

Chapter Two

Serial Murder: A Literature Survey

2.1 Introduction

It seems that very little research has been done on the phenomenon of serial murder (De Hart & Mahoney, 1994; Keeney & Heide, 1995; Geberth & Turco, 1997; Grubin, 1994; Johnson & Becker, 1997; Piotrowski, 1997; Scott, 1996). Much of the research involves small clusters of descriptive cases, followed by larger, nonrandom descriptive studies of clinical and archival natures. These studies are usually followed by comparative nonrandom samples of sexual homicide cases focusing on intragroup and intergroup similarities and differences in relation to other paraphilias, Axis II phenomena, or homicides, aimed at the hopeful prediction of such occurrences (Meloy, 2000). Furthermore the majority of psychological research on individuals who committed serial murders is based on principles originating from the psychoanalytical paradigm (De Hart & Mahoney, 1994; Liebert, 1985; Liebman 1989; Pistorius, 1996; Pollock, 1995; Geberth & Turco, 1997), but viewing serial murder from a specific theoretical approach seems to be limitative. As Jenkins (1989) points out, this sort of crime can only be understood in the context of a broad sociological approach, especially since offenders achieve success by exploiting opportunities made available to them by changes in the broader culture (Jenkins, 1988). From further literature investigation it seems that no research has been done on serial murder from an interactional and/or systemic standpoint. What also becomes pronounced during the literature survey is that little research has been done using actual serial murderers as respondents (Keeney & Heide, 1995), and most involve secondary sources such as reference books, biographies of offenders, police memoirs and accounts from forensic scientists (Jenkins, 1988, Meloy, 2000).

Lunde (1976) lists a number of factors that act as deterrents in psychological research on murderers: firstly, researchers rarely have access to a few, let alone large numbers of participants, therefore results are more difficult to generalise and repeat by other researchers. Secondly, access is another stumbling block: prior to conviction the individual is cautious about incriminating himself, and after conviction prisoners are inaccessible in maximum security prisons, or may have been executed. Finally Lunde states that interviewing murderers in the 'grim' atmosphere of a prison is an unpleasant undertaking. In summary it seems that Lunde believes that only a quantitative paradigm for research on serial murder is required and secondly, that pragmatic problems which confines research on murder, makes investigation of this phenomenon inaccessible. The research of this thesis aims to approach serial murder from a more descriptive approach and will investigate serial murder from a primary source of information, the individuals themselves and make use of psychological tests and interviews to draw conclusions.

Serial murders are fast becoming a common phenomenon and there has been a steady increase in awareness of these crimes over the past five years internationally and in South Africa (Pistorius, 1996). Jenkins (1989) says that multiple homicide captures large amount of public and media interest and feels that media coverage for such a crime committed in the early part of the century is similar to what might be found currently. Control is currently law enforcement's only viable strategy in response to the phenomenon of serial murder. Control means to identify, find, and apprehend (Egger, 1984). Researchers have noted that the understanding of the psychosocial context of serial murderers may aid in the identification, apprehension and prevention of these crimes (De Hart & Mahoney, 1994).

In the following section, the epidemiology, types of murder, definition of serial murder, the serial murderer and the victim, the modus operandi, crime scene and signature will be discussed. These points will be followed by a discussion of serial murder and gender, the effects of serial murder on the community, the role of technology in serial murder, the role of profiling, the role of different disciplines and finally serial murder in South Africa.

2.2 Epidemiology

The recent increase in awareness of serial murders over the past few years can give the false impression that the phenomenon is a contemporary one, but it has been reported for centuries. Cases have been documented as early as the 15th century when Gilles de Rais reportedly sodomised and killed over 140 young boys (Internet Crime Archives, 1996). German psychiatrist Richard von Krafft-Ebing published the first scientific study in 1886, commenting on, amongst others, the case of Vincenz Verzeni who murdered and disembowelled a young female. Verzeni reported to have enjoyed strangling women and experienced sexual pleasure during the murders (Meloy, 2000).

In the late 1980's the Federal Bureau of Investigation estimated that there were about 45 multiple murderers active in the United States of America at any one time (DeHart & Mahoney, 1994). Snyman (1992) states that in the United States (US), law enforcement officials claim that between 35 and 500 serial murderers are currently at large. Leyton (1986) stated that between 1970 and 1986 the incidence of serial murder in the US had increased approximately 400%. Meloy (2000) states that the number of murders which can be classified as sexual homicides represent less than 1% of homicides reported to law enforcement throughout the United States.

While recordings and research on this phenomenon are more extensive in the US, it gives the false impression that this country has an above average incidence rate of serial murder. Between 1960 and 1985, a total of 47 cases of serial murder were reported in countries like Hungary, Germany (Jenkins, 1989), England, France and countries in Southern and Southeast Asia (Snyman, 1992). Jenkins (1989) feels while often literature makes use of a historical perspective and mentions past cases in order to show that serial murder is not a new phenomenon, no one has attempted to analyse serial murder in any one historical period, either cataloguing or investigating social reactions. He feels it is this lack of a long-term historical view which has led to the misconception that there is a sudden increase of serial murders in America. For example, examining extreme cases of serial murder in which ten or more people were murdered there were approximately twenty-four known incidences between 1900 and 1940. If cases where the victim tally was five or more victims then the number would increase into the region of eight or more (Jenkins, 1989). In Germany between 1920 and 1940 there were a dozen cases in which a serial killer claimed over twenty victims (Jenkins, 1988).

Researchers differ in their explanation for the increase in incidence. Some say that serial murders have remained proportionately constant over the years, but identification, detection, and labelling has improved in recent years, while others claim there has been an increase. 'Linkage blindness' can also contribute to the 'dark' or hidden figures in that there is not a comprehensive system for linking data on crimes committed over long periods of time and in various geographical regions (Egger, 1984).

2.3 Types of murder

In the South African context, when charged, people are charged for murder, irrespective of the number of victims. How can one then distinguish academically between various types of murder and between murder and serial murder?

Douglas, Burgess, Burgess and Ressler (1992) distinguish between 32 different forms of homicide. The four broad categories that homicide has been divided up into are: criminal enterprise homicide, personal cause homicide, sexual homicide, and group cause homicide. Serial murder is a form of murder falling in the category of multicide (Hale, 1994). Multicide implies more than one homicide. The other two types are spree and mass murder. A person who commits mass murder, kills a number of people in a single episode (Egger, 1984), for example walking into a restaurant and shooting everyone inside. An example of spree murder would be a situation where a person travels across a country killing people at random.

2.4 Definition of serial murder

Creating a common definition for serial murder is a difficult task specifically if one aims to label the person as a serial murderer instead of trying to understand the person, his context and his circumstances. In dealing with a crime characterised by a lack of 'rational' motive, scholars have difficulty in deciding what is regarded as 'rational' (Jenkins, 1989). Furthermore, personality descriptions differ from region to region. American and European psychiatric classification systems differ and even within classification systems definitions change over time.

McKenzie (1995) feels that the issue has been complicated by authors using various terms interchangeably. These terms include: lust murder, serial murder, mass murder, sexual homicide,

multicide and multiple murder. She defines serial murder as "one- on- one murder, repetitive, involving a stranger, with a motive known only to the murderer" (McKenzie, 1995, p3). Meloy's (2000) definition includes that there must be sexual behaviour combined with murder to fulfill the criteria. Emphasising a sexual aspect to the criteria could lead to the exclusion of females from this category (Wilson & Hilton, 1998) because their murders, as with some males, do not necessarily have overtly sexual characteristics. Also, "sexual behaviour" can be a very ambiguous term, it can occur before, during and after the killing or throughout the murder. It can range from conscious fantasy, physiological arousal, masturbation, to penetration orally, anally or vaginally (Meloy, 2000). The 'sexualness' may be expressed symbolically through obvious means such as genital mutilation, or in a manner which is only known to the perpetrator, thus making it more difficult to determine the sexual nature of the crime.

Currently scholars have agreed that multiple murder be grouped into three categories:

- 1) mass
- 2) spree
- 3) serial murder

Mass murder would be killing three or more individuals at one time (Hickey, 1991; Keeney & Heide, 1995; Levin & Fox, 1985; Leyton, 1986; Norris, 1988). The killing of three or more individuals in different locations but within the context of a single event is called spree murder (Keeney & Heide, 1995). For serial murder it was the killing of multiple victims and the time factor that comes into play when creating many of the definitions for serial murder (Keeney & Heide, 1995). The time period can be days or up to years.

In trying to reach a conclusion in a definition of serial murder, two common assumptions are

arrived at in psychiatric literature:

- i) The serial murderer is male, and
- ii) this type of murder is a form of "lust murder" perpetrated by a "sexual sadist".

Keeney and Heide (1994, 1995) dispute the notion that serial murder is the domain of the male person. Other researchers assume that the phenomenon is so obvious that creating an operational definition is unnecessary (Keeney & Heide, 1995).

Holmes and DeBurger (1988) have divided the phenomenon of serial murder into four 'profiles'. The differences are based on behavioural background, victimology, modus operandi, and geographic mobility. *Visionary* serial murders occur because of a motivation of psychotic delusions or hallucinations. *Mission- orientated* serial murder occurs when an individual seeks to rid society of a certain 'undesirable' group of people. *Hedonistic* serial murder occurs for pleasure, thrills, or contentment. *Power/ control* serial murder occurs as a compensation for a lack of social or personal mastery by exerting control over victims (Holmes & DeBurger, 1988). Therefore definitions tend to be either too narrow or too broad or even too ignorant.

For communication and research purposes an operational definition was created for the purpose of this study. In this study the term serial murder will be used to describe a set of circumstances when the following occurs:

- i) The person(s) is motivated to kill.
- ii) The murder of three or more persons.
- iii) The killings occur at different times.
- iv) The killings appear unconnected.

- v) The motive is not primarily for material gain.
- vi) The motive is not primarily revenge. Revenge may play a role but it is not revenge against a single person or individual but rather against a category of individuals and the perpetrator selects his victims accordingly.
- vii) The elimination of a witness is not the intention.

The researcher feels that the descriptive definition offered here, helps determine which persons could participate in the study, gives appropriate leeway yet has set parameters. It allows for pre-murder contact, such as the type of person who murders people staying at a boarding house, it allows for the presence or absence of sexual activity during the murder, it also allows for the aspect of revenge. As described above, it is revenge against a certain type or class of individual such as the homeless, or prostitutes, not revenge directed to specific victims for actions directly committed against the murderer prior to the murder.

