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# Federal Probation

The Myth of Corporate Immunity to Deterrence:  
Ideology and the Creation of the Invincible Criminal

*Francis T. Cullen  
Paula J. Dubeck*

Racism, Sexism, and Ageism in the Prison Community  
Sentence Planning for Long-Term Inmates

*Ann Goetting  
Timothy J. Flanagan*

Profiles in Terror: The Serial Murderer

*Ronald M. Holmes  
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Computers Can Help

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FBI Fort Worth Substance Abuse Evaluation:  
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"Custody: The Emerging Crisis  
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the Criminal

*Gad Czudner*

Officers Speak: Analysis of Probationers'  
Personal Attitudes

*G. Frederick Allen*

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All phases of preventive and correctional activities in delinquency and crime come within the fields of interest of FEDERAL PROBATION. The Quarterly wishes to share with its readers all constructively worthwhile points of view and welcomes the contributions of those engaged in the study of juvenile and adult offenders. Federal, state, and local organizations, institutions, and agencies—both public and private—are invited to submit any significant experience and findings related to the prevention and control of delinquency and crime.

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# Federal Probation

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## This Issue In Brief

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**The Myth of Corporate Immunity to Deterrence: Ideology and the Creation of the Invincible Criminal.**—Commentators frequently assert that the criminal law is ineffective in deterring corporate crime because either (a) the public will not support sanctions against businesses or (b) companies are too powerful to be swayed by existing legal penalties. Authors Francis T. Cullen and Paula J. Dubeck suggest, on the contrary, that studies reveal the public favors the use of criminal sanctions against offending corporations and such sanctions will ultimately diminish future illegality.

**Racism, Sexism, and Ageism in the Prison Community.**—A survey of literature suggests that blacks, women, and the elderly experience differential treatment in prison and that such treatment is somewhat in concert with that afforded them in the outside community, according to Professor Ann Goetting of Western Kentucky University. She concludes that such discrimination is likely to persist in the institutional setting until such time it is no longer tolerated in society at large.

**Sentence Planning for Long-Term Inmates.**—Recent sentencing law changes throughout the United States are likely to produce an increase in size and proportion of long-term prisoners in state and Federal correctional facilities. Professor Timothy J. Flanagan of the State University of New York at Albany addresses a number of issues involved in planning constructive sentences for these prisoners and discusses administrative structures for the implementation of long-term sentence planning.

**Profiles in Terror: The Serial Murderer.**—One alarming aspect of contemporary serial murder is the extent to which its perpetrators believe that violence against human beings is a normal and acceptable means of implementing their goals or motives, assert University of Louisville professors Holmes and

DeBurger. Their article describes a systematic typology of serial murders and indicates some of the general characteristics of the offender.

**Computers Can Help.**—Until recently the computer-assisted instructional options available to correctional educators were not very practical, reports Federal prisons education specialist Sylvia G. McCollum. The situation has changed sharply, however, and correctional educators can now choose

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from a wide variety of user-friendly equipment and software which includes vocational, high-school equivalency, career assessment, job search, and life-skill courses. Those interested in using computers in correctional education may benefit from the Federal prisons experience.

*FCI Fort Worth Substance Abuse Evaluation: A Pilot Study.*—Dr. Jerome Mabli, research administrator for the South Central Region of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, and members of his staff, discuss the preliminary results of a pilot Substance Abuse Program Evaluation. The unit evaluated after 8 months of testing was the FCI Fort Worth STAR (Steps Toward Addiction Recovery) Unit which houses 200 inmates. The authors present a research paradigm which concentrates on cognitive-attitudinal variables and outline recommendations for future evaluation.

*Female Correction Officers.*—Author Peter Horne presents a current overview of the status of female correction officers in the American penal system, examining data and levels of utilization of females in corrections. The limited progress that female correction officers have made in working in all-male prison facilities is noted and the problems which have impeded their progress are explored. Recommendations are made and administrative strategies outlined in order to promote increased employment of females in opposite sex prisons.

