The purpose of this study was to investigate and describe the demographic, behavioral, and background characteristics of female serial murderers. A series of postulates about male serial murderers were developed after an extensive literature review. Data were collected from both primary and secondary sources on 14 female serial murderers in the United States. A preliminary profile of female serial murderers was then compared to the current knowledge of male serial murderers. Overall, there were generally more differences than similarities between male and female serial murderers. Results suggested differences in nine areas: victim damage, victim torture, weapon/method, stalking versus luring behaviors, crime scene organization, reasons for the murders, substance abuse history, psychiatric diagnosis, and household composition. Similarities appeared in five areas: broken homes, childhood abuse, race, educational level, and occupation.

Gender Differences in Serial Murderers

A Preliminary Analysis

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During the past two decades, serial murder has received increased attention from both law enforcement and the popular media. Recent research has suggested that female involvement in serial homicide was approximately the same as their representation in other types of murder in the United States (Hickey, 1991). This finding contradicted theorists who stated that serial murder was an almost exclusively male behavior (Egger, 1990; Leyton, 1986).

Research on this topic has been limited due to the rare occurrence of this phenomenon and the difficulty in obtaining access to these offenders. To date, no traditional, academic, empirical research has been attempted. This article reviews the participation of women in serial murder. After discussion of definitions of serial murder and female involvement in other types of murder, current knowledge of the phenomenon is examined. Analysis then focuses

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on female serial murderers, and the variables that appear to affect their behavior are discussed.

Definitions of serial murder reported in the literature have lacked uniformity. In this study, serial murder is defined as "the premeditated murder of three or more victims committed over time, in separate incidents, in a civilian context, with the murder activity being chosen by the offender" (Keeney, 1992, p. 7). This definition excludes killing performed by military personnel as part of their job duties and assassinations by political terrorist groups. It does include health care workers who murder their patients, parents who murder their children, professional assassins who operate under the confines of organized crime syndicates, and persons who kill multiple spouses/lovers. The number of murder victims used in this definition coincided with the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) designation.

FEMALE INVOLVEMENT IN MURDER

The United States has seen a fairly consistent rise in the reported murder rate during the past 26 years, from 5.1% in 1965 to 9.8% in 1991. However, perusal of FBI statistics showed that the proportion of total homicide arrests involving females has actually decreased from 17.6% in 1965 to 10.3% in 1991 (FBI, 1965-1991). Notwithstanding the proportionate decrease in female involvement in homicide, the actual number of women arrested for homicide showed a generally increasing trend, particularly for 1965 through 1983. During more recent years, the numbers of women arrested for homicide have tended to decrease. Interestingly, however, the number of women arrested for homicide in 1991 was still 36% greater than the number arrested in 1965.

FINDINGS ON MURDERERS

Two of the early historical studies on murder focused almost exclusively on male offenders (Guttmacher, 1960; Wolfgang, 1958). Subsequent studies of women who had been charged with and/or convicted of murders began to emerge during the late 1960s (Biggers, 1979; Blum & Fisher, 1978; Cole, Fisher, & Cole, 1968; Crump, 1986; Goetting, 1988; Ketner & Humphrey, 1980; McClain, 1981; Suval & Brisson, 1974; Weisheit, 1984; Wilbanks, 1980). Female murderers have shown more of a tendency to kill family members than have males (Biggers, 1979; Cole et al., 1968; Goetting, 1988;

McClain, 1981; Weisheit, 1984), to be somewhat older than men who murder (Biggers, 1979; Blum & Fisher, 1978; Suval & Brisson, 1974), and to have killed their victims in the home (Blum & Fisher, 1978; Goetting, 1988). They also have used guns and knives as their most common weapons of choice (Blum & Fisher, 1978; Cole et al., 1968; Goetting, 1988; McClain, 1981; Weisheit, 1984; Wilbanks, 1980). Female homicide offenders have tended to be from the lower socioeconomic classes, with an attendant lack of education and employment skills (Ketner & Humphrey, 1980; McClain, 1981; Suval & Brisson, 1974).

In contrast to the pattern of female murderers, the profile of males who murder has been studied more extensively. Early research (Guttmacher, 1960; Wolfgang & Ferracuti, 1967) concluded that they were typically young black males who killed in response to an argument or physical provocation. Males have tended to murder outside the home—in bars or streets—and to use guns and knives most commonly as weapons. Like the victims of women who kill, the victims of male murderers have usually been family members, friends, or acquaintances (Lester, 1991).

