The Buller-McGinnis Model of Serial Homicidal Behavior: An Integrated Approach

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Abstract

The seemingly random and motiveless natures of serial homicides make identifying and capturing serial killers nearly impossible. Theories of violent behavior and models exploring the etiology of serial murderers fail to provide an accurate method of predicting serial homicidal tendencies. The present paper seeks to construct an integrated model of serial homicidal behavior designed to pinpoint commonalities shared by serial killers, in order to discover a link between certain characteristics and future homicidal behavior. After examining the lives of four known serial killers, the results yielded two prominent general traits: poor childhood social environments and isolation common amongst all subjects.

Introduction

The names Ted Bundy and Jeffrey Dahmer are synonymous with terror, fear and brutality. When serial murderers, like these two men, are apprehended, their names and the crimes they committed are smeared all over the headlines. Much attention is paid to the criminal and to their victims. But what is it *about* these killers that enabled them to commit the heinous acts that they did; what separates them from the rest of society? Over the past few decades, both the general public and researchers have become interested in serial murder and the lives that the killers lived. Defining the act of serial murder alone is a task, one that has been attempted by many, including Hickey (1997), and Douglas, Ressler, Burgess and Hartman (1986). Most agree that to be classified as serial homicide, there must be three or more incidents that are considered separate, due to a 'cooling period.' Other suggestions are that there must be a motivation, that this motivation tends to be sexual, that the killer will fantasize about the murder and finally, that the killing is premeditated. To eliminate other types of killings like terrorism or assassinations, the murder itself must be the primary motivator. Once serial murder is adequately defined, a deeper look can be taken into the life of the murderer.

Through the examination of four known serial killers (Ted Bundy, Jeffrey Dahmer, Gary Ridgway and John Wayne Gacy, Jr.), this paper will investigate their childhood behaviors, personality traits, family environment and adult experience to identify possible predictors of a serial killer. The theories of deviant behavior that will be discussed in their relation to the development of criminal behavior are Contemporary Trait Theory (biological and psychological) and Social Process Theory (learning theory and social control). This paper will also examine the models of serial homicide, the MacDonald Triad, the Motivational Model and the Trauma-Control Model. MacDonald (1963) developed a triad of childhood behaviors that are often referred to as the Triad of Sociopathy; these behaviors are intended to predict future violence and possibly homicide. The triad consists of bed-wetting after the age of five, cruelty to animals and arson or an interest in fire. In terms of personality, the selected serial murderers will be assessed for narcissistic, antisocial and borderline personality disorders, to see if they predispose violence when coupled with the external experiences of an individual. This paper will evaluate how the family environment contributed to the killer's relationships with others, and whether there was abuse, neglect or death in the family during childhood. Finally, the characteristics that the killer demonstrated when they were an adult will be considered, were they isolated; did they have a high degree of intelligence; were they personable and highly functioning; did religion play a major part in their life? By examining the killers' lives, victims and crimes, and comparing them to one another, it will be evident if there are common traits or behaviors that can be used to predict serial homicidal behavior. The authors will propose the Buller-McGinnis Model of Serial Homicide to evaluate and document patterns between the killers.

Literature Review

Definition of Serial Homicide

Serial homicide lacks a standard definition; consequently, the numbers of definitions for the phenomenon are vast and they vary in degree of specificity. In fact, the statistical frequency of serial killings fluctuates dramatically at times depending on which definition of serial homicide is employed (Ferguson, White, Cherry, Lorenz & Bhimani, 2003). A challenge is presented when constructing a definition of serial murder that addresses the complexities of serial

homicide and the ambiguousness of murderer motivations, while remaining broad enough to incorporate all serial homicidal cases. Unfortunately, the definitions oftentimes become too broad, thereby incorporating cases not typically considered as serial homicide.

Hickey (1997) introduced a broadened definition of serial homicide, incorporating "all offenders who through premeditation killed three or more victims over a period of days, weeks, months or years…" (Hickey, 1997: 12). Hickey's definition classifies any individual who has murdered multiple victims over time as a serial murderer, thereby grouping individuals with a vast array of motives into one category. While Hickey's definition eliminates the confusion generated by trying to define serial homicide based on motivation, his definition is ultimately too broad. Even though motive is often difficult to determine, it is what separates serial homicide from other forms of murder. Consequently, the definition of serial homicide almost demands that an aspect of motive be present.

Douglas, Ressler, Burgess and Hartman (1986) organized multiple homicide into separate categories based on type and style. They determined that there are three types of multiple murders: mass, spree and serial. Mass murder involves the killings of "four or more victims in one location, and within one event" (1986: 408). Spree murder, on the other hand, includes the killings of two or more victims in more than one location within a single event, and without an emotional cooling off period in between murders. Both mass and spree murders share the characteristic of being the result of a single event, meaning that the motivation behind every murder is the consequence of one incident that set the individual off. Conversely, serial murder is most commonly defined as "the killing of three or more people over a period of more than 30 days, with a significant cooling-off period between the murders" (Douglas et al., 1986; Egger, 1990; Hickey, 1991; Holmes & DeBurger, 1988; Holmes & Holmes, 1998). Douglas et al. consider the "cooling off period" to be the primary distinguishing factor of serial murder because it implies that each homicidal event is separate, rather than resulting from a single emotional event as in spree and mass murders.

Theories of Violent Behavior

In their ever-existing attempts to explain violent criminal behavior, researchers have adopted a variety of biologically, psychologically and/or sociologically based theories of criminal behavior. Such theories are aimed at determining how and why violent behavior arises. Contemporary trait theories acknowledge that criminality is not just the product of a singular inherent trait; rather, criminality emerges from the interaction between biological and psychological traits and environmental factors. Social process theories, on the other hand, attribute criminality to inadequate socialization.

Contemporary Trait Theory

Trait theory is the view "that criminality is a product of abnormal biological or psychological traits" (Siegel, 2005: 97). Contemporary trait theorists see violent behavior as a product of multiple inherent and sociological factors. There are two perspectives, biological and psychological, within contemporary trait theory.

Biological Perspective

The biological perspective of contemporary trait theories focuses on physiological composition and imbalances, and genetic makeup. Biochemical imbalances, for instance, disrupt necessary physiological processes within the body. Such physiological disruptions can thereby influence antisocial behavior. Biochemical imbalances may be caused by innate physiological disorders, such as abnormal hormone levels, or external conditions, such as diet or environmental contaminants. For example, hypoglycemia, a condition produced when blood and sugar levels fall below the threshold necessary for normal neurological function, has been linked to antisocial and violent behavior (Fishbein, 2000). Aggressive behavior has also been linked to abnormal levels of androgens, male sex hormones (Van Goozen, Matthys, Cohen-Kettenis, Thijssen, & van Engeland, 1998).

Another focus of the biological perspective of contemporary trait theories is neurophysiological composition. Factors effecting neurophysiological composition include brain structure, brain damage, brain chemicals, and environmental conditions. Brain dysfunction appears at much higher levels among chronic criminals than non-criminals (Siegel, 2005). Minimal brain dysfunction (MBD), for example, is "an abruptly appearing, maladaptive behavior such as episodic periods of explosive rage" (Siegel, 2005: 103). Individuals suffering from MBD typically have kind and warm personalities between episodes. MBD may be the leading cause of some cases of abuse, suicide, aggressiveness, and motiveless homicide (Siegel, 2005: 103). In addition to MBD, brain damage may be a significant causal factor of aggressive behavior (Nachson & Denno, 1987).

Finally, the biological perspective of contemporary trait theory focuses on the genetic makeup of offenders. The XYY theory attributed violent behavior to the existence of an extra Y chromosome in males. Although there is little empirical support for XYY linked violent behavior, the theory sparked interest in the role of genetics in the development of criminal behavior (Siegel, 2005). Mednick, Brennan and Kandel (1988) found that male adoptees,

whose biological father was criminal and adoptive father non-criminal, showed a 20% conviction rate, as opposed to the 13.5% rate evidenced by male adoptees, whose biological and adoptive fathers were non-criminal. Male adoptees, whose biological and adoptive fathers were criminal, exhibited a 24.5% conviction rate (Mednick, Brennan & Kandel, 1988: 28). These results suggest underlying genetic and sociological influences on violent behavior.

Psychological Perspective

 The psychological perspective of contemporary trait theory centers on mental illnesses, behavioral and cognitive processes, and personality disorders. Although empirical support for the link varies, mental illness and violent crime appear to be significantly related. Schizophrenia, for example, reduces an individual's ability to recognize emotional facial expressions, which, in turn, impacts social functioning and may increase criminal behavior. Weiss et al. (2006) discovered that schizophrenic individuals with high numbers of arrests performed more poorly on emotional recognition tests; in particular, such individuals had a difficult time recognizing angry and fearful expressions. Another mental disorder related to poor social functioning is Asperger disorder, a form of autism characterized by a "severe and sustained impairment in social interactions and the development of restricted, repetitive patterns of behavior, interests, and activities" (DSM-IV, 1994: 75). Impaired social functioning produced by mental disorders, such as schizophrenia and Asperger syndrome, may result in increased criminal behavior because the individual does not know how to interact properly within his or her social environment.

