Teenage Serial Homicide Offenders:

A Typology

by

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**Abstract**

Although serial homicide literature covers a variety of serial homicide offender classifications, to date, there has been a limited amount of research conducted on teenage serial homicide. Only two studies have attempted to explain teenage serial homicide, and no study has yet to create a typology of the youthful offender. Using a sample of 43 male teenage serial homicide offenders in Canada and the United States between the years of 1970-2005, this study constructs a typology on teenage serial homicide offenders. Single motive offenders were divided into three subcategories: lust offenders, profit offenders, and rage offenders. Multiple motive offenders were divided into two subcategories: exploitive offenders and lust-rage offenders. Each subcategory includes motive, offender characteristics, murder method, victim selection, contact with victim, murder location and spatial mobility. Such findings are discussed and explanations of each are given.


Keywords: Serial homicide, teenage serial homicide, youth homicide

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## Introduction

Serial murder is defined as the unlawful killing of two or more victims by one or more offender(s) during separate events (Hickey, 2013). Serial murder was an uncommon public concern until the 1980s. Beginning in the 1980s and increasing in the 1990s, accounts of both fictional and real life exploits of serial murder heightened public awareness (Jenkins, 1994). Hollywood capitalized upon this growing public interest with the production of movies like *Silence of the Lamb, American Psycho and Zodiac* (Castle & Hensley, 2002). There was also an explosion of both fictional and true-crime publications devoted to serial murder. Jenkins (1994) emphasizes that there were more publications in the years between 1991 and 1993 depicting both fictional and true crime accounts of serial murder than were published in the 1960s and 1970s combined. This media attention created an impression of an epidemic of serial murder and created the myth of the serial homicide offender as a sexual psychopath.

Surveys illustrate that the public places their fear of serial murder just second to that of terrorism (Schlesinger, 2007). As Jenkins (1994) outlines, the media perpetuates that a serial homicide offender is a mentally insane male member of society. The media creates the impression that a serial homicide offender seeks revenge from being sexually abused as a child by becoming a sexual sadist. Contrary to this popular image, researchers explain that not all serial murder cases include a sexual component (Hickey, 2013). Although some serial homicide offenders fit this stereotype, it is misleading. As Hickey (2013) outlines, not all serial homicide offenders are male -- 16% are female. Only 2-4% of offenders have been proven to be legally insane, and many murder as a result of early childhood abuse -- physical, emotional and sexual, as well as childhood abandonment.

Other scholars have conducted research on different types of serial homicide offenders including male and female, solo and team, professionals including healthcare practitioners and members of the military (Miller, 2014). However, there has been a limited amount of research to date on teenage serial homicide offenders, and no research has yet to create a typology on this type of offender. This gap may be a result of the belief that on average, serial homicide offenders are middle-aged, when in fact many begin their murder career much younger. As Gorby (2000) outlines, 21.7% of serial murder offenders begin their murder career between the ages of 13-20, which is the highest amount of serial homicide offenders in a specific age bracket.

The purpose for this study is to create a typology of teenage serial homicide offenders in order to better understand the nature and patterns of the crimes. A typology seeks to describe behavioural patterns by placing offenders into categories based on a specific component of the crime including motive, methods or victim selection (Hinch & Hepburn, 1998). Rappaport (1988) argues that by categorizing and defining the differences of an offender, it allows researchers a better understanding of the overall crime, and it allows them to compare different categories to gain a better insight of each type of homicidal offender. Depending on what motivates offenders to commit homicide, the offenders' crime patterns and trends will differ as seen in various typologies.

Serial homicide offenders are often skilled in the art of deception and avoiding police detection (Holmes & Holmes, 2010). Although popular myth suggests that serial homicide offenders can be easily identified because they look as though they would be the kind of person who would commit gruesome crimes, they in fact go undetected for many years (Egger, 1998). Due to the nature of youthfulness in teenage serial homicide,

they may have gone unstudied because of a perception that teenagers cannot commit multiple murders.

A similar neglect delayed the study of female serial homicide offenders. There was a popular belief that a woman would never commit such crimes of aggression (Hickey, 2013). Aileen Wuornos was said to be the first female serial murderer by the FBI in the early 1990s, as noted by Cluff, Hunter and Hinch (1997). Academic researchers often denied that women could be serial homicide offenders (for a discussion of this point see Cluff et al., 1997). Egger (1984) argued that even if female serial homicide offenders could be identified, there were just too few for scholarly analysis. Perhaps it is this same lack of belief that teenagers would commit such crimes, or that there are simply too few of them to study that has led to the lack of attention given to their crimes. This study aims to bring attention to the issue and to provide assistance to law enforcement agencies and researchers alike in order to better understand teenage serial homicide offender's crime patterns and behaviours.

## Literature Review

This literature review will synthesize current literature on the overall description of male serial homicide. It will outline current literature on different classifications of serial homicide including the typology developed by Holmes and Holmes (1998), the dichotomy proposed by Salfati (2000), and the classification model by Keppel and Walters (1999). Thereafter, it will briefly explain crime patterns and behaviour of youth homicide, followed by a discussion on youth sexual homicide. This section will conclude with a review of existing literature on teenage serial homicide.

In recent years, serial homicide researchers have developed descriptions, typologies and profiles of serial homicide offenders. *Descriptions* are broad overviews of

a specific type of offender. Descriptions are created by analyzing different crime patterns and criminal behaviours (Holmes, Hickey & Holmes, 1991). A *typology* aims to classify an offender based on categories (Smith, 20002). It focuses on one type of offender and describes the offender's criminal and behavioural patterns. Unlike a *description*, a *typology* focuses on one aspect of the crime including motive, murder method or victim selection (Hinch & Hepburn, 1998). A *description* allows researchers to get a better understanding of the crime as a whole, whereas a *typology* allows researchers to categorize the crime into different subcategories and compare the similarities and difference among each type of offender (Rappaport, 1988). As Keppel and Birnes (1999) outline, investigators look for similarities between crime scenes when they suspect a serial offender is at large. *Offender profiling* includes the process of inferring criminal characteristics based on crime scene evidence (Canter, 1995). As Salfati and Canter (1999) outline, this is known as the A to C (actions to characteristics) method of profiling. Once researchers or investigators collect crime scene information, they can infer certain aspects of the offender's personality, allowing them to create a profile of a potential suspect.

**Serial Homicide Studies**

This section presents an overview of what is known about male serial homicide offenders. Although female serial homicide offenders are covered in serial homicide literature (Scott, 2005), this study will focus exclusively on males, as there are too few teenage female serial homicide offenders to examine. Male and female serial homicide offenders should be studied separately as they have different offending patterns (Hickey, 2013). This section will review male serial homicide offender's motives, murder methods, victim selection, spatial location and murder locations.

Male serial homicide offenders have been found to be the most violent type of serial offender. Hickey (2013) suggests that the average age at the time of the offender's first murder is 30. Offenders have a murder career of approximately seven years and murder between four and six victims (Hickey, 2013). Research suggests that sex and control are the offender's most common motives (Holmes & Holmes, 2010). Arndt, Hietpas and Kim (2004) and Hickey (2013) illustrate that male serial homicide offenders often have multiple motives for their crimes and almost half include sex as one of the motives, but only 8% say that their sole motivation is sex.

Male serial homicide offenders often use violent methods. Multiple methods are commonly used (Ferguson, 2010). The most common methods are firearms followed by strangulation/suffocation and stabbing (Hickey, 2013). These methods are commonly used only after offenders torture and mutilate their victims for a significant period of time (Arndt et al, 2004). Studies suggest that serial homicide offenders like to extend the murder process as long as possible, inflicting the most pain and suffering to their victims (Ferguson, 2010).

Research has found that male serial homicide offenders follow specific patterns of victim selection. Most offenders target females, however, some target males (Flowers, 2001; Arndt et al, 2004). In most cases, the victims are likely to be strangers (Meloy & Felthous, 2004). Although uncommon, when a case involves a family member, it is the offender's mother (Hickey, 2013). Hickey (2010) outlines that adults are most likely to fall victim to this type of offender. Those who target adults often murder teenagers as well. Children victims are less common (Schlesinger, 2007).

Researchers outline that the offender's geographical factors are important. Holmes and DeBurger (1988) categorize serial offenders as either geographically stable or

geographically transient. Geographically stable offenders live and murder close to their home or other nearby area. Whereas, geographically transient offenders travel from one area to the next, offending far from their homes (Canter & Larkin, 1993). Due to the increase in police vigilance, geographically transient offenders usually murder in different areas in order to confuse law enforcement officials (Lundrigran & Canter, 2001). Such behaviour allows them to avoid police detection for a longer period of time (Snook, Cullen, Mokros & Harbot, 2005).

Hickey (1991) offers a slight variation of the geographic factors. He suggests that there are three types of serial homicide offender: the traveling offender, the local offender, and the place-specific offender. The traveling offender murders in a pattern that allows him to avoid police detection by murdering in different states (Snook et al., 2005). The local offender murders his victims locally and close to where he resides. The place-specific offender murders his victims within the offender's home or workplace. Recent studies show that a male serial homicide offender is most likely to be a local offender (Ferguson, 2010).

Similar to spatial mobility, researchers have been studying the murder location of serial homicide (Ferguson, 2010). Unlike spatial mobility, murder location focuses on the initial contact with the victim, and where the murder took place. Egger (1998) located four common areas where offenders commonly have first contact with their victims. He outlines that while searching for their next victim, serial murder offenders will often stroll for prostitutes and travel to skid row areas, visit bars and areas that are commonly frequented by homosexuals, and look for women on college campuses. Holmes and Holmes (2010) outline that bars and other places that single women frequently visit are common hunting grounds for serial homicide offenders.

Limited research has been conducted on specific locations that serial homicide offenders choose to murder their victims (Ferguson, 2010; Snook et al, 2005). Research has found that serial homicide offenders commonly murder where the offenders feels safe and places in close proximity to their homes or places of work (Canter & Larkin, 1993; Brantingham & Brantingham, 1981). This finding coincides with Hickey's (1991) research outlining that male serial homicide offenders primarily offend locally.

## Serial Homicide Classifications

This section will summarize the major components of the Holmes and Holmes (2010) typology, followed by a brief discussion of other homicide offenders including models presented by Salfati (2000) and Keppel and Walters (1999). Originally created by Holmes and DeBurger (1988), the Holmes and Holmes (2010) typology is the most widely known and cited serial murder typology. While researchers have created other typologies, they lack the full descriptive value of Holmes and Holmes (2010).

### Holmes and Holmes Typology

The Holmes and Holmes (2010) typology is based on the motivation of male serial homicide offenders. It offers six categories: the visionary offender, the mission offender, the lust offender, the thrill offender, the comfort offender and the power/control offender.

