove. They also found a gun that matched the one that was used in the Mary Hogan murder. Upon his arrest, Gein confessed to the murders of Worden and Hogan as well as to his grave robbing. He was found incompetent for trial and was committed to a secure mental hospital. He was once more submitted for trial in 1968 but was again found insane and ended his days in a mental hospital and died of respiratory failure on July 26, 1984 (Greig, 2006d).

Jeffrey Dahmer

Jeffery Dahmer was born on May 21, 1960. He was the son of Lionel, a chemist and Joyce, a homemaker. Both parents argued a great deal but to the rest of the world this was still a normal family.

At an early age, however, Jeffery developed a fascination with dead animals. At the age of six, following a hernia operation and the birth of his younger brother, David, he became withdrawn and remained solitary and friendless throughout childhood. Throughout his teens, his fascination with dead animals intensified. He would go around his neighborhood looking for road kill which he would carefully dismember. By his high school graduation, he had also become a heavy drinker. His parents did not seem to notice his troubles and at this time they were locked in a bitter divorce (Greig, 2006g).

In the summer of 1978, just as Jeffery was about to graduate, both of his parents moved out of the house, leaving Jeffery by himself. His reaction to this was to pick up a hitchhiker, Stephen Hicks, take him home and have sex with him. When Hicks tried to leave, he hit him on the head with a bar bell and strangled him and dismembered his corpse and buried it nearby (Greig, 2006g).

By this time, Jeffery's father had moved in with his second wife, Shari who pointed out to her husband that her son was an alcoholic. He responded by giving him an ultimatum: either he had to stop drinking or join the army. Jeffery refused to stop drinking so his father made sure that he enlisted in January 1979 at the age of eighteen. Jeffery appeared to enjoy army life but was soon discharged due to his habitual drunkenness and soon after he moved in to his grandmother's basement and his life continued to go downhill from there (Greig, 2006g).

In 1982 Jeffery was arrested for indecent exposure and then again in 1986. Each time his father paid for lawyers and for his second offense he was given a suspended sentence and counseling. The counseling had little effect; as he went on to kill three times during the next year (Greig, 2006g).

His first victim that year was Steven Tuomi whom he met at a gay bar. He was murdered at a hotel and Dahmer put his body in a suitcase and took it home, had sex with it and then dismembered it. Next, he murdered a fourteen-year-old Native American boy called James Doxtator, who hung around the Milwaukee gay scene. After him, came a Mexican youth named Richard Guerrero (Greig, 2006g).

At this time, bothered by his drunkenness and the terrible smells, Jeffery's grandmother evicted him from his basement apartment. He then moved to his own place in Milwaukee in September 1988. The next day he lured a thirteen-year-old Laotian boy to his apartment offering to pay him for a nude modeling session. He drugged the boy and fondled him but did not become violent. The boy's parents reported Dahmer to the police and he was sentenced to a year in prison for sexual assault. While he was awaiting his sentence, however, he killed his next victim, Anthony Sears (Greig, 2006g).

He served ten months in prison before beginning his final killing spree. Between June 1990 and July 1991, he murdered another twelve men. In the end, it is believed that he was committing a murder almost every week. His treatments of his victims were becoming even more bizarre. He became obsessed with the notion of creating zombies—half humans that would become his playthings. He drilled holes in their skulls while they were still alive and dripped acid into their heads. Also, in at least one case, he tried cannibalism. He kept his victims' body parts in his refrigerator and placed their skulls on an altar in his bedroom (Greig, 2006g).

Konerak Sinthasomphone, the brother of the Laotian teenager that he had previously molested was also a victim. However, this boy managed to escape. Two women found Konerak and called the police. When they arrived on the scene, Jeffery convinced the police that the drugged and bleeding young man was his boyfriend. The police then returned him to Jeffery who promptly took him home and killed him (Greig, 2006g).

Over the next few weeks, Jeffery went on to kill his last four victims. On July 22, 1991, his final intended victim, an adult black man, Tracy Edwards escaped from his apartment with a pair of handcuffs hanging from his wrists. He managed to flag down a police car and then lead the police back to the apartment where they were horrified to find a human head in the refrigerator (Greig, 2006g).

By August 22, 1991, Jeffery Dahmer was charged with fifteen counts of murder. His trial began on January 30, 1992. He pled guilty but insane. The jury found him sane and he was sentenced to fifteen consecutive life sentences. In prison, however, Jeffery refused to be put in solitary confinement and so on November 28, 1994 a fellow inmate

took an iron bar and smashed it down on his skull. The blow killed him instantly (Greig, 2006g).

Adolfo Constanzo

Adolfo de Jesus Constanzo was born in 1962 to a teenage Cuban mother and grew up in Puerto Rico and Miami. He served as an altar boy in the Roman Catholic Church and accompanied his mother on trips to Haiti to learn about Voodoo. He became an apprentice to a local sorcerer and began to practice the occult African religion of Palo Mayombe which involves animal sacrifice (Greig, 2006a).

As an adult, Constanzo moved to Mexico and met men who were to become his first followers: Martin Quintana, Jorge Montes and Omar Orea. He set up a profitable business of casting spells to bring good luck that involved an expensive ritual of chickens, goats, snakes, zebras and lion cubs. Many of the clients that he worked with were rich drug dealers and hit men who enjoyed the violence of Constanzo's 'magical' displays. He also attracted other rich members of Mexican society including several high ranking police officers who helped to connect him to the city's powerful narcotics cartels (Greig, 2006a).

At the same time this was happening, Constanzo began raiding graveyards for human bones to put into his nganga, or cauldron, but it did not stop at that. Before long he started sacrificing human beings. Over twenty victims, whose mutilated bodies were found in and around Mexico City, were thought to have met their end this way.

Constanzo began to think that his spells were responsible for the success of the cartels and demanded to become a full partner with one of the families that he knew—the Calzadas. When this demand was rejected, seven family members disappeared. Later,

their bodies were found with fingers, toes, ears, brains and even a spine was missing from one of them (Greig, 2006a).