This definition is also not gender biased and acknowledges that women are just as capable of committing serial murder as men are. What is noteworthy is that while most researchers acknowledge that there is a psychological motivation for the serial murder, the psychological aspect rarely features in any definitions of the term serial murder. Perhaps this reflects how little is actually known about the 'psyche' of the serial murder, and rather how much is known about hard evidence such as the crime scene, clues, geographical data, and chronology.

2.5 The serial murderer and the victim

The following questions can be posed: what picture does literature, separate from a clinical pathological point of view, offer on who the serial murderers are, and secondly, who are the

victims of serial murders?

2.5.1 Developmental themes in the serial murderer

Juvenile Sexual Homicide has also been recorded (Johnson & Becker, 1997; Myers, Burgess & Nelson, 1998; Myers & Blashfield, 1997) and can give insight into the development of individuals involved with such crimes. Meloy (2000) reports that adolescent sexual homicide occurs at approximately the same rate as adults. In a study on the childhood predictors of violent behaviour Friedman et al. (1999) indicated certain variables. Variables for both men and women were (a) having been rated by psychologists at age seven as displaying “deviant” or “stereotyped” behaviour in childhood, (b) having been rated at age four as being relatively less “normal” in behaviour. Therefore, abnormal behaviour in childhood could be considered to be the most reliable of childhood predictors of violent behaviour in adulthood. Lower intelligence was not a predictor of violence in women but was in men. Further findings for men indicated (a) lower intelligence and low scores on WRAT spelling and reading tests; (b) less cooperative, more resistant; (c) less friendly or responsive; and (d) having less attachment to mother at age seven. Three surprising indicators for men for the prediction of violent behaviour were (a) longer attention span at age four; (b) smaller number of persons cared for in the home, and (c) resuscitation at birth. The third indicator here could be due to the loss of oxygen at birth which could cause mild brain damage which could possibly impair control of aggressive impulses. Meloy (2000) states that adolescents would usually be diagnosed with conduct disorder according to the DSM-IV criteria and would be likely to have a history of psychotic symptoms, most commonly paranoia. With regards to Axis II phenomena, Cluster A traits (schizoid, paranoid, schizotypal) are more likely than Cluster B traits (borderline, antisocial, narcissistic, and histrionic), Meloy feels that this perhaps accounts for the psychotic symptoms and absence of a

psychotic diagnosis at the time of evaluation. They may also appear to be moderately psychopathic with most reporting sexually violent fantasies preceding the crime (Myers & Blashfield, 1997). Meloy further states that although many were reared in chaotic family environments and were physically abused, many do not have a history of sexual abuse.

In a study of 14 juveniles who had committed sexual homicide while under the age of 18 (Myers and Blashfield, 1997) 12 youths displayed one or more Axis I diagnosis at the time of the crimes, with conduct disorder being the most common (n= 12, 86%). Other Axis I diagnoses were substance abuse disorders (n= 6), ADHD (n= 3), anxiety disorders (n=3) and dysthymia (n= 2). This sample averaged 2.3 Axis I disorders per individual. None of the youths were found to have a current or past psychotic disorder by the Diagnostic Interview for Children and Adolescents (DICA-R) or clinical interview, however, a history of psychotic symptoms were found in 11 (85%) of the candidates. Although these were common they were not reported as being consistently experienced or leading to a major disturbance in psychosocial adaption to justify a psychotic disorder diagnosis.

Using the Schedule for Nonadaptive and Adaptive Personality (SNAP) eight of the candidates met the SNAP criteria for at least one personality disorder. Contrary to expectations antisocial personality disorder and borderline personality disorder diagnoses were not common. Candidates displayed more DSM-III-R cluster A symptomatology than cluster B. Five had high t- scores (>65) for schizoid, five had high t- scores for schizotypal. Four of the 13 had elevated t- scores for sadistic. Two of the candidates differed from the rest by having low psychopathy scores, no conduct disorder or personality disorder diagnosis on the SNAP. There were also the only two functioning reasonably well at school according to their grades, not having failed a grade, not

displaying any serious behaviour problems at school, and not in need of remedial classes.

Regarding family background, 13 (93%) members had chaotic family circumstances, this was defined as parental abandonment or neglect, child abuse, unstable living arrangements with frequent geographical moves, parental incarceration, parental substance abuse, and/ or serious parental arguing/ fighting. Almost all 14 had experienced significant academic problems.

Thirteen of the 14 were prepared to answer questions regarding sexual fantasies. Eight of the 12 youths questioned admitted to having violent sexual fantasies. Fantasy is commonly believed to be the root cause of almost all sex crimes and sex murders (Myers & Blashfield, 1997; Myers et al 1998; Warren, Hazelwood & Dietz, 1996). The phenomenon of catathymia is also believed to lead to sex murder. This occurs when the individual's psychological equilibrium is overwhelmed by powerful emotions, often stemming from conflicted relationships. Catastrophic, unprovoked violence results as the tension is released. The fantasy becomes a mental template which guides the individual in the commission of his crime. These fantasies often begin in early to middle teenage years and sometimes even in childhood.

Dietz (Johnson & Becker, 1997) believes that before a person becomes a serial murderer the crime has already been committed in fantasy in his own mind. When these individuals are young they express their aggression by torturing animals or being exceptionally cruel to their children, indicating that they are already thinking about committing adult- like violent acts. Johnson and Becker's study (1997) of 9 adolescents who expressed a desire to commit serial murder indicates that all nine expressed fantasies of a sexually sadistic nature, fantasies that were very similar to the types expressed by convicted adult and juvenile serial murderers (Myers & Blashfield, 1997;

Myers et al 1998) when they were adolescents. For example one of Johnson and Becker's case examples reported the following:

S was a 16- year- old white male who was referred by a concerned social worker after he had admitted to multiple animal killings. He gained an interest in dissecting animals following a worm dissection exercise in his sixth grade science class. In the eighth grade, he stole a fetal pig from his biology class and dissected it on his own. He became curious about the textures of the animal tissues, tasted parts of it, and recalled becoming sexually excited by the dissection. S volunteered at an emergency room near his house where he eventually asked to witness a human autopsy, but this experience was denied him. He had a juvenile court history including shoplifting and runaway. S tested at an above- average IQ of 125, although he did relatively poor in school. He abused alcohol, sleeping pills, and marijuana when he became a teenager. At the age of 15, S began to kill animals. First, he killed a cat, and went on to kill rabbits, birds, dogs, ducks, and other cats. He usually killed via strangulation or stabbing. The animals skulls were prepared and proudly mounted as trophies in his bedroom. On one occasion, he became sexually excited while killing an animal and placed his erect penis inside the open wound of the animal and masturbated. S admitted to fantasies of killing humans including recurrent thoughts of rape ending in strangulation, necrophilia, and body mutilation. He fantasized about keeping the sexual organs and skulls as trophies. He also described other sexually sadistic fantasies that always ended in death. Additional paraphilic fantasies included voyeurism, exhibitionism, urophilia, fetishistic cross dressing, frotteurism, and bestiality. He had a long history of masturbation to pornographic materials.

(Johnson & Becker, 1997 p. 337)

These fantasies expressed here by an individual expressing a desire to become a serial murderer are unnervingly similar to those expressed by other convicted serial murderers. It may therefore be pertinent for mental health workers to ask adolescents referred for violent crimes or sex offenses about the nature of their fantasies and take a thorough sexual history. Yet, many 'normal' individuals experience deviant fantasies, including sadistic content, but not all act out on them. Few take their fantasies to the point of murder and Holmes and Holmes (1994) do not believe that at present there exist a clear set of indicators that could help identify children who will ultimately kill. However, such fantasies may indicate a need for professional help no less. With regards to the victims, they typically appear to be female acquaintances of the same race who live near the perpetrator, they typically are 10 years older than the perpetrator. The victim is usually vaginally assaulted, stabbed and bludgeoned to death. The attack usually takes place in the victim's home (Meloy, 2000).

Ansevics and Doweiko (1991) examines various literature on 11 individuals who committed serial murder and came up with certain developmental themes that suggest common developmental characteristics for these people during childhood and adolescence:

Table 1: Percentages of Characteristics for Individuals who

Committed Serial Murder

Age at Onset:	24.7 years
Education:	13.45 years
Religion:	64% Roman Catholic

	36% Born Again Christian
Marital Status:	73% Single
	(36% single and living with someone)
	27% Married
	(63% had live- in person)
Average IQ:	116,73
	(Bright normal- 84%)
	1 SD above average
Drug Abuse History:	82% no substance abuse history
	73% used drugs and/ or alcohol before commission of murder
Average Height:	71 inches
Police Affiliation or Paraphernalia:	91%
Family Violence History:	82%
Sexual Abuse History:	9%
Used Violent Pornography	73%
Adolescent Sexual Acting Out History Without Treatment:	91%
Sexual Fetish:	100%

(Ansevics & Doweiko, 1991, p118-119)

2.5.2 Diagnosis: mad or bad?

There is a strong tendency to try and label these individuals as having a psychiatric illness. This is also reflected in the terminology used in an attempt to classify such individuals. For some the question of early criminality plays a large role in an attempt to predict extreme violence later in life. The “MacDonald triad” was an attempt to predict such violence. The triad suggests the importance of a complex of symptoms in a child- bed-wetting, arson, and the torture of animals (Jenkins, 1988). Yet, like most theories there are cases that support and refute this hypothesis. There are instances of a group of individuals who have achieved respectability by their mid-thirties and by the time they committed their first murders over half were married, had stable family relationships, and been living in the same house for several years (Jenkins, 1988).

Much of the literature states or eludes in some manner that the serial killers are “psychopaths” while paying little or no attention to the clinical criteria necessary to make such a conclusion (Geberth & Turco, 1997). Research by Geberth and Turco (1997) attempts to examine the extent to which the criteria for antisocial personality disorder and sexual sadism are met by a sample of serial murderers whose cases were documented by media, academic literature and law enforcement literature. Crime scenes and case histories were employed to try and identify commonalities in the psychological composition and personal background of these offenders that are consistent with clinical criteria. Out of a total sample of 387 serial murderers they included 68 subjects who had sexually violated and murdered their victims. Of the 68 most were not grossly psychotic or insane in the legal sense because they were not judged unfit to stand trial at the time of the court proceedings. Psychological investigation has not led investigators to the conclusion that the majority of sexual murderers are psychologically ill, either in the medical or legal sense. Also, few have been driven by delusions or hallucinations. Of their 387 serial

murderers, only 68 met the DSM-IV criteria for antisocial personality disorder and sexual sadism (Geberth & Turco, 1997).

