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# An Evaluation of Sexually Aggressive Behavior in Serial-Sexual Homicide

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An Evaluation of Sexually Aggressive Behavior in Serial-Sexual Homicide

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Regis University

Capstone Thesis

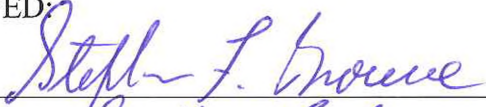
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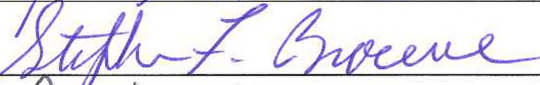
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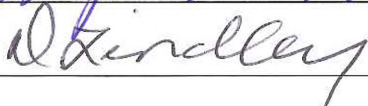
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### Abstract

Serial killers are a cultural phenomenon. Their grisly crimes have marred magazines, news, books and even films. While the social scientific community is slowly coming to understand these individuals, much remains unknown about them. A common theme in the majority of serial killings is a very strong sexual component. This study analyzed data to develop a scale in which to measure the amount of sexual aggression used by serial killers in three different populations. These populations included male serial killers, male/male serial killer dyads and male/female serial killer dyads. Due to time constraints this study was performed as an unobtrusive content analysis using existing academic literature such as books and articles written by professionals in the social science and forensic psychology fields.

*Keywords: serial murder, serial killer, sexual homicide, serial killer dyads, sexually aggressive behavior*

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## Research Proposal

### Introduction

Sexual homicide is a phenomenon that has puzzled psychologists, criminologists, the criminal justice field, forensic scientists and the public for decades. The concept of a sexually motivated murder, sometimes referred to as erotophonophilia, is not a new one, however. Dr. Richard von Krafft-Ebling initiated the very first, and groundbreaking, scientific study of sexual homicide, referred to then as “lust murder”, in 1886 in Vienna, Austria (Meloy, 1999). His research has provided the basis for current studies on the topic in addition to originally sparking the interest in sexual homicide. Several of the articles read for the literature review section mention his work and credit him for beginning work on a still vastly misunderstood and under-researched subject. Even today experts in psychology, forensic sciences and criminal justice have yet to develop a standardized definition for this rare type of crime making it all the more enigmatic and abstract to those not in the criminology, forensic science or psychology fields. In addition, there is no way to be absolutely certain, at the present time, of the frequency of occurrence of this crime because of the different definitions used by different law enforcement agencies across the globe (Schlesinger, 1998). In addition, a murder could very well be or have been sexual in nature, but due to the fact that there is no set definition nor is there a true understanding or grasp of a sexual murder as of yet, many crimes may very well be or have been mistakenly classified as non-sexual in nature (Schlesinger, 1998).

Because of the lack of in depth study and understanding on this subject in criminal justice and psychology fields alike, there is very little information about the severity of sexual aggression present in serial sexual homicides. Books have been written on several serial killers describing each of their crimes in detail, but none have explained whether there is an increase in

the severity of sexual aggression as the number of victims increases. It is known that there is often a sexual component to each of the killings, whether it be apparent or not. There are studies that are written by those who have devoted the entirety of their professional lives to the study of this subject such as J.D. Meloy and Dr. Louis B. Schlesinger and a small number of others, but aside from them there is very little research or understanding involving sexual homicide and the sexual aggression therein. There are studies that verify there is sexual aggression and how the aggression present is spurred on by deviant sexual fantasy, but nothing to suggest that there is the possibility it increases or diminishes over time. This made it difficult to locate information easily and several hours were spent scouring the internet, libraries and several bookstores for possible sources related to the chosen topic. That being said, the limitations of the amount of readily available academic research made this a difficult, but very rewarding and equally fascinating, topic for this thesis.

This area is important to both criminal justice and psychology professionals alike because it will give them some insight on past crimes and the ability to apply this information to the future. Serial killers are the rarest of all murderers. However, simply because their occurrence is not as frequent as a gang murderer, hit man or terrorist does not mean that information detailing their crimes and methods is any less valuable. By comparing and contrasting the levels of sexual aggression in serial sexual homicides in the selected groups mentioned above, it is the belief of the author that they will add to this slowly growing body of knowledge and assist in the development of future studies.

### **Literature Review**

There is a great deal of research to be found on sexually motivated homicide, however, this is still an under-researched topic in the social sciences. In addition, these studies or books

written by experts give a broad overview of the subject and have a tendency to lack any depth. Very few of them focus on specific criminals or crimes, simply the subject itself. Crimes of this nature can either be organized or disorganized depending upon the circumstances and the perpetrator. Disorganized means that the offense is not planned, the victim is chosen at random and that evidence is usually present at the crime scene; less care is taken in these crimes and they are often of an impulsive nature. Organized perpetrators plan out their offense thoroughly, have an ideal victim in mind and choose a victim well before the crime is committed, and evidence is very rarely found or is found in minimal amounts (Meloy, 1999).

In addition, the research states that there are four different types of motivation. These include anger, sexual sadism, deviant sexual fantasy and a sexual motivation (Kerr, Beech & Murphy). The manner in which the killer carries out the crime is a central component for investigators, profilers, but primarily for the killer themselves. Criminal justice and psychology professionals state that the modus operandi and the killer's signature also depend on the individual committing the crime. The modus operandi includes the manner in which they lure the victim, the disposal of the body, the sexual acts committed against the victim, etc. The signature, however, is a symbolic or ritualistic practice that allows the offender to relive the experience at a later date or that gratifies a sexual component of their fantasy (Meloy, 1999).

Sexual homicide involving females as a perpetrator is a rare occurrence, though there are some examples. These examples are almost always pairs and they generally involve a partner, and that partner is usually male (Silvio, McCloskey, & Ramos-Grenier, 2006). Such examples include Fred and Rosemary West who killed their own daughter and went on to kill and sexually abuse and torture other young women. Gwendolyn Graham and her partner Catherine Wood was a lesbian couple who killed five elderly victims. Ian Brady and Myra Hindley of England



abducted and killed five children. Finally and possibly most infamously, are Paul Bernardo and Karla Homolka of Canada. This couple is notorious for abducting, raping and murdering three young women, one of whom was Karla's younger sister. It remains unclear whether these assaults and murders would have been committed had the woman acted alone, or if it was merely a perfect storm of two individuals with deviant tendencies being in the right place at the right time, so to speak. It is important to discover whether these women are to be considered willing or forced participants in these crimes (Silvio, McCloskey, & Ramos-Grenier, 2006). On the other hand, it should also be researched whether or not the male part of a serial killer pair is a willing participant. It should not be assumed that simply because males are generally considered to be dominant that that is the case in serial killer pairs or groups.

While male and female serial killers commit the same crimes, murder, what differ are their motivations and the manner in which they kill. For example, according to the literature, female serial killers are generally motivated by greed or jealousy whereas men are mostly motivated by control or a strong sexual component (Silvio, McCloskey, & Ramos-Grenier, 2007). Men tend to use strangulation and stabbing as the manner in which they kill their victims as opposed to women who usually use poison or suffocation (Hickey, 2010). Female serial killers have the tendency to kill their victims within the home whereas their male counterparts take their victims to different locations (Meloy, 1999). However, despite their drastic differences, the literature does support the fact that female serial killers are psychopaths as well (Hickey, 2010). They lack empathy, exhibit superficial charm and are inclined to a criminal lifestyle just as their male counterparts are. However, more research should be conducted on female serial killers.