Soon after the incident with the Calzadas, Constanzo made friends with another drug cartel, the Hernandez brothers. He also started seeing a young woman by the name of Sara Aldrete who became the high priestess of the cult. In 1988, he moved to Rancho Santa Elena where he carried out even more murders—sometimes of strangers and sometimes killing rival drug dealers. He also used the ranch to store large shipments of cocaine and marijuana (Greig, 2006a).

On March 13, 1989, he made a mistake. Constanzo abducted student, Mark Kilroy from outside a Mexican bar in order to add fresh meat to his pot. Constanzo brutally murdered him—however, this time the victim was not a drug runner but a young man from a respectable Texan family that was determined to bring his killer to justice. Under pressure from Texan politicians, police initially picked up four of Constanzo's followers including the two Hernandez brothers. After interrogating the men and obtaining horrifying tales of occult magic and human sacrifice the officers then raided Constanzo's ranch where they discovered his cauldron which contained a dead black cat, and a human brain among other things. Fifteen mutilated corpses were dug up on the ranch grounds, including Mark Kilroy (Greig, 2006a).

Unfortunately, Constanzo had fled to Mexico City. He was only found when police were called to his apartment because of a domestic dispute that was taking place there. As police approached, he opened fire with a machine gun. Realizing he was surrounded, Constanzo handed the gun to his follower, Alvaro de Leon, a professional hit man and ordered him to open fire on him and his homosexual lover, Martin Quintana.

When the police reached the apartment, both Constanzo and Quintana were dead (Greig, 2006a).

Fourteen cult members were charged with a range of crimes from murder and drug running and obstruction of justice. Sara Aldrete, Elio Hernandez and Serafin Hernandez were convicted of multiple murders and were ordered to serve prison sentences of over sixty years each. El Duby was given a thirty year term (Greig, 2006a).

Richard Ramirez, “The Night Stalker”

Richard Ramirez was born in February 28, 1960 in El Paso, Texas. He was the youngest of seven children of Mexican immigrants Julian and Mercedes. It was a strict Catholic household and Julian was a bad tempered and abusive father. Richard became a loner at school and started to spend time with his uncle Mike (Miguel) as a teenager (Greig, 2006j).

Uncle Mike had served in Vietnam and loved to tell Richard about what he had done there and particularly about the women that he had raped there. Allegedly he showed Richard photographs of his war crimes including ones that pictured him first raping a Vietnamese girl and then displaying her decapitated head. Additionally, fifteen-year-old Richard was present when Mike shot his wife in the face, killing her (Greig, 2006j).

Richard dropped out of school at the age of seventeen and devoted himself to smoking large quantities of marijuana and listening to heavy metal music. He stayed around El Paso and sometimes lived with his sister, Ruth and getting involved with petty crime and lived off of junk food and carbonated drinks to such an extent that his teeth were rotted and his breath was foul (Greig, 2006j).

Around 1970, he moved from Texas first to San Francisco and then to Los Angeles. There he switched from marijuana to cocaine and began listening obsessively to the music of AC/DC, and particularly a song called “The Night Prowler.” At this time he also took to stealing cars to make a living. Over the next two years he served brief sentences in prison for car theft (Greig, 2006j).

After getting out of prison for the second time, Richard committed his first murder. The victim was a seventy-nine-year-old woman named Jennie Vicow. On June 28, 1984, she was sleeping in her suburban Los Angeles apartment when Ramirez broke in. He sexually assaulted her, stabbed her to death and stole her jewelry. It was nine months before he killed again (Greig, 2006j).

He attacked a young woman named Maria Hernandez as she was entering her apartment. This time he had come armed with a gun and used it to shoot Hernandez, but the bullet was deflected by her keys and she was only knocked down. She played dead as he kicked her body—but was obviously not satisfied. Ramirez then went into the apartment and found her roommate, Dayle Okazaki and shot her dead (Greig, 2006j).

The murder of Okazaki failed to satisfy Ramirez and so the same evening he found another victim, Tsa Lian Yu, whom he dragged from her car in the Monterey Park area and shot several times. She died the next day at the hospital. Three days later, he struck again, this time sexually abusing but not killing an eight-year-old girl. A week later, he attacked a couple, Vincent and Maxine Zazzara and murdered both of them. He cut out Maxine’s eyes as a trophy. After this murder, most of his assaults were on couples (Greig, 2006j).

Six weeks later, on May 14, 1985, he attacked another couple. He started by shooting sixty-five-year-old William Doi in the head and then beat and raped his wife. Doi, however was strong enough to make it to a phone and dial the emergency number before he died, which may have saved his wife's life as Ramirez then fled the building (Greig, 2006j).

Two weeks later, his routine varied a bit. His next victim was forty-two-year-old Carol Kyle whom he raped after gagging her eleven-year-old son and shutting him in a cupboard. Both were allowed to live and Carol Kyle was able to give the police a good description of her attacker (Greig, 2006j).

Striking the next day, Ramirez attacked two sisters in their eighties, Mabel Bell and Florence Lang. He beat them with a hammer and then drew pentagrams on Bell's body and in their apartment. They were both found the following day. Mabel was dead; Florence had survived her injuries (Greig, 2006j).

Three weeks later, his next victim was twenty-nine-year-old Patty Higgins whose throat he cut. Over the next ten days he attacked another four people. Two older victims died while two younger women survived. In the course of one night he killed three times and left two more victims traumatized. The first two were a couple in their sixties, Max and Lela Kneiding, both of whom he shot dead. That same evening he broke into a home in Sun Valley where he shot dead Chainarong Khovanath as he slept before raping and beating his wife, Somkind and then tying her up while he raped her eight-year-old-son (Greig, 2006j).

At this time, the police were unwilling to admit that they had a serial killer on the loose. But, when on August 6, he shot a couple in their home non-fatally; they knew that

they had to do something. They set up a Night Stalker taskforce and the press was told about this new menace to the community. Ramirez left town briefly and headed back to San Francisco where he attacked his next victim, who was actually called Peter Pan. Once again, he killed the man and raped his wife and left satanic symbols there (Greig, 2006j).