Geberth and Turco's explanation for this is as follows; the behaviours of the subjects indicated that psychopathic sexual sadists killed because they liked to kill. This means, they satisfied psychological desires through the murders. These desires were libidinal wishes that were not expressed in their daily lives and were a product of their developmental arrests and unresolved needs. Following a murder their behaviour returned to normal until the next outburst. The victim, a female, became the target on which the "badness" was displaced from the mother. The fusion of destructive impulses resulted from disorganised developmental experiences and faulty object relations along with the incapacity for empathic bonding characteristic of the antisocial personality disorder diagnosis (Geberth & Turco, 1997).

Research which may to some degree refute Geberth and Turco's work is that done by Holt, Meloy and Strack (1999) who took a non- random sample of 41 inmates from a maximum security prison who were classified as either psychopathic or non- psychopathic and violent or sexually violent. Their conclusions stated that there was a significant and positive relationship between sadism and psychopathy as measured by clinical interview, psychological testing, and behaviour history, thus replicating the work of Hart, Forth and Hare (1991). It fails, however, to demonstrate a relationship between sexual sadism and psychopathy. It also fails to show a difference on all measures of sadism when subjects were classified as violent or sexually violent.

Meloy (2000) later states the following:

Virtually all sexual homicide perpetrators evidence narcissistic and psychopathic personality traits. The pathological narcissism, whether or not it meets the threshold for a DSM-IV diagnosis of narcissistic personality disorder, is usually seen in the perpetrator's sense of entitlement, grandiosity, and emotional detachment. The psychopathy, whether or not it meets the threshold for primary psychopathy (Hare, 1991), is usually manifested in the perpetrator's predation, cruelty towards others (at times diagnosed as sexual sadism), deceptiveness, and manipulation.

(Meloy, 2000: 7)

This statement, however, neglects the pervasive nature necessary in the diagnoses of all personality disorders according to the DSM-IV, and focuses on behaviours currently being expressed by the individual.

A study done by Mullen, Pathé, Purcell and Stuart (1999) on stalkers concluded the following. They grouped stalkers into five subtypes; rejected, intimacy-seeking, incompetent, resentful, and predatory types. The predatory group is relatively small but are important to recognise given their potential for sexual violence. With sexual offenders elements of stalking are relatively common. Yet it appears that stalkers have a different collection of psychopathology as to those posed so far for serial murder. Stalkers may often fit into the spectrum of paranoid disorders. Intimacy-seeking stalkers include those who may have erotomanic delusions, both secondary to preexisting psychotic disorders such as schizophrenia and as part of a delusional disorder. Rejected stalkers

may display characteristics in which the clinging to a relationship in inadequate individuals merges into the assertive entitlement of the narcissistic and the persistent jealousy of the paranoid. Resentful stalkers present an almost pure culture of persecution, with paranoid personalities, delusional disorders of the paranoid type, and paranoid schizophrenia. Compared to public mental health patients, stalkers are more than twice as likely to have a previous conviction for violence, and also more likely to have comorbid substance abuse disorder (Mullen et al., 1999).

Certain researchers suggest serial murderers are not the product of a major mental illness but can be attributed to free will and conscious choice. Levin and Fox (1985) see psychopathology as being integral to the personality structure of the serial murderer. Yet psychopathology does not hold the key to explaining serial murder, not all people diagnosed with antisocial personality disorder will kill, and not all serial murderers are 'psychopaths'. Brown (1991) refers to several diagnostic categories when describing serial murder, they are; personality disorders (antisocial and sadistic personality disorder) or some form of sexual disorder, a small percentage can be diagnosed with a psychotic illness and some have been found to have an organic pathology. In another study by McElroy, Soutullo, Taylor, Nelson, Beckman, Brusman, Ombaba, Strakowski and Keck (1999), who examined the psychiatric features of 36 men convicted of sexual offenses, discovered that their participants displayed high rates of DSM-IV Axis I disorders. 83% had a substance use disorder, 58% a paraphilia, 61% a mood disorder (13 of the 22 with mood disorders had a bipolar disorder), 39% an impulse control disorder, 36% an anxiety disorder, and 17% an eating disorder. With Axis II disorders, 72% met DSM-IV criteria for antisocial personality disorder. Furthermore, respondents reported experiencing high rates of Axis I disorders, especially substance use and mood disorders, in first degree relatives.

Milton (1997) reports that Faulk proposed a typology for psychopathology and motive of sex offenders. He felt that offenders may fall into one or more of the following groups:

- i) The 'normal' man in abnormal circumstances such as a person caught up in group excitement and commits group rape.
- ii) Suppressed sexual desires, such as a man under stress who gives in to forbidden sexual desires.
- iii) Sexual deviancy such as the paraphilias.
- iv) Mentally ill subjects, in other words, sexual offending secondary to a mental illness including organic disorders.
- v) Learning disabled individuals.
- vi) Antisocial personality disordered individuals.
- vii) Severely inhibited personality, such as resisted but overwhelming urges or drives leading to an offence towards adults or children.

Increasingly recognition is being given to dynamic variables. Four groups have been identified according to patterns of denial. Firstly, rationalizers who admit to offence but deny that they caused any harm. This group may include a large proportion of child molesters. Secondly, externalizers, who blame victims and spouses for their offences. This group may include people who offend against young females. Thirdly, internalizers, who admit both to offence and its harm, these people usually are heterosexual incest offenders. Fourthly, absolute deniers, who offend against adult females. Milton (1997) identifies offence specific characteristics in sexual offenders. In sexual homicide, which can arise out of any sexual offence, people who killed were characterised by lifelong isolation and lack of heterosexual relationships.

2.5.3 Victims

Often victims may share common characteristics such as prostitutes, females, or looks, but the events surrounding the murder may differ. The victim need not have taunted nor threatened the person in any way. Victims may share common features of being prestigeless, powerless, and from lower socioeconomic groups (vagrants, prostitutes, migrant workers, homosexuals, missing children and the elderly). Holmes and DeBurger (1988) list five primary elements of serial murder:

- i) The murders are usually one- on- one events.
- ii) The relationship between victim and assailant is usually that of a stranger.
- iii) Due to the stranger perpetration, the motives are not clearly obvious.
- iv) The individual is motivated to kill, yet often the murder comes at the end of a long period of brutality.
- v) The central element is repetitive homicide (Holmes & DeBurger, 1988).

Meloy (2000) states that most victims of sexual homicide are female strangers or casual acquaintances, not consensual sexual intimates. Most often they are of the same race as the perpetrator. While the most common victims of violent crime are males, female victimization in sexually violent crimes is expected. From a *relational* point of view, what is different about sexual homicide is that it is similar to other paraphilias and dissimilar to other crimes of violence. While paraphilic individuals deliberately target strangers as victims, nonsexually violent individuals target victims who are well- known or intimately involved with them (Meloy, 2000). Sexual homicide perpetrators, even when intimately involved with a partner, will most likely go outside the relationship to select another object to sexually assault or kill. As a subgroup of sexual homicide perpetrators, sexual sadists may use consensual partners to assist them when

beginning to kill stranger female victims, they may even practice certain acts on their partners (Meloy, 2000).

Frequently the pattern of a person committing serial murder is revealed through his choice of victims. In many cases the victims are chosen solely on the basis that they crossed the path of the person. Victims are self-selecting only from their being at a place and point in time (Egger, 1984). These common features in serial murder victims contribute to the fear instilled in communities when such events occur.

2.6 Modus operandi, crime scene and signature

Sexual homicides are usually organised or disorganised in offence characteristics. This is a typology developed by the Behavioural Sciences Unit of the United States of America's Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Since the creation of this typology research has suggested that (a) organised crime scenes are more likely to occur in serial sexual murders than single sexual murders and (b) organised crime scenes are highly suggestive of sexual sadism (Meloy, 2000; Warren, Hazelwood & Dietz, 1996). With this in mind, however, 'mixed' cases do occur. A disorganised crime scene may be indicative of a catathymic process, rather than a pre-planned crime.

Evaluation of the crime scene helps determine a modus operandi and if there is evidence of a signature (Douglas & Munn, 1990). The modus operandi is typically dynamic and serves the purpose of protecting the perpetrator's identity, ensuring success, and facilitating escape. The signature, however, is typically static and allows the investigator to infer the ritual or symbolic component of the sexual homicide that leads to the gratification of fantasies and remains sexually

arousing (Meloy, 2000). The signature is what often allows investigators to link several sexual homicides (Keppel, 1995).

2.7 Serial murder and gender

Statistics provided by the Bureau of Justice Statistics in the United States indicate that the overwhelming majority of murders are committed by males. In 1993, 9.4% of all murders were committed by women. This represents a slight decrease in the number of murders committed by women with the average being 10% to 13% of all murders being committed by women over the past 15 years in the United States. Explanations for female homicide fall generally into two perspectives, the Social- learning perspective and the Biological perspective. The Social- learning perspective places an accent on the differences caused primarily by the social roles assigned to males and females. Males are taught that aggression is more acceptable in males than in females. Popular media repeatedly show men in aggressive situations. Women also seem more aware of the consequences of aggressive behaviour for themselves and others.

Biological perspectives follow a variety of discourses. These include studies into the autonomic nervous system, neurophysical responses and genetic studies. Only few of these shed any light into the differences in aggression between men and women. Recent research into gender differences in the biology of aggression have focused on hormonal influences. The most important hormone to the study of aggression is testosterone. Testosterone stimulates the development of masculine characteristics when it begins to circulate at puberty. It is thought to influence behaviour in two ways: firstly, by organising the development of the brain in such a way that particular responses become more likely and, secondly, by activating the physiological mechanisms that help govern certain behaviours. A relatively high concentration of testosterone

can push the central nervous system in a masculine direction, and the individual develops more masculine physical characteristics and tends to act in a more “male” manner at certain times. Research has indicated that young girls who have been exposed to elevated levels of male hormones before birth as a result of a malfunctioning adrenal gland tend to engage in more masculine behaviours and tended to initiate more fighting than their sisters. Similar results were found among children who were exposed to the hormone progesterin, which can also have a masculinising effect on developing fetuses. Although there seems to be evidence that sex hormones have a brain organising influence, there is less consensus about whether hormones can activate aggression (Hale & Bolin in Holmes & Holmes, 1998).