In reference to team killers or serial killer pairs, these people tend to be less mobile than

males and females acting alone (Hickey, 2010). It is also common for these offenders to hold blue-collar jobs that require little skill or ability to perform such as a waiter/waitress, electrician or bartender (Hickey, 2010). These killers are not gender specific and tend to prey upon strangers, hitch-hikers, prostitutes and young females walking alone (Hickey, 2010, table 8.6). When a pair or group is led by a dominant male, the “relationships tend to be built on deception bravado, and intimidation,” (Hickey, 2010, p. 232). A classic example of a male dominated serial killer group would be that of Charles Manson and his followers. He was never, in fact guilty of actually murdering a single victim. However, his power over his followers was so great that they killed innocent people without a second thought. Female dominant serial killer pairs are far more rare than any of the serial killer categories previously discussed. The one example that is mentioned in literature is that of the serial killer pair of Martha Beck and Raymond Fernandez. Martha was the mastermind behind all of the murders and even initiated some of the murders herself (Hickey, 2010).

Silvio, McCloskey, & Ramos-Grenier offer four different explanations for women participating in sexual motivated homicides. These explanations are Stockholm syndrome, Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), battered woman syndrome, and shared psychotic disorder or folie a deux, which in French literally means “madness shared by two” (2006). PTSD is commonly found in individuals, like members of the military for example, who have suffered a traumatic experience and suffer from flashbacks, a heightened sense of awareness, and extreme mood swings including severe anxiety and depression (“PTSD,” n.d.). Battered woman syndrome is a theory that states that the individual, usually a female but can be a male, can exhibit behavior out of their normal patterns purely for self-preservation and abatement of possible abuse (“Battered woman,” n.d.). Stockholm syndrome is an occurrence when an

individual has been with a captor or other influence that they have come to sympathize with their captor's beliefs and begin to assist willingly ("Stockholm Syndrome," n.d.). Shared psychotic disorder is where a psychotic or delusional belief is passed on from one individual to another, thus becoming a shared belief or motivation.

In the first three explanations the female or weaker partner is not necessarily a willing participant in these crimes (Silvio et al., 2006). They are either forced to do so, as in the case of battered woman syndrome and PTSD, or come to appreciate what their partner is trying to accomplish and believe that what they are doing is not an egregious offense against society and the individual as in the case of Stockholm syndrome. However, in shared psychotic disorder, one partner has psychotic delusions while the other develops these similar delusions from coming into contact with the primary source (Silvio et al., 2006).

As stated previously, research sites that deviant sexual fantasy generally plays a very important part in sexual offending as well as sexual homicide, particularly organized sexual homicide. Hazelwood and Warren (Meloy, 1999) postulate that there is a structure to the sexual fantasy these people develop. According to their research, there are generally five components, not all of which must be present. These components are "relational, paraphilic (a sexual desire that does not fit into societal norms), situational, self-perceptual and demographic," (Meloy, 1999, p. 8).

For example, the perpetrator may imagine that a 15-year-old female (demographic) becomes his sex slave (relational) and he is able to anally and orally rape her at his whim (paraphilic) in his isolated mountain cabin (situational), thus enhancing his sense of omnipotence and gratifying himself sadistically (self-perception) (Meloy, 1999, p. 8).

However, according to the research, at some point, these deviant fantasies, coupled with masturbation, are no longer enough to relieve the sexual tension or emotional stress of the perpetrator, thusly resulting in either a vicious sexual assault or a sexual homicide (Kerr, Beech, & Murphy, 2013). In addition to relieving sexual tension, deviant sexual fantasy can also serve as a blueprint for offenders' future crimes (Meloy, 1999). "Most killers' careers are launched by violent sexual fantasies that lead to the sexual assault preceding the actual murders," (Giannangelo, 1996, p. 29). Burgess found that 80% of men convicted of sexual murder had fantasies involving violence to which they masturbated (Schlesinger, 2000, p. 253).

From the famous cases of Ted Bundy, Jeffrey Dahmer and most recently BTK (bind, torture, kill), it is apparent sadistic sexual behavior is often present in serial homicides. In fact, one of the most important components to securing Ted Bundy's guilt was the analysis of the bite mark he left on one of his victims. In sexually sadistic behavior, it is the physical, sexual, and/or mental anguish of the victim that is sexually stimulating to the individual committing the act (Purcell & Arrigo, 2006). In a study of 20 convicted sexually sadistic serial killers, all of them intended torture of the victim in addition to committing a variety of sexual acts upon the victim both before and after the victim's death (Warren, Hazelwood, & Dietz, 1996). An interesting note on serial sexual homicide is that this population, which consists of sexually sadistic serial killers, also has a disproportionate amount of Caucasian individuals and a seemingly small percentage of African-Americans (Warren et al., 1996). According to the literature, despite the fact sexual sadism is comparatively rare in the general population, sexual sadists comprise anywhere from 67% to 99% of serial killer perpetrators (Kirsch & Becker, 2007). Warren, Hazelwood and Dietz discovered similar results from their 1996 study. Of the 20 serial killers in their population, the majority of them had an intense interest in sexual sadism (1996). Sexual

sadism can be a component of a normal, healthy sexual relationship. However, under certain circumstances and especially in serial killers and serial rapists, it is considered to be a paraphilia.

Psychopathy and anti-social personality disorder are used interchangeably to describe the mental illness that plagues serial killers in addition to a small percentage of the remainder of the population. Dr. Robert Hare developed a checklist, known as the PCL-R (psychopathy checklist-revised) that analyzed 20 personality traits. These traits include: “glibness and superficial charm, a grandiose sense of self-worth, pathological lying, manipulateness, impulsivity, need for stimulation or excitement” (Purcell & Arrigo, 2006, p. 140), and possibly the most important personality traits when discussing or analyzing serial killers, lack of empathy and criminal versatility (Purcell & Arrigo, 2006, p. 140). It is fairly clear that, simply based on the traits included in the PCL-R, that serial killers fit this particular personality perfectly. In addition, research has shown that psychopathy is especially high in rapists but even higher in sadistic rapists (Woodworth et al., 2013). This is very telling as to why serial killers appear to prefer sadistic sexual acts as well as killing other persons. It is important to note, however, that psychopathy is different from insanity. Those who are found to be legally insane do not know the difference between right and wrong at the time the crime is committed. Psychopaths simply do not care (Purcell & Arrigo, 2006).

In addition to deviant sexual fantasy, sexual sadism and psychopathy, serial killers have been found to possess what are known as paraphilias. A paraphilia, presented by Purcell and Arrigo using the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Health Disorders (DSM) definition, is “a sexual arousal to objects or situations that are not part of a normative situation,” (Purcell & Arrigo, 2006, p. 16). Arguments have been made for classifying sexual/serial homicide as a paraphilia because in some instances the killing itself can be sexually gratifying,

not simply the acts proceeding or following it (Schlesesinger, 2000). A common example of a paraphilia is pedophilia, or the desire to have sexual relations with pre-pubescent children.