He then went to Los Angeles and in the last week of August struck for the last time. He once again attacked a couple. However, the man, twenty-nine-year-old William Carns survived in spite of being shot three times. His partner Renata Gunther, who had been raped was forced to repeat after Ramirez, "I love Satan," and was still alert enough to spot the car as he drove away. Another resident noticed the car as well and took down the registration number. Soon after the police found the car abandoned, but they were able to find a fingerprint left on the vehicle and it just happened that the fingerprint database in Sacramento had been updated and put into the computer only days before and had an instant match to petty criminal Richard Ramirez (Greig, 2006j).

Ramirez's photo was on the front page of every newspaper in Los Angeles. Ramirez only found this out himself when he walked into a drugstore in east LA and saw the customers staring at him. He ran from the store and attempted to steal a car but was quickly apprehended by angry locals. The police arrived just in time to save him from being lynched (Greig, 2006j).

At the trial, it was reported that Ramirez was ready to confess but was persuaded to plead not guilty by his defense team. In spite of this, he adopted an aggressive stance throughout the trial and even flashed a pentagram drawn on his hand to photographers and even addressed the court as "You maggots make me sick. I am beyond good and

evil.” He was found guilty of thirteen counts of murder and was sentenced to death. When he heard the verdict he said “Big deal. Death always went with the territory. See you in Disneyland” (Greig, 2006j).

Since the trial and sentencing, Ramirez has gained a cult following. Women fought over each other outside the courtroom during the trial to win his favor. One of them, Doreen Lioy, succeeded in marrying him in October 1996 in San Quentin Prison’s Death Row where he currently remains (Greig, 2006j).

Charles Manson and the Manson Family

Charles Manson is one of the most well known criminals in America. He is best known for being the leader of a cult that ordered brutal murders in California in the late 1960s.

Charles Manson was born to a sixteen-year-old girl. Early in life, he experienced abandonment and abuse. He spent much of his childhood in and out of reform schools and boys’ homes and first entered the prison system at twenty-five. When he was released from prison seven years later, he had spent more than half of his life in institutions (Petersen, 2005).

Manson was born on November 12, 1934 in Cincinnati, Ohio to Kathleen Maddox, an unmarried runaway. His father was supposedly a man known as “Colonel Scott” from Ashland, Kentucky. She briefly married a man named William Manson who gave Charles his surname (Petersen, 2005).

When he was nine-years-old, Manson was sent to reform school for stealing. At twelve, he was caught stealing again and was sent to the Gibault School for Boys in Terre Haute, Indiana. After being at the school for less than a year, he ran away and returned to

his mother. She turned him over to the authorities the very next day. He escaped again and set out on his own, surviving by stealing until he was caught again. When he was thirteen-years-old he was sent to Boys Town where he continued to get into trouble. Once he committed two armed robberies with another boy he was sent to the Indiana School for Boys in Plainfield, Indiana where he stayed for three years. Apparently the climate at the school was violent and dangerous. It was here that Manson claims that he was repeatedly attacked by both guards and other youths. When he turned sixteen he escaped and made his way to the West Coast by stealing cars and committing robberies (Petersen, 2005).

Upon this latest escape, Manson got as far as Utah before he was arrested. By this time his crimes had earned him federal charges for driving a stolen vehicle over state lines and he was sent to a federal reformatory in Washington D.C. Manson remained at the National Training School for Boys where he was subject to extensive psychological testing. His IQ tested at 109 and his aptitude in all areas was regarded as being average. He was also found to be illiterate though this would be proven to be false years later—apparently the illiteracy was a way for Manson to manipulate others into underestimating him. Some of those who tested Manson while he was in Washington, stated that he had become skilled in the ways of “the system.” He knew how to get away with doing just enough to get by. He then spent the next three years in federal reformatories before being paroled when he was nineteen in 1954 (Petersen, 2005).

In 1955, Manson married a girl by the name of Rosalie Willis who was a waitress and the daughter of a coal mining family from Ohio. She became pregnant and Manson was reportedly happy with his life as a husband and expectant father. However, due to

his many years of institutionalization, he was untrained in any skills that could help support him and his new family leading him to turn to what he knew best. It is said that he did work some low paying jobs, but car theft was what he used to supplement their income. He was caught and arrested and was sent to Terminal Island in San Pedro, California. His son, Charles, Jr. was born while he was incarcerated. Willis visited Manson faithfully for about a year and then left him for another man. By all reports, this left Manson even angrier than before (Petersen, 2005).

When Manson was released from jail in September 1958 at the age of twenty-four, he became a pimp. He also fathered a second son. During the following years he was arrested on two federal charges of stealing a check from a mailbox and attempting to cash a stolen government check. The judge initially sentenced Manson to ten years in jail but later placed him on probation. Several months later he was arrested for car theft though the case was dropped due to lack of evidence. Again in 1960 he was arrested after fleeing to Texas after he conned a female friend into investing in a company that did not exist and raping the woman's roommate. The probation that he had received earlier on federal charges was then revoked and he was sentenced to serve seven and a half years at the U. S. Penitentiary at McNeil Island in Washington State. He served seven years in prison alternating between McNeil Island and Terminal Island in California. He was released in March of 1967 at the age of thirty-two (Petersen, 2005).

Upon his release from prison, Manson settled in the Ashbury area of California. During his time in jail a lot had happened in California. San Francisco in the mid-1960s was full of young people experimenting with drugs and getting involved with the rock and roll music scene. He fit in well with the group, known as hippies. He soon became

well known; sharing his ideas about a utopian society and his “alternative visions of good and evil with them” (Petersen, 2005).

Also while Manson was in San Francisco, he met Mary Brunner who was a Berkeley librarian and environmentalist, she would also become the mother of Manson’s third son. Her beliefs about the need to save the earth appealed to any young people and together she and Manson soon gathered a following of teenagers. The impressionable young people were taken by Manson’s charisma (Petersen, 2005).