*Protective Custody: The Emerging Crisis Within Our Prisons?*—The use of protective custody (PC) in North American prisons has increased dramatically over the last two decades with current rates varying from 6 percent to 20 percent of prison populations. According to authors Gendreau, Tellier, and Wormith, the increased use of PC was probably caused by changes in judicial and court-related practices, changing trends in prison populations, and liberalized institutional regulations. They express concern for equitable treatment and an acceptable quality of life in PC.

*Changing the Criminal.*—Gad Czudner describes a theoretical proposal for a way to change the criminal. The proposal is for a cognitive model with an added moral component which assumes that, only if a person is capable of feeling "bad" about doing "bad," is he able to feel "good" about doing "good." He believes that guilt can be a guide for moral behavior and that awareness of others is the key to this approach.

*The Probation Perspective: Analysis of Probationers' Experiences and Attitudes.*—Using the

theoretical perspectives of rehabilitation, deterrence, desert, and the justice model as points of reference, this study evaluated probationers' experiences and obtained their ideas as to what the mission of probation should be. Author G. Frederick Allen's findings suggest that probationers are able to conceptualize criminal sanctions as rehabilitation, deterrence, desert, and within a justice model perspective, simultaneously; and that they have useful suggestions for improving the system.

*ERRATA:* The concluding lines of the article "The Effect of Casino Gambling on Crime" by Jay S. Albanese, which appeared in the June 1985 issue, were eliminated during the printing process. The last two paragraphs of that article should have read as follows:

As a result, states having support for the legalization of casino gambling should not fail to consider legalization due to fear of increases in serious crimes against persons and property. Based on this analysis of the Atlantic City experience, the advent of casino gambling has no direct effect on serious crime. Such finding suggests that any city which undergoes a significant revitalization (whether it be casino-hotels, theme parks, convention centers, or other successful development) that is accompanied by large increases in the number of visitors, hotels, and/or commercial activity, may experience increases in the extent of crime but a *decrease* in the risk of victimization—due to even faster increases in the average daily population of the city.

Although crimes known to the police have increased in Atlantic City since the introduction of casino-hotels, this increase has been more than offset by changes in the average daily population of the city and a general statewide increase in crime. States that follow New Jersey's example in providing a significant crime prevention effort as part of their casino legislation are also likely to experience success in introducing casino-hotels to revitalize a local economy, without an increase in the risk of victimization of its citizens. As this investigation has found, the average visitor to Atlantic City in 1982 was less likely to be the victim of a serious violent or property crime than he or she was before casinos were introduced there.

All the articles appearing in this magazine are regarded as appropriate expressions of ideas worthy of thought but their publication is not to be taken as an endorsement by the editors or the Federal probation office of the views set forth. The editors may or may not agree with the articles appearing in the magazine, but believe them in any case to be deserving of consideration.

# Profiles in Terror: The Serial Murderer

By RONALD M. HOLMES, ED.D., AND JAMES E. DEBURGER, PH.D.  
*University of Louisville*

## *Social-Cultural Context of Violence*

HOMICIDE is a crime which has historically galvanized public attention to the work of law enforcement personnel. In past decades, when the situational context of most homicides ensured or at least enhanced the probability of rapid solution, law enforcement personnel were lauded for their investigative skills. In recent years, however, both the public and those in law enforcement have expressed frustration and concern regarding the growing number of unsolved murders in this Nation. Since 1960, the solution rate for homicides has declined from over 90 percent to approximately 76 percent in 1983 (*Newsweek*, 1984). This dramatic decline in the solution rate coincides with a period of increasingly sophisticated technology and an increase in the number of police officers per capita. Given the increased technology available for scientific investigation of these violent crimes, a fair conclusion is that the decrease in the solution rate can be attributed more reasonably to the character of many contemporary homicides than to the ability of the investigators. While about 20 percent of all homicides today have no apparent motive, in 1966 only 6 percent of all homicides were motiveless. Many of the currently unsolved homicides are believed to have been perpetrated by serial murderers.