Another focus of the psychological perspective of contemporary trait theory is personality disorders. Personality traits are defined as "enduring patterns of perceiving, relating to, and thinking about the environment and oneself that are exhibited in a wide range of social and personal contexts" (DSM-IV, 1994: 630). Such traits constitute a Personality Disorder (see Chart A, for diagnostic criteria) when they are "inflexible and maladaptive and cause significant functional impairment or subjective distress" (DSM-IV, 1994: 630). Some personality disorders commonly linked to violent behavior include antisocial personality disorder, borderline personality disorder and narcissistic personality. In a study by Leichesenring, Kunst, and Hoyer (2003), for example, borderline personality disorder was linked to antisocial behavior.

CHART A

DSM-IV Diagnostic Criteria

Table 1: Diagnostic Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fourth Edition, diagnostic criteria for Personality Disorders in general (DSM-IV: 633).

General diagnostic criteria for a Personality Disorder

A. An enduring pattern of inner experience and behavior that deviates markedly from the expectations of the individual's culture. This pattern is manifested in two (or more) of the following areas:
 	
    (1) cognition (i.e., ways of perceiving and interpreting self, other people, and events)
    (2) affectivity (i.e., the range, intensity, lability, and appropriateness of emotional response)
    (3) interpersonal functioning
    (4) impulse control
 	
B. The enduring pattern is inflexible and pervasive across a broad range of personal and social situations.
 	
C. The enduring pattern leads to clinically significant distress or impairment in social, occupational, or other important areas of functioning.
 	
D. the pattern is stable and of long duration and its onset can be traced back at least to adolescence or early adulthood.
 	
E. The enduring pattern is not better accounted for as a manifestation or consequence of another mental disorder.
 	
F. The enduring pattern is not due to the direct physiological effects of a substance (e.g., a drug of abuse, a medication) or a general medical condition (e.g., head trauma).

Social Process Theory

Social process theory is the "view that criminality is a function of people's interactions with various organizations, institutions, and processes in society" (Siegel, 2005: 156). The primary premise of social process theories is that all individuals possess the potential for criminal behavior (Siegel, 2005). Socialization, the "process of human development and enculturation," is of particular importance within this theoretical perspective (Siegel, 2005: 156). Deficiencies in socialization influence an individual's capacity to later develop criminal behavior. Elements critical to the process of socialization include, but are not limited to, familial and peer relations. Mackey and Immerman (2004) suggest a causal relationship between an absent father-figure during childhood and male adult violent behavior. Even though the precise mechanism for this causal relationship has yet to be determined, the researchers claim that the consistent presence of a father during the son's childhood will prevent/reduce violent behavior during the son's adulthood. Kesner and McKenry (1998) found support for the concept that parent-child attachments influence male adulthood attachment styles. The researchers' results showed that insecure and fearful attachment styles were more frequent among violent males (Kesner & McKenry, 1998); in addition, such attachment styles were related to anger, jealousy, and verbal abuse (Dutton, Saunders, Starzomski, & Bartholomew, 1994). Thus parental relationships appear to be significantly related to the development of violent behavior traits.

Models of Serial Homicide

In order to determine the etiology of serial homicide, researchers (MacDonald, 1963; Burgess, Hartman, Ressler, Douglas & McCormack, 1986; Hickey, 2002) have formulated models based on the theories of violent behavior described above. Although the models tend to emphasize one theory over the others, each model contains elements from every theoretical perspective within its framework.

MacDonald Triad

MacDonald (1963) observed in his most sadistic patients a triad of childhood cruelty to animals, firesetting and enuresis or frequent bed-wetting. Such maladaptive childhood behaviors often result from poorly developed coping mechanisms. This triad, although not intended to predict criminal behavior, provides the warning signs of a child under considerable stress. Children under substantial stress, particularly in their home environment, frequently engage in maladaptive behaviors, such as these, in order to alleviate the stress produced by their surroundings. This is not to say that all children who are under stress and engage in maladaptive behaviors go on to become serial killers, but such behaviors are often observed in the childhoods of established serial killers (Hickey, 2002). The MacDonald Triad should be considered a warning sign to parents and authority figures to seek help for a child exhibiting such behaviors.

Motivational Model of Sexual Homicide

Following a study of 36 sexual murderers, Burgess, Hartman, Ressler, Douglas and McCormack (1986) developed the Motivational Model of Sexual Homicide (see Chart B). The authors defined sexual homicide as "motiveless killings... carried out by a single individual over a period of time" (Burgess et al., 1986: 251). The model is composed of five interacting components involving the killer's "ineffective social environment," "child and adolescent formative events," "patterned responses to these events," resultant actions toward others and the killer's reactions, via a mental 'feedback filter,' to his [or her] murderous acts (Burgess et al., 1986: 261).

CHART B

The Motivational Model of Sexual Homicide

The Motivational Model of Sexual Homicide (Burgess et al., 1986)
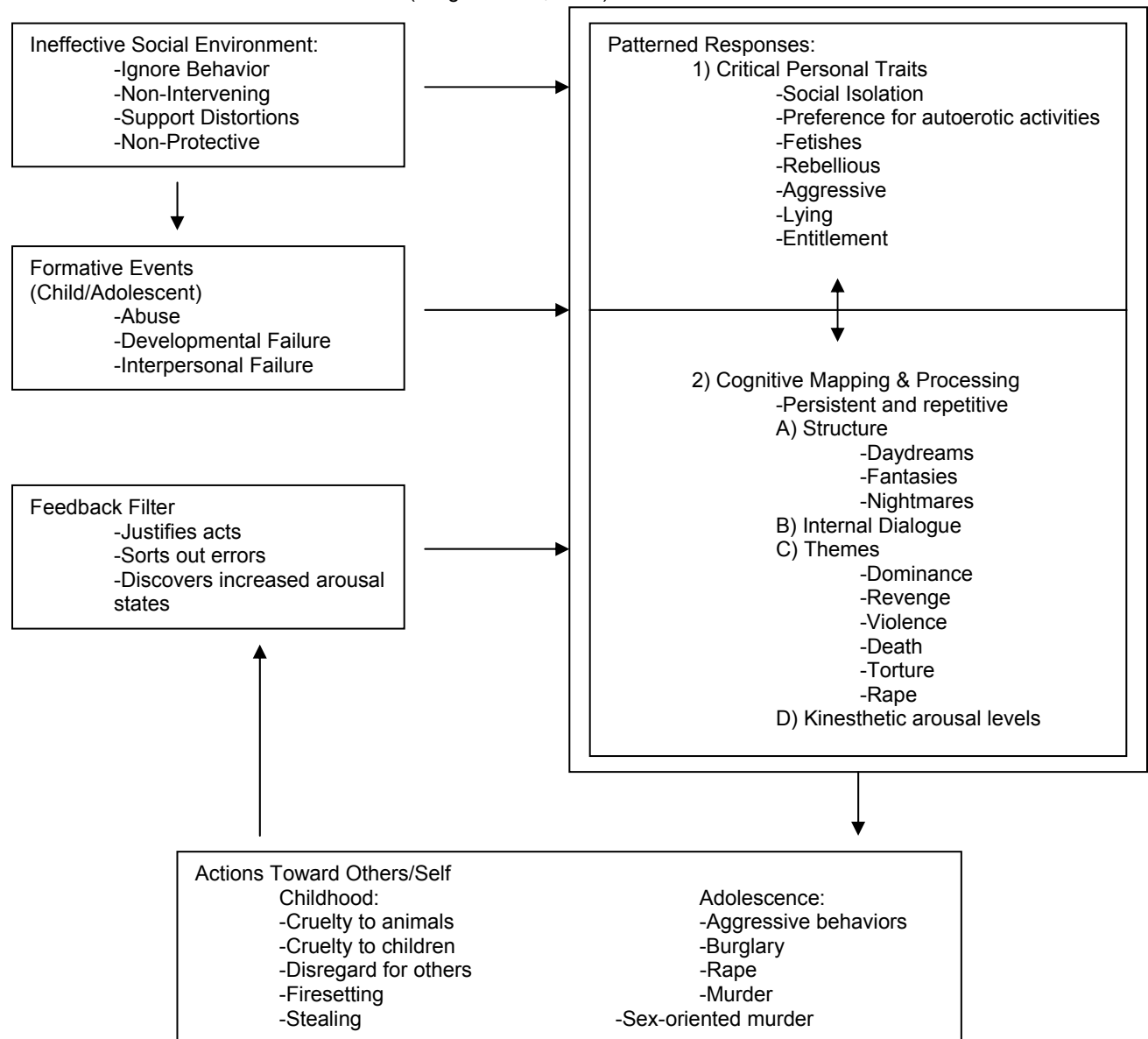
The first component, the ineffectual social environment, refers to the socialization process experienced by the individual during childhood. Interactions between a child and his or her family members and peers are essential in establishing connections to the social environment. It is during childhood that an individual develops societal bonds and learns to value other members of their society. Within the ineffectual social environment, individuals fail to develop essential social bonds with family members and peers. Childhood behaviors remain unchecked or even rationalized by guardians. In addition, caretakers that partake in substance abuse and/or criminal activity may support the child's faulty behavior and perceptions (Burgess et al., 1986). The adults may become "nonprotective and nonintervening" leaving the child to freely engage in maladaptive activities (1986: 261). Consequently, efforts to punish a specific antisocial act become fruitless because the individual or the parents normalize the behavior by accepting or suggesting that all kids get into trouble (Burgess et al., 1986).