#### *Visionary serial homicide offender.*

A visionary serial homicide offender is defined as one who suffers from a severe break with reality. He is often psychotic and may be delusional or hear voices, as he believes he is another person or being controlled by a higher power, such as God or Demons, instructing him to murder. A visionary offender has no ideal victim type. His methods of murder are spontaneous, unplanned acts. He uses a weapon that is accessible

at the scene of the crime (Holmes & Holmes, 2010). As Robbins (1991) and Rossmo (1995) outline, due to personality restrictions, a visionary offender murders close to home because he lacks the ease of expanding his comfort zone.

### Mission serial homicide offender.

A mission serial homicide offender is defined as one who murders people who he believes to be undesirable (Holmes & Holmes, 1998). He may be acting out of vengeance because of something that happened to him earlier in life, or he may select a group of people he feels does not belong in society. A mission offender has an ideal victim type, as all of his victims have something in common i.e. race, sex, hair colour, ethnicity, etc. He selects stranger victims at random. A mission offender will plan out his murder before committing his offence, which includes stalking his victim and bringing his own weapon to the crime scene. He is a geographically stable offender, as he commits his crimes close to his home or work -- an area he is familiar with (Holmes & Holmes, 2010).

### Lust serial homicide offender.

A lust serial homicide offender is defined as a hedonistic offender who murders his victims in order to fulfill a need for personal satisfaction (Holmes & Holmes, 1998). He links sexual gratification to murdering his victims, which fulfills his needs (Arrigo & Purcell, 2001; Beech, Fisher & Ward, 2005; McClellan, 2008). A lust offender has an ideal victim type, as he is attracted to his victim in some manner. His victim selection is non-random and he murders strangers. He murders his victims by assaulting them with a hands-on weapon including methods such as stabbing or strangulation. Dismemberment, necrophilia and cannibalism are usually prevalent (Arrigo & Purcell, 2001; Beech, et al., 2005; McClellan, 2008; Hickey, 2002). A lust offender is a geographically transient

offender, disposing the bodies of his victims through a variety of states to avoid police detection (Holmes & Holmes, 2010).

### Thrill serial homicide offender.

A thrill serial homicide offender is defined as a hedonistic offender who thrives on the pleasure and excitement of murdering a living human being. He stalks stranger victims for a period of time before attacking. A thrill offender has a strong desire to torture his victims and will extend the murder process as long as possible in order to feel complete domination and control over his victim's fate. He is aroused by the physical and psychological sufferings of others (Quinsey & Lalumiere, 1995). As a means of stimulation, he uses blunt force and tortures his victims as he acts out his sexual fantasies (Pardue & Arrigo, 2008). Once his victim is deceased, he is disinterested with the body. A thrill offender is a geographically transient offender as he travels to secure his next victim and disposes of his victim's bodies over numerous states to avoid detection. He murders in his comfort zone, often being his vehicle (Holmes & Holmes, 2010).

### Comfort serial homicide offender.

A comfort serial homicide offender is one who murders for material gain including money, business or insurance. Originally constructed to define a category of a female serial homicide offender, Holmes and Holmes (2010) argue that this category extends to a male offender as well. A comfort offender has a pre-existing relationship with his victims, commonly being his spouse or friend. He does not stalk his victims. A comfort offender's main objective is not to express fatal aggression. His objective is to murder his victims quickly and with the least amount of violence. The most common murder methods are poison or pill (Holmes & Holmes, 2010; Holmes, Hickey & Holmes, 1991). A comfort offender is a geographically stable offender. He will murder close to

home, and dispose of the victim's body close to the victim's home (Holmes & Holmes, 2010).

### *Power/control serial homicide offender.*

A power/control serial homicide offender is one who is motivated by the desire of having the ultimate control and power over his victims. His murder includes a sexual component, however, the sexual component is a part of the murder ritual rather than his motivation. The power/control offender stalks his victims for a period of time before attacking. His victims are strangers and he has a victim preference. He will elongate his murders as long as possible and his victim is often strangled. A power/control offender is geographically transient as he travels to confuse law enforcement. He selects his murder locations carefully, and lures victims out of their comfort zone into a remote area in order to commit offence (Holmes & Holmes, 2010).

Although this typology is widely cited, Canter and Wentink (2004) outline two major critiques with the Holmes and Holmes (2010) typology. First, they argue that there is an overlap of criteria between the categories. For example, the lust and the power/control categories both include that the offenders have an ideal victim type, the victims are strangers, there is a sexual component to each crime and the victim is often strangled. Due to certain crime scene characteristics being apparent in more than one category, Canter and Wentink (2004) argue that it is unclear how they distinguish between one another, as some of the crime scene characteristics are similar in each category.

Their second critique focuses on the assumptions made in each category. For example, if a serial homicide offender is motivated by sex, the offender must follow the specific pattern outlined for a lust offender, i.e. he murders strangers and uses a hand-on

weapon such as strangulation. Or, if the offender follows the specific pattern of a lust offender, i.e. the offender murders strangers using a hands-on weapon such as strangulation, he must be motivated by sex. As Canter and Wentink (2004) outline, Holmes and Holmes (2010) present the characteristics in each category as prominent, rather than highlighting other possible variations. As Keppel and Birnes (1999) outline, a serial homicide offender often changes his or her modus operandi in order to confuse investigators. Therefore, one must acknowledge that a category of offender does not always follow the same pattern. One may argue that when creating a typology, it is important to highlight more than just the primary variables and include other variations of possibilities.

In recent years, serial homicide literature has taken a step from research based on motives, to research based on behaviours or themes including classifications of criminal profiles. As mentioned, criminal profiles focus on crime scene evidence. A profile is created based on the evidence left at the scene and what is suggests about the personality of the offender (Salfati & Canter, 1999). The remainder of this section will focus on classifications such as Salfati's (2000) expressiveness and instrumentality dichotomy and Keppel and Walters' (1999) homicide offender classification model.

**Salfati's Expressiveness and Instrumentality Dichotomy**

Originally outlined by Fesbach (1964), an offender displays aggressive behaviour for one of two reasons: expressiveness (hostility) or instrumentality. Salfati and Canter (1999) use this dichotomy to explain the behaviour of homicide offenders. Later, Salfati (2000) provides discussion on how the criminal behaviour of these two classifications differ.

*Expressive murder.*

An expressive offender attacks his victim as a result of an anger-inducing circumstance including personal failures, physical or emotional attacks (Fesbach, 1964). He brings a weapon to the crime scene, suggesting that the offence is premeditated. He then murders his victims by stabbing, shooting or beating. Research indicates that an expressive offender has a pre-existing relationship with his victim and wants to make the victim suffer (Salfati, 2000).

*Instrumental murder.*

An instrumental offender murders as a result of a robbery or theft that has gone wrong. His main goal is material gain, rather than aggression towards his victim. The murder act is secondary, and usually occurs if the robbery or theft is interrupted. The instrumental offender does not bring his weapon to the crime scene, and uses hands-on methods such as strangling or beating with the hands and/or feet (Salfati, 2000).

Unlike the expressive offender, the instrumental offender does not commit crime as a result of a personal conflict. The instrumental offender's main objective is material gain, whereas the expressive offender is more interested in making his victim suffer. The expressive offender premeditates his murder, whereas the murder committed by the instrumental offender is secondary to another crime (Salfati, 2000).

**Keppel and Walters' Classification Model**

Keppel and Walters (1999) created a four-category classification of serial sexual homicide. The four classifications include the power-assertive rape-murder, the power-reassurance rape- murder, the anger-retaliatory rape- murder and the anger-excitation rape-murder. The classification of the anger-retaliatory rape-murder and anger-excitation rape-murder will be discussed as it pertains to the present study.

*Anger-retaliatory rape-murder.*

An anger-retaliatory rape-murderer is a sexual homicide offender. He murders as a result of his conflicted relationships with women. His murders are seen to be an act of retaliation and/or revenge on women (Keppel, 1997). He often selects substitute victims rather than the wrongdoers themselves. The age of his victim reflects the age of the women who rejected him. It could be someone a bit older as a substitute for his mother, wife or female supervisor; or someone younger as a substitute for a young child who may have threatened to expose him for his inappropriate sexual remarks and/or behaviour. An anger-retaliatory rape-murderer usually uses a ruse in order to gain the trust of his victim or to get inside her door. He then isolates her in order to be in a private place for the attack. An anger-retaliatory rape- murderer often uses a weapon of opportunity that is available at the crime scene and is likely to leave a disorganized crime scene (Keppel & Walters, 1999).

*Anger-excitation rape-murder.*

An anger-excitation rape-murderer is a sexual homicide offender that premeditates his attacks in order to inflict the most pain and suffering towards his victim. Such behaviours give him a sense of personal gratification. He commonly chooses a male or female stranger victim that fits his desires, or that he is attracted to. Once his victim is selected, he uses a ruse to con his victim into isolation. Then, he attacks once he and his victim are in a private area. An anger-excitation rape-murderer commonly offends at a distance from his daily activities (Keppel & Walters, 1999). Such behaviour suggests the he may be a geographically transient offender.

Researchers have tested the Keppel and Walters (1999) classification system. Some have found minimal empirical evidence to support their findings (Salfati &

Bateman, 2005), while others found that there is an overlap among the four categories (Bennell, Bloomfield, Emeno & Musolino, 2013). More specifically, variables that are found in one category are also found in others (Bennell et al., 2013). Although Bennell et al. (2013) caution researchers and investigators that although evidence for empirical support is lacking, they explain that these types of offenders do exist. They should be viewed as exceptions rather than the rule until future research can provide empirical support.

Overall, typologies and offender classifications are useful tools to gain a better understanding of serial homicide offenders. They allow researchers and investigators a better understanding of the similarities and differences between each type of offender (Rappaport, 1988). Although there are common critiques including variable overlap, this is natural based on the nature of the variables. For example, when reviewing the victim-offender relationship, the variable attributes are often "known victim" or "stranger victim"; or "female" or "male" when defining the victim's sex. Such classification outline that some variables only have two attributes. When creating a typology that includes more than two offender categories, i.e. Holmes and Holmes (2010) typology that includes six categories, it is natural that these variables may present themselves as the dominant attribute in more than one category. Further, as Keppel and Birnes (1997) explain, serial homicide offenders often change their murder patterns in order to confuse law enforcement. In one murder, a lust offender could use strangulation. In his second murder, he could use stabbing in order to avoid police detection. Such behaviour stresses the importance of researchers highlighting that there will be expectations to the predominant findings in each category, rather than only outlining the primary characteristics.

**Youth Homicide**

This section will focus on youth homicide in particular. Current research on youth homicide will be summarized, followed by a brief outline of youth sexual homicide. Then, an overview of current research on teenage serial homicide will be examined and critiqued. Information such as offender characteristics, motives, murder methods, victim selection, spatial mobility and murder location will be outlined where information is available.