Abnormal or pathological paraphilias are classified as those abnormal sexual desires that the individual consistently needs in order to achieve sexual arousal or obtain sexual gratification (Purcell & Arrigo, 2006). In addition, individuals who have paraphilias are more likely to have them throughout their lives, have more than four at a time, and cycle through several throughout their lives (Warren et al., 1996). In other words, the individual cannot become sexually aroused unless the certain criterion having to do with their specific paraphilia are present. Therefore, to provide a brief example, if a person has a paraphilia whereby they are only sexually aroused by pink balloons, they will not be able to achieve any level of sexual gratification unless a pink balloon or some form of a pink balloon is present such as a painting, a blown-up balloon, a popped balloon or a photographic image of a pink balloon.

Several serial killers have had paraphilias and it is believed that all serial killers possess paraphilias (Warren et al., 1996). Jeffrey Dahmer preferred cannibalism and, on occasion, necrophilia. Jerome Brudos was aroused by women's high-heeled shoes and placed shoes on his victims before taking photographs of their deceased bodies (Hickey, 2010). The most prolific serial killer in the world, Andrei Chikatilo of Russia, mutilated the genitals of all of his victims (Hickey, 2010). Ted Bundy, on a few instances at least, preferred necrophilia. Finally, Wesley Alan Dodd was a pedophile who molested dozens of children before finally kidnapping, torturing and killing three young boys in his apartment going so far as to devise a custom made torture rack (Hickey, 2010).

As if serial killers were not enigmatic enough, yet another aspect of serial murder presents another intriguing phenomenon: that of serial killer pairs or groups. While they are

considerable rare, they do and have existed. According to the literature, it is estimated that nearly 30 percent of all serial killers were comprised of two or more participants (Silvio, McCloskey, & Ramos-Grenier, 2007). The largest group contained five members, but the majority of these serial killer groups were comprised of pairs (Silvio et al., 2007). Hickey identified eleven different group variations that are known to have existed. These include “husband/wife, father/son, brothers, mother/son, father/mother/daughter/son, cousins, male-dominated teams, heterosexual lovers, gay lovers, lesbian lovers, and female-dominated teams” (Hickey, 2010, table 8.1) (Silvio et al., 2007). The rarest of all of these groups is the female-dominated as the majority of groups are led by a dominant male. Interestingly, these groups do not have gender-specific killing tendencies. In other words, they do not care whether the victim is male or female. In addition, the majority of these victims were complete strangers to the perpetrators (Hickey, 2010).

### **Methodology**

*Purpose.* The purpose of this study was to investigate the potential differences in the sexually aggressive behavior present in three different serial sexual killer groups. These groupings consisted of male/male serial killer dyads, male/female serial killer dyads, and male serial killers acting without an accomplice. Based on studies conducted on sexual homicide and information obtained on serial killers and serial killer pairs, I was able to develop a checklist that includes sexually aggressive acts and then mark off which of these acts was committed by each member of each group. Using this information I was able to analyze which of the groups exhibited more sexually aggressive behavior throughout their killings. This study was exploratory in nature as it was seeking to discover if there was any progression in sexual aggression, and if so among which groupings. In addition to this study being exploratory, it will

also hopefully be used as a starting point for future research studies having to do with serial killers and sexually aggressive behavior present in their crimes.

*Research Sample.* These serial killers and serial killer dyads were chosen on the amount of information available on each, more so on the serial killer pairs than the males acting alone. I chose the most high-profile cases that I could find for male serial killers. The serial killer pairs, however, were chosen for me as there are very few of them. Serial killer pairs are uncommon and little readily available information is available on them.

*Unit of Analysis.* The unit of analysis for this research was primarily group, the male/male and male/female serial sexual killer dyads. However, this study also included individuals, the male serial sexual killers acting alone. I used three examples to represent each of the three groups in this research. Three male/male dyads, three male/female dyads, and three male serial sexual killers acting without an accomplice will be used to provide the data in each of the three populations. By choosing three individual and dyads from each of these groups, it was my hope that it will provide a representative sample from at least male-male and male-female dyads. Because these dyads are so rare, three dyads from both groups should provide enough data that can then be applied throughout the group. I would have preferred to analyze more from each of these groups; however, due to time constraints and the limited data available, I was unable to do so. My goal was to develop an understanding of whether sexually aggressive behavior is static or dynamic in serial killings in each of the groups listed previously.

I obtained data on each of the homicides, when the data are available, committed by all three groups. That being said, I needed information on what they perpetrator/ perpetrators did to the victims that was or could have been perceived to be sexual in nature. This will include an in depth analysis of each of the nine individuals/ groups. In some instances, information on



specific crimes will not be available and I specified when and if that is the case to avoid any confusion and the possibility of misleading the reader as to what information I was able to obtain.

*Data Collection Methods.* As there is very little data on the subject and what I propose to do is rather inventive, to my knowledge, no one has attempted to quantify the levels of sexually aggressive behavior present in serial sexual homicides, collecting data was difficult. I purchased several books and downloaded several books dealing with the subject of sexual homicide, sexually deviancy and serial killers. Because of the daunting amount of reading that could have potentially been involved, I chose chapters or passages that had to deal directly with my proposed area of study and read them.

I read articles and chapters in books that provided me with in depth information on sexual homicide and the characteristics commonly found within these killings. I then created a list of sexually aggressive behaviors or acts. For each of the chosen serial killers or serial killer pairs, I researched as much information as I was able to obtain on each of their killings, and then analyzed each killing using the list of behaviors I had made. By doing so, I was able to quantify the amount of sexually aggressive behavior present in each killing by each serial killer or serial killer dyad.

*Time.* This study was a panel study as it focused on nine different individuals/groups over the period of their killing sprees. These nine different individuals/groups will not change, making it a panel study. These six different groups and three individuals were from different decades and sometimes countries, but this study will follow each of them over the span of time in which their killings took place. In addition, it will focus on defining and quantifying the sexual aggression present in each killing. I will seek to explain whether or not sexually aggressive

behavior increases, decreases or stays constant in serial killings.

*Research Questions and Hypothesis(es).* I identified two research questions that I would like to be able to answer following the completion of this study. The first question was: What roles do men and women play in male/female and male/male serial killer pairs? A sub question to follow along the same lines is: Are both willing participants in these crimes or is one forced into submission? This question will provide a more in depth background about the formation of the serial killer pairs as well as the psychology behind them.

The second and final question was: On average, who has the highest number of victims? Male/male pairs, male/female pairs, or males acting alone? This last question may be able to provide readers and researchers alike with information about whether killing in pairs causes the pair to get caught faster, because there are more people involved there is a greater risk of a mistake being made or someone giving away pertinent information to the wrong party about the crimes committed by the pair. Or, rather, does it in fact assist in them being able to kill over a longer period of time because they have a partner with whom they have developed an incredibly strong bond through committing these crime available to assist in disposing of the bodies, evidence, etc.?