The formative events component is composed of three factors: sexual or physical trauma, developmental failure and interpersonal failure. During childhood, individuals are faced with normative and non-normative life events. Normative

events are common events shared by nearly all children, such as illness. Non-normative events, on the other hand, involve direct and indirect trauma, such as physical abuse or witnessed physical abuse. If the child resides in an ineffectual social environment, the stress created by such trauma may remain neglected and the child might fail to effectively recover from the trauma. Unresolved stress produced by the trauma(s) may cause the child to seek sanctuary in fantasies, which frequently involve themes of domination and control.

The formative events component of the model assumes that childhood thought development is shaped by traumatic events. This component also assumes that such events impact a child's social development. Direct physical or sexual abuse may result in a sustained period of arousal, which consequently becomes associated with the trauma, thereby 'altering the child's perception of interpersonal relationships' (Burgess et al., 1986: 264).

The patterned response component is composed of two subcategories: critical personal traits, and cognitive mapping and processing (Burgess et al., 1986: 264). Critical positive personal traits, such as warmth and trust, influence a child's ability to interact with other individuals and form relationships. In the group of murderers studied by Burgess et al. (1986), negative personal traits tended to develop rather than positive traits, thus the individuals failed to form strong interpersonal relationships. Subsequently, the individuals developed a reliance on fantasy due to social isolation. Critical personal traits observed by Burgess et al. include autoeroticism, social isolation, aggression and chronic lying.

Also involved with critical personal traits, is an individual's cognitive mapping and processing, which denotes "the structure and development of thinking patterns that give both control and development to one's internal life (e.g., one's sense of self and beliefs about the world) and link the individual to the social environment (e.g., one's interpretation of others)" (Burgess et al., 1986: 265). This is the process by which an individual perceives and interprets his or her surrounding environment. Personality disorders, which involve skewed perceptions and interpretations, become apparent in this portion of the Motivational Model, and can lead to further social isolation of the individual.

"Actions toward others" is the fourth component in the Motivational Model. Burgess et al. (1986) suggest that the internal environment of a child is reflected in his or her behavior patterns. Within their study, Burgess et al. discovered some common childhood behaviors exhibited by the murderers studied, including cruelty to animals, disregard for others, aggression, firesetting, stealing and destruction of property (1986: 266). Due to the lack of effective punishment within an individual's ineffectual environment, negative behaviors become reinforced and performed more often in normal social settings (Burgess et al., 1986). Ultimately, this leads to further social isolation. Without social interaction, the individual's negative behaviors and thought processes remain unchallenged by peers or authority figures, thus the individual fails to view his or her behavior as unacceptable within society. Once again, the individual becomes self-absorbed and operates within his or her own fantasy world.

The final component within the motivational model of sexual homicide is the feedback filter, which is the process by which an individual evaluates his actions, in order to maintain the internal stability of his or her fantasy world. Through the feedback filter, an individual is able to evaluate previous actions, justify these actions, sort out any errors and correct them accordingly (Burgess et al., 1986). Consequently, the individual is able to rationalize any negative or abnormal behavior as positive and normal.

Trauma Control Model

The Trauma-Control Model (see Chart C) proposes the process by which individuals engage in serial homicidal behavior. This current paper suggests that the Trauma-Control Model is an extension of the Motivational Model. The Motivational Model is centered on childhood development of violent fantasies and serial homicidal behavior, whereas the Trauma-Control Model provides an etiological description of the process that takes an individual from fantasy to murder. Similar to the Motivational Model, the Trauma-Control Model emphasizes trauma and fantasy; however, the Trauma-Control Model de-emphasizes critical personal traits. Hickey (2002) suggests that researchers are preoccupied with determining predisposing factors, which oftentimes lack empirical support. He acknowledges that predispositional factors may influence the serial homicidal process, but such factors do not drive the process.

CHART C

Trauma-Control Model of Serial Homicide

Trauma-Control Model of Serial Homicide (Hickey, 2002:107)

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┌──────────────┐              ┌──────────────┐
│Predispositional│            │  Facilitators │
│    Factors    │             │               │
└──────────────┘              └──────────────┘

┌──────────────┐   ┌──────────────┐   ┌──────────────┐   ┌──────────────┐
│    Trauma    │   │     Low      │   │ Increasingly │   │   Homicidal  │
│   Event(s)   │──▶│ self-esteem  │──▶│   violent    │──▶│   Behavior   │
│              │   │  fantasies   │   │  fantasies   │   │              │
└──────────────┘   └──────────────┘   └──────────────┘   └──────────────┘

┌──────────────┐              ┌──────────────┐
│              │              │    Trauma    │
│ Dissociation │─────────────▶│Reinforcement(s)│
└──────────────┘              └──────────────┘
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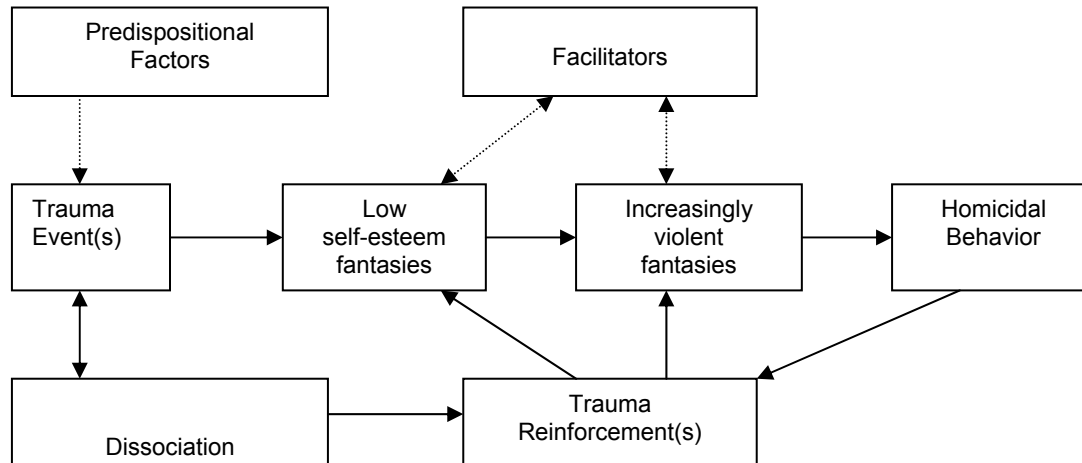
Hickey defines traumatizations as " the destabilizing event(s) that occur in the lives of serial offenders" (Hickey, 2002: 107); death in the family, divorce, abuse, instability, etc., are all examples of traumatizations. It must be emphasized that traumatizations occur at least once in most non-offending individuals' lives. However, it is the method in which they manifest themselves and the number of traumatizations that occur within an individual's life that separates serial killers from the general population.

Childhood traumatizations tend to manifest as rejection, and result in loss of self esteem, mistrust, anxiety, confusion, etc. (Hickey, 2002). For serial murderers, childhood traumatizations may impact their ability to cope with stressful events, thus causing maladaptive behavioral responses. Children who have witnessed violent acts tend to experience violent images, fantasies of revenge and a decrease in impulse control (Eth & Pynoos, 1985).

Multiple traumatizations result in an exponential increase of effect upon the individual (Hickey, 2002). The method by which the individual copes with such effects, results in different resolutions to the traumatizations. If the specific or past traumatization manifests itself as rejection, the individual may seek "self-centered" methods of management. As Hickey points out, most individuals constructively cope by engaging in physical activities, hobbies, artistic expression and so forth. Other individuals, however, may relieve emotional stress produced by the event by acting out on the surrounding environment. Such individuals might break objects or abuse animals or people. Still, other individuals may suppress the traumatizing experience and become unable to recall the event entirely. Unfortunately, emotions and memories connected with the event inevitably surface later in life causing the individual to relive the traumatization.