Since the 1990s, there has been a dramatic decrease in youth homicide. In 2006, the U.S. Department of Justice noted that youth homicide rates had dropped by 73% below since 1993 (Snyder, 2008). Between 2000-2010, youth homicide rates further declined by 1% each year (CDC, 2013). Despite the decline, youth homicide has caught the attention of popular news media sources and is now widely acknowledged as a public concern (Heide, 2003). This trend has drawn the attention of many criminology and psychology researchers. In attempting to describe this rising concern, researchers have conducted studies on motives, victim-offender relationship, murder methods and spatial mobility. With combined efforts, current research has been useful to law enforcement agencies, allowing them to better understand factors that may lead to early delinquency and more specifically, youth homicide (Myers, Scott, Burgess & Burgess, 1995).

As Myers et al. (1995) outline, youth homicide offenders are motivated by three factors: *crime driven causes, conflicts/arguments and sexual assaults*. The FBI's Crime Classification Manual describes *crime driven homicide* as murder caused by other criminal enterprise including drug murder and situational felony such as theft. *Conflict/argument homicide* is a murder in result of an argument, conflict and/or revenge.

*Sexual homicide* is described as murder that is sexual in nature (Douglas, Burgess, Burgess & Ressler, 1992).

Youth homicide studies have found that a youth homicide offender's primary murder method is a firearm (Kelly & Totten, 2002; Myers et al., 1995). Although less common, beating and strangulation are also methods used by youth homicide offenders (Kelly & Totten, 2002; Myers et al., 1995). Studies outline that when youths commit homicide in connection to criminal enterprise, including theft or drug murder, the offender is most likely to murder adult or elderly strangers (Myers et al., 1995; Woodworth, Agar & Coupland, 2013). When the offender murders as a result of a personal cause, such as conflict/argument or sexual assault, the offender is most likely to murder children or teenagers that are known to the offender (Myers et al., 1995). Further, studies outline that youth homicide offenders murder their victims in both private and public areas. Private areas commonly include the victim's home, whereas public areas include alleyways, public parks, schoolyards and rural lanes (Kelly & Totten, 2002).

Chan, Heide and Myers (2013) discovered that young offenders committed 12% of sexual homicides committed between 1976 and 2004. Recent studies show that youth sexual homicide offenders use a variety of methods to murder their victims. The offender's primary method of choice is strangulation, followed by stabbing and beating (Hunter, Hazel & Slesinger, 2000; Myers & Blashfield, 1997; Myers, 2002). Use of firearm is the least common method found in youth sexual homicide (Hunter, et al., 2000; Myers & Blashfield, 1997; Beauregard & Martineau, 2012). Murder methods such as strangulation, stabbing and beating illustrate a form of intimacy. Unlike murdering by the use of firearm, strangling, stabbing and beating is up close and hands-on (Beauregard & Proulx, 2002). Youth sexual homicide offenders are most likely to murder female victims

(Hunter, et al., 2000; Myers & Blashfield, 1997). The offender's victims are most commonly children and teenagers (Khachatryan, Heide, Hummel & Chan, 2014). Beauregard and Proulx (2002) state that youth sexual homicide offenders are more likely to murder someone they know- mainly friends and acquaintances (Hunter, et al., 2000; Myers & Blashfield, 1997). As Proulx, Beauregard, Cusson and Nicole (2007) outline, a youth sexual homicide case is more challenging to solve when the victim is a stranger.

Myers and Blashfield (1997) outline that the majority of youth sexual homicides occur in the offenders' neighbourhood, and half of the murders occur in the victim's home. The majority of offenders have prior contact with the victims before the murder, and every murder occurs in the victims' home. These findings suggest that there is a pre-existing relationship between the offender and his victim before the murder (Myers, 2002). One may argue that since there is a pre-existing relationship, the victims may let the offenders into their homes without struggle.

As Heide (2003) outlines, there are two major issues with existing literature on youth homicide. First, many studies use individual case studies that have been referred to by psychiatrists for evaluation and/or treatment. Such criterion often results in a misrepresentation of the population, as not all homicidal youth are sent for or seek psychiatric treatment. Further, it results in the findings being heavily based on psychological perspectives, rather than sociological or the combination of the two. Heide (2003) notes that existing literature on youth homicide predominantly takes a psychological approach given the background of many of the researchers, and fails to account for sociological explanations such as theories including strain, social control, labeling, subcultural, conflict and radical theories. Such theory has been heavily cited in sociological and criminological explanations of criminal activity and deviancy, therefore,

expressing theoretical importance. As Benedek and Cornell (1989) note, there is no homogeneity in homicide committed by youth. A single profile or description of this type of offender is not as useful as classifications that divide the offenders into categories based on their unique offending behaviour.

**Teenage Serial Homicide Offenders**

To date, there have only been two studies conducted on teenage serial homicide. This section will review these studies and give an overview of offender characteristics, motives, murder methods, victim selection, spatial mobility and murder location. Then, there will be a brief discussion on the limitations of both studies and how the proposed study aims to close these gaps.

Research has found that a teenage serial homicide offender begins his or her murdering career between the ages of 14 and 15. On average, the offender claims the lives of approximately two to three victims (Kirby, 2009; Myers, 2004). Myers (2004) argues that the offender has a short murdering career and is apprehended approximately five and a half months after he or she began. Myers' study, however, was limited in scope, examining only a select group of six sexually sadistic teenage serial homicide offenders and as such does not provide information regarding other types of offenders.

Kirby (2009) examined a group of 27 known teenage serial homicide offenders. She explains that the primary motive for a teenager to commit multiple murders is sex. She found that an offender's primary method of murder is shooting. However, Myers (2004) found that for sexually sadistic offenders, the method of choice is suffocation followed by stabbing. The difference in these findings could be explained by the limitation of the Myers study to just sexually motivated offenders. As Beauregard and

Proulx (2002) outline, when a sexual homicide offender murders his victims, he uses intimate methods including strangulation and stabbing.

Kirby (2009) outlines that a teenage serial homicide offender often uses the tactic of kidnapping or surprising his or her victims. The offender typically commits the murders in a private location including either the victim's or the offender's home. Interestingly, Kirby (2009) found as the offender matures, the offender is more likely to murder in a public location. Such behaviour suggests that their criminal behaviour and murder patterns may change as the offender matures in age.

A teenage serial homicide offender does not have much of a preference for victims based on the victim-offender relationship (Myers, 2004; Kirby, 2009). Kirby (2009) states that the offender murders slightly more known victims (54%) than strangers (46%). A teenage serial homicide offender mostly murders female victims (60%), but males are often included (40%) (Myers, 2004; Kirby, 2009). Myers (2004) outlines that a teenage serial homicide offender has a preference for children, followed by adults and then teenagers.

Both studies have significant limitations and should be reviewed with caution. In Myers' (2004) study, his sample consisted of only six sexually motivated teenage serial homicide offenders. All other motives were eliminated from his sample. His cases ranged over a span of 150 years, having some cases date back to the 1800s. It could be argued that the reliability of data that old could be problematic and present reliability issues. Other research has found that there are significant differences between male and female offenders, requiring them to be studied separately (Hickey, 2013). Myers' (2004) study consisted of both male and female offenders together, which too limits the utility of his study. Furthermore, Myers (2004) used the legal definition of a juvenile offender being

between the ages of 12 and 17. As such, his definition eliminated 19 year olds, whom in

which are still considered a teenager (Heide, 2003). Although his study may suggest

reliable patterns, his sample cannot be viewed as a strong representative population of

teenage serial homicide offenders.

Kirby's (2009) study also has limitations. Her definition outlined a juvenile

offender (ages 12-17), rather than a common definition of a teenager (ages 13-19). It is to

be noted that there is no uniform legal definition of a juvenile offender. In some US

States, the upper age limit is 16, in others it is 17, while in Wyoming it is 19. Even the

lower age limit may vary from state to state (Siegel & Welsh, 2011). Kirby's (2009) study

examines 27 teenage serial homicidal offenders and eliminated certain motives such as

robbery. The main focus of her study was to categorize her sample into three groups:

primary, maturing and secondary serial homicide offenders. She defines primary

offenders as those who murdered all of their victims (at least two) before the age of 18;

maturing offenders are those who murdered one victim before the age of 18, and the

remaining prior to their 21$^{st}$ birthday; secondary offenders are those who murdered their

first victim prior to the age of 18, and murdered the remaining subsequent to the age of

21.

Although one can assume that Kirby (2009) aimed to discover how patterns

change as the offender matures through different life stages, she did not give a clear

explanation as to why she constructs these groups and what her focus was. As other

studies have outlined, serial homicide offenders usually do not stop murdering until they

are apprehended or murdered (Hickey, 2013). Therefore, when conducting a study based

on the age that the offender stopped murdering, it is crucial to thoroughly explain these

groupings and why they are significant. Due to limitations such as a small sample size,

the elimination of certain motives and the lack of clarity of categories, one may argue that Kirby's (2009) findings are suggestive, but incomplete.

In sum, both studies suggest certain patterns and trends in teenage serial homicide offending, however, are weak in validity and further research should be conducted. The current study has been designed to contribute to closing some of the gaps in our knowledge base on teenage serial homicide offenders. As Alvi (2012) outlines, the term "young offender" is defined as a young person between the ages of 12-17 years old. It is a social concept placed on young people based on how society believes he or she should act and be held accountable for his or her actions. Alvi (2012) argues that this definition is not as straightforward as it appears. The period of adolescence involves a combustion of stress. The onset of such stress will vary among each individual based on biological and psychological factors. As studies have shown (Hickey, 2013), a serial homicide offender commonly experiences early childhood trauma, and may suffer from biological deficiencies. For example, when Jeffrey Dahmer's mother was pregnant with him, she frequently used medications such as morphine and phenobarbital in order to cope with psychological and physiological dysfunctions. Researchers have questioned such behaviour and suggest that Dahmer may have inherited psychological dysfunctions from his mother, or anti-social behaviours from his father. Since studies illustrate that a serial homicide offender commonly struggles with psychological deficiencies, this study will use the psychological definition of a teenager (13-19 years old) rather than a socially constructed definition such as the legal definition of a young offender. It will examine 43 male serial homicide offenders in order to provide a better representation of the sample population. As studies show, male and female serial homicide offenders have different

murder patterns (Hickey, 2013). This study will only evaluate males in order to eliminate the possibility of skewing the data by mixing both sexes together.

The purpose of this study is to close the gaps in current literature by creating a typology on male teenage serial homicide offenders. A typology does not theorize crime. Rather, it is a way to help better understand certain types of offenders, their behaviour and their offending patterns (Canter & Wentink, 2004; Hinch & Hepburn, 1998; Rappaport, 1988).