Serial murder, the focus of this article, is not a totally new kind of criminal behavior. Generally, however, this crime represents the emergence of a form of homicide which is very different from murders commonly investigated in earlier times. Stranger-perpetrated, this form of murder often reflects neither passion nor premeditation stemming from motives of personal gain. More frequently, it tends to reflect nonrational or irrational motives or goals and its victims stand in a depersonalized relation to the perpetrator. One alarming aspect of contemporary serial murder is the extent to which its perpetrators believe that violence against human beings is a normal and acceptable means of implementing their goals or motives. While the major purpose here is to describe a systematic typology of serial murders, an initial comment will be made on the significance of violence in the everyday social context as a possible contributory factor in the emergence of this form of violent crime.

There is growing evidence to support the view that social and cultural factors in postindustrial American society tend to enhance the probability of interpersonal causes and perpetration of criminal violence. And it also seems likely that serial murder represents an advanced form if not an ultimate extension of violence; for here is a form of homicide which by rational standards is pointless and unaccompanied by remorse or a sense of responsibility on the part of the perpetrator. Studies by Wolfgang and his associates on the subculture of violence (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1982; Wolfgang and Weiner, 1982) have clearly demonstrated the ways in which personal and contextual factors may interact to produce violent criminal behavior. It is difficult to establish the specific mechanisms by which a culture of violence may be translated into specific criminal acts such as serial murder. But it seems likely that the basic processes of socialization which affect individual behavior from childhood through adulthood are saturated with a potential for violence in interpersonal relations.

Both in terms of contemporary life in America and in terms of this society's European roots, there is a fertile cultural seedbed of violent examples for behavior. Currently, violence as a "normal" or appropriate response in many situations has explicit or implied approval in many facets of our American culture. This may stem largely from the recurrent, extensive, and essentially "pointless" violence that is commonly portrayed in mass media. There is a sensitivity-dulling exposure to it that reaches all age groups and pervades the waking hours of both children and adults. Television depicts violence in movies and in videos; rock stars, in their entertainment acts make use of hammers, swords, clubs, etc. One study of childrens' TV programs by a Senate Committee found 16 violent incidents per broadcast hour. Such material connotes at least passive acceptance of violence. The news media provide further real-life examples of recourse to violence in politics, racial and ethnic relations, labor relations, and the American family. The role of TV as an influence on personal acceptance of violence and as a precursor of violent behavior is still being researched and debated.

Historical and sociological study of American life has provided many examples of violence throughout our history. From very early days in this society, a passive acceptance of violence has existed. Our frontier was characterized by a poor system of law enforcement, little assurance that a judge would arrive in time for a hearing or trial, and a generally weak and uneven judicial system. In some areas, these conditions paved the way for initiation of a vigilante system. Vigilantism was a unique and often violent response to the conditions of frontier America. Often, vigilante leaders were social conservatives attempting to maintain what they perceived as necessary social order. Their victims, unfortunately, included a wide range of easily identified people—Blacks, Catholics, and others whose chief offense lay in their unacceptable or unwelcome status. Even in contemporary America, political ideology of the powerful tends to legitimize the use of violence to protect the interests of the powerful. Our cultural norm which grants some acceptance to this use of violence probably stems largely from the frontier ideology.

Widespread individual acceptance of the perpetration of violence appears to be more predominant in the South and the West; however, it is suggested that there is a general increase in acceptance of violence throughout the Nation. Many urban minorities are arming themselves for protection against new urban predators who seek to take their property or take their lives. The person growing up in American society tends to learn subtle lessons about violence which reinforce the positive aspects of interpersonal violence in certain situations.