Facilitators, such as pornography, alcohol, or drugs, may or may not be causal factors in the serial homicide process, but Hickey (2002) stresses that such a claim is not conclusively supported by empirical data. Research, however, does suggest facilitators influence the individual's behavior. Alcohol, for example, decreases inhibitions, thereby potentially influencing an individual's actions. In addition, serial killers, such as Ted Bundy, claim that pornography molded them into the murderers they became.

Fantasy plays a pivotal role in Hickey's trauma-control model. The individual becomes consumed by a violent fantasy and desires to act it out (Hickey, 2002). Often, these fantasies involve the torture, degradation and control of the victim. According to Hickey:

It is during the sexual assault, torture, and degradation that fantasies of the original childhood trauma may manifest themselves in acts of violence… During the time elapsed between the traumatic event(s) and the homicides, the offender may have completely disassociated from the traumatic experience (which had split off from his consciousness) and may have protected him- or herself further by assuming a life of control and confidence. Psychologically the offender has been experiencing less and less self-control but desperately seeks to retain control

of his inner self (Hickey, 2002: 116).

Although the individual has suppressed the childhood traumatization, images and emotions from the original event begin to surface in his or her psyche. The resurgence of such images and emotions causes the individual to re-experience manifestations of rejection and low self-esteem; consequently, in an effort to regain control, he or she acts upon a control fantasy. The serial killer longs to completely dominate his or her victim with every method to obtain a profound sense of control. Hickey (2002) contends that once the fantasy has been acted out, the victim loses all use and is ultimately killed. Thus, the control and domination of a victim acts as a coping mechanism for serial killers seeking the "restoration" of control over their inner self. Hickey summarized one serial killer's thoughts on victimization stating "the frequency of victimization is a direct function of the degree of completion of the restoration" (Hickey, 2002: 116-117).

Frequently, however, the serial killer's fantasies are not sufficiently acted out because the victim may not cooperate as imagined or other unforeseen variables may alter the attack. Because of this, the fantasy is never completely experienced and the individual seeks out more victims to fulfill the fantasy. He or she may also develop new violent fantasies that are based on the initial murder experience in an attempt to relive that satisfaction (Hickey, 2002).

Data and Methods

As stated previously, this paper intends to examine four known serial killers (Ted Bundy, Jeffrey Dahmer, Gary Ridgway and John Wayne Gacy, Jr.) in order to identify possible predictors of serial homicidal behavior. Multiple theories of violent behavior, such as Contemporary Trait Theory and Social Process Theory, as well as models of serial homicide such as the Motivational Model and the Trauma Control Model were addressed with the purpose of developing The Buller-McGinnis Model of Serial Homicide. The etiology of such extraordinary behaviors rests within a combination of variables; therefore, by integrating all theories and models, it will be easier to ascertain which factors share a commonality among the subjects sampled.

Buller-McGinnis Integrated Model

The Buller-McGinnis Model looks at predispositional factors (biological, psychological and personality), social environment, traumatic events, behavior toward self and others, fantasy life and facilitators (see Appendix D for Buller-McGinnis Model instrument). In terms of social environment, this model evaluates the subject based on religion, their relationships (familial and others), and their competence in school. Under the traumatic events category, they are examined in terms of experiences like abuse (physical, sexual, psychological and witnessed), illness, death and divorce. The Macdonald Triad (enuresis, fire-setting and cruelty to animals) is found under behavior toward self and others along with nightmares, lying, suicidal thoughts, stalking, masturbation and murder. The Buller-McGinnis model evaluates the subject's fantasy life, looking at the content of the fantasies, whether they are violent, sexual or focused on domination. Facilitators are also examined, with alcohol, drugs and pornography listed. Each factor for evaluation is broken down further, into childhood and adulthood, to test for a continuation of behaviors or a late onset.

Many of the factors evaluated in the Buller-McGinnis Model were incorporated from the theories and models discussed above. From the Macdonald Triad, childhood cruelty to animals, bed wetting (enuresis) and arson are listed. The Motivational Model offered an ineffective social environment, formative events such as sexual/physical trauma and failure, patterned response including the reliance on fantasy due to isolation as well as actions toward others (cruelty, aggression, disregard, stealing and property destruction). The Trauma Control Model, which emphasizes trauma and fantasy, specifies low self esteem as a result of childhood trauma and notes facilitators including drugs, alcohol and pornography.

Also influential in generating an instrument for the Buller-McGinnis model were factors enumerated in the Patterns of Homicide Crime Scene Project. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (1985) and their Behavioral Science Unit spent time identifying offender characteristics by examining crime scenes and interviewing convicted incarcerated offenders. From this information, they came up with the Patterns of Homicide Project in which self- report indicators were utilized. The indicators were divided into childhood, adolescence and adulthood, with over 50% of offenders reporting masturbation, chronic lying, isolation, nightmares, poor body image and rebelliousness in all three age categories.

Data Collection Method

For this project, the researchers were not able to gain first hand access to these sexual serial murderers, either because those individuals are dead or incarcerated. Instead, the data were retrieved from second-hand sources. These sources included dissertations, prosecutor's summaries and many books compiled by investigative journalists

who had access to court documents and interviews. In order to produce valid and reliable conclusions about serial homicidal behavior, this study consisted of analysis of secondary materials and other empirical sources concerning the lives and crimes of these killers (see Appendix E for biographies of the subjects analyzed).

The instrument that will be employed is a chart. It will serve as a concise portrayal of the predictive indicators of serial murder as shown in Appendix D. This will ensure that the information will be most easily interpreted, understood and relevant to the research question (Champion, 2006).

Summary and Conclusions

Results

Analysis of the four subjects showed that all of the subjects (n=4) possessed factors represented in five of the six main categories of the Buller-McGinnis Model of Serial Homicide: predispositional factors, social environment, formative events/traumatizations, actions toward self/others, and active fantasy life (see Appendix F). Based on analysis of biographical materials, the sixth category, facilitators, was only supported by three of the four subjects: John Wayne Gacy, Jr., Jeffrey Dahmer, and Ted Bundy.

Of the predispositional factors, personality disorder was common among all subjects with antisocial, borderline and conduct personality disorders being the most common (See Table 2a).

Tables 2a & 2b: **Factors within the Buller-McGinnis Model were grouped hierarchically based upon percent commonality between the subjects analyzed. Predispositional factors and childhood factors (Table 2a) are distinguished from adulthood factors (Table 2b), in order to show a possible developmental pattern.**

Table 2a: Represents predispositional factors and childhood factors.

100%	75%	50%	25%	0%
Personality disorder	Parent Behavior	Religious	Head Trauma	XYY genes
Isolated	Slow Learner	Poor Reader	Aspergers	Death
Masturbation	Instability	Abuse	Enuresis	Nightmares
Sexual Fantasies	Chronic Lying	Illness	Divorce	Eating Problems
	Violent fantasies	Animal cruelty	Aggression	Self-Mutilation
		Firesetting	Running Away	Temper Tantrums
		Stealing	Poor Body Image	Suicidal
		Stalking	Control fantasies	
		Sexual assault	Alcohol	
		Destruction of property	Drugs	
		Pornography		

Frequency of Childhood Factors Among Serial Killer Subjects (n=4)