**Method**

The data for this study was derived from several sources. First, a preliminary list of teenage serial killers was created from the list found in Michael Newton's (2006) book, *The Encyclopedia of Serial Murder*. Second, a search of records in LexisNexis -- a database on relevant literature -- was used to identify characteristics of teenage serial homicide offenders included in the Newton book. Third, known true crime books based on individual cases of teenage serial homicide offenders and newspaper articles were used. A similar methodology was used by Canter and Wentink (2004) and Lubaska, Shon and Hinch (2013). In addition, legal cases and court documents were used where available. In total there were 112 such sources used for this data gathering process.

The data obtained from all three sources included motives and *modus operandi*. The *modus operandi* (MO) is a term used in serial murder to explain the method of operation (Vronsky, 2004). Such definition includes murder method, victim selection, contact with victim, murder location and spatial mobility. In this study, *murder method* includes the amount of methods used, and what type of method(s) used; *victim selection* includes the sex of the victim, the victim-offender relationship and the age of the victim; *contact with victim* and *murder location* include private places such as the victim's home,

the offender's home, the offender's car or other closed of areas to the general public.

Public places include the victim's workplace, the offender's workplace, a local park, an

alleyway, a schoolyard, or other open areas accessible to the public; *spatial mobility*

includes travelling, local or place-specific offending. SPSS was used to code and generate

frequencies for each variable: See Appendix A for a list of variables. To further refine the

data, the following inclusions were incorporated:

(a) An offender had to commit at least one of his murders while he was between the

age of 13 and 19.

(b) Only those who murdered at least one of his victims in Canada or the United

States during the period 1970 to 2005 were included in the study sample. The

study is restricted to Canada and the United States to enhance comparability with

other studies of serial murderers.

(c) The start date of 1970 was used because it was clear in the early stage of

preparation for this study that the data prior to 1970 was unreliable; it was not

collected systematically, and contains numerous errors. The final date of 2005 is

used to ensure that cases have been concluded. Only those cases that were

concluded with a conviction were included.

(d) Data for each variable had to come from at least two sources.

(e) Using SPSS, a 50% co-occurrence rate was used. If a variable occurred in at least

half of the cases within a certain motive, that variable would be a primary variable

within that category.

It was also necessary to exclude some potential data.  These exclusions included:

(a) Any cases that involved team, hit-man, terrorism or gang- related murder.

(b) Crime scene data because these data were frequently missing from the sources consulted for this study.

(c) female offenders were excluded from analysis in this study because there were too few cases found in the sources consulted.

These exclusions should be addressed in future studies.

To date there is no universal agreement regarding the definition of serial murder. One issue leading to multiple definitions concerns the number of murders needed in order for a series of murders to be classified as serial homicide. For example, thirty years ago Egger (1984) offered a long multifaceted definition that defined serial homicide as the murder of two or more people in separate incidents. This definition remains in even later editions of Egger's (2002) book. Others, such as Hickey (1991), defined serial homicide as the murder of three or more people in separate incidents. There were even some who defined it as the murder of four or more people (Levin & Fox, 1985). Another issue was the notion that each incident had to be separated from previous and subsequent murders by a *cooling off* period. For example, Douglas, Burgess, Burgess and Ressler (1992) defined serial homicide as the unlawful murder of three or more victims with a *30-day cooling off period* between each. To help resolve these issues, a symposium was held in 2006, hosted by the Behaviour Science Unit of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime. The symposium proposed the new definition of serial murder to include the murder of two or more people, by one or more offender(s), in separate incidents (Hickey, 2013). This is the definition to be used in this study.

Classifications were created based on the most common motives found within this sample including sex, financial gain and rage. Offenders were then divided into classifications based on their main motive. Care has been taken in this study to reduce the risk that a serial homicide offender would be classified in multiple ways. To do this, two broad classifications have been created: single motive typologies and multiple motive typologies. The single motive offenders accounted for 63% of the offenders in this study. This study found that the main motive for a single motive offender is sex, financial gain or rage. These offenders have been further grouped into three distinct subcategories: lust offenders, profit offenders and rage offenders. Multiple motive offenders accounted for 37% of this sample. These offenders were placed into two additional subcategories: exploitive offenders and lust-rage offenders. Exploitive offenders include any combination of motives found within this sample, and lust-rage offenders include only those offenders who murdered as a direct result of sex and anger. The second category of multiple motive offenders was created because it is the most common combination of motives found within this study. The definition of each offender is as follows:

(a) Lust Serial Homicide Offender:

A lust serial homicide offender is defined as an offender motivated exclusively by sex. In order to be termed a lust offender, sex must be the offender's main objective, rather than it being a part of his murder ritual.

(b) Profit Serial Homicide Offender:

A profit serial homicide offender is defined as an offender motivated exclusively by financial gain. In order to be classified as a profit offender, the offender must have been strictly motivated by financial gain, rather than financial gain being a

part of his murder ritual. For example, taking a trophy from his victims post-mortem would be part of his ritual, rather than his main motive.

(c) Rage Serial Homicide Offender:

A rage serial homicide offender is defined as an offender motivated by exclusively rage. This means that the murder is a result of a personal conflict and an act of anger, hatred or revenge.

(d) Exploitive Serial Homicide Offender:

An exploitive serial homicide offender is defined as an offender who is motivated by any combination of motives. For example, he could have been motivated by a combination of sex and money, money and anger, sex and anger, money and racism, anger and urge, anger and mercy, etc. He is labelled as exploitive because this type of offender is willing to exploit his victims for multiple reasons and at any cost. He murders his victims in order to obtain sex, money, or in order to release his rage from a personal dispute. He even murders to gain psychological satisfaction due to the urge or thrill he acquires from the murder.

(e) Lust-Rage Serial Homicide Offender:

A lust-rage serial homicide offender is defined as an offender who is motivated by a combination of sex and rage. The sexual component must be a main motivator, in addition to rage resulting from anger, hatred or revenge.

**Results**

This section will present the results of this study. First, it will outline the main motives among the offenders analyzed. Then, it will be divided into two sections: single motive offenders including lust offenders, profit offenders and rage offenders, and multiple motive offenders including exploitive offenders and lust-rage offenders. Each

category will include information on variables such as offender characteristics and *modus operandi* including murder methods, victim selection, contact with victim, location of murder and spatial mobility.

## Motives

The offenders examined in this study are categorized into two broad groups: those with a single motive for offending and those with multiple motives. As shown in Table 1, 63% of the offenders in the sample had a single motive for committing serial homicide, while 37% had multiple motives. The most common motives for a single motive offender are sex, financial gain or rage. The most common combination of motives for multiple motive offenders is sex and rage.

Table 1: *Motives* (Single and Multiple)

| Variable | Frequency | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| *Motive (n=43)* | | |
| Single | 27 | 63% |
| Multiple | 16 | 37% |
| *Single Motive (n=28)* | | |
| Sex | 14 | 50% |
| Financial Gain | 9 | 32% |
| Rage | 3 | 11% |
| Enjoyment | 1 | 4% |
| Racism | 1 | 4% |
| *Multiple Motives (n=15)* | | |
| Sex and Rage | 3 | 20% |
| Sex and Money | 2 | 13% |
| Money and Rage | 2 | 13% |
| Money and Racism | 2 | 13% |
| Rage and Urge | 1 | 7% |
| Rage and Mercy | 1 | 7% |
| Sex and Urge | 1 | 7% |
| Money and Thrill | 1 | 7% |
| Money, Sex and Rage | 1 | 7% |

**Single Motive Offenders**

This section is devoted to describing each of the three subcategories of offenders motivated by a single factor. In discussing each type of offender, care is taken to illustrate offender characteristics and modus operandi including murder methods, victim selection, contact with victim, murder location and spatial mobility. Descriptions of each subcategory are offered here.

**Lust serial homicide offender.**

As shown in Table 2, a lust offender begins his murder career at the age of 17. He is apprehended 10 years after he begins murdering. On average, he murders five victims.

*Table 2: Offender Characteristics* (Murder Career)

| Variable | Mean |
|---|---|
| *Offender Characteristics (n=14)* | |
| Age at first murder | 17 |
| Murder career (years) | 10 |
| Number of victims | 5 |

As shown in Table 3, a lust offender predominantly uses multiple murder methods (93%). He is most likely to use strangulation (77%) and stabbing (62%). A lust offender often murders at least one female victim (79%). He may target males as well (50%). His victims are most likely to include teenagers (64%) and adults (64%). He murders at least one stranger (100%), and may murder a friend/acquaintance as well (50%). A lust offender has initial contact with his victim in a public place (83%), and murders the victim in a private place (70%). A lust offender is classified as a local offender (67%).

*Table 3: Modus Operandi* (Motive, Murder Methods, Victim Selection, Contact with Victim, Murder Location and Spatial Mobility)

| Variable | Frequency | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| *Motive (n=14)* | | |
| Sex only | 14 | 100% |
| *Methods (amount) (n=14)* | | |
| Multiple | 13 | 93% |
| Single | 1 | 7% |
| *Methods (type) (n=13)* | | |
| Included Strangulation | 10 | 77% |
| Included Stabbing | 8 | 62% |
| Included Beating | 5 | 38% |
| Included Poison | 1 | 8% |
| Included Shooting | 1 | 8% |
| *Victim Selection (gender) (n=14)* | | |
| Included Female | 11 | 79% |
| Female Only | 7 | 50% |
| Included Male | 7 | 50% |
| Included Both | 4 | 29% |
| Male Only | 3 | 21% |
| *Victim Selection (relationship) (n=14)* | | |
| At least one Stranger | 14 | 100% |
| At least one Friend/Acquaintance | 7 | 50% |
| At least one Family | 2 | 14% |
| At least one Intimate Relationship | 0 | 0% |
| *Victim Selection (age) (n=14)* | | |
| Included Teenagers (13-19) | 9 | 64% |
| Included Adults (20- 59) | 9 | 64% |
| Included Children (0-12) | 4 | 29% |
| Included Elderly (60+) | 2 | 14% |
| *Contact with Victim (n=12)* | | |
| Included Public Place | 10 | 83% |
| Included Private Place | 3 | 25% |
| *Murder Location (n=10)* | | |
| Included Private Place | 7 | 70% |
| Included Public Place | 5 | 50% |
| *Spatial Mobility (n=12)* | | |
| Local Offender | 8 | 67% |
| Travelling Offender | 4 | 33% |
| Place-Specific Offender | 0 | 0% |

To summarize, a lust offender murders his first victim by the age of 17. He is apprehended 10 years after he begins murdering, and he murders five victims. He uses multiple methods to murder his victims. He most commonly uses strangulation and stabbing. He murders stranger victims, and may murder a friend/acquaintance in addition. A lust offender murders female teenager and adult victims. He has initial contact with his victims in public locations but murders in private locations. He is a local offender.