Eventually, Manson acquired a van and traveled with his group of eighteen followers to the Los Angeles area. There the group met Beach Boy member, Dennis Wilson and musician Gary Hinman. They moved in briefly with Hinman but left and settled in an abandoned ranch located twenty-five miles from downtown Los Angeles in the California Hills. They lived a commune-like existence at the ranch and survived by eating discarded food from grocery store trash bins. A lot of drug use took place and Manson claimed to have a psychic connection to the members of his group which by this time had become a cult lead by Manson who began to claim that he was Jesus Christ reincarnated (Petersen, 2005).

Music had been a passion for Manson for years. He had taken singing lessons when he was a child and sang solos in church. For many years he told prison officials that he would like to get into the music business upon his release from jail. It is supposed that his friendship with Dennis Wilson was largely based on the contacts that Wilson had in the music industry. While he was in Los Angeles, Manson had come into contact with a man named Terry Melcher who was a record producer and the son of Doris Day. He

had asked Melcher to listen to his music but Melcher was not impressed and refused to sign Manson to a record deal. This left Manson angry and jealous (Petersen, 2005).

Terry Melcher had lived at 10050 Cielo Drive in the hills above Los Angeles with his girlfriend Candace Bergen though they had moved by the summer of 1969. The home was now being rented to actress Sharon Tate and her husband, director, Roman Polanski. On August 9, 1969, Tate, who was pregnant at the time was entertaining some friends at the house while her husband was away at a film shoot. The guests that night included hair stylist Jay Sebring, coffee heiress Abigail Folger, and her boyfriend Wojciech Frykowski. Also on the property was the caretaker, William Garretson who had a visitor that night named Steve Parent. The next morning, on August 10, when the housekeeper arrived at the home, she found the bodies of five people who had been murdered the previous night. Garretson had been listening to music in his room and had been oblivious to what had happened. His friend however, happened to walk out to his car when the killers were either arriving or leaving and he was killed as well (Petersen, 2005).

When the investigators arrived, they determined that there were 169 stab wounds and seven gunshot wounds. Blood from the victims was used to write "Death to Pigs" on the walls of the house. Tate had unfortunately locked up the two guard dogs that she owned to keep them away from a stray kitten that she had just recently taken in (Petersen, 2005).

The next night, Leno and Rosemary LaBianca were returning from vacation to their home at 3301 Waverly Drive. According to the investigators, Manson broke into the LaBianca's home and tied up the couple. He then left and then told Tex Watson, Patricia Krenwinkel and Leslie Van Houten to kill the couple. Manson's orders were

followed; Labianca was stabbed twenty-six times and his wife forty-one times. Their son found them the next day; LaBianca had a pillowcase over his head and in blood on the walls were the words, “Death to Pigs Rise,” and the misspelled, “Helter Skelter” (Petersen, 2005).

The police did determine that the two nights of violence were related but they did not have many leads until October. In October, Susan Atkins, one of Manson’s followers was arrested for a murder that had taken place in July 1969. Atkins and Robert Beausoleil killed Gary Hinman, the musician and drug dealer that the group met when they first arrived in the Los Angeles area, when a drug deal had gone bad. When Atkins was arrested she implicated the Manson group, which was soon to be known as the “Manson Family,” by the media, in the “Tate-LaBianca” murders. After they hid out in the desert for two months the police captured the group (Petersen, 2005).

The killings that took place early in August were reportedly related to the murder of Hindman in July. During the trial, it was revealed that Manson ordered the killers to go to a mansion in the California Hills and kill the residents and to “Make the crime look as though it had been committed by a group of African Americans.” After the murder of the LaBiancas, Manson “instructed one of the girls to take La Bianca’s wallet and leave it in a restroom in a predominantly African American neighborhood in hopes that the credit cards would be found and used, thereby deferring suspicion” (Petersen, 2005).

Manson had been preaching to the group that “there would soon be a global race war and that the only people to survive would be himself and his followers.” In his frenzy, Manson believed that African American would look to him for leadership (Petersen, 2005).

The prosecution rested after twenty-two weeks of testimony. The defense had no witnesses. Several bizarre incidences took place during the trial, with outbursts from Manson's followers as well as Manson himself trying to physically attack the judge. One of the lawyers who defended Manson was even found dead after the trial, his body wedged between two boulders (Petersen, 2005).

The jury began deliberating on January 15, 1971 and it took them nine days to reach a guilty verdict for Manson, Krenwinkel, Atkins and Van Houten for murder and conspiracy to commit murder. Tex Watson was tried later and was also found guilty. Manson was sent to San Quentin to await sentencing. In April of 1971 he and the others were sentenced to death but the sentence was commuted in 1972 when the death penalty was abolished in California; their sentences were changed to life in prison (Petersen, 2005).

Manson remains in the California State Prison in Corcoran, California. He has been denied parole repeatedly. He receives more mail than any other prisoner in the country. Fascination with the details of the murders and the Manson family continues today, more than thirty years later and Manson has become somewhat of an anti-hero and an icon in some parts of popular culture. In fact, the rock band, Guns N Roses recorded one of his songs, "Look at Your Game Girl" in the early 1990s (Petersen, 2005).

Harold Shipman

With over 200 suspected murders to his name, Harold Shipman is the most prolific serial killer of modern times. Until Shipman's crimes came to light, Pedro Lopez, the "Monster of the Andes," who was convicted of fifty-seven murders in 1980,

though he claimed to have killed many more, had the distinction of being the most prolific serial killer that was known (Greig, 2006e).

Harold Frederick Shipman was born in 1946 into a working-family in Nottingham, England. He had a brother and a sister, but it was clear that he was his mother's favorite. She felt Fred (what he was called) was destined for great things and taught him that he was better than his peers even though he was not especially smart and had to work hard to achieve academic success. He formed few friendships with other children which was only made more difficult when his mother became ill with lung cancer (Greig, 2006e).