The hypotheses that I developed are rather simple but I believed would be of great interest and value to the reader. My first hypothesis was that serial killers who commit sexual homicide when in male/male pairs show significantly more sexual aggression than serial killers who commit sexual homicide when in male/female pairs or male serial killers acting alone. This hypothesis was based off of my observation that males constantly compete with one another for dominance and in doing so, attempt to outdo each other almost in a sporting manner no matter what the circumstance or objective. This was based upon working with males for the last two

years. That being said, my belief was that each member of the male-male pairs will attempt to outdo one another in terms of torture and other sexual violence. In addition, I believed that each of the males in these male/male dyads, as the killing continues, develops patterns of killing, humiliation and/or torture that are sexually arousing to them. In addition, I believed that as the killing continues they attempt to increase that pleasure as the number of victims increases. This could explain the increase in sexually aggressive behavior as the number of victims increases, if there indeed is an increase in that behavior.

The second hypothesis stated that: As the number of victims increases, the level of sexual violence escalates. However, in addition to the almost sport-like competition that I believe to be present, it is possible that there is a certain level of omnipotence developed in the fact that the serial killer(s) have been able to kill for as long as they have without being caught which may have a connection to psychopathy (Hickey, 2010). I believed that the research I conducted in this study would show this (Hickey, 2010).

*Variables.* There were six different variables that needed to be defined before the beginning of this study as they will appear with great frequency throughout this paper. These variables consisted of: serial killers, sexual aggression/violence, sexual homicide/murder, role, willing participant, and torture. In defining serial killers I used a definition provided by the FBI's Behavioral Analysis Unit as they are considered by many to be the world's leading authority in terms of profiling serial killers. This definition states that serial killers are "those who kill two or more people in separate incidents," (Behavioral Analysis Unit-2 [BAU], 2005, para. 4). Defining sexual aggression/violence was considerably more difficult as there is not set definition for it in addition to the fact that it is a somewhat abstract concept. However, using terms and examples used by experts in the field of sexual homicide and serial killers as well as

common themes in the literature, I was able to form my own definition and to define sexual aggression/violence as: the pairing of sexual arousal or pleasure with the infliction of pain upon another, often involving torture and mutilation, without the consent of the victim. These acts can range anywhere from rape and molestation to prolonged physical, mental and sexual torture of the body including mutilation before and after death (Schlesinger, 1998) (Meloy, 1999). Sexual homicide/murder will be defined as “a breakthrough of underlying sexual conflicts or where the killing itself is sexually gratifying,” (Kerr, Beech, & Murphy, 2013, table 1). Willing participant is another somewhat abstract concept, so I took it upon myself to develop my own definition of this term as well. However, for the purposes of this study, a willing participant is one who takes part in an action or occurrence or series of occurrences without objection. For the terms role and torture I simply consulted the Merriam-Webster dictionary to define these relatively simple terms. According to the dictionary’s definition, role is: “a function or part performed especially in a particular operation or process” (Merriam Webster, 2013, p. 1). Finally, Merriam-Webster defines torture as: “the infliction of intense pain (as from burning, crushing, or wounding) to punish, coerce, or afford sadistic pleasure,” (Merriam-Webster, 2013, p. 1).

*Objectives.* This study was purely exploratory in nature as it sought to discover the differences in sexually aggressive behavior between three different populations. However, despite this fact, it is hoped that this research and the results obtained will contribute to an ever-increasing body of knowledge in the criminology, criminal justice, forensic sciences and psychology fields having to do with serial murder, sexual homicide and the perpetrators that commit either. As mentioned before, this area of study is only pursued by a select few and the research is still very limited. It is also hoped that the research conducted for this paper will in turn inspire others to perform more in depth research in this same area at a later date. By so

doing, this knowledge will assist in future profiling of serial and sexual killers as well as providing investigators with information having to do with the number of killers present as well as the genders of the killers.

*Ethical Concerns.* Because this study was an unobtrusive-content analysis, there was no contact with other human beings in regards to performing this study. No subjects were used for tests, surveys or questionnaires. Any ethical concerns that may have been present have been assumed by the researchers who conducted the original studies from which I obtained the data. There are no ethical concerns regarding anonymity, harm to participants, deception or voluntary participation. In addition, confidentiality is not a concern because each population that is being studied is comprised of individuals or pairs that have been brought to nationwide or even worldwide attention for their crimes, thus making it impossible as well as improbable to attempt to maintain a level of anonymity.

In addition to there being no ethical considerations needing to be considered, there are also no issues of trustworthiness. Because the articles and books have been written by experts in the fields of psychology, criminology and forensic psychology, or because the information is readily available to the public and is common knowledge, there are no perceived issues of trustworthiness that could potentially taint this study.

*Measurement and data.* The levels of measurement for this study will vary depending upon the variable being measured. A ratio level of measurement was used when presenting and comparing the number of victims present in each of the populations. However, when presenting the data on the change over time of sexual aggression, if there is any, the level of measurement was ordinal. The content analysis utilizes previous academic literature on sexual homicide, serial killers, serial killer pairs and deviant sexual fantasy and behavior. In addition, information

about the crimes committed by each of the members of the groups will be used.

**Research Methods.** The method of research for this study is an unobtrusive content analysis because I used information obtained from other studies. In addition, I compared and contrasted the information within these past case studies to develop new data to describe whether or not there is an increase in sexually aggressive behavior amongst the three previously defined populations. I developed a checklist/inventory to code the information obtained on sexually aggressive behavior present in the killings of each of the members of the three groups.

**Limitations.** Some of the limitations of this study were the size of the groups studied as well as the inability to include female/female pairs and females acting alone. Due to time constraints it was not possible to include more individuals or groups in this study. In addition, information was not available to include these groups into the study. Another limitation was the fact that this is still a relatively new subject in terms of research, so not much information was available on this subject as a whole. The most obvious of limitations would be that of my only including three members in each of the groups. This is again due to time constraints and a lack of readily available information on the subject.

**Data Analysis Plan.** The information was presented using coding sheets in the form of tables that attempt to quantify sexually aggressive behavior in each of the members or pairs of the groups. The tables included a variety of different acts that can be considered sexually aggressive in nature. In addition, tables were used to present data representing the change over time of sexual aggression in each of the groups mentioned.

I compiled my list of sexually aggressive acts by reading the literature and listing the most common acts committed by each of these serial killers. I also used acts that were mentioned in the literature that had to do with paraphilic sexual activity and sexually sadistic

activity. In conducting my research I was surprised by the number of killers that used binding and drugging as a means of controlling their victims. In addition, I did not anticipate the number of killers that would record the murders. My content analysis matrix is available in the appendix.

*Summary.* This study was of sexual homicide and whether or not there is a progression seen in sexual aggression throughout the course of their crimes in three different members of three groups. I hypothesized that male-male groups would show more sexually aggressive behavior. In addition, I proposed that as the number of victims increases, in any of these groups, that the level of sexually aggressive behavior also increases. This was a panel study as well as a content analysis. I identified the six different variables that will be present throughout the study. Finally, I included any perceived limitations that my study may present.