**Profit serial homicide offender.**

As illustrated in Table 4, a profit offender begins his murder career around the age of 17. He is apprehended four years after he begins to murder. On average, he murders two victims.

*Table 4: Offender Characteristics* (Murder Career)

| Variable | Mean |
|---|---|
| *Offender Characteristics (n=9)* | |
| Age at first murder | 17 |
| Murder career (years) | 4 |
| Number of victims | 2 |

As shown in Table 5, a profit offender primarily uses a single method (78%) when murdering his victims – shooting (89%). He mostly targets males (78%) and strangers (89%). He murders elderly (63%) and adult (50%) victims. A profit offender has initial contact with his victim in a public place (88%) and murders his victim in a public area (78%). He is most likely to be a local offender (78%).

*Table 5: Modus Operandi* (Murder Methods, Victim Selection, Contact with Victim, Murder Location and Spatial Mobility)

| Variable | Frequency | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| *Motive (n=9)* | | |
| Financial Gain | 9 | 100% |
| *Methods (amount) (n=9)* | | |
| Single | 7 | 78% |
| Multiple | 2 | 22% |
| *Methods (type) (n=9)* | | |
| Included Shooting | 8 | 89% |
| Included Strangulation | 2 | 22% |
| Included Stabbing | 2 | 22% |
| Included Beating | 0 | 0% |
| Included Poison | 0 | 0% |
| *Victim Selection (gender) (n=9)* | | |
| Included Male | 7 | 78% |
| Male only | 5 | 56% |
| Included Female | 4 | 44% |
| Included Both | 2 | 22% |
| Female only | 2 | 22% |
| *Victim Selection (relationship) (n=9)* | | |
| At least one Stranger | 8 | 89% |
| At least one Friend/Acquaintance | 2 | 22% |
| At least one Family | 0 | 0% |
| At least one Intimate Relationship | 0 | 0% |
| *Victim Selection (age) (n=8)* | | |
| Included Elderly (60+) | 5 | 63% |
| Included Adult (20-59) | 4 | 50% |
| Included Teenager (13-19) | 1 | 13% |
| Included Children (0-12) | 0 | 0% |
| *Contact with Victim (n=8)* | | |
| Included Public Place | 7 | 88% |
| Included Private Place | 1 | 13% |
| *Murder Location (n=9)* | | |
| Included Public Place | 7 | 78% |
| Included Private Place | 2 | 22% |
| *Spatial Mobility (n=9)* | | |
| Local Offender | 7 | 78% |
| Travelling Offender | 1 | 11% |
| Place-Specific Offender | 1 | 11% |

To summarize, a profit offender commits his first murder by the age of 17. He is apprehended four years after he begins murdering and murders two victims. He murders his victims using a single method, usually a firearm. He typically murders adult or elderly male strangers. A profit offender has initial contact with and murders his victims in public locations. He is a local offender.

**Rage serial homicide offender.**

As illustrated in Table 6, a rage offender commits his first murder by the age of 15. He is apprehended approximately 14 years after he begins to murder. On average, a rage offender murders three victims.

*Table 6: Offender Characteristics* (Murder Career)

| Variable | Mean |
|---|---|
| *Offender Characteristics (n=3)* | |
| Age of first murder | 15 |
| Murder career | 14 |
| Number of victims | 3 |

As shown in Table 7, a rage offender uses a single method (67%) -- shooting (67%). Interestingly, he is equally as likely to murder males (67%) as females (67%). A rage offender murders adult victims (67%). He murders at least one friend and/or acquaintance (100%). He is less likely to murder a family member (33%) or an intimate partner (33%). He does not murder strangers. A rage offender has initial contact with his victims in a private location (100%) and murders them in a private location (100%). He is most likely to be a local offender (67%).

*Table 7: Modus Operandi* (Murder Methods, Victim Selection, Contact with Victim, Murder Location and Spatial Mobility)

| Variable | Frequency | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| *Motive (n=3)* | | |
| Rage only | 3 | 100% |
| *Methods (amount) (n=3)* | | |
| Single | 2 | 67% |
| Multiple | 1 | 33% |
| *Methods (type) (n=3)* | | |
| Included Shooting | 2 | 67% |
| Included Strangulation | 1 | 33% |
| Included Stabbing | 1 | 33% |
| Included Beating | 0 | 0% |
| Included Poison | 0 | 0% |
| *Victim Selection (gender) (n=3)* | | |
| Included Female | 2 | 67% |
| Included Male | 2 | 67% |
| Female only | 1 | 33% |
| Male only | 1 | 33% |
| Included Both | 1 | 33% |
| *Victim Selection (relationship) (n=3)* | | |
| At least one Friend/Acquaintance | 3 | 100% |
| At least one Family | 1 | 33% |
| At least one Intimate Relationship | 1 | 33% |
| At least one Stranger | 0 | 0% |
| *Victim Selection (age) (n=3)* | | |
| Included Adults (20-59) | 2 | 67% |
| Included Elderly (60+) | 1 | 33% |
| Included Teenagers (13-19) | 1 | 33% |
| Included Children (0-12) | 0 | 0% |
| *Contact with Victim (n=3)* | | |
| Included Private Place | 3 | 100% |
| Included Public Place | 0 | 0% |
| *Place of Murder (n=3)* | | |
| Included Private Place | 3 | 100% |
| Included Public Place | 0 | 0% |
| *Spatial Mobility (n=3)* | | |
| Local Offender | 2 | 67% |
| Travelling Offender | 1 | 33% |
| Place-Specific Offender | 0 | 0% |

To summarize, a rage offender commits his first murder by the age of 15, he

murders for 14 years, murders three victims. He commonly uses a single method to

murder his victim, most likely being a firearm. He murders both male and female

friends/acquaintances whom are primarily adults. He has initial contact with his victims

and murders them in private places. He is a local offender.

**Multiple Motive Offenders**

This section is devoted to describing each of the two categories of offenders

motivated by multiple factors. Offenders motivated by multiple motives have been

divided into two separate categories. The first group of offenders includes offenders

motivated by at least two different motives. The second group of offenders only includes

those who are motivated specifically by sex and rage, as it is the most common

combination of motives. In discussing each type of offender, this section will outline

offender characteristics and modus operandi including murder methods, victim selection,

contact with victim, murder location and spatial mobility. Descriptions of each

subcategory are offered here.

**Exploitive serial homicide offender.**

As Table 8 illustrates, an exploitive offender commits his first murder by the age

of 17. He is apprehended 11 years after he begins to murder. On average, he murders

approximately 15 victims.

*Table 8: Offender Characteristics* (Murder Career)

| Variable | Mean |
|---|---|
| *Offender Characteristics (n=16)* | |
| Age of first murder | 17 |
| Murder career length (years) | 11 |
| Number of victims | 15 |

As Table 9 shows, an exploitive offender primarily uses multiple methods (75%) to murder his victims. Shooting (75%) and stabbing (75%) are the methods most likely used. He is nearly equally as likely to choose a male (73%) or female victim (87%), although slightly more likely to choose a female. An exploitive offender murders friends/acquaintances (69%) and strangers (69%). This type of offender primarily targets adults (80%) and teenagers (60%). An exploitive offender has first contact with his victim in private (75%) and public places (69%). He is slightly more likely to have initial contact in private. An exploitive offender murders his victims in private locations (100%). He is a local offender.

*Table 9: Modus Operandi* (Methods, Victim Selection, Contact with Victim, Murder Location and Spatial Mobility)

| Variable | Frequency | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| *Motive (n=16)* | | |
| Mixed Motives | 16 | 100% |
| *Combination of Motives (n=16)* | | |
| Sex and Rage | 4 | 25% |
| Sex and Money | 2 | 13% |
| Money and Rage | 2 | 13% |
| Money and Racism | 2 | 13% |
| Money, Sex and Rage | 2 | 13% |
| Rage and Urge | 1 | 6% |
| Rage and Mercy | 1 | 6% |
| Sex and Urge | 1 | 6% |
| Money and Thrill | 1 | 6% |
| *Methods (amount) (n=16)* | | |
| Multiple | 11 | 69% |
| Single | 5 | 31% |
| *Methods (type) (n=16)* | | |
| Included Shooting | 12 | 75% |
| Included Stabbing | 12 | 75% |
| Included Strangulation | 6 | 38% |
| Included Beating | 3 | 19% |
| Included Poison | 2 | 13% |

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Table 9 Continued

| *Victim Selection (gender) (n=15)* | | |
|---|---|---|
| Included Female | 13 | 87% |
| Included Male | 11 | 73% |
| Included both | 9 | 56% |
| Female only | 4 | 27% |
| Male only | 2 | 13% |
| *Victim Selection (relationship) (n=16)* | | |
| At least one Stranger | 11 | 69% |
| At least one Friend/Acquaintance | 11 | 69% |
| At least one Family | 2 | 13% |
| At least one Intimate Relationship | 1 | 6% |
| *Victim Selection (age) (n=15)* | | |
| Included Adults (20-59) | 12 | 80% |
| Included Teenagers (13-19) | 9 | 60% |
| Included Elderly (60+) | 5 | 33% |
| Included Children | 5 | 33% |
| *Contact with Victim (n=16)* | | |
| Included Private Place | 12 | 75% |
| Included Public Place | 11 | 69% |
| *Place of Murder (n=16)* | | |
| Included Private Place | 16 | 100% |
| Included Public Place | 8 | 50% |
| *Spatial Mobility (n=14)* | | |
| Local Offender | 7 | 50% |
| Travelling Offender | 6 | 43% |
| Place-Specific Offender | 1 | 7% |

To summarize, an exploitive offender begins his murder career at the age of 17.

He has a murder career of 11 years and murders 15 victims. He uses multiple methods,

most commonly shooting or stabbing. Although he chooses both male and female victims,

he chooses slightly more females. He murders both friends/acquaintances as well as

strangers. An exploitive offender murders teenagers and adults. Although he has initial

contact with his victims in both public and private places, he is slightly more likely to

have initial contact in a private location. He murders his victims in private, and is a local

offender.

**Lust-Rage serial homicide offender.**

As Table 10 illustrates, a lust-rage offender murders his first victim by the age of 18. He is apprehended 10 years after he begins to murder. On average, he murders approximately 23 victims.