Many people believe that violence is justifiable under certain circumstances; witness, for example the growing acceptance of executions during the past decade. While many are repulsed by the idea of taking the life of another person under any circumstances, others would justify this action in case of self-defense or other valid circumstances. In terms of criminal behavior, research clearly indicates that some have no reluctance whatever in resorting to violence in the course of crimes which are essentially property-related. Toward the polar end of the continuum of violence acceptance are those who see little or no intrinsic wrong in the murder of another human being. For example, serial killer Gerald Stano remarked that the killing of his victims was no different than stepping on a cockroach.

Aside from the contemporary social context and its possible contribution to violence, there exists a history of violence which includes commentary on

an extreme form of violence—serial murder. A speaker recently introduced an address on this topic by saying that "Serial murder is a product of the 1970's." But this is not accurate. The notoriety of the contemporary serial murderer has been widely covered by the printed media and also by television. Thus, a general impression exists that this type of homicidal predator has emerged only in the last few years. But this perception is not supported by a careful examination of literature on the topic, despite the fact that the names of contemporary serial murderers roll off the lips of criminal justice students like a litany of unholy saints—Gacy, Williams, Bundy, Lucas, Toole, Berkowitz, and others.

But historical study reveals other criminals who lived in much earlier times and committed atrocities of such magnitude that their names are not likely ever to be forgotten by serious students of homicide (*Time*, 1979; *Science Digest*; *U.S. News*). Gilles De Rais, a 15th century nobleman and confidant of Joan of Arc, is known to have tortured, raped, and killed more than 800 children. The gratification he received from his sadistic actions and necrophilia derived more from mutilation of the children than from traditional sexual relations. In the latter part of the 19th century, a man known as the "ogre of Hanover"—whose real name was Fritz Haarman, sodomized and murdered scores of young boys. Haarman reportedly obtained sexual pleasure by ripping out the throats of his young unfortunate victims (Holmes, 1983). But probably the most famous serial killer in all history was Jack the Ripper who lived in late 19th century England. His predilection for London prostitutes made his name a household word. According to learned estimates, however, his victims numbered not more than seven. The crimes of Jack the Ripper pale in comparison with the serial murders committed by contemporary killers such as Bundy, Lucas, and Toole.

#### *Serial Killers: Geographically Stable and Transient*

It should be apparent that there is a difference between mass murderers and serial murderers. Mass murderers kill a number of people in one place at one time. This type of killer usually exhibits a momentary frenzy and kills in his frenzy. He probably will not kill again. The serial killer murders a number of people over a long period of time.

There is a need to first identify serial killers in terms of their degree of spatial mobility. Two major forms can be noted. The *geographically stable* killer is one who typically lives in a particular area and kills his victims within the general region of his

residence. John Wayne Gacy, for example, lived in Chicago. He was a well-known personality, a self-employed businessman, and an entertainer of children. Suspected of killing 33 young men and boys, he not only murdered his victims in or near his home, but buried them in such places as his crawl space in his home, in his attic, between his walls, under his patio and driveway, and other such unlikely places. Albert Fish, a resident of New York and self-confessed lust killer and cannibal of more than 200 young boys and girls, also was a geographically stable serial killer. One of the most famous recent serial killers is Wayne Williams. He was convicted of only two killings. However, his probable involvement in more than 30 killings of young black males in Atlanta qualifies him for classification as a geographically stable, serial killer.

This type of homicidal predator is often employed in his own community, well-known and well-respected. His killings may occur over several years before his apprehension. The senselessness of his acts is a puzzle to law enforcement personnel since the usual motives for murder—spurned love, money, or revenge—are missing. An additional source of great frustration is the lack of physical evidence usually accompanying homicide in these kinds of cases. The serial murderer kills for more exotic reasons—and these are reasons that are not immediately evident to the investigating officer. Very frequently, the motive is sexual in nature and the predator may slaughter a selected group of victims.