Legend: Ted Bundy, Gary Ridgway, Jeffrey Dahmer, John Gacy

Categories (top to bottom): Fac. (Pornography, Drugs, Alcohol); AFL (Dominance, Violent, Sexual); ATS/O (Destruction of property, Sexual Assault, Masturbation, Poor Body Image, Stalking, Running Away, Chronic Lying, Stealing, Aggression, Firesetting, Animal Cruelty); FE/T (Instability, Enuresis, Illness, Abuse); SE (Education, Isolated, Religious, Parents); PE (Personality, Psychological, Biological). Axis scale 0 to 4.
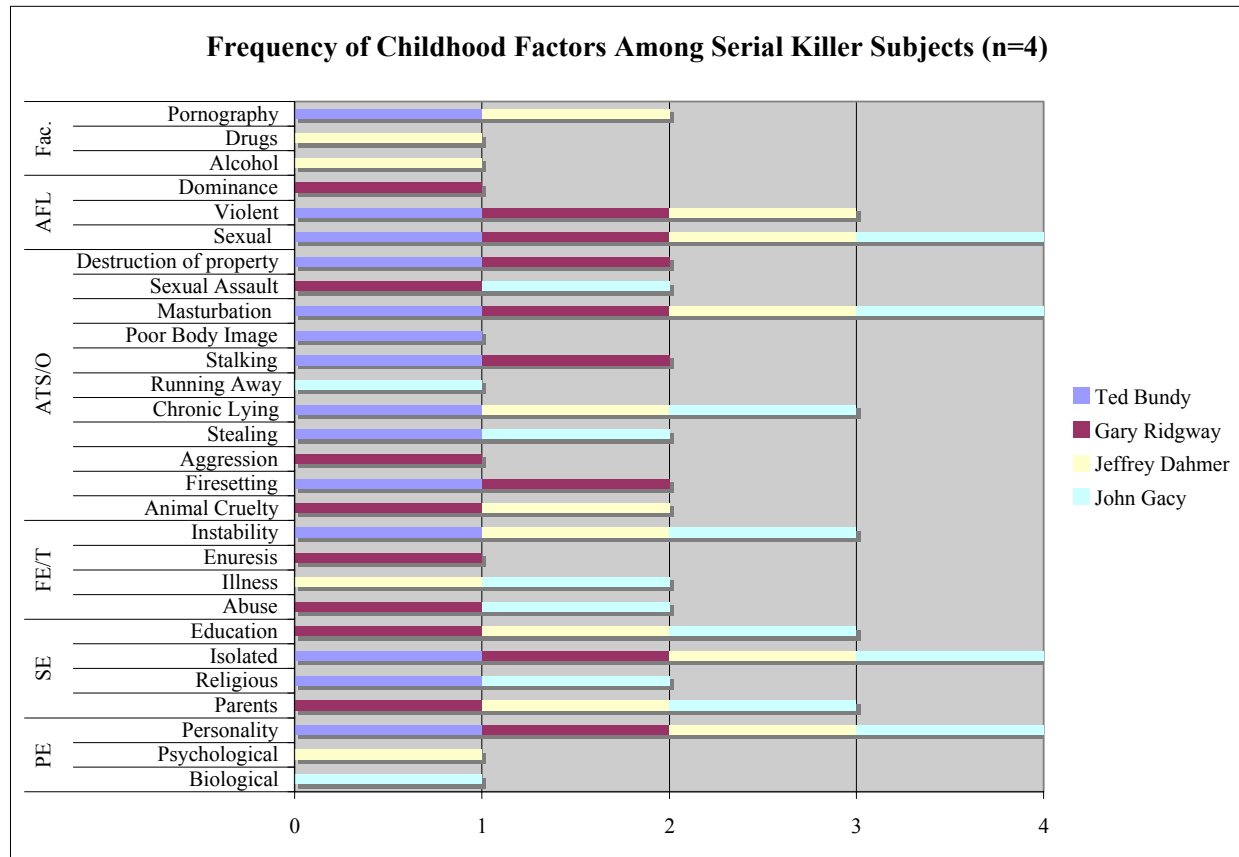
Figure 1: Depicts the distribution of predispositional and childhood factors among subjects analyzed (n=4). Factors are grouped by categories found within the Buller-McGinnis Model: Predispositional Factors (PF), Social Environment (SE), Formative Events/Traumatizations (FE/T), Actions Toward Self/Others (ATS/O), Active Fantasy Life (AFL), and Facilitators (Fac.). Factors not shared by any subject were disregarded.

Within the childhood social environment, "isolation" appeared to be the most important factor, with "slow learner" and "religious" to follow (see Table 2a & Figure 1). When viewed as a whole, the subcategory "parents" also showed some significance between the subjects. The adulthood social environment revealed "poor romantic relationships" to be the most important factor, with "extroverted" and "isolated" closely behind (see Table 2b & Figure 2). "Religion" was significant for half of the subjects analyzed: John Wayne Gacy, Jr. and Gary Ridgway.

Table 2b: Represents adulthood factors.

| 100%	75%	50%	25%	0%
Poor Romantic	Extroverted	Religious	Intorverted	Financial Stress
Relationships	Isolated	Break-ups	Poor Friendship	Nigthmares
Masturbation	Employment	Divorce	Poor Family	Poor Body Image
Stalking	Stress		Relationship	Eating Problems
Abduction	Chronic Lying		Death	Self Mutilation
Sexual Assault/Rape	Alcohol		Illness	Suicidal
Sexual Murder	Pornography		Instability	Assault/Aggression
Sexual Fantasies	Drugs			Burglary
Violent Fantasies				Arson
Control Fantasies				Non Sexual Murder
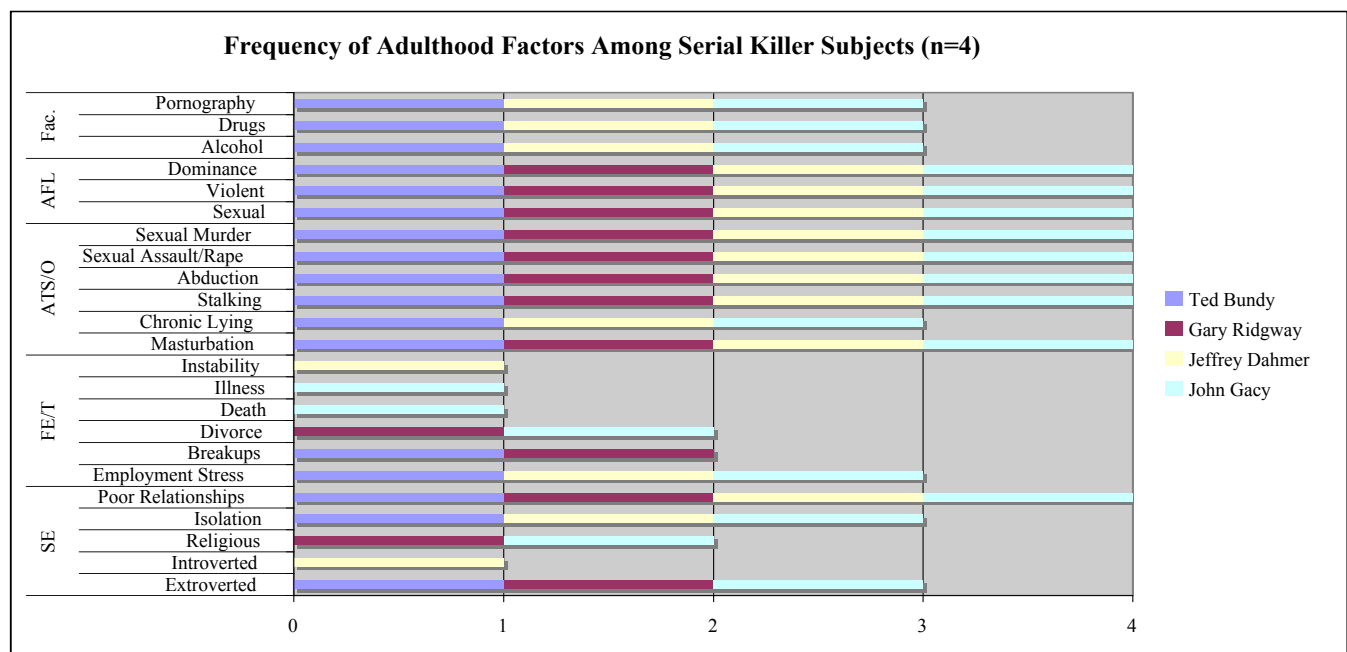
Figure 2: Depicts the distribution of adulthood factors among subjects analyzed (n=4). Factors are grouped by categories found within the Buller-McGinnis Model: Predispositional Factors (PF), Social Environment (SE), Formative Events/Traumatizations (FE/T), Actions Toward Self/Others (ATS/O), Active Fantasy Life (AFL), and Facilitators (Fac.). Factors not shared by any subject were disregarded.

"Instability" was the most common childhood formative event experienced by the subjects (see Appendix F, Table 2a & Figure 1). Even when viewed as a group, "abuse" only accounted for 50% of the subjects' formative childhood events, with "psychological abuse" being the highest. Childhood "illness" was only a factor for half of the subjects analyzed. The most significant adulthood formative event was "employment stress" followed by "divorces" and "breakups" of romantic relationships (see Table 2b & Figure 2).

Among childhood actions toward self/others, all subjects shared "masturbation," while "chronic lying" was common to 75% of the individuals analyzed. Half of the subjects also engaged in "animal cruelty," "firesetting," "stealing," "stalking," and "destruction of property" (see Table 2a & Figure 2). Adulthood actions toward self/others unanimously shared by the subjects were "masturbation," "chronic lying," "stalking," "abduction," and "sexual murder" (see Table 2b & Figure 2). Within the factor "sexual murder," all subjects either participated in or committed acts of "necrophilia" and "rape," while "torture/mutilation" was shared by 75% of the individuals studied.

All subjects possessed an active fantasy life both in adulthood and childhood. Childhood fantasies involved sexual and violent themes, while adulthood fantasies tended to have violent, sexual and control/domination themes (see Figures 1 & 2). Only 75% of the subjects experienced violently themed childhood fantasies, however.

Facilitators played a role in 75% of the subjects' childhoods, with pornography as the most significant (see Table 2a & Figure 1). Facilitators were also present throughout the adult lives of 75% of the tested subjects, with alcohol, drugs and pornography sharing the same significance (see Table 2b & Figure 2).