*Table 10: Offender Profile* (Murder Career)

| Variable | Mean |
|---|---|
| *Offender Characteristics (n=3)* | |
| Age of first murder | 18 |
| Murder career length (years) | 10 |
| Number of victims | 23 |

As Table 11 illustrates, a lust- rage offender uses multiple methods (67%) to murder his victim. He is equally as likely to strangle (67%), stab (67%), or shoot his victims (67%). He murders female victims (100%) and is equally as likely to murder a stranger (67%) and friend/acquaintance (67%). He primarily murders adults (100%), and will commonly murder teenagers (67%), children (67%) and the elderly (67%) as well. A lust-rage offender has initial contact with his victims in private locations (100%) and also murders them in private (75%). He travels to secure his next victim, making him a travelling offender (100%).

*Table 11: Murder Profile* (Murder Methods, Victim Selection, Contact with Victim, Murder Location and Spatial Mobility)

| Variable | Frequency | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| *Motive (n=3)* | | |
| Sex and Rage | 3 | 100% |
| *Methods (amount) (n=3)* | | |
| Multiple | 2 | 67% |
| Single | 1 | 33% |

Continued onto next page

Table 11 Continued

| Methods (type) (n=3) | | |
|---|---|---|
| Included Shooting | 2 | 67% |
| Included Strangulation | 2 | 67% |
| Included Stabbing | 2 | 67% |
| Included Beating | 0 | 0% |
| Included Poison | 0 | 0% |
| *Victim Selection (gender) (n=3)* | | |
| Included Female | 3 | 100% |
| Female only | 2 | 67% |
| Included Male | 1 | 33% |
| Included both | 1 | 33% |
| Male only | 0 | 0% |
| *Victim Selection (relationship) (n=3)* | | |
| At least one Stranger | 2 | 67% |
| At least one Friend/Acquaintance | 2 | 67% |
| At least one Intimate Relationship | 1 | 33% |
| At least one Family | 0 | 0% |
| *Victim Selection (age) (n=3)* | | |
| Included Adults (20-59) | 3 | 100% |
| Included Children (0-12) | 2 | 67% |
| Included Teenagers (13-19) | 2 | 67% |
| Included Elderly (60+) | 2 | 67% |
| *Contact with Victim (n=3)* | | |
| Included Private Place | 3 | 100% |
| Included Public Place | 1 | 33% |
| *Place of Murder (n=3)* | | |
| Included Private Place | 2 | 67% |
| Included Public Place | 1 | 33% |
| *Spatial Mobility (n=2)* | | |
| Travelling Offender | 2 | 100% |
| Local Offender | 0 | 0% |
| Place-Specific Offender | 0 | 0% |

To summarize, a lust-rage offender commits his first murder by the age of 18, has a murder career of 10 years and murders 23 victims. He uses multiple methods to murder his victims. He uses methods such as stabbing, strangulation and shooting. He has a strong preference for female victims and commonly murders strangers or his friends/acquaintances. He murders adult victim, however commonly murders children,

teenagers and the elderly as well. A lust-rage offender has initial contact with and

murders his victims in private locations. He travels far from home to secure his next

victim, classifying him as a travelling offender.

*Table 12: Summary of Findings*

| Lust Offenders | Rage Offenders | Profit Offenders | Exploitive Offenders | Lust-Rage Offenders |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 17 years old 10 year career 5 victims | 17 years old 4 year career 2 victims | 15 years old 14 year career 3 victims | 17 years old 11 year career 15 victims | 18 years old 10 year career 23 victims |
| Multiple Methods | Single Method | Single Method | Multiple Methods | Multiple Methods |
| Strangulation and Stabbing | Shooting | Shooting | Shooting and Stabbing | Strangulation, Stabbing and Shooting |
| Females and Males | Males | Females and Males | Females and Males | Females |
| Strangers and Friends/ Acquaintances | Strangers | Friends/ Acquaintances | Strangers and Friends/ Acquaintances | Strangers and Friends/ Acquaintance |
| Teenagers and Adults | Elderly and Adults | Adults | Teenagers and Adults | Adults, Teenagers, Children and Elderly |
| Public Places | Public Places | Private Places | Private and Public Places | Private Places |
| Private Places | Public Places | Private Places | Private Places | Private Places |
| Local Offenders | Local Offenders | Local Offenders | Local Offenders | Travelling Offenders |

**Discussion**

This section will provide a discussion of the similarities and differences between the various categories of teenage serial homicide offender found in this study, and will compare these findings to previous serial homicide research. Then, it will offer suggestions in attempt to explain the new patterns that have emerged. It will conclude with a brief discussion on how a single motive offender differs from a multiple motive offender.

**Single Motives**

**Lust Serial Homicide Offender**

A teenage lust serial homicide offender murders approximately three years longer than the average male serial homicide offender. Although he has a longer homicide career, he murders the same number of victims (Hickey, 2013). On average, a teenage lust offender commits one murder every two years. Such behaviour suggests that a lust offender's murders are more dispersed, suggesting that he does not feel the urge to commit murder frequently.

A teenage lust offender follows a combination of patterns highlighted in previous homicide research. Similar to sexual homicide (Myers, 2004; Hunter, Hazel & Slesinger, 2000; Myers & Blashfield, 1997; Holmes and Holmes, 2002), a teenage lust offender uses strangulation and stabbing to murder his victims. Such methods are common in cases of sexual homicide as they mimic the intimate hands-on nature of the crime (Beauregard & Proulx, 2002).

Contrary to previous studies on teenage sexual homicide (Beauregard & Proulx, 2002), this study has found that a teenage lust offender targets strangers rather than known victims. Previous research has shown teenage sexual homicide offenders

commonly murder female victims (Hunter, Hazel & Slesinger, 2000; Myers & Blashfield, 1997). This study confirms that female victims are the most common victims, but notes that in half of the cases, male victims are also murdered. Holmes and Holmes (2010) explain that a sexually motivated serial homicide offender is sexually attracted to his victims. This suggests that most teenage lust offenders are attracted to the opposite sex, while some are attracted to the same sex. Being attracted to the same sex may create internal conflict among some offenders. Jeffrey Dahmer is a lust offender who began his murder career at the age of 17. Dahmer frequented gay bars searching for his next victim. In an interview, Dahmer revealed that he struggled with his sexual orientation, and believed that being gay was wrong. In turn, he contemplated suicide and developed sexual fantasies that he believed were rejected by society. Upon his arrest, Dahmer confessed to murdering 15 to 17 boys and young men (Hickey, 2013).

A teenage lust offender murders teenagers and adults -- a different pattern than other teenage sexually motivated offenders who primarily murder children and other teenagers (Khachatryan et al., 2014). The slightly older victim selection could reflect the continuum of teenage serial murder. An offender may begin by murdering younger victims while he is younger, and then graduate to older victims as he begins to mature in age. Further research should be conducted on this emerging pattern.

As Myers and Blashfield (1997) found, a teenage sexual homicide offender murders his victims in his own neighbourhood or the victim's home. This illustrates that the offender and victim reside in similar geographical areas, categorizing the offender as a local offender (Hickey, 2013). Similarly, this study outlines that a teenage lust offender is a local offender. Recent studies show that a homicidal teenager primarily murders in private locations such as the offender or victim's home (Kirby, 2009; Myers &

Blashfield, 1997). Similarly, a teenage lust offender murders his victims in private locations. Marko Bey is a teenage lust offender who met one of his victims outside of her apartment while she was on her way to work. While he was confronting her, he suspected someone was in close proximity. He quickly attacked his victim and dragged her to a nearby shed where he raped and strangled her to death (State of New Jersey v. Bey, 1988).

A teenage lust offender uses a combination of offending patterns. As this study highlights, a teenage lust offender adds a new dimension to sexually motivated serial murder. A lust offender and a teenage lust offender show similar offending patterns including the desire of murdering stranger victims by strangulation and stabbing (Holmes & Holmes, 2010). However, a teenage lust offender is more likely to be a local offender, whereas other lust offenders are more likely to be traveling offenders (Holmes & Holmes, 2010). The difference may be a result of teenagers not having access to a private vehicle in order to travel. Or, it may suggest that due to the offender's age, a teenage lust offender may still reside or be under the direct supervision of a caregiver, making it more challenging for him to travel without raising suspicion. Such behaviour illustrates that the age of the offender does in fact add a new dimension to his crime, increasing the importance of studying an adult and a teenage offender separately.

**Profit Serial Homicide Offender**

A teenage profit offender murders for approximately three years less and murders two to four fewer victims than an average male serial homicide offender (Hickey, 2013). On average, a teenage profit offender murders one victim every two years. Such behaviour suggests the offender has less of an urge to murder than the average serial

homicide offender. He may withhold his next murder until he feels that he is in need of material gain.

Salfati (2000) would classify a teenage profit offender as an instrumental offender, as the offender's main objective is material gain. A comfort offender is motivated by the same objective (Holmes & Holmes, 2010). Although the motives are similar, a comfort and a teenage profit offender's criminal behaviour differ. A comfort offender is more likely to murder a known victim such as his spouse or a friend (Holmes & Holmes, 2010; Holmes, Hickey & Holmes, 1991). Whereas, a teenage profit offender is more likely to murder a stranger. Similarly, both categories of offenders do not extend the murder process, as both offenders murder their victims quickly. A comfort offender uses poison or pills (Holmes & Holmes, 2010), whereas a teenage profit offender uses a firearm. Salfati (2000) argues that an instrumental offender's main objective is material gain, and the murder is secondary. She explains that because the murder is not the main goal, the offender does not bring his murder weapon to the scene and he uses his hands or feet to beat or strangle his victim. A teenage profit offender commonly brings a firearm to his robbery. Such behaviour suggests that the murder may be planned in advance. Although material gain is his initial objective, he arrives prepared to murder. Idolizing his father who had been convicted for double murder, Willie Bosket Jr. murdered two victims while he was 15 years old. He shot two men while they were asleep on a New York City Subway while robbing them. Willie claimed to have committed 200 armed robberies before committing his two murders (Butterfield, 2008; Eligon, 2008).

A teenage profit offender illustrates similar patterns in comparison to other teenagers that commit murder motivated by criminal enterprise such as robbery. Both types of offenders murder elderly or adult strangers (Khachatryan et al., 2014). Such

behaviour is most likely because a child or a teenager do not usually own valuable items or have access to a large quantity of money. Whereas, adult and elderly victims are more likely to own valuables. Further, a new pattern has emerged outlining that a teenage profit offender primarily murders male victims rather than female – a less common pattern found in serial murder research (Hickey, 2013). Such pattern may suggest that there is no sexual component to a teenage profit offender's murder.

A teenage profit offender has initial contact with and murders his victims in a public location. Donald David Dillbeck, a teenage profit offender, murdered one of his victims while the victim was sitting in his car in a public parking lot. When Dillbeck approached his victim, his main objective was to hijack the victim's car. However, when the victim fought back, Dillbeck pulled a knife and began to stab his victim until his victim succumbed to the stab wounds (Dillbeck v. State of Florida, 1994). Murdering in a public location may contribute to the shorter murdering career of a teenage profit offender, as it increases the likelihood of an eyewitness. Additionally, the offender's shorter murdering career could be a result of being classified as a local offender. Studies have shown that an offender that murder locally is easier to suspect because of the relatively small parameter that he offends (Holmes & Holmes, 2010).