The other type who presents a different set of problems to law enforcement is the *geographically transient* serial killer. This type of serial murderer travels continually throughout his killing career. Typically he kills in one police jurisdiction and shrewdly moves on to another. Consider Ted Bundy. Ted, a handsome former law student from Washington State, is suspected of killing more than a score of women in Washington, Utah, and Colorado. He eventually was apprehended and sentenced for the kidnapping of Carol DaRonch in Murray, Utah. Later taken to trial for the killing of Caryn Campbell, he escaped. His trail led to Chicago, East Lansing, Louisville, and, finally, to the campus of Florida State University in Tallahassee. Less than 2 weeks after his arrival, Bundy brutally attacked Lisa Levy, Margaret Bowman, Karen Chandler, and Kathy Kleiner at the Chi Omega Sorority House. Two blocks away, he broke into the home of Cheryl Thomas and assaulted her. Lisa and Margaret died as a result of this crime. Two weeks later, Ted killed his last victim, 12-year-old Kimberly Leach. When Don Patchen, supervisor of the Homicide and

Assault Unit of Tallahassee Police Department interviewed Bundy regarding 36 cases of unsolved murder victims, Ted calmly told the veteran police officer that he could add one digit to that number. Patchen believes that Bundy has murdered more than 300 young women throughout the United States; many of these victims were from the great northwest. When Bundy was queried regarding the number of states in which he has killed, he admitted that his "entity" had killed in six different states (Michaud, Anyesworth, 1983; Patchen, 1984).

At this time, there is little known about Henry Lee Lucas. But it can safely be said that his victims may number in the hundreds. At least 142 of his crimes have been verified. At times he has claimed responsibility for 365 killings and has led police officers to many grave sites.

### *Typology of Serial Murders*

As is true of any specific type of human behavior, different people may have the same basic motivation but behave differently. This variation in behavior may stem from many factors. Social and behavior scientists have developed a wide range of models for describing behavioral models. These models will not be reviewed here since our focus is on a specific type of a typical behavior—serial murder. Below a typology is described which categorizes the major types of serial murderers. Within each type the motives which seem to predominate will be examined. In each type it will be apparent that the motives function to provide for the serial killer a personal justification for the violence he commits.

#### *Visionary Type*

Most serial murders would not be considered psychotic. They are in touch with reality but have no feelings for others. By contrast the "visionary type" is impelled to murder because he has heard voices or has seen visions which demand that he kill a certain person or a category of persons. For some the voice or vision that is perceived may be that of a demon; for others it may be from God. Consider the case of Harvey Carignan; he was convicted of killing six women. But it is believed he killed many, many more. All of these victims fell prey to Carignan because God told him to do it. He perceived the women as "bad" people and himself as God's instrument to do away with evil in the world. Another illustrative case is one in which a young male decapitated a 76-year-old woman and stabbed her lifeless body over 200 times. Within the next two weeks he assaulted three other elderly women, each time stabbing them in the neck and chest area.

Upon apprehension, he related that he was possessed by a red demon who demanded this action and that he could find comfort only through killing.

Both killers heard voices that were only in their heads. Both operated because of a vision. One was god-mandated, the other was demon-mandated. These two subtypes give different justification for their actions even though the end product is the same, a homicide. The perpetration of violence is legitimized by the vision the serial killer "experienced." There is little doubt about the mental state of this type of serial killer. At times he is clearly out of touch with reality. He hears voices and sees visions. In psychiatric terms, this type of serial killer could be termed psychotic. A shrewd defense attorney could certainly make the case of an "insanity" plea.

#### *Mission-Oriented Type*

The serial killer who has a mission to fulfill is one who consciously has a goal in his life to eliminate a certain identifiable group of people. He does not hear voices or see visions. However, he may decide on his own that it is his role to rid the world of a group of people who are "undesirable" or unworthy to live with other human beings. Recently, there was a case of four young women who were similarly murdered. All four victims frequented local night spots. One was a known prostitute, and the others had alleged reputations for casual sexual encounters. Their dress style appeared to advertise their personal availability and their willingness to participate in sex for money. The murderer of these women had a personal mission, a mission to rid his community of prostitutes. During the interrogation of the killer, not only was he aware of his killings but he verbalized a sense of pride because of rendering the community such a great service.