Although serial murder has been committed by females, the perception is that the crime of serial murder is a male dominated area. There are several reasons for this perception, firstly, the typical violent offender is male, secondly, only since the 1970s as a result of an expanding women’s movement, have women become the focus of research in the area of violent behaviour. A third reason may be that a crime such as serial murder is associated extreme violence. The perception is that it is men, not women, that have the physical strength to commit such acts repetitively. Finally, the media has sensationalised the acts of males who commit serial murder. There are a significant number of women throughout history who have committed this crime. Elizabeth Bathory, the “Countess Dracula” from Hungary, tortured more than 80 female victims before bathing in their blood. Her career lasted from 1580 and continued until 1610. It is estimated that 183 other women have committed multicide (Hale & Bolin in Holmes & Holmes, 1998).

Women who commit multicide tend to share a number of common characteristics. The average age at the time of the first murder tends to be just over 31. Seven percent are less than 20 years

of age. On average they tend to kill for five years until apprehended by police. The average number of victims tend to be 17 and most of the murders take place inside the perpetrators home. Often the murderer and the victim share a residence. The most common method of murder is arsenic. The majority of victims tend to be family members, either immediate or extended. Other victims have close ties to the perpetrator. The more defenceless the victim, the more direct and aggressive the perpetrator tends to act. Amongst the 184 perpetrators included in the study by Hale and Bolin (in Holmes & Holmes, 1998) a variety of weapons were used to commit murder. 59 women preferred poison, 24 firearms, 11 knives, 10 strangulation, 9 suffocation, 8 drug overdose, 7 asphyxiation by gas, 3 bludgeoning, 3 starvation, 3 arson, 2 drowning, 1 torture, 1 hatchet, 1 automobile, 1 throwing from a tall building, 1 pushing from a bridge, 1 hanging, 39 by various forms (2 or more of the previously mentioned).

Arsenic was the most commonly used poison, and to contextualise these methods it is necessary to understand the history of female serial murder. Many females who committed serial murder did so before the 1900s when arsenic was available as an over-the-counter product. Since it was barely detectable when mixed with hot food or drinks it was easy to get the victim to ingest it without him or her being aware. Depending on the dose death could come in a few short hours or months. In modern society drugs such as potassium chloride and succinylcholine are often used by people in the medical field.

While still fulfilling the criteria for serial murder, there may be subtle differences in the modus operandi of females who have committed serial murder. They tend to be 'place specific', operating at home or in health care environments (Wilson & Hilton, 1998). In a study involving cases from America, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, England, France, Germany, Greece,

Hungary, Italy, Mexico, New Zealand, Romania, Russia, South Africa, Spain, and Switzerland where female serial murderers were the perpetrators Wilson and Hilton (1998) investigated the modus operandi of the perpetrators involved. Toxic methods of murder included arsenic, strychnine, morphine, and other poisons and overdoses. Insults to the body included; strangulation, beating, burning, stabbing, starvation and the use of various firearms by perpetrators.

Trends have been also changing regarding the victims, since 1976, 68% of victims were strangers to the female perpetrator. When American female serial murderers were compared to those from other countries there were some significant differences. Victims per case were significantly higher (average 26,5) in the other countries compared to the American sample (average number of victims 6,86). Female murderers seemed similar when comparing the duration of time as murderers but differed in modus operandi. Low profile modus operandi, poisons and drug overdoses, in the American sample was associated with longer duration of activity. In the sample from other countries however, there was no such association despite a preference for using poisons. Therefore, the sample from other countries had a higher victim tally, but females in the American sample had a longer killing career when using low profile modus operandi (Wilson & Hilton, 1998).

2.8 Serial murder and its effects on the communities

The presumed presence of one killer can have a large impact on the greater community. While still small in numbers in comparison to other crimes, indirect effects of serial murder on communities are far reaching. Incidences of various anxiety- based disorders dramatically increase in a community terrorised by serial murder (Biernat & Herkov, 1994). In the United

States of America after the slaying of five college students at Gainesville, Florida, nearly 700 students dropped out of the University. Handgun, mace and security system sales increased dramatically and sleeping habits changed. Counselling centres claimed to be overwhelmed by client demand (Biernat & Herkov, 1994). Green (1991) found that large- scale disasters produce symptoms such as phobias, anxiety, fear, depression, interpersonal problems, physical symptoms, post- traumatic stress and grief reactions. It seems as if communities exposed to serial murder share many of these features.

Because of the effects on a community one can say that a serial murder does not only have the murdered person as a victim, the whole community seems to be victimized through the terror. The following factors according to Young (in Biernat & Herkov, 1994) are likely to increase the sense of victimization:

- 1) Violence represents a realistic threat of death to all members of the community.
- 2) Violence exposes the community to extraordinary carnage or misery.
- 3) Community members are strongly affiliated to each other.
- 4) The event is witnessed by community members.
- 5) Victims are individuals who have special symbolic significance to the community.
- 6) Events call for many rescue workers or helpers.
- 7) Event attracts a great deal of media attention.

(Biernat & Herkov, 1994)

Serial murders display many of these points especially the threat to the community, the symbolic significance of the victims and the effects in the community by exposing it to extraordinary

carnage or misery when such crimes occur. Further, serial murder usually attracts much media attention.

Research done by Herkov and Biernat (1997a) indicate that in a community exposed to serial murder there was a widespread endorsement of PTSD symptoms following the murders. These appeared to decrease over time with few subjects still reporting symptoms at 18 months. The highest endorsement of symptoms was found among residents demographically similar to the victims. The media in part are responsible for this 'vicarious victimisation' in that during the times of serial murder news sources such as television, radio and newspaper are widely used as information sources by the population, with police press conferences being regarded as the most accurate and trustworthy. While residents regarded media reports on means of reducing personal risk as beneficial and contributing to a sense of safety, details of mutilations and sensational reporting were judged to increase fears (Biernat and Herkov, 1997b). A study by Herkov, Myers and Burket (1994) into children's reactions to serial murder indicates that children experienced a number of psychological changes following the murders, even though in this instance none of the victims were children. The most frequently experienced symptoms were anxiety based such as a fear of being alone, difficulty falling asleep, and wanting to sleep with parents. Most of these showed a decrease across time with significant interventions being discussing issues of risk minimization, talking about the murders, and parents spending more time with their children (Herkov et al., 1994). This can perhaps be seen as one of the systemic effects of serial murder.

2.9 Serial murder and technology

While technology can certainly help in the investigation of certain murders, it may also facilitate serial murder, such as in the case of the Internet. *Online serial murderers* are now becoming a

concern. It has been cited that they commonly use similar techniques in luring victims. They gain their victim's confidence, and then arrange for the meeting. All seem to seek out emotionally vulnerable victims and play on their victim's insecurities. They make use of 'chat-rooms' to avoid discovery by others (Serial Killer Report, 1996). *Cyberstalkers* (Deirmenjian, 1999) harass people on the Internet and is regarded as no less a crime as other computer crimes like hacking, child pornography, and hate crimes spread on the Internet. The harassment takes place via E-mail, chat rooms, newsgroups, mail exploders, and the World Wide Web. Personal information can be obtained and used for more direct harassment or even contact. Four basic motivations for cyberstalking are: sexual harassment, love obsession, hate/ revenge vendettas, and power/ ego trips (Deirmenjian, 1999).

Furthermore, the 'face' of serial murder may change due to technology According to Jenkins (1989) the axe was a common household item in the early twentieth century but not in modern households, hence the decrease in murders perpetrated with this type of implement. Axe murders were common up until the mid- 1940s. In the early twentieth century poison was also readily available and autopsies were infrequent therefore perpetration of such a crime would possibly go unnoticed. Yet technology may also be the downfall of the serial murderer. It was life-insurance companies in the early part of the twentieth century that slowly began to employ their own investigators to examine deaths, it was also insurance companies that compiled and publicised reliable homicide statistics long before the creation of Uniform Crime Reports (Jenkins, 1989).

2.10 The role of profiling in serial murder

In instances where the motive for a murder is not clear a psychological profile can be of great use to investigators. A psychological profile aims at providing investigators with information as to the type of individual who committed the crime. While not suited to all instances, profiles tend to be most useful in cases where an unknown perpetrator has displayed signs of psychopathology (Holmes & Holmes, 1996). Profiling seems to be useful in the following crimes: sadistic torture in sexual assaults, evisceration, postmortem slashing and cutting, motiveless fire setting, lust and mutilation murder, rape, satanic and ritualistic crime, and paedophilia (Holmes & Holmes, 1996). It is the crime scene itself that reflects the pathology.

The three broad goals intended with profiling are to provide the criminal justice system with the following: social and psychological assessment of offenders, psychological evaluations of belongings found in the possession of suspected offenders, suggestions and strategies for interviewing suspected offenders when apprehended.

Ultimately these goals help investigators narrow their investigation thus reducing the number of days spent on the case. The profile may help predict future possible murders and probable sites of the murders. Regarding the second goal, the profile might suggest certain items a suspect may have in his possession, such as souvenirs, photos, or pornography. Once apprehended these may help investigators tie a suspect to a crime. Regarding the third goal, interviewing suggestions and strategies, these are of use when the suspect has been apprehended. These will aid in eliciting information from that particular individual (Holmes & Holmes, 1996).

Certain individuals do not agree that profiling is of much benefit to investigators. Many view it

as an art and not a science. Campbell, a psychologist, maintains that;

(a) the profiles submitted to police departments as gospel concerning the types of offenders who commit violent acts are probably little better than the information one could obtain from the neighbourhood bartender, (b) profiles are either too vague and ambiguous or no more than simple common sense, and (c) as long as police officers are impressed with the credentials, status, and education of academicians, many academicians will continue to play their educational guessing games (in Holmes & Holmes, 1996:7).

Even the FBI shows doubt regarding the efficacy of profiling. In a study of 192 cases where profiling was performed, 88 cases were solved. Of the 88 solved cases, only in 17% did a profile help in the identification of a suspect. Despite these claims by the FBI, there is not total agreement amongst investigators that profiles constitute a key element in the investigations into these crimes (Holmes & Holmes, 1996).