FINDINGS ON SERIAL MURDER

Of the 11 in-depth studies on serial murder reviewed for this research, only two acknowledged the role of women in this type of murder (Hickey, 1991; Holmes & DeBurger, 1988). From these studies, a series of findings per male serial murderers was generated pertaining to murder and postmurder behavior, social and psychological history, and demographics.

Murder and Postmurder Behavior

Male serial murderers have tended to inflict a great deal of victim damage in addition to causing death (Hickey, 1991; Leyton, 1986; Norris, 1988; Ressler, 1985) and to engage in the torture of their victims prior to death (Hickey, 1991; Levin & Fox, 1985; Norris, 1988; Ressler, 1985; Sears, 1991). Male serial murderers have also shown a tendency to use a "hands-on" approach in killing by using knives, blunt objects, and hands to kill their victims. The process of murdering and the power/domination effect have been cited as part of their motivation (Egger, 1985; Hickey, 1991; Holmes & DeBurger, 1988; Ressler, 1985; Rule, 1980).

Male serial murderers have shown a tendency toward "stalking" behaviors such as actively patroling for victims, aggressively pursuing victims, and/or

using physical force to procure victims (Hickey, 1991; Norris, 1988; Ressler, Burgess, & Douglas, 1988; Rule, 1980). They also have tended to commit either organized or disorganized types of murders when crime scenes have been compared (Ressler, 1985).

Male serial murderers have often attended their victims' funerals as a method of reliving the murder and as material for future fantasy experiences. They typically returned to their victims' graves, whether official or unofficial (Ressler et al., 1988). Male serial murderers have generally had affective goals, that is, murders committed for emotional or psychological reasons versus instrumental goals for practical reasons (Egger, 1990; Heide, 1986; Hickey, 1991; Holmes & DeBurger, 1988; Levin & Fox, 1985; Leyton, 1986; Linedecker, 1990; Norris, 1988; Ressler, 1992; Ritter, 1988; Rule, 1980).

Social and Psychological History

Several studies showed similar findings in the backgrounds of serial murderers. Male serial murderers have tended to be "first-born" children in their families of origin or the oldest children in their family units (Levin & Fox, 1985; Ressler et al., 1988). They have also tended to be raised in broken homes such as those of divorced parents, widows/widowers, single parents, or adopted families (Hickey, 1991; Leyton, 1986; Norris, 1988; Ressler, 1992).

Male serial murderers have often been victims of childhood abuse and/or neglect in their families of origin (Hickey, 1991; Holmes & DeBurger, 1988; Leyton, 1986; Norris, 1988; Ressler, 1992). Their parents have frequently been alcohol dependent or drug dependent (Heide, 1986; Norris, 1988; Ressler, 1992).

There has been no clear pattern in whether male serial murderers have had substance abuse problems themselves (Hickey, 1991; Norris, 1988). Available data have indicated that some serial murderers had symptoms of the "MacDonald Triad" (bed-wetting, fire-setting, and cruelty to animals) during childhood (Holmes & DeBurger, 1988; Levin & Fox, 1985; Norris, 1988) and some sustained head injuries (Norris, 1988; Sears, 1991).

No clear pattern is discernible regarding male serial murderers' encounters with law enforcement agencies as juveniles (Hickey, 1991; Leyton, 1986). Some research has reported that they have been institutionalized at some point in their lives (juvenile incarceration, foster homes, adult incarceration, etc.) prior to their arrests for murder (Leyton, 1986). Male serial murderers have tended to be psychiatrically diagnosed as antisocial personalities more

often than schizophrenic or psychotic (Hickey, 1991; Holmes & DeBurger, 1988; Levin & Fox, 1985; Norris, 1988; Ressler, 1985).

Demographic Information

Male serial murderers have tended to be White (Hickey, 1991; Ressler, 1985; Rule, 1980) and to have had low to average levels of education, with a mean of a 10th-grade level (Hickey, 1991; Ressler et al., 1988). Their household composition (single, married, living alone, or other) at the time of the murders has been varied (Hickey, 1991). If working, male serial murderers have shown a tendency to be employed in low-level/blue-collar types of occupations (Hickey, 1991; Leyton, 1986; Ressler, 1985).