**Rage Serial Homicide Offender**

A teenage rage offender is the youngest category of teenage serial homicide offender. He murders for seven years longer than an average male serial homicide offender, however he murders one to three fewer victims (Hickey, 2013). He murders one victim every four to five years. His infrequency in committing murder may contribute to his length of murder career, as his crimes are more dispersed.

Salfati (2000) would argue that a teenage rage offender is an expressive offender, as he murders as a result of rage. She outlines that an expressive offender's main objective is to induce a mass amount of pain and suffering to his or her victim. However, the findings in the current study indicate that a teenage rage offender primarily uses a firearm to murder his victim. Such behaviour suggests that he is not as concerned about inflicting pain and suffering as Salfati (2000) outlines. Rather, he murders his victims quickly.

Although a rage offender does not show preference in terms of the sex of his victims, he has a strong preference in regards to the victim-offender relationship. Myers et al. (1995) outline that when a teenage homicide offender is motivated by personal cause including rage, he or she murders a known victim – primarily a friend or an acquaintance. Similarly, a teenage rage offender primarily murders his friends/acquaintances. Khachatryan et al., (2014) argue that when a teenager commits homicide as a result of a personal cause, he or she is most likely to murder children and teenagers. However, this study has found that a teenage rage offender primarily murders adult victims. For example James Broyles is a teenage rage offender who murdered two known victims -- his grandmother and his girlfriend. Both murders were a result of personal disputes, as he believed that the victims were constantly "nagging" him (Newton, 2006).

Similar to an average teenage serial homicide offender (Kirby, 2009), a teenage rage offender murders his victims in private locations. He is a local offender who does not travel to secure his next victim. Rather, he murders out of impulse as a result of personal conflict between him and his victim. Richard Bourassa is a teenage rage offender who murdered two of his friends inside the victim's home. After one of the murders, his

belongings were searched and investigators found a picture labeled "Kill Saturday," "getting that S.O.B". Such behaviour indicates that his murder was a result of a personal dispute between the offender and his victim (Wride & Lait, 1991).

**Exploitive Serial Homicide Offender**

A teenage exploitive offender murders for four additional years than an average male serial homicide offender and murders nine to 11 more victims (Hickey, 2013). On average, he murders one or two victims per year. Such behaviour suggests that an exploitive offender has an urge to murder more frequently compared an average male serial homicide offender.

Similar to a male serial homicide offender, a teenage exploitive offender uses multiple methods to murder his victims (Ferguson, 2010) -- primarily firearm or stabbing. Given that shooting is the primary method for a teenage rage offender and a teenage profit offender, and stabbing is the primary method of teenage lust offender, it is evident that the lack of common pattern in an exploitive offender's crime may confuse law enforcement, allowing him to avoid police detection for a longer period of time.

An exploitive offender does not have a preference in regards to the sex of his victims or the victim-offender relationship. He is equally as likely to murder a male or female, and is equally as likely to murder a known or stranger victim. Such behaviour suggests randomness to his crimes, and highlights that he is willing to murder a variety of people in order to exploit his victims. Similar to Hickey's (2013) findings, an exploitive offender primarily murders adults and teenagers.

An exploitive offender has initial contact with his victims in public or private locations. However, he murders his victim in private. This suggests that he may use a ruse

to lure his victim to a private area in order to attack them. An exploitive offender is primarily a local offender.

A teenage exploitive offender demonstrates minimal crime patterns. Such behaviour may explain his lengthy murder career. A criminal with minimal offending patterns is more challenging for law enforcement agencies to identify as officers look for common patterns at each crime scene (Keppel & Birnes, 1999). Edmund Kemper is an example of a teenage exploitive offender with a lack of crime pattern. Edmund Kemper, also known as the "Co-Ed Killer" murdered his grandmother and grandfather at the age of 15. Years later, he began to murder hitchhikers and college students, usually by stabbing or by firearm. He commonly targeted victims of all ages including teenagers, adults and the elderly. The minimal patterns involved in each of his murders allowed him to murder eight victims over a span of 10 years (Hickey, 1997; Myers, 2004; Newton, 2006).

**Lust-Rage Serial Homicide Offender**

A teenage lust-rage offender murders for three additional years than an average male serial homicide offender and murders 17-19 more victims (Hickey, 2013). Such finding suggests that a teenage lust-rage offender commits two to three murders per year. Such behaviour demonstrates that a teenage lust-rage offender shows more of an urge to murder than an average male serial homicide offender, as he murders more frequently.

A teenage lust-rage offender adopts a combination of methods found among teenage lust offenders and teenage rage offenders including strangulation, stabbing and the use of a firearm. Strangulation and stabbing are common in crimes that are sexual in nature (Beauregard & Proulx, 2002). This study has found a similar pattern among a teenage lust offender. Further, a teenage rage offender primarily uses a firearm to murder

his victims. Such findings suggest that a lust-rage offender prolongs his murders by using a variety of methods found among two other subcategories of this typology.

A lust-rage offender illustrates minimal preference in terms of victim selection as he murders an equal number of strangers and friends/acquaintances, and murders a combination of adults, teenagers and children and elderly victims. A teenage lust-rage offender demonstrates a strong preference for female victims. Such patterns are similar to Keppel and Walters' (1999) explanation of an anger-retaliatory rape-murderer. Keppel and Walters' (1999) suggest that the anger-retaliatory rape- murderer murders a variety of females because his victim is, or is a symbol of, the women that has rejected him. His murders are a result of his conflicted relationship with women. For example, Eric Ernest Napoletano Jr., a sexual sadist, murdered his girlfriend at the age of 15 because he believed that she was cheating on him (Kornblut, 1996). Wayne Nathan Nance, another teenage lust-rage offender, tried to murder and rape his female supervisor at work as a result of an on-going feud. While Nance was tying his victim to her bed, the victim's husband interrupted and shot Nance, which led to his death (Newton, 2006).

Similar to Kirby's (2009) findings, a lust-rage offender murders his victims in a private location. Further, he is classified as a travelling offender. Murdering in private, traveling to avoid police detection and his lack of patterns in regards to victim selection may explain how a teenage lust-rage offender avoids police detection for double the amount of time than an average male serial homicide offender, resulting in approximately 17-19 more murders.

As this typology highlights, each motive derives new patterns of criminal behaviour. This study has found that a single motive offender demonstrates more distinct crime patterns than a multiple motive offender. Such behaviour results in a single motive

offender being apprehended much earlier than a multiple motive offender. The lack of crime patterns increases the difficulty in solving serial homicide cases because as Keppel and Birnes (1997) explain, investigators search for commonalities between offences. When minimal patterns are visible at a scene of a crime, the less likely an investigator is to link the crime to a previous murder. Such behaviour allows the offender to avoid apprehension for a longer period of time, and murder more victims.

Another major difference between the two categories is that a multiple motive offender is more likely to be classified as a traveling offender. As Holmes and Holmes (2010) argue, an offender that murders in different states a challenge for law enforcement to apprehend due to the barriers involved in linking murders committed in different states. As a result, an offender is able to avoid police detection for a longer period of time.

## Limitations and Future Research

Due to the nature of legislation on young offenders, one limitation that this study faced was minimal availability of data on certain cases. In Canada, there is a publication ban when a case involves a young offender. Meaning, some files and data on these cases have been made unavailable to the general public. Another limitation that this study faced was in terms of data collection. Unfortunately, due to the nature of collecting data through various databases rather than one-on-one interviews, there were certain variables that could not be collected. However, as Canter and Wentink (2004) note, data obtained from crime magazines, newspapers and books is a particular strength in serial murder research. They explain that all research material is open to bias conclusions by the researcher based on their hypothesis. Sources that are open to the public are originally creative for purposes other than research. Meaning, sources such as crime magazines, newspapers and

books are strong research tools, as the findings outlined cannot be manipulated in favour of the researcher's hypothesis.

Future research should focus on how the offending patterns of a teenage serial homicide offender may change as the offender matures into an adult. As noted in this sample, different subcategories have minimal offending patterns. For example, a lust-rage offender victimizes strangers and friends/acquaintances, and murders a combination of children, teenagers, adults and elderly victims. Future studies should focus on the maturation process of these offenders and examine if there is a change in crime pattern as the offender matures. For example, do lust-rage offenders murder children while they are teenagers and then graduate to older victims? Do they start with stranger victims and then as they mature begin murdering people they know? And so forth. Future research should also construct a criminal profile of this type of offender using crime scene evidence including information from psychological evaluations as well as police records.

**Conclusion**

This study is the first study to create a typology on teenage serial homicide offenders. It was divided into two categories: single motive offenders and multiple motive offenders. A single motive offender is motivated by sex, material gain, or rage. A lust offender is one who is motivated by sex, a profit offender is one who is motivated by material gain, and a rage offender is one is who motivated by rage as a result of a personal conflict. In regards to multiple motive offenders, this study created two subcategories: an exploitive offender and a lust-rage offender. An exploitive offender is one who is motivated by a combination of at least two types of motives, whereas the lust-rage offender was created as a result of the two most common motives of a multiple motive offender – sex and rage.

As Gorby (2000) notes, approximately 21.7% of serial homicide offenders begin murdering between the ages of 13 and 20 years of age. This study hopes to bring attention to serial homicide committed by teenagers in order to provide researchers and investigators a better understanding of this understudied area of serial homicide. It highlights the similarities and differences among each classification of a teenage serial homicide offender, and how they differ from other categories of homicidal offenders. As this study illustrates, teenage serial homicide brings a new dimension of homicide. Although some patterns are similar to patterns found in previous homicide studies, this study has presented a new area of discovery and hopes to aid in investigations if a teenager is a suspect of serial homicide.

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**Appendix A**

This appendix is a list of all variables searched in data collection.