An early use of profiling, could be seen when, in 1943, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) commissioned Dr Walter Langer, a psychiatrist, to 'profile' Adolf Hitler. Langer hired three research assistants familiar with the psychodynamic model. They sourced the New York City Library and their own reading lists, solicited personal interviews with people who had intimate knowledge of Hitler. The profile was intended to offer insights into the personality of Hitler so that if captured an interrogation strategy would be in place to help authorities to elicit information from him (Holmes & Holmes, 1996). Hitler's suicide towards the end of the second world war prevented their research from ever being put to the test, but it marked the first incidence of what was to become later known as profiling.

More recently, the ‘Bobby Joe’ Long case in Hillsborough, Florida, USA, which commenced in 1984, made use of an FBI profile after finding similarities in several murders in the area. A profile was returned indicating strong similarities between cases. The FBI Criminal Personality Profile appeared as follows:

Table 2: FBI criminal personality profile

Race	Caucasian
Age	Mid 20's
Personality	“Macho” Image Assaultive
Employment	Difficulty in Holding Job
Marriage	Probably Divorced
Vehicle	“Flashy Car”
Weapons	Likely to Carry Weapons
Personality	Inclined to Mentally and Physically Taunt and Torture
Victims	Randomly Selected Susceptible to Approach
Geographics	Confine Activity to Given Geographic Region

(from Terry & Malone, 1989:16)

In a further attempt to consolidate information to assist in creating links between crimes, the National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime (NCAVC) became operational in 1984 with the purpose of acting as a ‘clearing house’ of information regarding violent crimes. It is a law-enforcement- orientated behavioural science and computerised resource centre which consolidates research, training and operational support functions. The NCAVC consists of four

programs: Research and Development, Training, Profiling and Consultation, and the Violent Criminal Apprehension Program (VICAP). Their Profiling and Consultation Program conducts analyses of violent crimes on a case- by- case basis in order to construct profiles of unknown offenders so the focus of the investigation can be narrowed to concentrate more readily on the most likely suspects. Consultation also includes planning case strategies, furnishing information for search warrant preparation, personality assessments, interview techniques and coaching prosecutors of violent criminals (Brooks, Devine, Green, Hart and Moore; 1987).

2.11 The role of different disciplines

In the early twentieth century the study of crime was being revolutionised. In America the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* was begun and the series *Modern Criminal Science* began to make known the works of Ferri, Lombroso and Gross (Curran & Renzetti). This new input helped create a new vocabulary and framework for understanding these murders. Criminal anthropology, psychiatry and psychology tried to come up with scientific explanations for crime. Even in the early part of the twentieth century the need for sharing of information was seen as necessary in the solving of crimes, yet problems such as small police forces, linkage blindness and even racism hampered effectiveness amongst investigators (Jenkins, 1989)

Examples such as the “Bobby Joe” Long case in the Tampa Bay area, Florida, in the United States of America, involved personnel from six different organisations in an eight month long investigation. Traditionally murders are solved because the victim and suspect have some or other link. Investigators would, for example, focus on individuals who may have had a motive for the murder. The problem with serial murder is that there is no apparent link between victim and suspect. It is under these circumstances that the necessity for cooperation between different

agencies becomes highlighted. A current tool used in helping apprehend mobile serial murderers is the Violent Criminal Apprehension Program (VICAP). This was founded by the FBI in 1985 and attempts to track this type of crime nationally by matching cases that could be linked to the same individual (Green & Whitmore, 1993).

2.11.1 Perspectives on crime and violence

For centuries humankind has attempted to understand and find meaning for criminal behaviour and violence. For the past few hundred years there have been more ‘scientific’ attempts to understand these events. Pioneers such as Beccaria and Bentham (Curran & Renzetti, 1994) moved towards a more humane approach to criminals and how to deal with them. Later, as other fields began to develop, sociological, biological and psychological explanations for crime began to appear. At times the individual has been reduced to a chromosome, and at others the individual was seen as being involved in complex social relations. At times certain trends come and go thus indicating that we are far from finding an established, final ‘truth’ as to why such phenomena occur. This chapter intends to provide an outline of more modern perspectives on crime, to provide a context in which the current research can be placed.

2.11.1.1 The Classical School

Pre- twentieth century criminological thought was dominated by individuals such as Cesare Beccaria and Jeremy Bentham; they largely make up what is known as the Classical School of Criminology (Conklin, 2000; Curran & Renzetti, 1994). They represented the pioneers in attempting to provide a thought structure to explaining crime in society. They felt that hedonism, rationality, and free will were the underlying bases of human behaviour. Beccaria, an Italian criminologist, published one of the most influential papers of the eighteenth century which led

to reforms in the criminal justice system. Like many reformers his ideas were not necessarily readily accepted and his famous essay “*Dei delitti e delle pene*” or “*On Crimes and Punishments*” was initially published anonymously, because its “contents were designed to undermine many if not all of the cherished beliefs of those in position to determine the fate of those accused and convicted of crime” (Monachesi, 1973, p38). Criminal law at the time of the eighteenth century in Europe was largely barbaric and repressive. Abuse was rampant amongst those in the criminal justice system as prosecutors and judges were allowed tremendous latitude in their decision making. Judges were given unlimited discretion in the punishment of criminals. Beccaria felt that every punishment that was not absolutely necessary was tyrannical (Martin, Mutchnick & Austin, 1990). Beccaria felt that it was not within the judges authority to make laws and set penalties, instead it is the judge’s duty to determine the guilt or innocence of the accused on the basis of fact. Furthermore this was to be done impartially without regard for individual circumstances or social status. If found guilty the judge was to impose the penalty prescribed by the law. Punishment was to be regarded as a deterrent, not for revenge or retribution. However, if it is to be a deterrent it must be swift, certain, proportionate and appropriate to the seriousness of the crime. He felt that the certainty, not the intensity, of the punishment is the deterrent and thus opposed capital punishment (Curran & Renzetti, 1994)..

Jeremy Bentham was a British contemporary of Beccaria. Like Beccaria he too accepted the concept of a social contract, and that human beings behaviour stemmed from one motivation: the pursuit of pleasure and the avoidance of pain. Laws were therefore intended to align the person’s pursuit of pleasure with the collective interests of the whole society.

Neither Bentham nor Beccaria explored the reason *why* individuals committed crime, their

primary concern was social control, they felt that criminal motivation was a given.

2.11.1.2 The Positivist School

The Positivist school was dominated by individuals such as David Emile Durkheim and Casare Lombroso (Curran & Renzetti, 1994; Siegel, 2000). Advances in the physical and natural sciences played a large role in the development of this school of thought. Human beings were beginning to be regarded merely as one type of creature with no links to divinity. The influence of biological and cultural factors were being seen as central to determining behaviour and the view that humans were self-determining beings, free to do what they wanted was becoming less central. The shift was that the positivist school focused on criminals, not crimes as the classical school did. Their goal was to discover the underlying causes of criminal behaviour. These causes could be biological, psychological, social or a combination of all these. By rejecting the premise of free will, they adopted the position that human behaviour was a product of factors within the individual or his or her external environment. This is referred to as *determinism*.

The assumption that behaviour is both determined and measurable had important implications. If crime is not the result of a rational decision freely made by the individual, but rather the product of forces that, to some extent, are beyond the individual's control, then punishment is ineffective. The positivists maintain that offenders should rather undergo treatment with the goal of rehabilitation, and since behaviour can be measured, progress can be monitored in the rehabilitation process. They opposed the classical view that punishments must be standardised and fixed and favoured a more flexible strategy whereby an offender is institutionalised for the period of time necessary for rehabilitation, which, in turn, will be influenced by personality, condition at the time of admission and other individual factors.

The classical and positivist schools do, however, agree in one area. They both posit that laws are the embodiment of a set of values and norms shared or agreed upon by a majority of the members of society; the law is the codification of societal consensus (Curran & Renzetti, 1994; Martin et al, 1990).

Curran

2.11.1.3 The Marxist View

The Marxist view is difficult to demarcate since Karl Marx never made law nor crime, primary topics in his writings. Marx begins with the premise that the most basic human activity is labouring to meet one's survival needs (Conklin, 2000). To do this man must enter into a relationship with nature with the aims of transforming nature to meet his needs for food and shelter. The ways in which this transformation is done depends upon such factors as the resources available in the environment, the tools and technology available, and current knowledge and skills. But since meeting one's survival needs is not done in isolation but rather in association with other people, it is also a social process. These associations of production are fundamentally social class relations. A social class is a group of people who hold the same position in the production process. Marx felt that any society organised into social classes is inherently unequal since different people have different access to societal resources and rewards. Members of a particular class will act in accordance with the interests of that class. The class at the top of the hierarchy will act so as to maintain their position by the exploitation of those at the bottom (Curran & Renzetti, 1994).

Curran

The Marxist paradigm focused on the law, although Marx never explicitly defined law, he and Frederick Engels were concerned with how law is created and how it operates. They feel that given the class characteristic of the capitalist mode of production, the law and legal system will

preserve the inequality created by having different social classes, thus maintaining the capitalist system as a whole.

The Marxist paradigm has three basis views on crime. Firstly, what they called the *lumpenproletariat* which is a class consisting of thieves, extortionists, beggars, prostitutes and others who survive by criminal means, and is a 'criminal class'. They viewed this class as untrustworthy and the enemy of the workers. Secondly, the *primitive rebellion thesis* which states that some crime is a form of revolt against the ruling class and capitalist system. Thirdly, crime is the result of the *demoralisation* produced by living as one of the 'have-nots' in the capitalist system. Thus Marx and Engels placed the blame for some crime as being a rational response to dehumanising conditions, and the only effective means of eliminating crime was by changing the social system (Curran & Renzetti, 1994).

2.11.1.4 Biological and physiological theories of crime

It is common for us as individuals to make inferences about another's character based on appearance. The concept of physiognomy dates back centuries to Greek and Roman times. By the middle of the eighteenth century physiognomy had fallen into disrepute. This led to a group of theories called 'Physical Type Theories'.

Phrenology was a term coined by Forster in the nineteenth century proposing that the shape of one's brain affects personality and social behaviour. Franz Joseph Gall is considered the founder of phrenology. He identified twenty-six faculties or organs which were housed in three major regions of the brain. There were the intellectual faculties, moral faculties, and the lower, base or animal faculties. The lower faculties were believed to include such traits as destructiveness and

secretiveness, and were believed to be overdeveloped in criminals. Phrenology lost its popularity in the mid 1800's (Conklin, 2000; Curran & Renzetti, 1994).