Shipman took on the roll as caretaker to his mother, waiting with her after school for the family doctor who would inject her with morphine to relieve her pain. It is theorized that the stress from this experience during his formative years may have pushed him into a mental illness that caused him to re-enact the role of caretaker and doctoring the fashion that he later did (Greig, 2006e).

When Shipman was seventeen, his mother died. He enrolled in medical school despite having to retake his entry exams. At this time he met and married his wife, Primrose and the pair went on to have four children as he began his career as a doctor in general practice. His colleagues complained about his superior attitude and rudeness. He then began to suffer from blackouts which he attributed to epilepsy. Evidence emerged however, that he was taking large amounts of pethidine, on the pretext of prescribing the drug to patients. He was dismissed from the practice, but within two years he was once again working as a doctor, this time in a different town (Greig, 2006e).

At his new job, Shipman soon earned the respect of his colleagues and patients. However, it was during this time, over a twenty-four year period that he is estimated to have killed at least 236 patients. His status as a pillar of the community as well as his bedside manner masked for many years that fact that the death toll among Shipman's patients was quite high (Greig, 2006e).

Over the years many people, including relatives of the deceased and undertakers had raised concerns about the deaths of Shipman's patients. His victims almost always died suddenly, often with no previous record of terminal illness; they were usually found sitting in a chair, fully clothed, rather than in bed. The police, having been alerted, examined the doctor's records but found nothing. It later was made clear that Shipman had falsified patient records, but at this time the doctor's calmness of authority was still protecting him against closer examination (Greig, 2006e).

In 1998 Kathleen Grundy, a healthy, active eighty-one-year-old ex-mayor, with a reputation for community service, died suddenly at home. Shipman was called and pronounced her dead and he had also said that a post-mortem examination was not necessary since she had paid him a visit shortly before her death (Greig, 2006e).

When her funeral was over, her daughter, Angela Woodruff received a badly typed copy of Mrs. Grundy's will which left Shipman a large sum of money. Herself a solicitor, Woodruff knew the will was a fake. She contacted the police who took the unusual step of exhuming Mrs. Grundy's body. They discovered that a lethal dose of morphine had been administered to her. In murdering Mrs. Grundy, Shipman made little effort to cover his tracks. Once the true cause of Mrs. Grundy's death was discovered, more graves were opened and more murders came to light (Greig, 2006e).

During his trial, Shipman showed no remorse for the fifteen murders that he was accused of. More murders were known of, but these were more than enough to make sure that he received a life sentence. He was condescending to the police and the court and continued to insist on his innocence until the end. Four years later without warning, he hanged himself in his prison cell (Greig, 2006e).

Today, the murders of Harold Shipman remain a mystery; there was no sexual motive for the murders and until his last murder there was no profit involved either. His murders did not fit any usual pattern of a serial killer either; in most cases his victims seem to have died in comfort and at peace. Several commentators have mentioned the idea that he may have enjoyed the sense of having control over life and death and that over the years he became addicted to this power. Ultimately, in taking his own life, Harold Shipman exercised ultimate power and control (Greig, 2006e).

Ted Bundy

Ted Bundy was born Theodore Robert Cowell in November 1946 in Vermont. His mother, Louise Cowell had become pregnant by a serviceman who disappeared before he was born. She and her baby lived with her strict parents in Philadelphia. In order to avoid a scandal, his grandparents pretended that Ted was actually their child and that his mother was actually his sister. When he was four, Ted and his mother moved to Tacoma, Washington where she married a man named John Bundy; a year later, in 1951, Ted took his stepfather's name (Greig, 2006i).

Ted consistently achieved good grades in school but he did not easily get along with the other children. He was bullied when he was young and later as he was older he acquired a reputation for petty theft and lying (Greig, 2006i).

He attended the University of Puget Sound in Washington after high school. At this time he met a young woman, Stephanie Brooks, who had long dark hair worn with a center part. Stephanie came from a rich California family and she and Bundy went out for a while. Bundy became obsessed with her, but at the same time she found him lacking in ambition and when she left college she also broke up with him. This left Bundy devastated (Greig, 2006i).

Bundy then left college and sulked around for a while and then decided to re-enroll in college, this time he studied psychology and became active in the Republican Party. He also began working for a suicide hotline and received a commendation from the Seattle Police Department for catching a mugger. He found a new girlfriend, divorcee, Meg Anders. He was looking like a model citizen (Greig, 2006i).

However, at the same time all of this was happening, he was becoming better on the outside, a murderous rage was building on the inside of Ted Bundy. He got back in touch with Stephanie Brooks, meeting up with her on a business trip in California in 1973. She was impressed by the new Ted and unknown to Anders, Stephanie and Ted began to talk about marriage. However, in February 1974, Bundy broke off all contact with Brooks just as suddenly as she had dumped him before. What she did not know was that beforehand, he had just committed his first murder. The victim was a young woman called Lynda Healy who he abducted from her basement apartment in Seattle (Greig, 2006i).

Over the next few months five more young women would vanish in the surrounding area. Each one of the women were last seen out walking, each had long dark

hair with a center part. It was clear that there was a serial killer on the loose but the police had no bodies and no clues (Greig, 2006i).

On July 14 of that same year, on a hot summer day, crowds flocked to the shores of Lake Sammamish, but two women, twenty-three-year-old Janice Ott and nineteen-year-old Denise Naslund failed to make it back. They both had wandered from their friends and vanished. When the police investigated, several people said that they had seen Ott talking with a man whose arm was in a sling and heard him say that his name was Ted. Another witness came forward and said that this Ted had asked her to help him secure his sailboat to his car, a tan Volkswagen Beetle. She had gone with him to his car, but when he told her the boat “was somewhere up the road and they would have to drive there,” she became suspicious and declined (Greig, 2006i).