METHODOLOGY

The present study was designed to determine to what extent female serial murderers fit the current profile of male serial murderers. A series of both general and specific findings about the behavior, background, and demographic characteristics of male serial murderers based on the literature reviewed were generated and investigated with respect to female serial murderers. Previous research had not focused systematically on most of these variables and had been largely limited to profiles of male serial murderers.

Subjects

A total of 14 female serial murderers who acted alone were identified and selected through the use of several sources. First, newspaper indexes were examined to find women who were charged with multiple murders committed over time or charged with a single murder and strongly suspected by law enforcement of other murders. These indexes included the *New York Times* (1972-1992), *Los Angeles Times* (1972-1992), *Chicago Sun-Times* (1980-1992), *Atlanta Journal and Constitution* (1983-1989), and *St. Petersburg Times* (1975-1986). After perusal of the various indexes for identification purposes, the actual articles on microfilm were analyzed and used to gather information. Second, female serial murderers were identified by books, biographies, periodicals, and abstracts on murder.[1] Cases that occurred during the past 20 years were selected for examination because more recent cases tended to have more accurate information.

Data Collection Instrument

A 12-page instrument contained questions regarding basic demographic information and questions that were shaped from findings pertaining to male serial murderers. It provided a systematic framework with which to gather information from both primary and secondary sources. Of the 22 variables initially targeted for investigation, 14 had sufficient data for analysis. In some cases, due to the nature of the secondary data sources, information that had been available for male serial murderers was not available for their female counterparts. The variables omitted were funeral attendance, gravesite visits, birth order, chemical dependency of parents, MacDonald Triad, head injuries, juvenile encounters with law enforcement, and institutionalization.

Data Analysis Plan

Primary sources were used when possible. These included original documents (court transcripts, presentence investigation reports, psychological evaluations, correctional files) related to the cases. Secondary sources (mass media accounts, newspaper reports, biographies, electronic media reports) were also analyzed.

This study was exploratory and descriptive in nature. Given the lack of empirical data on female serial murderers, prediction of differences between male and female serial murderers at this stage seemed premature. Sources were examined to determine whether there was evidence or suggestion that might indicate the existence of the variables under study. Lack of reporting about a phenomenon was not treated as proof of its lack of existence. Because this research was conceived as a pilot study with a limited number of subjects, traditional statistical analysis was not appropriate. Statements were used as guidelines, rather than as hypotheses, to examine data available on female serial murderers.

FINDINGS

Results were based on the extent to which information was found. Due to the small number of subjects ($N = 14$), only raw numbers were reported. In samples of less than 50, percentages tend to be unstable and misleading. Variables for which data were available in at least 65% of the cases ($N = 9$) were included in this study with two exceptions. Because child abuse and chemical dependency were deemed such important variables, they were included in this analysis even though data were available in only 8 of the 14 cases.

Characteristics of the Sample

The mean age at arrest for this sample was 37.9 years, with a range of 40 years (19-59). The average age that the women began their murders was 32.9 years, with a range of 35 years (18-53). The 14 women were convicted of killing 27 victims; law enforcement agencies estimated that the women killed more than 88 people. None was charged with all of the murders for which she was allegedly responsible.

Of the 14 women, 13 were place-specific killers; that is, they operated in one small area such as a city, often in a hospital or their own homes. The remaining woman was a regional killer who operated in one state. Geographically, the state represented most often was Florida with four offenders; North Carolina and California each had two; Wisconsin, New York, Michigan, Texas, Georgia, and Alabama each had one offender in this sample. Nine offenders in the sample were from Southern states—the only pattern of regionality that was evident in this study.

The victim sample was taken only from confirmed victims, not those who were alleged or speculated. With regard to relationship to their victims (N = 62), victims who were in the custodial care of their murderers (patients, children with babysitters) were the largest category, comprising 43% of the sample. Family members (children, husbands, in-laws, fathers) were the second largest category with 37%. The remaining 20% consisted of strangers, acquaintances, and nonspousal lovers.

Murder and Postmurder Behaviors

Victim damage. Victim damage was measured by mutilation, dismemberment, and other evidence of "overkill" over and above what was required to cause death. Among the 62 victims, no sexual assault, mutilation, or dismemberment was evident.

Victim torture. Victim torture was measured by victim burns, evidence of multiple revivals and loss of consciousness, multiple stab wounds, and dismemberment while the victim was alive. Female serial murderers in this sample did not engage in torture of their victims prior to death. (It could be argued that a slow death by poison, spread over weeks and months, could be considered a form of torture.) There was no indication that females used their victims' suffering as a form of sexual release in the manner that some male serial murderers have done.