Law and Physiology

Lombroso, who was mentioned under the positivist school, was an Italian physician. His central thesis was that the criminal was a biological degenerate, a 'throwback' to an earlier evolutionary state. He termed this atavism. He felt that atavism manifested itself in certain characteristics or stigmata, and these stigmata could be used to identify atavists or 'born criminals'. After examining 383 Italian criminals he reported that 21 percent had one atavistic trait, but 43 percent had five or more. He concluded that five or more stigmata indicated atavism. Lombroso was widely criticised for ignoring social and economic causes for crime, and later works explored these also. He ultimately expanded his typology to include criminals who committed crime because of insanity and epilepsy, crimes of passion, and occasional criminals who could be divided into three subtypes: *pseudocriminals*- who committed crimes involuntarily such as in self-defence; *criminaloids*- whose predisposition to crime was activated by environmental circumstances or opportunities; and *habitual criminals*- people who became criminal because of poor education or weak parental training. Ultimately he revised his initial position that approximately 70 percent of the criminal population was atavists to about 33 percent (Curran & Renzetti, 1994).

Height

Along similar lines, the notion that criminals could be identified as having a certain physique was proposed by German psychiatrist Ernest Kretschmer (in Martin et al, 1990; Curran & Renzetti, 1994). American theorist, William Sheldon, also made similar claims. His theory was known as somatotyping. He proposed that the human body is composed of three components: *endomorph*-soft roundness; *mesomorph*- square masculinity and skeletal massiveness; and

ectomorphy- linearity and frailty. Each of these components can be found, to lesser and greater degrees, in all individuals. He claimed that an endomorph is viscerotonic- relaxed and sociable, love physical comfort, food, affection, approval, and others company; mesomorphs are somatic- active, assertive, aggressive, noisy, lust for power and enjoy dominating others; ectomorphs are cerebrotonic- being private, restrained, inhibited and hyperattentive.

A second approach amongst the biological and physiological views of crime was that there is a relationship between crime and heredity. Genetics has become a popular way of explaining certain behaviours, from crime to schizophrenia (Kaplan, Sadock & Grebb, 1994) and other medical conditions. The genetic approach is obtaining ever increasing stature. Early genetic approaches to crime saw it as a direct result of genetics but more contemporary theories take into account genetic and environmental factors. Family studies is a popular method of researching genetic links.

The difficulty of these types of studies is that while sharing genetic material, family members usually share a common environment making it difficult to single out either as a cause for criminal behaviour. Twin studies are another method of helping determine genetic links. Certain studies have indicated that the concordance rate for crime in both members of a twin pair is higher amongst monozygotic as opposed to dizygotic twin pairs. Yet such studies are often fraught with methodological difficulties, definitions are problematic and sampling dubious. Again the problem of the environment comes into play. Monozygotic twins are more likely to be treated similarly than dizygotic twins, and may spend more time together. Adoption studies were another attempt to prove the genetic link in criminality. Here behaviours of twins separated at an early age were compared. Research, such as that done by Mednick and his colleagues, only

indicates that sons with a convicted biological parent have an elevated chance of being convicted of a crime. Similar studies in the United States had similar results (Curran & Renzetti, 1994). Yet, once again, methodological problems plague these studies.

Faulty chromosomes have also been targeted in explaining crime. Normally people are born with forty- six chromosomes arranged in twenty- three pairs. One of each pair is contributed to by the mother and one by the father. One pair is composed of the sex chromosomes. The sex chromosomes of a genetically normal male consist of one X and one Y chromosome, a genetically normal female consists of two X chromosomes. Since the mother's contribution is always constant, an X chromosome, it is the father's contribution that determines the sex of the infant (Kaplan, Sadock & Grebb, 1994). Sometimes anomalies occur, one type of anomaly is called nondisjunction. This refers to the failure of the sex chromosomes to divide properly. This can result in an offspring having XO, XXX, or XYY chromosomes. The XO condition is referred to as Turner's syndrome and the XXY syndrome is known as Klinefelter's syndrome (Kaplan et al, 1994; Curran & Renzetti, 1994). The syndrome which seems most relevant to criminology is the XYY syndrome. These individuals tend not to have major physical problems but tend to have a high incidence of internal and external genital abnormalities, tend to be above average in height and below average in intellectual ability. The incidence is estimated at one per 1000- 2000 males. It appears that due to the low presence of XYY males in the general population, XYY males appear over represented in the institutionalised population. However, even if there is a relation between XYY syndrome and crime, these individuals make up for only a very small percentage of crimes committed (Curran & Renzetti, 1994).

Amongst other biological contributions to the etiology of crime are disorders of the central

nervous system, autonomic nervous system, hormonal imbalances, body chemistry, neurotransmitters, and diet. Yet all of these are far from being comprehensive explanations for the etiology of crime and still require further research and none seems to explain crime in isolation. Biological research often ignores psychosocial influences as moderators of biology-violence relationships. In a study on prefrontal glucose deficits in murderers lacking psychosocial deprivation, Raine, Stoddard, Bihrlé and Buchsbaum (1998) concluded that only murderers without clear psychosocial deprivation such as physical abuse, sexual abuse, neglect, extreme poverty, foster home placement, criminal parent, severe family conflict or broken home, could be characterised by lower prefrontal glucose metabolism compared with control groups by means of Positron Emission Tomography (PET). Murderers without deprivation showed a 4.7% reduction in lateral and medial glucose metabolism compared to the deprived murderers. One hypothesis for this anomaly is that violent offenders from deprived social backgrounds may commit violence for more psychosocial reasons than as a result of a biological brain abnormality. It is possible that prefrontal dysfunction in murderers lacking psychosocial deprivation is genetically mediated, but further studies would be required to test this hypothesis. The orbitofrontal cortex represents a brain region of particular interest when it comes to violence because dysfunction in this area results in personality and emotional deficits that parallel criminal psychopathic behaviour. Murderers without psychosocial deprivation had poorer orbitofrontal functioning specifically in the right hemisphere. Compared to controls they had a 7.4% reduction in left orbitofrontal functioning, and 14.2% reduction in glucose metabolism in the right orbitofrontal cortex compared to controls.

One hypothesis is that this laterality effect is associated with reduced responsivity to aversive, emotional activity and possibly an emotionally blunted personality lacking in conscience

development. Activation of the right, but not left, orbitofrontal cortex has been positively associated to aversive classical conditioning as indicated by PET and recollection of emotionally aversive events as indicated by regional cerebral blood flow. Previous research has indicated that antisocial individuals who had no socioeconomic deprivation show deficits in aversive classical conditioning, a trait hypothesized to lead to impaired conscience development and low emotional reactivity to socialising punishments. Consequently, reductions in right orbitofrontal functioning may be particularly important in predisposing individuals to violence. It must however be noted that although prefrontal dysfunction characterises murderers lacking psychosocial deprivation, not all prefrontal-impaired individuals end up committing murder (Raine et al., 1998).

2.11.1.5 Psychiatric and psychological explanations of crime

Psychiatry and Psychology have also attempted to provide explanations as to the etiology of crime. There have been great debates surrounding the notion whether or not serial murderers can be diagnosed with Antisocial Personality Disorder, some form of psychosis, or another Axis I diagnosis (Geberth & Turco, 1997; Hempel et al., 1999; Holt et al., 1999; Kaplan et al., 1994). Early in the twentieth century Charles Goring first proposed that criminals displayed abnormally low intelligence and argued that this led to lowered levels of morality. While Alfred Binet came up with the concept of Mental Age (MA) (Kaplan et al., 1994) and is largely credited as being the first individual to develop an intelligence test, it was German psychologist, W Stern who devised the concept of an intelligence quotient, or IQ (Curran & Renzetti, 1994). A major proponent of the IQ and criminality theory was Henry Goddard. Using intelligence tests he determined that “morons” or the “feeble-minded” or “high-grade defectives” posed a great concern since, although they could be trained to function in society, their lowered intelligence

would very likely cause them to get into trouble. Goddard proceeded to prove his point by testing inmate populations, whereupon he 'discovered' that seventy percent of criminals were "feeble-minded". By examining family histories he went on to 'prove' that feeble-mindedness was hereditary. This led to the segregation of the feeble-minded in institutions and sterilisations as means of dealing with the problem. Goddard then became concerned with the large amounts of immigrants entering the United States, many of which, as testing indicated, were feeble-minded. Routine IQ testing was conducted on immigrants. Critics of these policies were largely ignored until the US army agreed to allow the testing of its draftees during World War I. The army testing revealed an unusually high number of feeble-minded draftees. In fact, extrapolating from the results led to the conclusion that at that time about half the USA population was made up of morons. This led to researchers questioning the reliability and validity of these tests, and the relationship between 'feeble-mindedness' and crime was refuted (Curran & Renzetti, 1994).

The second avenue of exploration in the fields of Psychology and Psychiatry relating to crime is that of the criminal personality. Most widely known of this approach was Austrian neurologist Sigmund Freud, who is attributed with being the creator of the psychoanalytic model. While Freud did not specifically write about criminality, many researchers have used his theories to postulate assumptions about crime and criminality. Freud viewed crime as the result of a malfunctioning ego or superego. Underdeveloped superegos lead to the lack of experiencing guilt or remorse, an overdeveloped superego may lead an individual to subconsciously desire to be punished thereby committing crimes in the hope of being caught. An underdeveloped ego cannot resolve conflict and may cause an individual to act out in a criminal way. The ego may make use of defence mechanisms which could lead to criminal behaviour (Curran & Renzetti, 1994).

South African counselling psychologist, Pistorius has used Freud's concepts to try and explain serial murder in her doctoral work entitled *A Psychoanalytical Approach to Serial Killers* (1996).

In her conclusion she determines the following:

The explanation of Freud and Klein's theories in the case studies have answered the question as to "what is the origin of serial homicide?" Psychoanalysis succeeded in explaining the psychosexual development and fixations of the two selected case studies of serial killers. The thesis illustrates that each case has its own developmental path and fixations and although there were similarities and differences between them, the author is of the opinion that the psychoanalytical theory succeeds in explaining the origin of serial homicide.

(Pistorius, 1996 p.253)

Even though Pistorius' research was based on two case studies she feels confident that "...the psychoanalytical theory and her supported statements therefore be generalised to all serial killers." (Pistorius, 1996 p.253).