## **Results**

I developed a list of acts that, according to literature I have read, are deemed to be sexually aggressive in nature. These acts include necrophilia, the desire to have sex with deceased individuals, sexual assault, repeated sexual assault, sexual assault with a foreign object, keeping personal items of the victim, keeping mementos, torture, drugging the victim, cannibalism, forcing another person to participate, dismembering, recording the event(s), by audio or visual recording, bludgeoning, mutilation, binding the victim and strangling (Ressler, Burgess, & Douglas, 1992)(McClellan, 2008). While not all of the acts listed appear to be sexual in nature, research suggests that they play a very important role in the mind of the killer(s) (Meloy, 1999), as will be explained in the following paragraphs.

It is apparent that acts such as necrophilia, sexual assault, forcing another to participate, sexual assault with a foreign object and repeated sexual assault are overtly sexual in nature. However, the other acts mentioned are also sexual in nature. They play essential roles in the

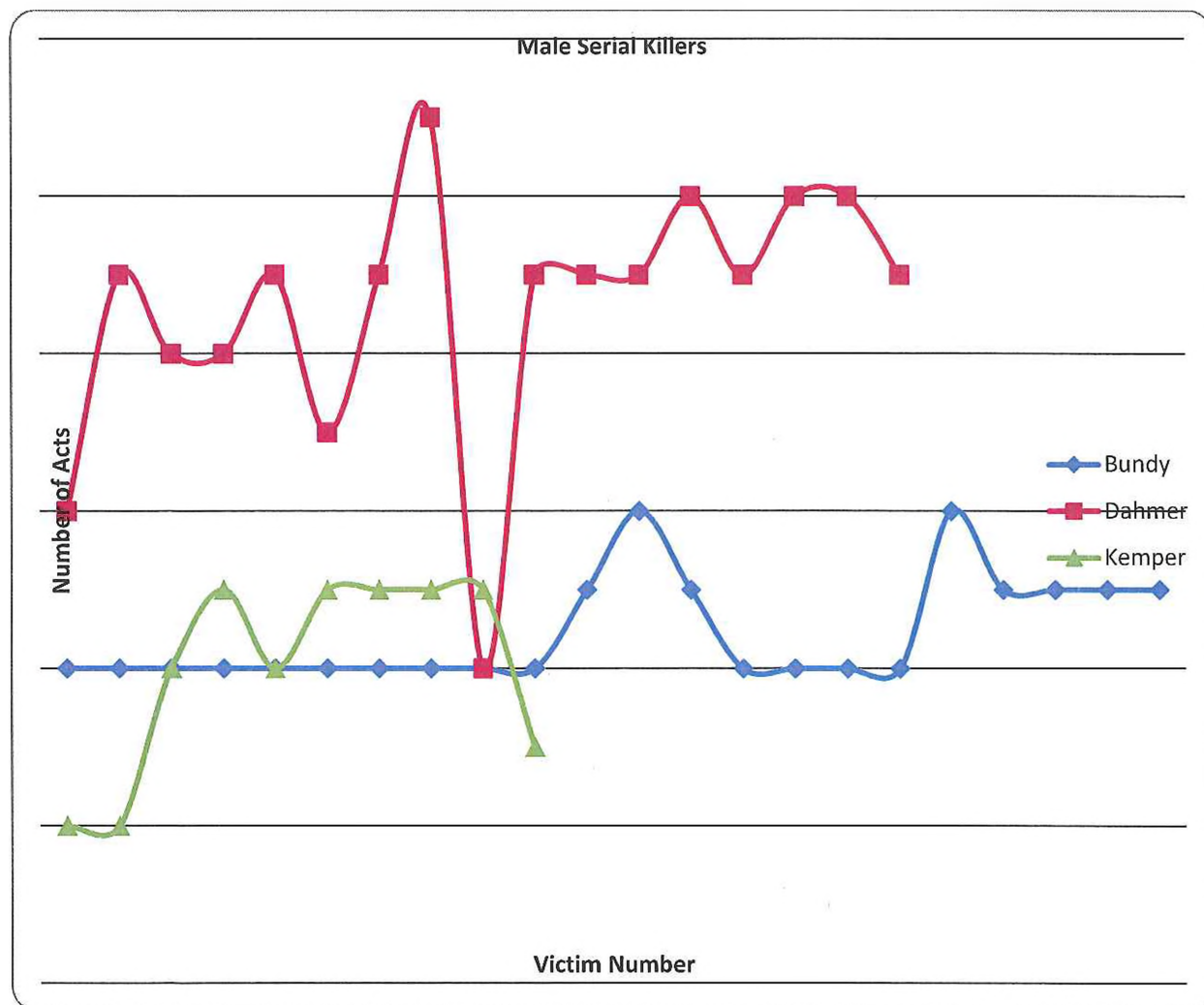
killer's deviant sexual fantasies or may in fact be a paraphilia (Maniglio, 2010). For example, keeping personal items of the victim, keeping mementos and keeping audio or visual recordings of the killings are very sexual in nature as they allow the killer to remember the killing more vividly, use the memories and pictures or audio/visual recordings as a means to become sexually aroused as well as assist them in perfecting their perfect fantasy (Maniglio, 2010)(Meloy, 1999)(McClellan, 2008).

Bludgeoning, dismembering, drugging the victim, mutilation, binding the victim, strangling, torture and cannibalism are examples of the paraphilic sexual sadism (Purcell & Arrigo, 2006). Again, those who enjoy sexual sadism enjoy and are sexually stimulated by watching others suffer, struggle, cry, scream and beg for mercy (Warren et al., 1996).

All this being said, these are the means by which I determined the amount of sexual aggression or the amounts of sexually aggressive behavior in each of the groups. So, for example, if one killer for their first victim had three sexually aggressive acts and another killer only had one, based on my list, the first killer would be considered more sexually aggressive than the latter. The killers I chose to study were Ted Bundy, Edmund Kemper, Jeffrey Dahmer, Leonard Lake and Charles Ng, Lawrence Bittaker and Roy Norris, Angelo Buono and Kenneth Bianchi, Fred and Rosemary West, Ian Brady and Myra Hindley and Paul Bernardo and Karla Homolka. I created charts showing the number of sexually aggressive acts on the Y axis and the number of victims on the X axis. This was used to show the change over time in the sexual aggression in each of the groups that I chose.