Discussion

Although the sample size in this study was not large enough to draw any generalizations, the results do provide support for the Motivational Model proposed by Burgess et al. (1986) and the Trauma Control Model introduced by Hickey (2002). In addition, the results provide support for contemporary trait theories, which claim that maladaptive behavior stems from a combination of predispositional factors and social environment and social process theories, which focus on childhood socialization.

Central to the Motivational Model (Burgess et al., 1986) and the Trauma Control Model (Hickey, 2002) is the role of

fantasy in serial killer development. The results of the current study show that fantasy was one of the few factors shared by all subjects during their childhood. The active fantasy lives of the subjects were no doubt fueled by, if not the result of, the relative isolation experienced by each individual during childhood. Burgess et al. (1986) would suggest that this isolation in childhood stemmed from ineffectual social environments and formative childhood events. With 75% of the subjects experiencing negative parental behavior and instability during childhood, it is likely that an ineffectual social environment is a significant factor in the evolution of a serial killer (see Appendix F).

With only half of the subjects analyzed experiencing confirmed abuse during childhood (see Appendix E), it is difficult to attribute childhood abuse to eventual serial homicidal behavior, even though Burgess et al. (1986) and Hickey (2002) both suggest abuse to play a role in homicidal development. As a child, Ted Bundy may have experienced some form of abuse from his grandfather, who was speculated to have abused Ted's grandmother, but the present authors were unable to confirm those reports. Hickey (2002), however, leaves his Trauma Control Model open for exceptions; for example, the "traumatizations" he deems necessary in the etiology of serial killers can include perceived traumatic events separate from abuse. In that event, the lives of all the individuals analyzed contain a traumatic event, which could be considered the spark igniting their murderous behavior. For John Wayne Gacy, that event was his father's passing while Gacy was imprisoned in a separate state. The divorce of Jeffrey Dahmer's parents and his consequential isolation set off his murderous tendencies. The love of Ted Bundy's life broke up with him, thus beginning his murderous rampage. Gary Ridgway attributes his multitudinous murders to his second wife.

But is it enough to attribute serial homicidal behavior to a combination of fantasies and traumatizations? The Trauma Control Model (Hickey, 2002) seems to suggest so, although Hickey does acknowledge the potential influence of predispositional factors. In accordance with contemporary trait theories, the Buller-McGinnis Model includes a category of predispositional factors in attempts to discover the importance of these factors in serial killer development.

The results of the current study suggest that personality disorders may influence homicidal behavior. All of the individuals studied possessed characteristics that meet diagnostic criterion for one or more personality disorders (see Appendix A, Table 1 for diagnostic criteria). Gary Ridgway and Ted Bundy appeared to display characteristics of a conduct disorder during early childhood with their destructive behavior. Ridgway suffocated a cat in a cooler and liked to kill birds, while Bundy stole ski gear and set fires. Jeffery Dahmer showed the characteristics of a borderline personality disorder, while John Wayne Gacy exhibited more antisocial characteristics. Based on the current study's results and the theories discussed above, the interplay of inherent personality characteristics, traumatizations, and social environments seem to provide the foundation for serial homicidal behavior.

The results also seem to suggest a greater role for facilitators in serial homicidal behavior. Nearly all of the subjects in the study used alcohol, drugs and pornography in their adult life. Of course, this correlation is not enough to suggest causation; however, one cannot deny the potential influence such facilitators can have over serial killers. Alcohol and drugs can lower inhibitions and alter perceptions perhaps leading to serial homicidal behavior; in addition, pornography can support the active fantasy lives of serial killers, thus leading to more fantasies and potentially an increased desire to act upon those fantasies.

The current study did not, however, find significant support for the MacDonald Triad (1963). Half of the individuals studied engaged in animal cruelty and fire setting, and only one individual suffered from enuresis. In addition, the present study failed to discover any predispositional factors outside of personality. Although John Wayne Gacy did suffer a head trauma during childhood, there is no additional support to suggest his eventual violent behavior was related to the incident. Furthermore, the physiological analysis of Gacy's brain during his autopsy failed to show any signs of abnormality. Silva, Ferrari and Leong (2002) suggest that Jeffrey Dahmer suffered from Asperger's Disorder, a mild form of autism that causes significant social impairment. A suggestion that is supported by the current study's findings is that Dahmer experienced introversion and poor social relationships; however, in this study, Dahmer was the exception when compared to the other individuals analyzed, who were extroverted and capable of forming relationships. Therefore, even though there is little reason to suppose Asperger's Disorder and serial homicide are related, the possibility remains that a link may be found in other cases of serial homicide.

Future Implications

The results suggest that an individual's childhood social environment, fantasy life and personality traits play a significant role in the development of serial homicidal behavior, thus future research of serial homicide should focus on those three factors. A poor social environment seems to lead to isolation, thus causing deficiencies in social interactions, which consequently become supplemented by fantasies, often sexual and violent in nature. The nature and development of fantasies ought to be analyzed further. Perhaps determining the etiology of fantasy, particularly violent fantasy, will provide insight into the development of serial homicidal behavior.

In addition to childhood social environment and personality traits, and related to the study of fantasy, the adolescent stage of development (age 10 to 18) ought to be further explored. Both Jeffrey Dahmer and Ted Bundy led an active and outgoing childhood, yet became reserved and self isolating in their adolescent years (see Appendix E for biographies). Because sexual fantasies become most apparent during puberty, perhaps the combination of traumatic experiences and violence during the hormonal fluctuations of puberty lead to the creation of violent fantasies and sadistic desires. The current study failed to address the significance of adolescent development, but perhaps the line between delinquent and psychopathic murderer is defined and eventually crossed during those years.

The Buller-McGinnis Model of Serial Homicide as proposed by the current study was created in order to integrate contemporary trait theories, the Motivational Model (Burgess et al., 1986) and the Trauma Control Model (Hickey, 2002) in attempts to more clearly illustrate the phenomena of serial homicide. The model was developed under the presumption that serial homicide is a complex entity composed of multitudinous interacting factors. The current study applied the Buller-McGinnis Model to the study of serial killers. In terms of applicability, the model showed great promise; the model allowed the researchers to explore the histories of four known serial killers and observe significant patterns within each of the individuals' pasts. The model, however, requires further modification to include more influential factors and more life stages (such as adolescence). In addition, existing factors ought to be further clarified and refined in order to make the model's instrument easier to fill out by future researchers. The current authors suggest conducting an updated, comprehensive study of all known serial killers using the Buller-McGinnis Model to observe statistically significant patterns among serial murderers, in order to ultimately produce extrapolative theories that can be readily applied in the prevention and capture of serial killers.

Of course, the logistics of accomplishing such a complex task would require the compilation of detailed and reliable biographies on all known serial killers, many of whom are now deceased. In addition, such a task would involve the collaboration of a number of experts within the fields of psychology, biology, sociology and serial homicide. However, the potential benefits derived from such an ambitious endeavor greatly outweigh the vast amount of effort necessary to accomplish it. Not only would researchers and officials possess valuable knowledge of the presently unknown psyche of serial killers, they would also obtain essential insight into the development of such individuals, potentially allowing them to intervene and perhaps eliminate this rare but vicious form of murder.

Positive Ramifications of Deadly Deviance

The positive function of serial killing (rare as it is) is that it helps to bring society together in a cohesive bond. People congratulate themselves and their peers for their virtuous behavior (in comparison to the heinous acts publicized). They also tend to more closely watch out for one another as individuals (at least for the time being). When caught up in the selfish enterprises of everyday life, family, and career, sometimes the well-being of fellow citizens gets lost in the equation. The anomie society feels as a whole, being shaken by senseless murders and the constant feeling of threat when a serial killer is still on the loose, causes us to value and rely on law enforcement more, and to revisit the preciousness of human life. As Travis Hirschi and other Social Control theorists would argue, our own attachments (sensitivity to the opinions of those we love, and our need for their approval), commitments (to education, family, and career, which are our usual stakes in conformity), involvement (which is the time we devote to maintaining our daily lives as well as the work we may perform for the common good), and beliefs (our moral compass, our deep conscience) are only bolstered in the face of monstrous acts committed by societal outliers. In sum, we revel in upholding what is right and good in the world. Bad examples only help to trigger this embrace of the positive.