Weapon choice/method. The majority of female serial murderers used some form of poison to kill their victims. Overdoses of potassium, insulin and prescribed medications, as well as arsenic and poison derivatives, were considered poisons for the purpose of this study. In the victim sample (N = 62), 57% were killed with poison, 29% were smothered, 11% were killed by firearm, and 3% were killed by other methods (e.g., one instance of a victim deliberately being placed on his back under a medical condition that made this fatal, and one instance of drowning). There was little variation in these murderers' methods; only two of the women used more than one weapon choice/method to kill their multiple victims.

Stalking versus luring behaviors. None of the female serial murderers engaged in traditional stalking behaviors such as following the victim for a period of time, watching the victim from a distance, or engaging in Peeping Tom type of activities. Five murderers in this sample were aggressive in procuring victims in that they actively sought out boarding home tenants, insured and killed multiple lovers/husbands, or solicited prostitution clients apparently for the primary purpose of robbery.

Crime scene organization. The 14 female serial murderers left crime scenes that showed characteristics of both organized and disorganized offenders. According to FBI profilers, a planned offense, the personalization of the victim, the use of restraints, and the weapon/evidence absent from the scene are associated with organized offenders. Conversely, a spontaneous offense, a known victim and location, sudden violence, and the bodies left in view and at the death scene are associated with disorganized offenders. There was no definite demarcation in the female serial murderers in this study. Each offender's crime scene showed characteristics of both types of offenders. The typical crime scene involved a known victim who was helpless or powerless, and the weapon/cause of death was not immediately obvious. In addition, the typical crime scene involved a victim who was intimately known by the killer, with the body left in view and at the scene of death. Only one offender actually moved her victims from the death site and buried them.

Reasons for the murders. The sample was evenly divided between offenders who appeared to have had instrumental goals and those who appeared to have had affective goals. Seven apparently had instrumental goals, such as insurance benefits or other monetary gain upon the death of their victims. The other seven appeared to have had affective goals, that is, there was no apparent benefit except an emotional one upon the deaths of their victims.

One woman was reported to have experienced some tension release as a result of her murders.

Social and Psychological History

Broken homes. Of the 10 women for whom data were available, 4 were adopted by nonrelatives, 4 were raised in nontraditional homes composed of various relatives and nonrelatives, and 2 were raised in traditional homes with both biological parents until age 18. Nearly half ($n = 6$) were raised with siblings, ranging in number from one to six brothers and sisters.

Childhood abuse. Of the eight women for whom data were available, five reported overt sexual abuse such as being fondled, molested, or raped. Five reported physical abuse such as being beaten, slapped, or hit with objects. Four reported sexual assault/rape before age 18. Three reported physical neglect. Two reported exposure to violence/cruelty such as spouse abuse. Emotional neglect was reported by two women, and one was a victim of medical neglect. (Totals do not equal 14 due to the nonexclusiveness of categories.)

Chemical abuse history. Of the eight women for whom data were available, four showed social illegal drug use such as marijuana or cocaine. Three were social drinkers and three were alcoholics. The one subject who was chemically addicted or dependent on prescription drugs allegedly committed her murders under the influence. Two of the eight had sought treatment for alcohol or drug dependency. One was a teetotaler. (Totals do not equal 14 due to the nonexclusiveness of categories.)

Psychiatric diagnosis. Of the nine women for whom data were available, six were diagnosed with an "other pathology" after their arrests. The other pathologies category included histrionic, manic-depressive, borderline, and dissociative disorders. Three were diagnosed as antisocial personalities, and one was diagnosed as schizophrenic. One woman unsuccessfully used the insanity plea. One was adjudicated guilty but mentally ill.

Demographic Information

Race. Of the 11 women for whom data were available, all were White.

Educational level. Of the 10 women for whom data were available, 5 graduated from high school, 4 dropped out of high school with a mean educational level of 9.5 years, and 1 had received a GED. Four women had education beyond high school, typically a 1- or 2-year nursing degree. One woman had a high performance level in school with awards and scholarship, whereas two women had a poor performance level with a history of learning difficulties and truancy. (Totals do not equal 14 due to the nonexclusiveness of categories.)

Household composition. Of the 14 women in the sample for whom data were available, 13 were living with others at the time of the murders.