Graph 1: Sexually Aggressive Behavior in Male Serial Killers

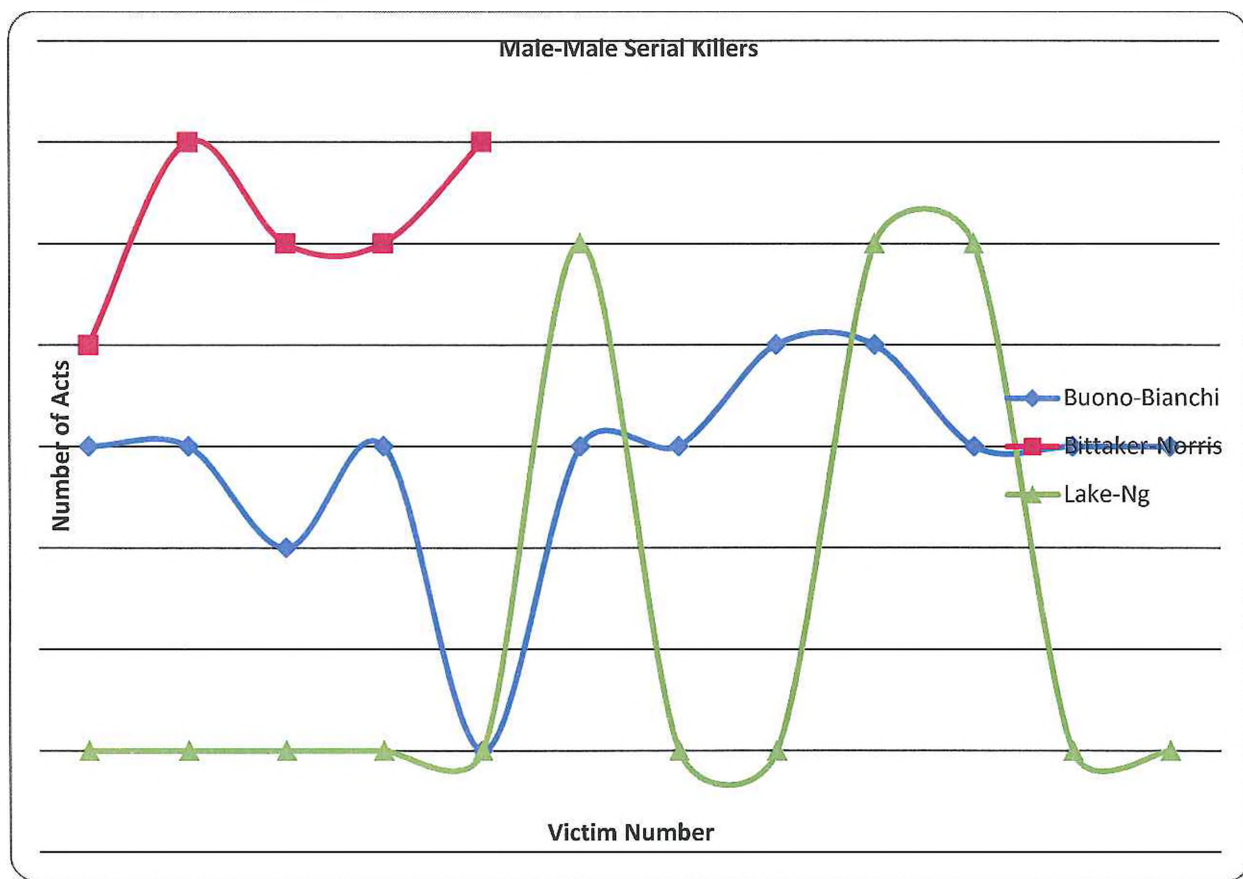


There is a gradual increase in the number of acts for two of the three single male killers as the serial killer evolved over time. It is important to note that Bundy did admit to necrophilic acts (sexual intercourse with deceased bodies) with some of his victims. However, I was unable to locate information on which victims he did that to and, consequently, was unable to provide that as part of his line on the chart because I did not have the information. That being said, he could have been far more sexually aggressive than the chart suggests, however, due to the lack of information available, primarily due to the fact that the victim's bodies were far along in the

decomposition process so no DNA or other physical evidence could be obtained, he does not appear to be as aggressive as his counterpart Jeffrey Dahmer.

This graph illustrates the amount of sexually aggressive behavior present in each killing of each male-male pair chosen.

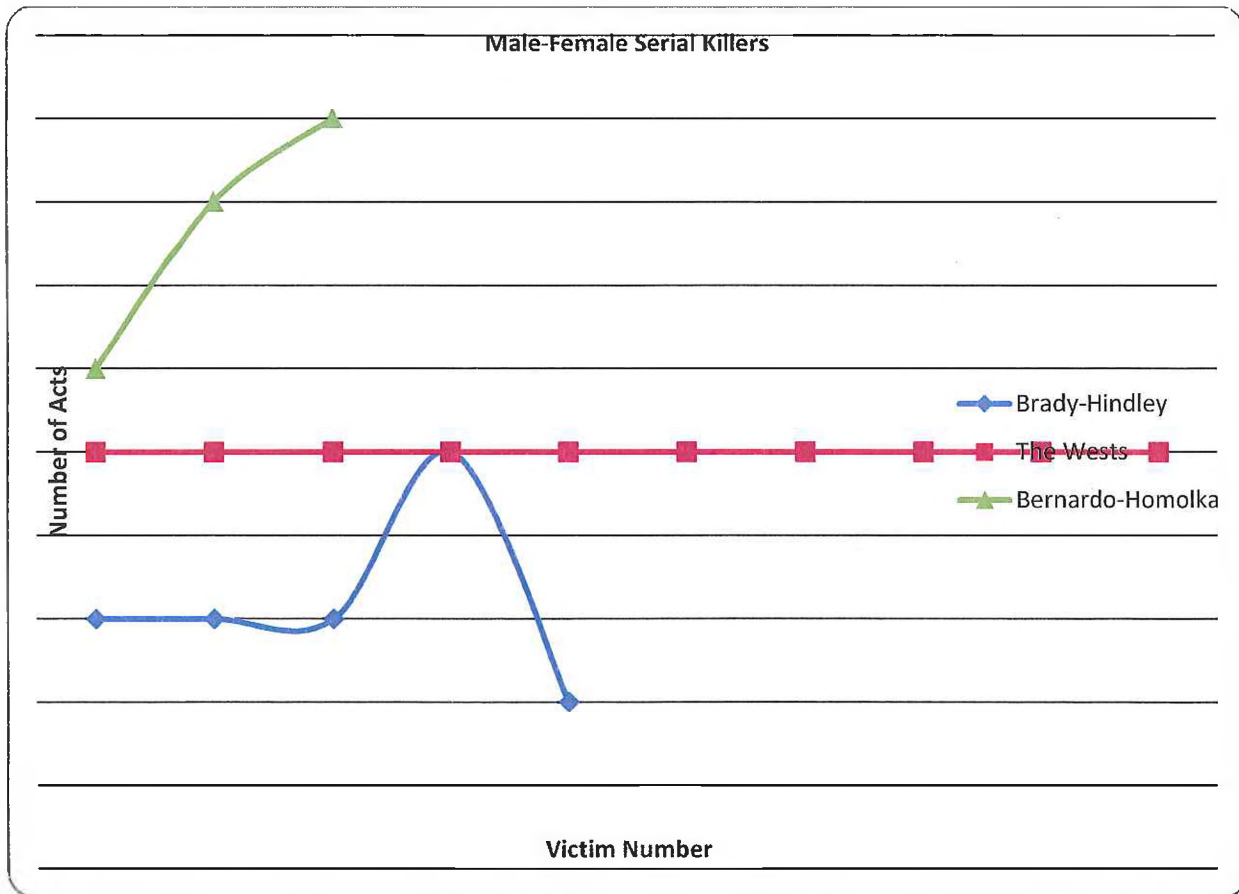
Graph 2: Sexually Aggressive Behavior in Male-Male Pairs