The mission-oriented serial murderer is not psychotic; he does not hear voices or see visions. He has a self-imposed duty to rid the world of an unworthy group of people. The victim group may be prostitutes, young women, Catholics, or any other group he defines as unworthy to live with decent people. He may be either an organized nonsocial or a disorganized asocial type (Hazelwood and Douglas, 1980; 2). He lives in the real world and interacts with it on a daily basis. Typically when this type of killer is arrested, his neighbors cannot believe that he is the person responsible for the deaths of so many people. Take the case of the above geographically stable, serial killer from Louisville. Neighbors described him as a nice young man who cared for the people in the neighborhood and was a social worker in a group home for convicted felons. No one had suspected him of murdering young women in his community.

#### *Hedonistic Type*

Physical evidence accompanying murders committed by the hedonistic type tend to be most striking and bizarre. Consider these examples.

The nude body of a young woman was discovered in an alley; her body had been mutilated, both breasts had been removed, and her vaginal vault had been crudely excised. In another case, in the summer of 1984, a street wino was found dead in a walkway in an urban area. The cause of death was internal bleeding. He was nude, and a crutch was found inserted seventeen inches into his rectum. As yet, no one has been arrested in either of these cases.

Interview records with the hedonistic type reflect a perverted means of thrill-seeking. A young male presently awaiting sentencing in a multiple killing of young boys, described, with a gleam in his eyes, the great pleasure he received in killing the young men. He said that he felt a rush of excitement when he put the knife into the ribs of the young boys. Killing for him was a thrill, it was "pure" enjoyment. This is typical of the hedonistic serial murderer.

As difficult as it must be for most people to realize, there are some people who can kill simply for the thrill of it. These people kill not because of a goal in their life to rid the community of undesirables; neither do they kill because they hear voices or see visions. They kill because they enjoy it. They kill because the thrill becomes an end in itself. The lust murderer can be viewed as a subcategory of the hedonistic type because of the sexual enjoyment experienced in the homicidal act (Hazelwood and Douglas, 1980;3). Anthropophagy, dismemberment, necrophilia, or other forms of sexual aberration are prevalent in this form of serial killing. Often this type of serial killer is typically intelligent; less intelligent ones tend to be street smart. Apprehension of the hedonistic type is very difficult especially if he is geographically transient. His method of killing, while sadistic and immeasurably pleasurable to him, makes investigation difficult for the law enforcement professional. He may be able to escape detection for years.

#### *Power/Control-Oriented Type*

The Power/Control-Oriented Type receives gratification from the complete control of the victim. Ted Bundy obviously experienced some great pleasure from exerting power and control in the killing of his victims. While one description of the killing of Kimberly Leach reports Bundy's sexual pleasure connected with the act, the fundamental source of pleasure is not sexual, it is the killer's ability to control and exert power over his helpless victim (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1980). In another case where there are indications of power-oriented

behavior, the Red Demon Killer experienced orgasm while stabbing his victim (picquerism). Holding the power of life or death over a victim is symbolically the ultimate control that one person can exert over another.

By exerting complete control over the life of his victim, the murderer experiences pleasure and excitement, not from the sexual excitation or the rape, but from his belief that he does indeed have the power to do whatever he wishes to do to another human being who is completely helpless and within his total control. This type of serial murderer is not psychotic; he does live in the world and is aware of the rules and regulations that he is expected to abide by. He chooses, however, to ignore them. He lives by his own code and typically fits the patterns of a psychopathic or sociopathic type of personality. His behavior indicates a character disorder, not a break from reality. While the power/control-oriented type and the hedonistic type are probably both psychopathic, they differ in that killing for the hedonist is simply pleasurable. The hedonist receives sexual gratification in the process of killing another person and may experience orgasm from knifing the victim (picquerism) or having sex with the corpse (necrophilia). The pleasure derived from the killing by the power/control-oriented type derives from his capture and control of his victim, rendering his victim powerless and helpless, while forcing the captive to obey his every command. The power/control-oriented type experiences a self-inflated sense of importance and power.