Occupation. Among the sample subjects, 11 were employed in one capacity or another at the time of the murders. Five were employed in traditional "pink-collar"-type jobs, including licensed practical nurses, housekeepers, or store clerks. Three were self-employed as a babysitter, prostitute, or shopkeeper. Four showed a history of menial employment, and four reported an unstable work history with periods of significant unemployment. Three had a stable work history with nearly continual employment throughout most of their adult lives (two of these were nurses and one was a secretary). One was a former blue-collar worker who had previously worked at a factory.

DISCUSSION

The findings suggested that there may be more differences than similarities between female serial murderers and their male counterparts. Of the 14 variables for which data were available and could be analyzed, 9 differences were found between female and male serial murderers with respect to behavior patterns, psychosocial history, and demographics. Differences between male and female serial murderers were evident in victim damage, victim torture, weapon/method, stalking versus luring behaviors, crime scene organization, reasons for the murders, substance abuse history, psychiatric diagnosis, and household composition. Similarities between the two groups were found with respect to broken homes, childhood abuse, race, education level, and occupation.

One major strength of this study was the focus on variables previously reported on male serial murderers. Hickey (1991) completed a thorough analysis of basic demographic information and victim findings for female serial murderers but without comparison to the variables found important by the FBI. In relation to previous research, the differences found between males

and females in the present study regarding victim torture, victim damage, crime scene organization, weapon/method, and victim procurement were particularly significant. The similarities found, especially those of childhood abuse and broken homes, implied some background commonalities among serial murderers. In addition, the findings suggested new areas of exploration with regard to female serial murderers.

Of the variables that were eliminated due to lack of information, funeral attendance and gravesite visits are among those that warrant further attention. Because a large proportion of female serial murderers' victims were family members, it could be postulated that these two postmurder behaviors were actually quite high. (However, the meaning of this behavior in females is likely to be different from what it has been in males.) Additionally, the extent of juvenile encounters with law enforcement and institutionalization prior to the arrest for murder should also be reexamined. It was disappointing that the MacDonald Triad and head injuries were two variables that had to be omitted. Interviews of offenders and examination of medical and social service agency records would be a useful tool in uncovering the prevalence of these two variables among female serial murderers. The use of primary data, especially Department of Corrections files, would also be helpful.

The findings of this study were for the most part consistent with previous research regarding female serial murderers (Hickey, 1991; Holmes, 1994). Differences between the two groups in crime scene organization, psychiatric diagnosis, geographic distribution, body disposal, and mobility were substantive and merit further discussion.

The crime scenes of the women in this sample showed characteristics of both organized and disorganized murderers. Although the FBI does concede that some male serial murderers appear to be "mixed"-type offenders (Ressler, 1985; 1992), the use of such a category would not necessarily be useful to law enforcement investigations. A new set of criteria for female and custodial serial murderers seems to be in order.

One unusual finding of this study was the geographic distribution of these murderers. More than half of the women in this sample committed their crimes and were arrested in Southern states. In examining male serial murderers, Hickey (1991) found that the Pacific Northwest was the area in which most incarcerated male serial murderers had killed their victims. FBI statistics have shown that the murder rate has consistently been higher in the South than it has in other areas of the United States (FBI, 1965-1991).

Another fascinating finding was the almost complete lack of mobility of these offenders. Only Aileen Wuornos, a Florida prostitute, traveled at all during the commission of her murders; the rest of the sample remained in one place. Accordingly, "linkage blindness" (Egger, 1985, 1990) may not be a

problem in tracking these offenders. Rather, the problem appears to res from the failure of law enforcement and other professionals to recognize th a homicide has been committed and to respond appropriately. For fema serial murderers who have killed their patients, for example, health ca facilities appear to have been extremely reluctant to bring charges against employee with the resultant possibility of a trial and media attention. O case in this sample was indicative of this type of administrative bungl Genene Jones, a Texas nurse, was continually employed in a hospital lor after numerous complaints and charges that she was injuring the children her ward. In addition, family and friends may be unwilling to confront fema killers with their suspicions regarding their behavior. The husband of Marybe Tinning, the New York woman who murdered eight of her children, appa ently did nothing to stop her behavior, suggest that she get therapy, or tak steps to prevent further births.