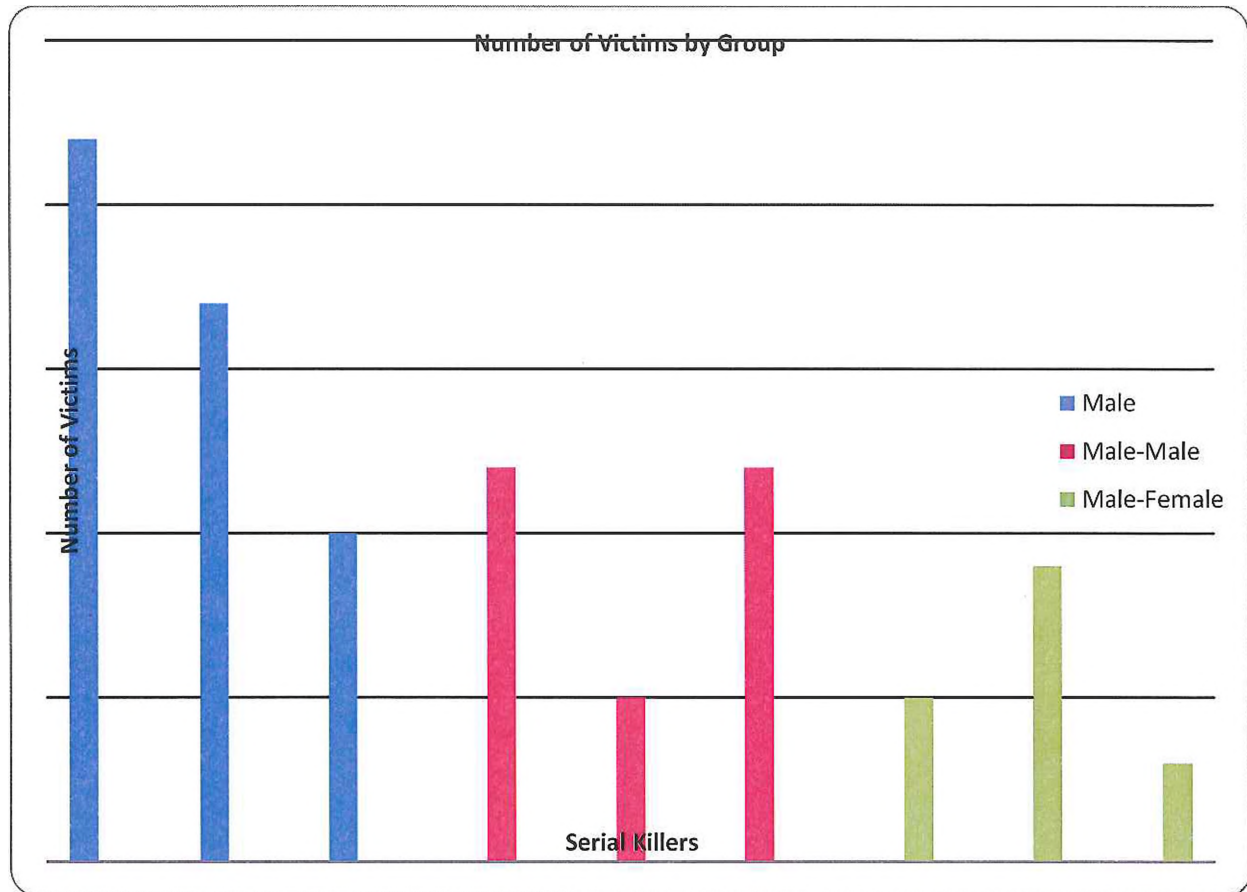
This graph illustrates the amount of sexually aggressive behavior present in each killing in each male-female pair that was chosen. It should be noted that not a great deal of in-depth or detailed information was available on the murders committed by the Wests. This chart and other charts and comments having to do with the Wests are based on what information was

available from all of the information collectively. However, it appears that male-female pairs show far more sexually aggressive behavior initially than any other group.

Graph 3: Sexually Aggressive Behavior in Male-Female Pairs



Graph 4: Number of Victims by Group

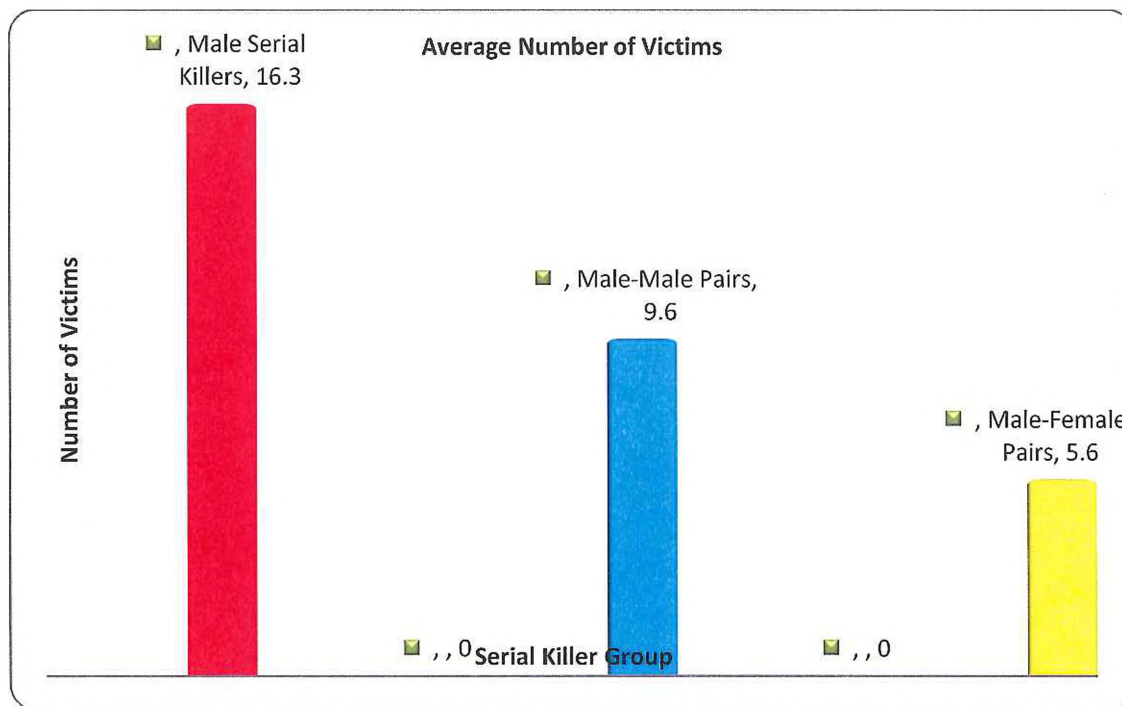


This graph shows the number of confirmed victims in each of the groups studied. Male serial killers acting alone have the highest average with 16.3 victims. Male-male pairs have the second highest average with 9.6 victims. Finally, male-female pairs averaged 5.6 victims. None of the studies or books consulted offered or presented a reason as to why serial killer pairs have fewer victims than serial killers acting alone. There are some logical explanations that exist, but nothing that has been tested or that is based on fact. The first explanation being that one person is far more mobile than two people. The second being that a single serial killer is the only one who knows about the crimes committed whereas serial killer pairs have to have a tremendous

amount of trust that their partner will be able to keep their silence.

This graph illustrates that male serial killers have far more victims than the other two groups.