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APPENDIX D

Buller-McGinnis Model Instrument

				Subject(s)	Avg	%
Predispositional Factors	Biological	Head Trauma				
		XYY				
	Psychological	Aspergers				
	Personality	Antisocial				
		Narcissistic				
		Borderline				
		Conduct Disorder				
Social Environment	Childhood	Parents	Substance Abuse			
			Neglect			
			Non-intervening			
			Non-protective			
			Overbearing			
		Religious				
		Isolated				
		Education	Poor Reader			
			Slow Learner			
	Adulthood	Extroverted				
		Introverted				
		Religious				
		Isolated				
		Poor Relationships	Romantic			
			Friendship			
			Family			
Formative Events/ Traumatizations	Childhood	Abuse	Physical			
			Sexual			
			Psychological			

		Witnessed				
		Illness				
		Enuresis				
		Death				
		Divorce				
		Instability				
	Adulthood	Stress	Financial			
			Employment			
			Breakups			
			Divorce			
		Death				
		Illness				
		Instability				
Actions Toward Self and Others	Childhood	Animal Cruelty				
		Firesetting				
		Aggression				
		Stealing				
		Nightmares				
		Chronic Lying				
		Running Away				
		Eating Problems				
		Self-Mutilation				
		Temper Tantrums				
		Stalking				
		Poor Body Image				
		Masturbation				
		Suicidal				
		Sexual Assault				
		Destruction of Property				
	Adulthood	Masturbation				
		Nightmares				
		Poor Body Image				
		Eating Problems				
		Chronic Lying				
		Self Mutilation				
		Suicidal				
		Assault/Aggression				
		Burglary				
		Arson				

		Stalking				
		Abduction				
		Sexual Assault/Rape				
		Murder(Non-Sexual)				
		Sexual Murder	Rape			
			Torture/Mutilation			
			Necrophilia			
Active Fantasy Life	Childhood	Content	Sexual			
			Violent			
			Control/Domination			
	Adulthood	Content	Sexual			
			Violent			
			Control/Domination			

APPENDIX E

Serial Killer Case Studies

Biographies of Serial Killers Analyzed

Serial Killer 1: Theodore Bundy

Ted Bundy was born to an apparently stable, loving, lower-middle class home. His family was Methodist that was shamed by his mother's having a child out of wedlock, therefore his grandfather pretended to have adopted young Ted (Vronsky, 2004: 103). He moved to Tacoma with his real mother who soon married, and had four other children. Classmates remember Bundy as an intelligent, popular, happy child who did well in school and even worked a paper route (Vronsky, 2004: 104). Things changed in high school, Bundy seemed to have lost his self confidence, became more alienated and did not perform as well in school. Bundy shared some commonalities with other children who became serial killers; he stole and was insecure- especially about his social status- he wished he was from a rich, upper-class family (Vronsky, 2004: 107). In 1965, he enrolled at the University of the Puget Sound, but it was very big and impersonal and he felt lonely. In 1966, he met the love of his life, she went to school at the University of Washington and was from a wealthy family in San Francisco; the two became a steady couple (Vronsky, 2004: 109). By chance, Bundy witnessed something that would alter his life; he watched a woman undress through a window while he was walking along the street and began to look for more opportunities to see this. After following his love interest to San Francisco when he was granted a scholarship to Stanford, their relationship failed and he returned to Tacoma very upset (Vronsky, 2004: 110). At this time, Bundy began acting out parts of his fantasies by disabling cars and participating in voyeuristic activities. Up until his last interview before execution, Bundy maintained that pornography, especially that of a violent nature, had a great impact on him and the evolution of his fantasies, turning them into actions. Although Bundy had run into some stressors with rejection from his girlfriend, failure in school and a poor job, he found something he really enjoyed when he entered the world of politics and worked on campaigns. In September of 1971, he was employed at the Seattle Crisis Clinic and was said to be very caring and a good listener by his coworker crime journalist, Ann Rule (Vronsky, 2004: 115). In 1972, Bundy graduated from the University of Washington with a Psychology degree, was accepted at the Utah College of Law and was able to reunite with his first love. Bundy had fantasized for so long about all the things that she would be and now that he had realized his fantasy, it was not quite enough. It was at this time he began trolling for victims (Vronsky, 2004: 119). Bundy was not looking for love, he wanted control and possession of the body, the object. Throughout his killing 'career,' Bundy's act remained relatively unchanged. Whether at Lake Sammamish State Park or around the University campus, Bundy would fake a broken arm and ask for assistance with his boat or his books, he would then knock the unsuspecting girl unconscious and drive her into the wilderness where he raped, sodomized and strangled her (Vronsky, 2004: 135). Alcohol was a strong facilitator in Bundy's crimes and he almost always committed them under the influence. Bundy was executed in January of 1989. He claimed that he was "the only PhD in serial murder," while Dr. Robert Keppel said "The Leonardo da Vinci of serial murder was Theodore Robert Bundy's perception of himself" (Vronsky, 2004: 141).

Serial Killer 2: Jeffrey Dahmer

Jeffrey Dahmer was born May 21, 1960 in Milwaukee, Wisconsin to a homemaker mother and a chemistry graduate student father and when he was six, his brother was born. Growing up, Dahmer was fascinated with dead things, particularly insects and animal remains (Purcell, 2000: 130). A story is often told about his finding a dead dog on the road and decapitating and skewering it with a stick. He would also use a chemistry set from his father to preserve animals. Dahmer's home life contributed to his fear of being abandoned and alone. His parents frequently argued leading to divorce his senior year, his mother was hospitalized for psychiatric reasons early in his life and his father was absent because of work (Purcell, 2000: 131). These factors no doubt caused Dahmer to retreat to an internal world where he could find comfort in fantasy. Although regarded as a social outcast, he was still active in tennis and played clarinet in the school band, he was also involved in the school newspaper (Purcell, 2000: 132). Just because he was involved in afterschool activities did not mean that Dahmer was a star student. Dahmer was known to be a class clown or prankster and would attend class drunk or stoned (Purcell, 2000: 133). Like many teenagers growing up, Dahmer struggled with his sexual identity, he considered homosexual relationships but felt it was wrong. What was different about Dahmer was that he acted upon these thoughts. Indifferent to relationships with females, at the age of fourteen, he kissed and fondled another boy (Purcell, 2000: 134). Dahmer's fantasy life took on a new quality; he began to have sexual fantasies and contemplated suicide. Dahmer admitted that with fantasies he "overcame [his] feelings of frustration and emptiness" (Purcell, 2000: 135). These violent and unusual fantasies only furthered his capacity to kill. At 18 years old, in June 1978, Dahmer committed his first murder (Purcell, 2000: 135). Although each murder had its own unique characteristics, Jeffrey Dahmer's dependence on facilitators like alcohol, drugs and homosexual pornography remained the same and contributed to a pattern. Things that occupied his thoughts in childhood would continue to fascinate him, his interest in dead things, his fear of abandonment, and the role of fantasy influenced his killings. Dahmer would lure potential victims to his home by asking them to pose in the nude; he would then give them a cocktail to make them unconscious, have sexual intercourse with them and then strangle them so they would not leave him (Purcell, 2000: 144). His fantasies, coupled with his arousal from seeing the entrails, turned him on to engaging in anal and oral sex and mutilating the bodies after they had died. But his obsession did not stop there, Dahmer kept parts of the victims as reminders of his acts and he would masturbate to them later, he even ate some of the body parts to make him stronger (Purcell, 2000: 144). Dahmer had an ultimate fantasy of building a shrine from the body parts, an altar out of the skulls; he even attempted a "sex zombie" by injecting the brain of a living victim with battery acid (Purcell, 2000:147; Vronsky, 2004: 244). By creating these shrines and zombies, he would be able to gain sexual satisfaction and he would not feel alone, the victim would never leave him. On July 22, 1991, Jeffrey Dahmer was arrested in Milwaukee and confessed to killing seventeen men, three years later he was beaten to death by a fellow inmate.

Serial Killer 3: Gary Ridgway

In November of 2003, the man to hold the highest convicted victim count of any American serial killer became Gary Leon Ridgway who admitted to the murder of 48 prostitutes. "Ridgway was so typical and his victims, as street prostitutes, held in such low esteem in society that even the remarkable number of deaths did not evoke more than mildly routine press coverage outside the Washington State area" (Vronsky, 2004: 12). Born in 1949 into a working class family, Ridgway was one of three sons to a 'domineering' mother. He exhibited many behaviors that are associated with serial killers; he was a slow learner, did very poorly in school, committed arson, stabbed a six year old, suffocated a pet cat and paid a young girl to molest her (Vronsky, 2004: 12). Ridgway was also a bed-wetter, well into junior high, and as he was in puberty at that time he remembered being both angry and sexually excited when his mother washed his genitals (Rule, 2004: 164). Perhaps this and his mother's control over the household contributed to his rich fantasies about having sex with her and also of killing her. Fantasies of having sexual relations and stabbing his mother demonstrated that he was humiliated and wanted control (Smith, 2004: 498). Not only did Ridgway have a fantasy life, he also set fires and watched neighbor girls in the pool and was considered a loner. A young Ridgway enjoyed killing things, watching them suffer and having that power over them. He carried a knife everywhere, killed birds in the backyard and once suffocated one of the family's cats by placing it in a cooler overnight when he was angry (Rule, 2004: 166). Ridgway decided he would go to fight in Vietnam and was sent to a duty station in San Diego, he married his first steady girlfriend before he left. It was during this time that he discovered Filipina prostitutes and contracted a venereal disease (Rule, 2004: 245). Gary Ridgway was married three times, his second wife remembers him as a loner and both the second and third wives revealed that he enjoyed sex often and that he wanted to have it outdoors. His first two wives had affairs and this deeply affected Ridgway who already had low self esteem. After he was arrested and admitted to his crimes, Ridgway reflected back, placing blame on his second wife saying, "If I would have killed her then it's possible that it might have changed my life. I'd only have one instead of fifty plus" (Keppel, 2005: 521). Ridgway killed most of his victims between 1982 and 1984, eluding police by leaving fake evidence at the crime scenes and being sure to trim the victim's fingernails. "Ridgway represents truly everything we know about serial killers today," he is typical with his failed relationships (divorce), quoting Biblical scripture as he murdered (Vronsky, 2004: 14). Ridgway also participated in necrophilia, even returning to a dumpsite to have sex with a corpse while his son slept in the car. DNA technology led to the arrest of