Other approaches exploring crime and personality focus on specific personality traits. This is often done by making use of psychometry such as personality inventories. One of the most popular personality tests is the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) while more recent tests such as the Millon Clinical Multiaxial Inventory (MCMI) and more traditional projective tests such as the Rorschach Inkblot Method and the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) are also commonly used. Ganellen (1996) is of the opinion that the Rorschach and MMPI are the most widely used tests when it comes to clinical personality assessment. Early research

using the MMPI indicated differences on personality scales of offenders and non-offenders when tested using the MMPI. A combination of both projective and objective methods could yield much needed information on these individuals (Piotrowski, 1997).

A third avenue in the fields of Psychology and Psychiatry in terms of criminality is that of mental illness and crime. The US Supreme Court (Kaplan et al., 1994) states that the prohibition against trying someone who is mentally incompetent is fundamental to the US system of justice. The McGarry instrument was created to help determine an individual's competence to stand trial. It focuses on 13 areas of functioning: ability to appraise the legal defences available, level of unmanageable behaviour, quality of relating to the attorney, ability to plan legal strategy, ability to appraise the roles of various participants in the courtroom proceedings, understanding of court procedure, appreciation of the charges, appreciation of the range and the nature of the possible penalties, ability to appraise the likely outcome, capacity to disclose to the attorney available pertinent facts surrounding the offense, capacity to challenge prosecution witnesses realistically, capacity to testify relevantly, manifestation of self-serving versus self-defeating motivation (Kaplan et al., 1994). Furthermore, the M'Naghten rule was established in 1843 and states that an individual is not guilty by reason of insanity if they laboured under a mental disease such that they were unaware of the nature, quality and consequences of their acts or if they were incapable of realizing that their acts were wrong (Kaplan et al., 1994).

One diagnosis which is commonly associated with crime is that of the Antisocial Personality Disorder, in which an individual's lack of remorse and inability to learn from previous behaviours may lead to the transgression of laws. A diagnosis of a psychosis may also lead to an individual committing a crime, as a result of auditory hallucinations commanding the individual

to do so, or out of fear from a hallucination. Kleptomania, by the nature of the diagnosis, may lead to the individual committing a crime (APA, 1995). Meloy (1998) profiles the majority of stalkers as males who are likely to have Axis I mental disorders, such as a drug or alcohol history, mood disorders, or schizophrenia. In another study by Meloy and Gothard (1995) they found that 85% of their sample qualified for a personality disorder diagnosis such as antisocial, schizoid, borderline, avoidant, paranoid and personality disorder not otherwise specified. Binder (1999) who heads research groups on the correlation between mental illness and violence, has the following conclusions:

- (a) Short- term predictions of violence risk are fairly accurate.
- (b) Clinicians are better at predicting violence in certain patients than in others, for example violence in women is under predicted.
- (c) Certain clusters of symptoms are more predictive of violence than overall diagnosis.
- (d) The stereotype of psychotic patients wandering neighbourhood randomly attacking strangers was disproved.

Mullvey (1994) examined relevant research and concluded that there was an association between mental illness and the likelihood of being involved in violent incidences, even when demographic characteristics are taken into account. Link and Streuve (1995) also reviewed relevant research and concluded that in Western cultures since 1965 the rates of violence tend to be higher for people with serious mental illness than for the general population and in reality, the minority of psychotic people who do become violent are more likely to attack family members acting as caregivers.

In a study of mental disorders and homicidal behaviour in Finland it was found that individuals with antisocial personality disorder and severe alcohol dependency increased their risk for homicidal behaviour (Eronen, Hakola & Tiihonen, 1996). Also that individuals diagnosed with schizophrenia had an increased risk of being involved in violence, especially when it is of a paranoid type and/or when substance abuse is present.

In a study by Wallace, Mullen, Burgess, Palmer, Ruschena and Browne (1998) on serious criminal offending and mental disorder they found that a relationship does exist between mental disorder and criminal offenses but the nature and extent of the association remains in doubt. Their study involved linking two databases, one of the higher court records of convictions and the other a state-wide psychiatric case register in the state of Victoria, Australia. The age of the sample was 18 and above and included 4156 individuals (3838 men and 315 women) convicted in the higher courts between 1993 and 1995. Of these 1044 (25.1%) were recorded on the psychiatric case register.

When it came to crimes against the person, 2153 individuals were convicted for crimes involving interpersonal violence, of these 643 (29.9%) were also recorded on the Victoria psychiatric case register (VPCR). There were significant associations for schizophrenia, personality disorders, substance abuse and the wider grouping of affective disorders and for affective psychosis in men. Of the people recorded on the VPCR with a diagnosis of schizophrenia, 0.5% of men and 0.05% of women had a conviction for interpersonal violence. For personality disorders it was 2.5% in men and 0.4% in women that had a conviction and for men and women with a primary diagnosis of substance misuse it was 1.1% and 0.4% respectively.

In the 168 convictions for homicide 62 individuals (55 men, 7 women) were recorded on the VPCR. For men recorded on the VPCR who had been convicted, 0.09% had a diagnosis of schizophrenia and 0.01% of women. For property offenses 1253 individuals had been convicted in the time frame of which 305 (24.3%, 273 men and 32 women) were recorded with the VPCR. Those diagnosed with schizophrenia, personality disorders and substance misuse showed significant association with convictions, a relationship between affective disorders and conviction was only found in men. In the category of sexual offending 890 individuals (876 men, 14 women) were convicted with 252 (28.8%) of the men having been recorded on the VPCR, whereas none of the women convicted were found on the VPCR. Of the 115 arson convictions (106 men, 9 women) 48 were on the VPCR. In men only personality disorder and substance related disorders were significantly associated. In women 7 had had contact with mental health services but due to the small numbers no meaningful conclusions could be made. Of the 504 individuals convicted of drug- related offenses (455 men and 49 women), 100 (19.8%) were recorded with the VPCR (93 men and 7 women). In men only the diagnosis of personality disorder and substance abuse showed significant association. The numbers for women were again too low to make conclusions. Regarding traffic offences, 122 individuals (116 men and 6 women) of whom 28 (23.0%) were recorded on the VPCR, there was only a significant relation between substance related disorder in men.

Their study concluded that men with schizophrenia were more likely to have been convicted if they also had a diagnosis of substance abuse. In the three- year study 0.28% of those with schizophrenia with no recorded comorbid substance misuse were convicted with violent offenses compared to 2.2% of those with substance misuse. a significant association with schizophrenia was found only in those with a history of substance misuse in arson and drug- related offences.

Therefore in the present study of Wallace et al. (1998) 7.2% of men convicted of homicide had been treated for schizophrenia. How these figures are expressed can radically alter one's perception of violence amongst individuals with a psychiatric history. The data indicates that men with schizophrenia have a risk 5- 18 times higher than that of the general population of committing a homicide and 3-5 times the risk of conviction for serious violence. Conversely they indicate that 99.97% of those with schizophrenia, irrespective of a comorbid substance misuse, will *not* commit a homicide in any given year and 99.8% will *not* be convicted of a serious offence. In summary, they state that the notion that increased levels of serious violent behaviour in those with schizophrenia are of a type and degree that places the process of community care in question, thus indicating a need for a return to a more custodial approach, is nonsense. And in reality mental illnesses make up for a very small percentage of crimes committed, the overwhelming majority being committed by 'normal' individuals.

Amongst spousal murderers there was a high incidence of personality disorders. It was found that as the severity of non- lethal physical abuse increased, so did the likelihood of a personality disorder. Surprising was the number of "over controlled" personality disorders such as passive-aggressive and dependant personality disorder, with antisocial personality disorder being less frequent. Over controlled men are more likely to commit abandonment murders, attempt suicide afterwards, and kill "reactively". Murders may occur during failed reconciliation, or when the spouse first announces a desire to leave. Most of these spousal murderers lacked recorded histories of assaultive or other socially disturbing behaviour. Antisocial men killed for more instrumental reasons such as to collect insurance policies and their killings were planned in a "cold- blooded" way (Dutton & Kerry, 1999).

Certain diagnoses have been associated aggressive behaviours. Aggressive behaviour in children with Attention Deficit/ Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) is associated with greater psychological disturbance, antisocial familial factors and development of antisocial personality disorder and substance abuse. Conduct disorder has characteristic behaviours which fall into four main groups; aggression towards people or animals, destruction of property, deceitfulness or theft, and serious violation of rules. Since only three of the four patterns of behaviour are necessary for diagnosis, aggression is not compulsory for a diagnosis of conduct disorder. Pervasive developmental disorders can also feature aggressive behaviour that may be directed toward other people or may be self- directed (Weller, Rowan, Elia & Weller, 1999). Intermittent Explosive Disorder is another diagnosis where aggression is a central characteristic. The criteria include discrete episodes of failure to resist aggressive impulses that result in serious assaultive acts or destruction of property an the degree of aggressiveness expressed is grossly out of proportion to any provocation or precipitation psychosocial stressor (APA, 1994). At present intermittent explosive disorder is more common in men, although when premenstrual women may be more inclined to intermittent explosive symptoms. The association of explosive episodes with mood and energy changes similar to manic and hypomanic symptoms, the high rate of comorbid bipolar disorder, and the favourable response of impulsive, aggressive symptoms to treatment with mood stabilizers suggest the possibility that intermittent explosive disorder may be linked to bipolar disorder (McElroy, 1999).

2.11.1.6 Sociological theories of crime

Sociological theories include the thinking of the Chicago School, the Anomie Theory, the Differential Association Theory, the Control Theory, the Labelling Perspective, and the Subcultural Theories (Conklin, 2000; Siegel, 2000). Although each of these theories are distinct,

they share at least one proposition in common: they seek the causes of crime in factors outside of the individual, that is, they believe that the environment influences otherwise 'normal' people to commit crime.

The University of Chicago was home to the first academic department of Sociology in the United States, being established in 1892 (Bulmer, 1984; Siegel, 2000). Until the 1940's sociologists looked to Chicago as the centre of sociological research. Robert Park applied plant and animal ecology to the problem of social deviance, therefore the Chicago School is also known as the Ecological School or School of Human Ecology. Park and his colleagues identified several distinct zones that expanded out in a pattern of concentric circles from the centre of the city. The outer zones, 4 & 5, were populated by predominantly white, middle and upper class homeowners who had lived in those communities for many years and were well integrated into the dominant culture of the United States. Zone 3 was characterised by working- class neighbourhoods where second and third generation immigrant families lived. The heart of the city, zone 1 & 2, had high concentrations of transients and hoboes, black immigrants and newly migrated immigrants, who occupied street corners and dilapidated housing.