1. NATIONALITY
   a. US
   b. Canada
   c. Other
2. SEX
   a. Male
   b. Female
3. MARITAL STATUS
   a. Single
   b. Married
   c. Common
   d. Divorced/Separated
   e. Other/Unknown
4. CHILDREN
   a. Yes
   b. No
5. REJECTED BY
   a. Boy/girlfriend
6. UNSTABLE WORK HISTORY
   a. Yes
   b. No
7. EMPLOYMENT STATUS
   a. Employed
   b. Unemployed
8. OCCUPATION
   a. Unskilled
   b. Semi-skilled
   c. Skilled
   d. Professional
   e. Police
   f. Military
   g. Clerical
   h. Sales
   i. Unknown
   j. Other
9. EDUCATION
   a. Less than grade 8
   b. Some high school
   c. High school graduate
   d. Some college
   e. College graduate
   f. Some university
   g. University graduate
   h. Master degree or higher

      i.    Other

      j.    Unknown

10. FAMILY BACKGROUND

    a.   Adopted

    b.   Orphan

    c.   Lived with relatives

    d.   Step father

    e.   Step mother

    f.   Parents married

    g.   Parents not married living together

    h.   Parents not married living separately

    i.   Parents divorced

    j.   Single parent

    k.   Unstable family history

    l.   Parents have criminal records

    m.  Alcoholic father

    n.   Alcoholic mother

    o.   Rejected by both parents

    p.   Parental rejection by mother

    q.   Parental rejection by father

    r.   Mother was a prostitute

    s.   Moved frequently

    t.   History of family poverty

    u.   Had children while married

    v.   Had children while not married

    w.  Children given up for adoption

    x.   Children living with other parent

    y.   Children living with other relative

11. LIVING SITUATION

    a.   Alone

    b.   With spouse

    c.   With spouse and children

    d.   Separate from spouse and children

    e.   With male companion

    f.   With female companion

    g.   With own children

    h.   With own child or with partners child

    i.   With parents of parental figure

12. HOMOSEXUAL RELATIONSHIP

    a.   Yes

    b.   No

13. SIBLINGS

    a.   Brothers

    b.   Sisters

    c.   Half brothers

    d.   Half sisters

    e.   Other siblings (step brothers or step sisters)

      f.   Siblings have criminal record
      g.  Rejected by siblings

14. RACE
      a.  Caucasian
      b.  Black
      c.  Hispanic
      d.  Asian
      e.  Other

15. HISTORY OF ABUSE
      a.  Head trauma as a child or a teenager
      b.  Physical abuse as a child or teenager
      c.  Psychological abuse as a child or teenager
      d.  Sexual abuse as a child or teenager
      e.  Other abuse as a child or teenager

16. MENTAL HEALTH
      a.  Mental illness/treatment
      b.  Mental hospitalization

17. TYPE OF MENTAL DISORDER
      a.  Childhood behaviour
      b.  Down syndrome
      c.  Organic mental disorder
      d.  Schizophrenic or delusional
      e.  Mood disorder
      f.  Stress related
      g.  Anxiety
      h.  Sexual disorder
      i.  Suicide attempt

18. DRUG AND ALCOHOL ABUSE
      a.  Drug abuse
      b.  Alcohol abuse

19. CRIMINAL RECORD BEFORE SERIES
      a.  Yes
      b.  No
          i.  Violent crime conviction
         ii.  Violent crime no conviction
        iii.  Sex crime conviction
        iv.  Sex crime no conviction
         v.  Property crime conviction
        vi.  Property crime no conviction
       vii.  Drug crime conviction
      viii.  Drug crime no conviction
        ix.  Murder conviction
         x.  Murder no conviction
        xi.  Attempted murder conviction
       xii.  Attempted murder no conviction
      xiii.  Arson conviction
      xiv.  Arson no conviction

      xv.  Animal abuse conviction
      xvi.  Animal abuse no conviction
      xvii.  Prostitution conviction
      xviii.  Prostitution no conviction
      xix.  Robbery conviction
      xx.  Robbery no conviction
      xxi.  Incarceration before series
      xxii.  Other

20. THE MURDERS
    a.  Solo
    b.  Team
        i.  All male
        ii.  All female
        iii.  Mixed male and female
        iv.  2 members
        v.  3 members
        vi.  4 or more team members
    c.  Age at first kill
    d.  Age at second kill
    e.  Age at third kill
    f.  Year caught/ended
    g.  Year began
    h.  Total years active
    i.  Number of victims
        i.  Number of male victims
        ii.  Number of female victims
    j.  Male Child (12 and under)
        i.  Most victims
        ii.  Some victims
    k.  Female Child (12 and under)
        i.  Most victims
        ii.  Some victims
    l.  Male Teenager (13-19)
        i.  Most victims
        ii.  Some victims
    m.  Female Teenager (13-19)
        i.  Most victims
        ii.  Some victims
    n.  Male Adult (20+)
        i.  Most victims
        ii.  Some victims
    o.  Female Adult (20+)
        i.  Most victims
        ii.  Some victims
    p.  Male Elderly (60+)
        i.  Most victims
        ii.  Some victims

q. Female Elderly (60+)
    i. Most victims
    ii. Some victims
r. Victim Race/Ethnicity
    i. Caucasian
    ii. Black
    iii. Hispanic
    iv. Asian
    v. Mixed
    vi. Other
    vii. Unknown

21. VICTIM/OFFENDER RELATIONSHIP
    a. Stanger
        i. Most victims
        ii. Some victims
    b. Acquaintance
        i. Most victims
        ii. Some victims
    c. Co-workers/Employer
        i. Most victims
        ii. Some victims
    d. Patient
        i. Most victims
        ii. Some victims
    e. Family
        i. Most victims
        ii. Some victims
            1. Mother
            2. Father
            3. Siblings
            4. Children
            5. Grandparents
            6. Other families
    f. Unknown/Others

22. FIRST VICTIM
    a. Known
    b. Stranger
    c. Unknown relation
    d. Age of first version

23. SECOND VICTIM
    a. Known
    b. Stranger
    c. Unknown relation
    d. Age of second victim

24. THIRD VICTIM
    a. Known
    b. Stranger

c. Unknown relation
d. Age of third victim

25. VICTIM CHARACTERISTICS/BEHAVIOUR
    a. Hitchhiker or other traveller
    b. Prostitute
    c. Homosexual
    d. University or college student
    e. High school student
    f. Young woman alone
    g. Patient hospital or other medical care facility
    h. Elderly in care
    i. Walking on street or public place
    j. Transients or homeless

26. VICTIMS MARITAL STATUS
    a. Single
    b. Married
    c. Common
    d. Divorced/Separated
    e. Other/Unknown

27. VICTIM`S OCCUPATION
    a. Unskilled
    b. Semi- skilled
    c. Skilled
    d. Professional/Managerial
    e. Sales/Clerical
    f. Housewife/Homemaker

28. VICTIM`S EDUCATION
    a. Less than high school (grade 8 or lower)
    b. Some high school (grade 9 or higher)
    c. High school completed
    d. Some college
    e. Completed college
    f. Some university
    g. University degree
    h. Master degree or higher

29. VICTIM`S EMPLOYMENT HISTORY
    a. Unstable work history
    b. Employed

30. CONTACT WITH VICTIM
    a. On street
    b. Victim`s work place
    c. Offender`s work place
    d. Common work place
    e. Bar
    f. Other public Place
    g. Victim`s Home
    h. Offender`s Home

  i. Other

31. MURDER METHOD
  a. Single method
  b. Multiple methods
  c. Gun
  d. Club or blunt object
  e. Hands/fists/beating
  f. Knife
  g. Suffocate
  h. Strangled
  i. Drown
  j. Poison
  k. Torture
  l. Sex torture
  m. Sec act but not torture
  n. Burn
  o. Electric Shock
  p. Mutilation before killing (not dismemberment)
  q. Trophy taking body parts
  r. Trophy taking objects
  s. Photographs/video taken
  t. Post mortem sex
  u. Post mortem mutilation (not dismemberment)
  v. Other post mortem act
  w. Biting
  x. Decapitation
  y. Dismemberment
  z. Paraphilia
  aa. Cannibalism
  bb. Victim fully clothed
  cc. Nude victim
  dd. Partially nude victim
  ee. Victim posed/displayed
  ff. Evidence of ritual behaviour
  gg. Victim`s body burned
  hh. Victim`s body found outside
    i. Field
    ii. Wooded Area
    iii. Lake/pond/other water
    iv. Urban setting
    v. Rural setting
    vi. Other setting
  ii. Victim`s body found indoors
    i. Offender`s home
    ii. Victim`s home
    iii. Offender`s work
    iv. Victim`s work

    v. Hotel/Motel
    vi. Vehicle
    vii. Other building
    viii. Other
  jj. Victim bound/tied before killing
  kk. Place specific killer
  ll. Multiple, but not all, victims in one location
  mm. Travelling killer
  nn. Local killer (neighbourhood or specific geographic area)

32. MOTIVES
  a. First victim
    i. Planned
    ii. Spontaneous
    iii. Unplanned
    iv. Unknown
  b. Second victim
    i. Planned
    ii. Spontaneous
    iii. Unplanned
    iv. Unknown
  c. Third victim
    i. Planned
    ii. Spontaneous
    iii. Unplanned
    iv. Unknown
  d. Multiple Motives
  e. Money
  f. Revenge
  g. Sex
  h. Enjoyment
  i. Cult influence
  j. Racism
  k. Homophobic
  l. Control/dominate
  m. Hatred
  n. Get attention
  o. As a moral statement
  p. Mercy
  q. Thrill
  r. Felt urge
  s. Jealousy
  t. Mental disorder(had vision or similar)
  u. Unknown
  v. Declared insane
  w. Sent to prison
  x. Other disposition
  y. Killed in US only

  z. Killed in Canada only
  aa. Killed in both US and Canada
    i. Most in US
    ii. Most in Canada
  bb. Killed inside of US and Canada and outside
33. Holmes and Holmes Typology
  a. Visionary Killer
  b. Mission Killer
  c. Hedonistic Killer
  d. Power/Control Killer
34. M/O

**Appendix B**

This appendix is a list of all the serial homicide offenders in this sample.

**List of Offenders**

1. Ronald Palmer Heath
2. Daryl Hayes
3. Francis Gerard Hernandez
4. Walter Hill
5. Cesar Francesco Barone
6. Patrick Baxter
7. Michael Bernard Bell
8. Marko Bey
9. Richard Biegenwald
10. Willie Bosket Jr.
11. Richard Bourassa
12. Henry Brison
13. Antuan Bronshtein
14. Raymond Eugene Brown
15. James Broyles
16. Timothy Buss
17. Robert Anothony Carter
18. Donald David Dillbeck
19. David Dowler
20. Donald Leroy Evans
21. Adam Joseph Ezerski
22. Lorenzo Fayne
23. Wayne Henry Garrison
24. Lester Harrison
25. Jeffrey Dahmer
26. Gary Carlton
27. Donald Harvey
28. Edmund Kemper
29. Tommy Sells
30. Wayne Nathan Nance
31. Eric Ernest Napoletano
32. Robert Earl O'Neal Jr.
33. Michael Wayne McGray
34. Lamon McKoy
35. John Rodney
36. Ivan Mendoza
37. Antonio Lebaron Melton
38. Wayne Donald Horton
39. Richard Jameswhite
40. Keydrick Deon Jordan
41. Ahron Kee

42. Juan Rodriguez
43. Jesse James Cowans