Police put out a description of the man called Ted and various calls came in. One of the calls was an anonymous call from Meg Anders saying that she thought the man might be her boyfriend Ted Bundy who was beginning to alarm her with his interest in violent sex and bondage. Bundy was checked out by the police, but the young Republican law student seemed too innocent for them to worry about and so they dropped the lead (Greig, 2006i).

Over the next three months, bodies began to be found. Ott and Naslund had been found in the woods along with the skeleton of a third victim who could not be identified. Two more bodies were found in the following month. Bundy then moved his operations out of state. His next three victims were all abducted from Utah during October. On November 8, Bundy attempted to abduct Carol DaRonch from a shopping mall in Salt Lake City. He pretended to be a police officer and lured her into his car, a VW Beetle,

but she became suspicious and managed to escape following a struggle. Later that night, however, Bundy abducted and murdered seventeen-year-old Debbie Kent (Greig, 2006i).

In the next year, Bundy moved his hunting ground to Colorado. He abducted four more women in the first half of 1975. Before the fourth body was discovered however, Bundy was arrested. A police officer stopped Bundy in Salt Lake City and looked inside his car, finding handcuffs and a stocking mask. Carol DaRonch was called in and was able to pick Bundy out of a line-up as the man who had tried to abduct her. Her evidence alone was enough to have him convicted and sentenced to jail for attempted kidnapping (Greig, 2006i).

Other evidence linked Bundy to killings in Colorado. In January 1977 he was taken to Aspen to be tried for the murder of Caryn Campbell. The respectable appearance on the outside that he had tried so hard to maintain was finally starting to wane, and it was becoming clearer that underneath he was a sexual sadist and murderer (Greig, 2006i).

During court appearances, Bundy escaped from custody and spent eight days hiding out in Aspen before being recaptured. He managed to escape again, this time by cutting a hole in the roof of his cell, crawling along and cutting another hole down into the janitor's room and then walking right out of prison, unchallenged. This escape lasted much longer (Greig, 2006i).

During his time on the loose, Bundy fled to Tallahassee, Florida where he rented a room under an assumed name close to the university. Two weeks after his escape, on January 15, 1978, he murdered again, giving up all delicacy in his approach, breaking into a sorority house, raping and murdering two women and leaving a third one badly

injured. In the following month he failed in his attempt to abduct a schoolgirl, but three days later he succeeded in abducting and murdering his final victim, twelve-year-old Kimberly Leach. After another three days, he was finally recaptured and this time he was charged with first degree murder. The evidence against him this time was the match of his teeth to the bite marks left on his victims. In July 1979 he was sentenced to death in the electric chair (Greig, 2006i).

As a law student, Ted Bundy launched several weak appeals and became a celebrity. While he was in prison, he confessed to more than thirty murders. Women proposed marriage to him; one woman even succeeded in exchanging marriage vows with him when she appeared as a defense witness during an appeal court appearance (Greig, 2006i).

Finally on January 24, 1989, Ted Bundy was executed for his crimes (Greig, 2006i).

John Wayne Gacy

John Wayne Gacy was born on March 17, 1942. He was the second of three children born to Elaine Robinson Gacy and John Wayne Gacy Sr. He grew up in a middle-class part of northern Chicago and was raised as a Catholic. John Gacy Sr. was a harsh man who frequently took out his anger through physical beatings and verbal abuse on his son. As a result, John Gacy Jr. became very close with his mother (Greig, 2006h).

When he was eleven-years-old, Gacy, Jr. sustained a severe accident in which he was struck on the head by a swing. This accident caused him to have regular blackouts throughout his teen years. He also complained of heart problems as a teenager, though this may have been just a symptom of his lifelong tendency toward hypochondria –

whenever he felt that he was under pressure he would claim to be on the brink of a heart attack (Greig, 2006h).

Gacy did poorly in high school and left before he could graduate and headed to Las Vegas in order to make his fortune. Instead, he ended up working in a mortuary where he showed an unhealthy interest in the corpses. He then returned to Chicago and began attending business college. While he was there, he discovered his ability as a salesman; he was able to talk people into doing almost anything (Greig, 2006h).

In 1964 Gacy married Marlyn Myers, a woman he met through work and whose father owned a string of Kentucky Fried Chicken franchises. Gacy decided to join the family business and became a restaurant manager. The couple had a child and Gacy became extremely active in local charity and community groups around their new home in Waterloo, Iowa. All of this ended, however, in May 1968 when Gacy was charged with raping a young employee named Mark Miller. He was sentenced to ten years for sodomy and his wife quickly divorced him (Greig, 2006h).

Gacy was released from prison after just eighteen months because of good behavior while he was inside. His father had died while he was in prison, but now his mother, whom he had always been close to, stood by him and helped him to set up a business again. He bought a new house in a suburb of Chicago and established himself as a building contractor. In June 1972 he remarried, this time to divorcee Carole Hoff. Carole and her two daughters moved into Gacy's house and the family soon became popular in the neighborhood. Gacy gave parties with Hawaiian or Western themes and was active in the local Democratic politics (Greig, 2006h).

Carole Hoff knew of Gacy's past, but thought that he had put it behind him. Just before they had married, however, Gacy had been charged with sexually assaulting a minor but the case had been thrown out when the accuser failed to come to court. Rumors soon began to circulate about Gacy's conduct with the teenage boys that he liked to employ in his business. By 1975 his marriage was failing. Carole was disturbed to find homosexual pornography around their house. The couple divorced in 1976. It had emerged later that during his marriage to Carole, that Gacy had been picking up strangers in Chicago's gay bars and had carried out several murders, burying the bodies under the house. The neighbors had even complained about the terrible smell (Greig, 2006h).

Now that he was no longer married, Gacy gave full escape for his lust for killing. He developed a ritual for killing; victims he either picked up on the street or chose from his workforce would be lured back to the house and given alcohol and marijuana. He would then offer to show them a magic trick; the victim would then be asked to put on a pair of handcuffs and would then find out that there was no magic trick. The handcuffs were real and now they were in Gacy's power. He would then proceed to torture his victims before finally strangling them to death (Greig, 2006h).