#### *Serial Killer: General Characteristics*

While it may be beneficial to cast serial murderers into various categories depending on their motives, it is just as necessary to indicate some of the general characteristics of the offender. These should be seen as characteristics, not causes of behavior. A fundamental difference exists between the two words; "characteristics" describe only what appear to be common variables whereas "causes" explain why certain behaviors occur. Rule (1984), an expert on serial murder, argues that it is impossible to speak in absolute terms when one is dealing with an aberrant personality. The majority of serial killers appear to share certain characteristics. First of all, most are white and are in the age group of 25 to 34 years of age. They are intelligent or at least "street smart." They are charming and charismatic; and many of them are psychopathic. Many such as Edmund Kemper are "police groupies" and are fascinated by police work. Kemper frequently associated with off-duty police officers and questioned them about the progress which was being

made on unsolved murders which he had committed. Serial killers often focus on one type of victim. Bundy selected young women, all with dark long hair parted in the middle. Williams chose young black males. It appears that the victim group shares two basic features: They are vulnerable and easy to control. Often the serial murderer will use a ruse to gain access to their victims. Bundy, for example, frequently used a cast to simulate a broken arm to solicit sympathy and aid.

It is also interesting to note that serial killers appear to be highly mobile. Many will travel almost constantly, e.g., geographically transient type. They appear to be "night people." They appear to select, to stalk, and to kill their victims when most people are not as alert or aware of their personal vulnerability. They kill with "hands-on" weapons such as knives, hands, fists; they have physical contact with their victims. In the beginning, their killings are elaborately planned. Toward the end of their killing careers, the plans disintegrate. They kill more in a "panic" and some kill more than one person at a time. Witness again the case of Bundy. He savagely attacked five women in the space of less than 2 hours; five were brutally beaten, and two killed. Normally, the serial killer waits, stalks, kills, waits, stalks, kills (Rule, 1980). Toward the end of his murderous career, there is little time between the waits and the kills.

Many of the known serial murderers were born out of wedlock. As children many were physically, sexually, or emotionally abused. These killers tend to abuse alcohol or drugs, and often this abuse exacerbated their sadistic fantasies. For example, their interest in media would lie more in the area of sadistic porn or other depictions of violence. Many are intimately involved with women who have no knowledge of their partner's homicidal activities. Sexual relationships with these women are often characterized by binding and other forms of sadistic behavior.

#### *Serial Killers: A Problem for the Criminal Justice System*

The apprehension of serial killers by professionals in criminal justice appears to occur almost by accident. Due largely to the senselessness of their crimes, their mobility and intelligence, they may go on for years without being apprehended. Their killings are not of the "smoking gun" variety. One criminologist estimated that the number of serial murderers has tripled over the past two decades and that the overall murder rate has more than doubled. Currently it is estimated that about 5,000 people each year are victims of serial killers. Contrary to

the FBI's estimate of 30 serial killers roaming throughout the United States, this same criminologist believes that there are over 100. In a personal interview on death row in Florida, Ted Bundy suggested that the number is much higher. (Rule, 1984; Newsweek, 1984; Bundy, 1985)

Regardless of the number of serial murderers, the number of victims is significant. While other crimes such as robbery clearly affect more people, there should be no confusion when one speaks of the quality of an act versus the quantity of an act. In view of the mission of criminal justice, there can be no standard which uses numbers solely as a yardstick for action. The consideration of violence in the cultural context and comments here on the general characteristics of serial killers are intended solely to shed light on contemporary types of serial killers. But one compelling fact is apparent: There has appeared in contemporary times a class of homicidal predators who pose a clear and present danger to more than 5,000 Americans yearly. Certainly this is evidence enough that the criminal justice system must take notice and develop a plan of action.

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