Gary Ridgway in 2001, and he admitted to his killing of almost fifty prostitutes. Why prostitutes? In his plea bargain statement he says, "I picked prostitutes as my victims because I hate most prostitutes…I knew they would not be reported missing…I could kill as many of them as I wanted without being caught" (Vronsky, 2004: 14). He also told police that he thought he was doing them a favor, eliminating a problem that they could not control.

Serial Killer 4: John Wayne Gacy, Jr.

John Wayne Gacy, Jr. was born in Chicago, a graduate of business college, a construction contractor, respected community figure, entertainer of sick children at the hospital as a clown, leader the Polish Constitution Day Parade, a devoted Roman Catholic and Democratic Party precinct captain. But Gacy was also convicted of killing 33 young men, many of whom he hid in the crawlspace of his house. He was executed by lethal injection May 10, 1994 after his appeals had been exhausted (Vronsky, 2004: 201). What had to happen in a man's life that could make him capable of such brutality but also enable him to live a 'normal' life? As a child, Gacy was well behaved for teachers, had a newspaper route, was a Boy Scout and worked part time at a grocery store (Linedecker, 1980: 17). At the age of eleven, he was hit in the head by a swing and suffered blackouts until he was 16 and they were able to dissolve a blood clot on his brain (Vronsky, 2004: 198; Linedecker, 1980: 17). Growing up, Gacy's whole family was at the mercy of his father. Gacy's father was a heavy drinker and would beat his wife, harass his daughters and abuse and belittle John Jr. (Vronsky, 2004: 198; Linedecker, 1980: 19). Gacy struggled to gain his father's praise, but still engaged in petty theft and homosexual sex. After graduating from Business College and overcoming some health struggles, he became a shoe salesman. It was there that he met his wife in 1964, her father was the owner of many Kentucky Fried Chicken restaurants and Gacy worked up to the position of manager (Vronsky, 2004: 198; Linedecker, 1980: 25). The future was looking bright, but it was at this KFC that Gacy would be arrested in 1968 for sodomizing an employee and was sent to jail, causing his wife to divorce him. Once released for good behavior, he remarried in 1972 and his new wife's three kids and mother all moved in. Gacy became impotent and abusive and that wife divorced him, at this time Gacy was heavy into his killing (Vronsky, 2004: 199). Once he was arrested, after several interviews, police would learn that Gacy trolled the streets and targeted gay prostitutes and runaway teenagers, sometimes offering them a job. When he lured them to his house, he offered them marijuana or alcohol and had them watch pornography to judge their feeling about homosexual acts, he would sodomize and submerge his victims in bathtubs or strangle them, all while reciting the 23rd Psalm from the Bible (Vronsky, 2004: 200). Gacy admitted to FBI Profiler Robert Ressler that he believed his victims were worthless "queers" and that he was not like them because he was successful, just did not have the time to date women and preferred quick sex.

APPENDIX F

Table 1: Buller-McGinnis Model of Serial Homicide raw data from the analysis of four serial killer subjects: Ted Bundy (T.B.), Gary Ridgway (G.R.), Jeffrey Dahmer (J.D.), and John Gacy (J.G.). Number 1 signifies "yes" while 0 signifies "no".

				T.B.	G.R.	J.D.	J.G.	Avg	%
Predispositional Factors	Biological	Head Trauma		0	0	0	1	0.25	25
		XYY		0	0	0	0	0	0
	Psychological	Aspergers		0	0	1	0	0.25	25
	Personality	Antisocial		1	0	0	1	0.5	50
		Narcissistic		1	0	0	0	0.25	25
		Borderline		0	0	1	1	0.5	50
		Conduct Disorder		1	1	0	0	0.5	50
Social Environment	Childhood	Parents	Substance Abuse	0	0	0	1	0.25	25
			Neglect	0	0	1	0	0.25	25
			Non-intervening	0	0	0	1	0.25	25
			Non-protective	0	0	0	0	0	0
			Overbearing	0	1	0	0	0.25	25
		Religious		1	0	0	1	0.5	50

Category	Period	Item	Sub-item	T.B.	G.R.	J.D.	J.G.	Avg	%
		Isolated		1	1	1	1	1	100
		Education	Poor Reader	0	1	0	1	0.5	50
			Slow Learner	0	1	1	1	0.75	75
	Adulthood	Extroverted		1	1	0	1	0.75	75
		Introverted		0	0	1	0	0.25	25
		Religious		0	1	0	1	0.5	50
		Isolated		1	0	1	1	0.75	75
		Poor Relationships	Romantic	1	1	1	1	1	100
			Friendship	0	0	1	0	0.25	25
			Family	0	0	0	1	0.25	25
Formative Events/ Traumatizations	Childhood	Abuse	Physical	0	0	0	1	0.25	25
			Sexual	0	0	0	1	0.25	25
			Psychological	0	1	0	1	0.5	50
			Witnessed	0	0	0	1	0.25	25
				T.B.	G.R.	J.D.	J.G.	Avg	%
		Illness		0	0	1	1	0.5	50
		Enuresis		0	1	0	0	0.25	25
		Death		0	0	0	0	0	0
		Divorce		0	0	1	0	0.25	25
		Instability		1	0	1	1	0.75	75
	Adulthood	Stress	Financial	0	0	0	0	0	0
			Employment	1	0	1	1	0.75	75
			Breakups	1	1	0	0	0.5	50
			Divorce	0	1	0	1	0.5	50
		Death		0	0	0	1	0.25	25
		Illness		0	0	0	1	0.25	25
		Instability		0	0	1	0	0.25	25
Actions Toward Self and Others	Childhood	Animal Cruelty		0	1	1	0	0.5	50
		Firesetting		1	1	0	0	0.5	50
		Aggression		0	1	0	0	0.25	25
		Stealing		1	0	0	1	0.5	50
		Nightmares		0	0	0	0	0	0
		Chronic Lying		1	0	1	1	0.75	75
		Running Away		0	0	0	1	0.25	25
		Eating Problems		0	0	0	0	0	0
		Self-Mutilation		0	0	0	0	0	0
		Temper Tantrums		0	0	0	0	0	0
		Stalking		1	1	0	0	0.5	50

				T.B.	G.R.	J.D.	J.G.	Avg	%
		Poor Body Image		1	0	0	0	0.25	25
		Masturbation		1	1	1	1	1	100
		Suicidal		0	0	0	0	0	0
		Sexual Assault		0	1	0	1	0.5	50
		Destruction of Property		1	1	0	0	0.5	50
	Adulthood	Masturbation		1	1	1	1	1	100
		Nightmares		0	0	0	0	0	0
		Poor Body Image		0	0	0	0	0	0
		Eating Problems		0	0	0	0	0	0
		Chronic Lying		1	0	1	1	0.75	75
		Self Mutilation		0	0	0	0	0	0
		Suicidal		0	0	0	0	0	0
		Assault/Aggression		0	0	0	0	0	0
		Burglary		0	0	0	0	0	0
		Arson		0	0	0	0	0	0
				T.B.	G.R.	J.D.	J.G.	Avg	%
		Stalking		1	1	1	1	1	100
		Abduction		1	1	1	1	1	100
		Sexual Assault/Rape		1	1	1	1	1	100
		Murder(Non-Sexual)		0	0	0	0	0	0
		Sexual Murder	Rape	1	1	1	1	1	100
			Torture/ Mutilation	1	1	0	1	0.75	75
			Necrophilia	1	1	1	1	1	100
Active Fantasy Life	Childhood	Content	Sexual	1	1	1	1	1	100
			Violent	1	1	1	0	0.75	75
			Control/ Domination	0	1	0	0	0.25	25
	Adulthood	Content	Sexual	1	1	1	1	1	100
			Violent	1	1	1	1	1	100
			Control/ Domination	1	1	1	1	1	100