Gacy got away with murder time and time again while his neighbors suspected nothing. They did however; persistently complain about the smells coming from his house. Gacy carried on giving parties and started dressing up as a clown he called "Pogo the Clown," in which he visited sick kids in the hospital. He became such a valued member of the Democratic Party that he had his photo taken with the then First Lady, Rosalyn Carter (Greig, 2006h).

In February 1978, he abducted a young man named Jeffery Rignall. He chloroformed him, raped and tortured him but did not kill him; he just dumped him in a park. Rignall went to the police but they showed little interest, but acting alone he managed to track down his abductor and made an official complaint that was just starting to be investigated late that summer (Greig, 2006h).

Still, not being charged with anything, on October 16 of that year, fifteen-year-old Robert Piest went missing. It was discovered by his parents that he had been going to see Gacy about a job. Gacy pleaded ignorance, but the police decided to search Gacy's house. They discovered an array of suspicious objects: handcuffs, pornography, drugs and other items. They also made a note of the terrible smell. Gacy was confronted with this evidence and eventually confessed to having carried out a single murder. The police returned to the house and began to dig and soon realized that there was not one but dozens of bodies. Twenty-eight bodies in all were found around the house; the five most recent had been dumped in nearby rivers as Gacy had run out of burial space (Greig, 2006h).

Charged with thirty-three counts of murder, Gacy entered a plea of insanity. The jury found it hard to believe that a man who dug graves for his victims in advance was the victim of uncontrollable violent impulses. He was sentenced to death (Greig, 2006h).

While Gacy was in prison, he became a celebrity; admirers were able to call a premium-rate number to hear him refute the charges against him. He gave frequent interviews and showed admirers his paintings. Toward the end of his time on death row, he began to claim that he had not killed anyone after all, but he had been the victim of a

conspiracy. This claim made no difference. On May 10, 1994, John Wayne Gacy was put to death by lethal injection (Greig, 2006h).

David Berkowitz, “Son of Sam”

David Berkowitz was born on June 1, 1953 and was given up for adoption by his birth mother, Betty Falco. He was then adopted by Nathan and Pearl Berkowitz. As he grew up he was awkward and found it hard to make friends. His adoptive mother died of pancreatic cancer when David was fourteen (Greig, 2006c).

The death of his mother deeply affected Berkowitz and his grades began to slip in school. His father married again. In 1971, his father and his stepmother moved to a retirement community in Florida leaving David in New York. Shortly after his father and stepmother left, David Berkowitz joined the army and stayed on for three years where he learned to become an expert marksman. It was also during his time in the army where David had his first sexual experience with a Korean prostitute which left him with a venereal disease (Greig, 2006c).

After leaving the army in 1974, Berkowitz went back to New York and got a job as a security guard. At the same time, he began to have increasingly violent fantasies about women and his mental state began declining rapidly (Greig, 2006c).

He wrote in 1975, “The world is getting dark now. I can feel it more and more. The people, they are developing a hatred for me. You would not believe how much some people hate me. Many of them want to kill me. I do not even know these people, but still they hate me. Most of them are young. I walk down the street and they spit and kick at me. The girls call me ugly and they bother me the most. The guys just laugh. Anyhow, things will soon change for the better.” (as cited in Greig, 2006c).

Berkowitz believed that he was surrounded by demons urging him to kill and he felt increasingly powerless to resist them. At Christmas, he went out armed with a knife and stabbed two young women. Both of them survived (Greig, 2006c).

The next time the demons spoke to him he had a gun. In July 1976, two young women, Jody Valenti and Donna Lauria were sitting in a car in Queens, New York. An unseen attacker approached and shot them both through the windshield. Lauria was killed, Valenti survived (Greig, 2006c).

Three months later in October, Berkowitz struck again. Carl Denaro and Rosemary Keenan were also sitting in a parked car when shots were fired. The pair fortunately survived. The bullet matched the one that had killed Lauria (Greig, 2006c).

A month later, Berkowitz shot his next victims, Donna DeMasi and Joanna Lomino outside of a house in Queens. Both victims survived, though DeMasi was left paralyzed due to the fact that the bullet had struck her spine. By now the police were fully aware that there was a gunman on the loose (Greig, 2006c).

Berkowitz did not kill again until January of 1977. He shot Christine Freund to death as she sat in a car with her boyfriend John Diel. In March he shot Virginia Voskerrichian to death as she was walking home. A month later he targeted a couple again. This time, both Valentina Surilani and her boyfriend Alexander Esau were killed instantly (Greig, 2006c).

At the scene of the crime, a note was found at the scene addressed to the police officer that was heading the investigation. In the note, Berkowitz explains that he is a monster and the “Son of Sam” who tells him when to go out and kill. Apparently, “Sam”

referring to the demon that he felt was compelling him to commit the murders. The note was leaked to the public in early June (Greig, 2006c).

Also in early June, Berkowitz struck again, this time shooting Salvatore Lupu and Judy Placido as they sat in their car. Both of them fortunately survived.

More letters from “Son of Sam” arrived, both to the police and to the press. The police were getting a lot of leads but not enough of the leads were concrete enough to go on. The first lead that they had that was worth anything came from a resident of Yonkers, Sam Carr who had been receiving anonymous letters about his dog, followed by his dog being shot. Carr came up with a suspect, a neighbor of his by the name of David Berkowitz. However, the police did not act in time to prevent Berkowitz from attacking again.

In July, Robert Violante and Stacy Moskowitz parked their car and felt that they were safe since they were in Brooklyn. Berkowitz shot them both, killing Moskowitz and blinding Violante. Following this murder, the police received a tip that a man had been seen fleeing the scene in a car that had recently received a parking ticket. A check on parking tickets given out that night came up with the name of David Berkowitz, and cross-referencing that with the name that was given by Sam Carr, they were confident that they had their man.(Greig, 2006c).