These theorists believed that not all zones had similar concentrations of problems. They theorised that the further one moved away from the city centre the lower the incidence of social problems. They stated that this was the result of social disorganisation, which in turn is caused by rapid social change that disrupts the normally smooth operation of a social system.

Two explanations of crime use the title "anomie theory", one was developed by Emile Durkheim (British Centre for Durkheimian Studies, 1994) and the other by Robert Merton (Sykes, 1992).

Durkheim believed humans have innate needs and desires which must be satisfied if they are to be content. However, humans needs are social, not physical, and the more one has, the more one wants. Consequently human “nature” must be regulated by the “collective order”- society. Durkheim distinguished between two types of societies: those characterised by mechanical solidarity and those characterised by organic solidarity. In a society of mechanical solidarity members are very similar and there are few differences amongst them. The members do the same type of work, fulfill similar social roles, have the same world view and understanding of right and wrong. This ‘totality of social likeness’ is termed the collective conscience by Durkheim. It binds people together and promotes conformity. These are not crime- free societies, and social deviance is met with strong social reaction, law tends to be repressive. Mechanical societies tend to be small and relatively underdeveloped technologically. With population growth and technological advancement, social diversity increases and the collective conscience is weakened. Still, social order is preserved because the proliferation of diverse jobs, roles and ideas actually creates an interdependence among the society’s members. Thus the division of labour largely replaces the collective conscience as the binding force in society. The parameters of acceptable behaviour become broader and punishment less harsh. Law takes on a more administrative role whose primary goal is to preserve contracts amongst society’s members, this type of society is characterised by organic solidarity. Durkheim was concerned that this type of society as being susceptible more to crime and other social problems. When such societies change rapidly they might not be able to adequately develop appropriate regulations to govern social interaction, this condition was called anomie (British Centre for Durkheimian Studies, 1994; Curran & Renzetti, 1994; Siegel, 2000).

Subcultural theories focus on the proposition that each social class develops its own value system unique to it, reflecting its place in the status hierarchy. These theories appear impressive and are often supported because they provide an explanation for statistics why delinquency and other crimes are committed by members of the lower class. However, empirical research has challenged many of these assumptions. These theories thus seem to be a reflection of middle-class stereotypes about the poor, rather than an empirically proven description of the 'lower-class' (Curran & Renzetti, 1994).

Certain theories emphasise that the role of socialisation in criminal behaviour, it is therefore the socialisation process, not physiognomy, genetics, race, sex or social class that affects one's chances of becoming a criminal. Sutherland's Differential Association Theory (Curran & Renzetti, 1994) proposed the following nine points. Firstly, criminal behaviour is learned. Secondly, it is learned through interaction with others in a process of communication. Thirdly, the principle part of learning occurs within intimate personal groups. Fourth, when this behaviour is learned it includes (a) techniques of committing the crime, (b) the specific direction of motives, drives, rationalizations and attitudes. Fifth, the direction of motives and drives is learned from definitions of legal codes as favourable and unfavourable. Sixth, a person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favourable to violation of law over definitions unfavourable to violation of law. Seventh, differential association may vary in frequency, duration, priority, and intensity. Eighth, the process of learning criminal behaviour by association with criminal and anti-criminal patterns incorporates all the mechanisms that are involved in any other learning. Ninth, although criminal behaviour is an expression of general needs and values, it is not *explained* by those general needs and values since non-criminal behaviour is an expression of the same needs and values. Thus criminality is a learned behaviour, via communication in social

interaction with primary groups. Individuals learn attitudes and motivations as well as techniques for committing crime. However, being exposed to attitudes, motivations and techniques does not imply one will automatically engage in crime. One must also learn specific situational meanings or definitions, a person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favourable to violation of law over definitions unfavourable to violation of. The process of social interaction whereby such definitions are acquired is termed differential association by Sutherland (Curran & Renzetti, 1994).

Control theories have one basic similar tenet, they adopt a position that all people are basically criminal at heart. People are equally motivated towards crime because fulfilling one's desires usually can be done most effectively by violating the law. The question then posed to control theorists is why do people obey the rules of society? In answer, they believe that it is a person's ties to conventional social institutions such as family and school, that inhibit the person from acting on criminal motivations. Neutralisation theory, such as that of Sykes and Matza (Sykes, 1992), disagreed with positivist schools since even active delinquents spend more time engaged in non-criminal activities than in criminal ones. Instead of seeing delinquency as a rejection of societal norms they see it as an end product of a process they call neutralisation. According to them behaviour runs along a continuum, with total freedom at one end and total constraint on the other. Adolescents fluctuate between these two extremes. The drift into delinquency is facilitated by learning justifications or rationalisations that neutralise the constraint of society's norms of behaviour and thus legitimise deviation. These justifications are called techniques of neutralisation, of which there are five basic types: denial of responsibility, denial of injury, denial of victim (victims deserve what happens to them), condemnation of condemners (authority is corrupt therefore also guilty), and appeal to higher loyalties (offender committed crime not for

self but for others). These techniques are put into action before the commission of the crime and help to loosen the moral constraints, acting as mitigating circumstances in the persons logical reasoning. Once societal norms are neutralised the person is free to drift into delinquency. Once the bind of the law has been neutralised it becomes easier to drift again (Curran & Renzetti, 1994).

The final movement to be discussed is the Labelling perspective which became popular in the 1960s and 1970s. Also known as social reaction theory it was developed in reaction to the dominance of the positivist paradigm in criminology. They focused on how certain behaviours became defined as criminal and the consequences of these definitions for individuals engaging in these activities. Labelling theorists see crime from a relativist point of view. An act becomes deviant only when defined as such by a group of observers. Certain points thus become relevant from this point of view. What is defined as criminal depends on a number of factors including situational and historical contexts in which the behaviour occurs, the characteristics of the person engaged in the behaviour, and the characteristics of the definers. Another major point is that crime is the product of social interaction. What is important is not that a person breaks a law but rather others reaction to it, labelling him as criminal or deviant. When a label is attached through either informal or formal means, such as the criminal justice system, the individual undergoes fundamental identity changes. Being labelled as a criminal becomes a master status, superseding any other description of the person. Others interact with this person on the basis of stereotypes. What often occurs is a self- fulfilling prophecy, with the person acting out his label (Curran & Renzetti, 1994, Seigel, 2000).

Jenkins (1994) discusses the social construction of serial murder. He raises the question, as in

the serial murder case of Jeffrey Dahmer, of how much aberrant behaviour is to be understood and contextualised. Few would disagree that Dahmer's behaviours were terrible, but it is difficult to reach consensus on whether or not his behaviour would be best understood as a symptom of individual pathology or linked to broader social issues. Financially, serial murder has become an important phenomenon. From 1991 to 1993 more was published on serial murder in fiction and true crime than the whole of the 1960s and 1970s combined. This high level of appearance in the media leads to law enforcement agencies investing far more resources into the investigation of such crimes. When compared to the number of 'normal' murders perpetrated, it is vastly out of proportion, in terms of perpetrators and victims. Perhaps the serial murderer is the ultimate product of a capitalist society, how can one individual generate so much interest and money? Why is it that some multiple- murder cases are more well known than others? Not because they are more dangerous than others but rather because they are more 'useful', serial murder seems to be exploited by radical feminists, advocates for black rights, defenders or critics of homosexual rights, traditionalists and even anti- modern reactionaries. Constructionist research focuses on three main concerns: firstly, the interests particular groups have in promoting a problem; second, the resources available to them; finally, the ownership they eventually secure over the issue, or degree to which their analysis is accepted as authoritative.

There exist certain thresholds which mark out the limits of social tolerance, at the one end of the spectrum are the more 'permissive' and at the other, the higher thresholds of legality and ultimately of violence. The higher an event can be placed on the hierarchy of thresholds, the greater a threat it is to social order and the tougher and more automatic is the coercive response. An event can be escalated by linking it to other apparently similar phenomenon, especially if by connecting it to a relatively harmless activity. This signification spiral makes the danger appear

more wide- spread and diffuse, for example, 'homosexual serial killer' or 'racist serial killer'. As this spiral continues it becomes easier to mount 'legitimate' campaigns of control. Serial murder exists on the highest of these thresholds, and associating any phenomenon with it offers rich rewards in terms of claims- making (Jenkins, 1994).

2.12

2.12 Serial murder in South Africa

In South Africa a lack of detail hampers the identification of people who have committed serial murder. Official crime statistics only report the murder weapon and the race of the offender and victim (Snyman, 1992). Also, people are not convicted of serial murder, the charge remains as murder, irrespective of the number of victims. Thus statistics are not available as to the exact incidence of serial murder in South Africa (Pistorius, 1996).

2.13

In South Africa in 1996 alone the following people labelled as 'serial killers' were recorded in local newspapers: Samuel Jacques Coetzee (5 victims), Christopher Zikode (18 victims) (Die Burger, 1996), unknown NASREC killer (12 victims) (City Press, 1996), unknown Brakenfell Killer (19 victims) (Pretoria News, 1996), unknown Tzaneen Killer (3 victims) (Citizen, 1996), unknown River Strangler (5 victims) (Saturday Star, 1996). In 1995 Moses Sithole was apprehended for 38 murders, 40 rapes, and 6 robberies (Saturday Star, 1996). In 1994 David Selepe was apprehended for the murder of 11 people (Saturday Star, 1996). These numbers indicate that it is not such a rare phenomenon. Keeney and Heide (1995) state that over the past 20 years serial murder has received an increase in attention from law enforcement and the media, this can also be attributed to the 'increase' in the phenomenon.

2.13 Conclusion

The history and developments regarding serial murder have been a long process in the making. The modernisation of society has brought with it changes that have altered the face of serial murder with regards to the commission of the crimes and apprehension of such individuals. Various theories regarding serial murder were mentioned in this chapter, their positive and negative aspects highlighted. It is as if a 'dance' has developed between the murderer and the agents of the criminal justice system. Yet what is often ignored is the place serial murder has created for itself in our society and the importance society attaches to this phenomenon emotionally, politically and financially.

Various theories of crime were proposed, each one reflecting the dominant discourse at the time its conceptualisation. This process is natural as society tries to define itself and at the same time thereby re- create itself. The end result being that scientists are far- off from being able to understand and explain this phenomenon and perhaps part of the problem is the way in which scientists have been trying to approach serial murder. The next few chapters hopes to reveal another way in which this phenomenon can be observed.