The prevalence of childhood abuse has been well documented in man types of criminal offenders but specifically with murderers (Heide, 199 Hickey, 1991; Holmes & DeBurger, 1988; Ressler et al., 1988). Variou forms of abuse were reported by this sample. Abuse has different effects o different people. Experts agree that it often promotes future violence, break the human bond needed to empathize with others, and fosters angry, inade quate human beings (Magid & McKelvey, 1987). Research should focus o which types of abuse may have been experienced by these offenders.

Suggestions for Future Research

There were two major limitations of this study. First, the use of secondar data sources was, by its very nature, biased and incomplete. In addition, the accuracy of some data (e.g., the psychiatric diagnoses given) is of unknowr reliability. Accordingly, the exclusive reliance on such sources cannot be recommended. As a preliminary study, however, this research can be used as a foundation for future work and exploration. Second, the lack of information about some variables was disappointing though expected, given the inherent limitation of secondary data sources. Future research should include more primary data sources, especially interviews with these offenders. Interviews with these offenders would provide a wider database, generate additional questions, and lead to new areas of concern.

Three areas warrant further investigation: the parenting received by these murderers, health care workers who murder their patients, and the fantasy life of female serial murderers. Two women in this sample were born to teenage mothers. Christine Falling, a Florida babysitter who killed several of

her charges, was born to a 17-year-old girl. Wuornos's mother was 16 years old when she was born. The inherent disadvantage to children born of teenage mothers (lack of attachment, low birth weight, cycle of poverty) puts them at risk for future behavioral and criminal problems (Magid & McKelvey, 1987; Schorr, 1988). The patterns of parenting associated with serial murders may provide us with some answers for their behavior.

An additional question arises about health care workers who murder their patients. Several male nurses and nurses' aides have been convicted of killing their patients. An analysis of their backgrounds, crimes, and history might lend itself to a profile of male caregivers who murder. Further research into nurses who murder might uncover gender differences in that population group. For example, co-workers of nurse Brian Rosenfield of St. Petersburg, Florida, implied he may have experienced some sadistic satisfaction from torturing the patients he killed. By contrast, none of the female nurses in this sample was implicated in sadism.

Ressler (1985, 1992) emphasized the importance of a violent, sadistic fantasy life in his sample of male serial murderers. Perhaps females also have an active fantasy life, although it may be oriented in other directions. Genene Jones was said to have had grand ambitions about being a "super nurse." She administered select drugs to children that induced seizures and then attempted to save them by using the antidotal drugs that she knew would have a counteracting effect on the patients. These dynamics appear to be similar to those of the Munchausen syndrome by proxy (Manthei, 1988; Rosenberg, 1987).

Although serial murder is a statistically rare phenomenon, these findings and previous research indicate that it affects all age and demographic groups. Some female offenders have preyed solely on children whereas others have victimized middle-aged persons, the infirm, and the elderly in health care facilities. As our population ages and our family structure continues to change, families are experiencing more stressors that may cause them to harm their children, whether intentionally or not. Careful parenting may prove to be the most important factor in the prevention of future violent behavior.

Preliminary findings from this study suggest that important differences may exist between male and female serial murderers. Further research is needed to develop a reliable profile of female serial murderers. Perhaps factors could be found that might indicate to parents, educators, and others that some girls are at a higher risk than others of acting destructively.

In addition, research needs to proceed with respect to discovering the motivational dynamics that undergird serial murder. Although there may be genuine differences between male and female serial murderers, there may be

motivations to destroy other human beings that transcend gender. Fromm theory of character holds promise in this regard. In *The Anatomy of Huma Destructiveness*, Fromm (1973) distinguished between benign aggressic and malignant aggression. Benign aggression is defensive in nature and designed to promote life and preserve vital interests. Malignant aggressioı by contrast, is destructive and unique to human beings. Men and women hav existential needs such as needs for a frame of orientation and an object c devotion, for rootedness, for unity, and for a sense of effectiveness. Thos who lack a sense of belonging and peace and who cannot achieve fulfillmer in constructive ways (education, work, family, money) can affect societ through acts of destructiveness. The serial murderers examined in this an previous research appear to be unhappy, unsuccessful individuals who choos to make their mark on society through violent means. Uncovering th neurophysiological, social, and psychological conditions that lead certai individuals to chart a destructive course appears essential if efforts at preven tion are to be entertained seriously.

NOTE

1. For a complete listing of references used in this study, contact Belea T. Keeney, c/c Criminology Department, University of South Florida, 4202 E. Fowler Ave., SOC 107, Tampa FL 33620-8100.

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