In staking out Berkowitz’s house, the police found his car outside with a rifle lying on the front seat. When Berkowitz came out he was arrested and immediately confessed. Though it was evident that he was a paranoid schizophrenic, he was found sane and guilty and sentenced to 365 years in prison, a sentence that he is still serving to this day (Greig, 2006c).

While in prison, Berkowitz has become an evangelical Christian and his church has a website in on which he publishes his mostly religious thoughts. In recent years, Spike Lee's film, *Summer of Sam*, reminded the country of the time when a paranoid loner held an entire city of New York hostage (Greig, 2006c).

Aileen Wuornos

Aileen Wuornos has become one of the most famous serial killers not because of how many people she killed or because she killed them in any extraordinarily brutal way, she is famous simply because common wisdom says that there is no such thing as a female serial killer. This is not true; however, since there had been female serial killers before Wuornos, they just usually killed their victims in more domestic ways such as through poisonings or killing invalids that are in their care. Additionally, there have been a few female serial killers that have acted as accomplices to male counterparts. Aileen Wuornos did not fit into any of these more traditional patterns (Greig, 2006b).

Aileen Wuornos was born Aileen Pittman in Rochester, Michigan on February 29, 1956. Her teenage parents had split up before she was born. Her father Leo later became a convicted child molester. Her mother, Diane proved that she was unable to provide for her and her brother alone and in 1960 she and her brother were adopted by Diane's parents, Lauri and Britta Wuornos. This did not improve matters. Aileen suffered severe burns to her face after she and her brother had been setting fires. Aileen gave birth at the age of fifteen and the child was put up for adoption. Her grandmother died the same year of apparent liver failure though Diane suspected her father, Lauri of murder (Greig, 2006b).

Aileen dropped out of school early and left home and hit the streets. It was not long before she started working as a prostitute. She had regular run-ins with the law for mostly drug-related offenses. A brief marriage was annulled after her elderly husband took out a restraining order on her. She served a year in jail after an attempt at armed robbery conducted while she was wearing a bikini (Greig, 2006b).

In 1986, Aileen met Tyria Moore, who became the love of her life. They set up a home together living off of Aileen's prostitution. Aileen became a notoriously angry person, often fighting and always carried a gun in her purse. In an effort to keep Tyria happy, she supplemented their income with theft mainly from her clients. In November 1989, she took it one step further into murder (Greig, 2006b).

Aileen Wuornos first victim was Richard Mallory, a fifty-one-year-old electrician whose main interest was sex and drinking. Wuornos would later claim that the murder was in self defense to prevent Mallory from raping her. She went on to make this claim for all of her murders, but in this case it may have been true as it was revealed later that Mallory had been previously convicted of rape (Greig, 2006b).

Mallory's body was found in the woods near Daytona Beach on December 13, shot with a .22. In June 1990 another body was found in the Florida woodlands once again shot with a .22 and this time naked. The corpse was identified a week later as David Spears. By this time another victim had been found, Charles Carskaddon, once again he had been shot with a .22, and like Spears had been seen traveling down the main Florida freeway (Greig, 2006b).

The next victim was Peter Siems who had last been seen on June 7, heading to visit relatives. His car was found a month later, dumped by two women fitting the

approximate descriptions of Wuornos and Moore. The fifth, sixth, and seventh victims followed in August, September and November of 1990. All were shot with a .22. The police were reluctant to admit that there was a serial killer on the loose but they finally released sketches of the women who dumped Peter Siems' car. Soon, reports came in that the two women might be Aileen Wuornos and Tyria Moore. The police arrested Wuornos in a biker bar in Florida on January 9, 1991. They then found Moore at her sister's house in Philadelphia (Greig, 2006b).

In order to save herself, Moore helped the police to get a confession out of Wuornos. Rather than see Moore charged with murder, Wuornos confessed to six of the murders but did not confess to the killing of Peter Siems, whose body has yet to be found to this day (Greig, 2006b).

A jury sentenced Wuornos to death on January 27, 1992. She spent the next ten years on death row while campaigners attempted to have the death penalty revoked. In the end however, Wuornos herself demanded that the death penalty be carried out. She was executed by lethal injection on October 9, 2002 (Greig, 2006b).

Filmmakers and journalists vied for the rights to tell Wuornos's story. Some portrayed her as a monster while others thought of her as more of a victim. The truth seemed to be that Wuornos was brutalized by a miserable life but that the murders that she committed were motivated by rage, rather than the need to defend herself as she had claimed. Ultimately, the 2003 movie, *Monster*, starring Charlize Theron, who won an Oscar for her portrayal of Wuornos was made (Greig, 2006b).

Tying it all Together

Throughout this paper the author has looked at the many different facets of serial killers and the possible psychological factors that can contribute to the way in which they evolve. She talked about how psychologists can test for antisocial personality disorder in people at a young age and hopefully intervene before the person becomes violent or ends up in the legal system due to their actions.

Through the ten different case studies that were presented, the goal was to represent different types of serial killers that have evolved over time. With the exception of Jack the Ripper, we can see that for the most part, the childhood of killers seems to be an integral part in their development. This means that as a child grows into adulthood interventions have to be put into place to help the child grow into a healthy adult. Theories of where antisocial personality disorder comes from and how it develops are still being researched to this day. We can see at least in the case of John Wayne Gacy, that there may have been a link with his early head injury to his later criminal actions as it has been proposed in some of the studies that were discussed earlier in this paper. This however, does not prove anything definitively, but it does give some credibility to the theory and allows for researchers to work more in the field of head injuries to see if there is anything else that they can discover about the developing brain, injuries and personality development.

Overall, with this entire project, it was the aim of the author to cover the different possibilities that are available for further study and to use case studies from current and past serial killers as examples of where forensic psychology has been and where it can go in the future. While we may not be able to predict who will commit murder and who will

not, hopefully if we focus more on the factors that serial killers have in common, such as their family history, their upbringing and even their line of work, we can possibly help prevent someone with the tendency to commit a heinous act from going forth with their actions.

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