Graph 5: Average Number of Victims per Group



The following table illustrates each killer’s modus operandi or M.O., the sexually aggressive acts that they typically committed, what their typical victims were, and the when the killers began killing as well as the date they were apprehended by law enforcement.

Table #1: Killer’s M.O., Sexually Aggressive Acts, Typical Victim, Start Date and Date of Apprehension

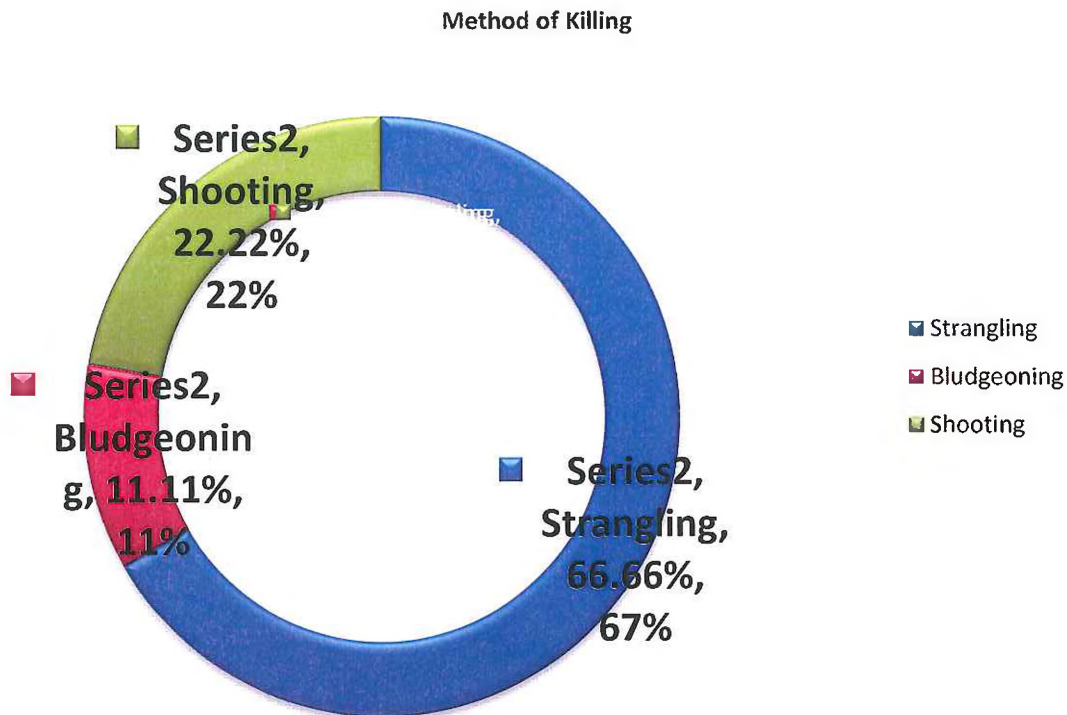
Killer(s)	Killing Method(s)	Sexually Aggressive Acts	Typical Victim	Start Date/Date of Apprehension
<b>Male Killers</b>				
Bundy	Bludgeoning	Necrophilia, torture, sexual	Long-haired college aged	Unknown, possibly 1971

		assault, binding, foreign object sexual assault	women	August 16, 1975; escaped  December 30, 1977; escaped  Re-apprehended February 15, 1978
<b>Dahmer</b>	Strangling	Necrophilia, cannibalism, sexual assault, binding, dismembering, keeping body parts, recording the incidents	Dark-skinned young men	June 18, 1978  July 22, 1991
<b>Kemper</b>	Shooting/Strangling/ Stabbing	Necrophilia, dismemberment, keeping body parts, keeping personal items of victim	College aged female hitchhikers	August 27, 1964 and May 7, 1972  April 20, 1973
<b>Male/Male Dyads</b>				
<b>Bittaker/Norris</b>	Strangling	Torture, sexual assault, repeat sexual assault, binding, recording the incidents	Teenage girls	June 24, 1979  November 20 and 23, 1979 respectively
<b>Buono/Bianchi</b>	Strangling/Asphyxiation	Sexual assault, repeat sexual assault, binding, torture	Young prostitutes	October 18, 1977  January and October 1979 respectively
<b>Lake/Ng</b>	Shooting	Sexual assault, recording the incidents, repeated sexual assault, torture, binding	Young families	1984  June 2, 1985

<b>Male/Female Dyads</b>				
<b>The Wests</b>	Strangling	Sexual assault, repeated sexual assault, torture, binding	Young girls/women from late teens to mid 20s	1973 February 24, 1994
<b>Brady/Hindley</b>	Strangling/Slitting Throat	Sexual assault, torture, recording the incidents	Young girls and 1 young boy, 1 teenage boy	July 12, 1963 October 7 and 11, 1965
<b>Bernardo/Homolka</b>	Strangling	Sexual assault, repeat sexual assault, torture, binding, forcing another to participate, recording the incidents	Young girls in their late teens	December 23, 1990 February 17, 1993

The following graph shows the various methods each killer or killer pair used in killing their victims.

Graph 6: Killer’s Method of Killing



The following tables, 2-10, illustrate the sexually aggressive acts that were committed during each crime as well as the method of killing of each serial killer or serial killer pair. These acts are what I used to evaluate each killing and the criterion that was used in creating the other graphs presented in this section.

Table 2: Edmund Kemper

Victims	Sexually Aggressive Acts Committed: Edmund Kemper
1	Shot
2	Shot
3	Smothered, stabbed, dismembered



4	Stabbed, dismembered, necrophilia
5	Strangled, necrophilia
6	Shot, dismembered, necrophilia
7	Shot, dismembered, necrophilia
8	Shot, dismembered, necrophilia
9	Bludgeoned, necrophilia
10	Strangled

Table 3: Jeffrey Dahmer

Victims	Sexually Aggressive Acts Committed: Jeffrey Dahmer
1	Drugging of victim, bludgeoned, strangled, dismembered,
2	Bound, drugging of victim, sexual assault, dismembered, necrophilia, keeping body parts, strangled
3	Bound, drugging of victim, sexual assault, strangled, necrophilia, dismembered, keeping body parts
4	Bound, drugging of victim, sexual assault, strangled, necrophilia, dismembered
5	Bound, drugging of victim, sexual assault, strangled, necrophilia, dismembered, keeping body parts
6	Bound, drugging of victim, sexual assault, strangled, necrophilia, dismembered
7	Bound, drugged, strangled, sexual assault, necrophilia, dismembered, recording of event
8	Bound, drugged, sexual assault, strangled, necrophilia, dismembered, keeping body parts, cannibalism, recording event
9	Drugged, sexual assault, dismembered
10	Bound, drugging of victim, strangled, sexual assault, necrophilia, dismembered, kept body parts
11	Bound, drugged, tortured, strangled, sexual assault, necrophilia, kept body parts
12	Bound, drugged, strangled, necrophilia, dismembered, recording event, kept body parts
13	Bound, drugged, torture, strangled, sexual assault, necrophilia, kept body parts, recording of event
14	Bound, drugged, strangled, sexual assault, necrophilia, dismembered, kept body parts

15	Bound, drugged, tortured to death, sexual assault, necrophilia, dismembered, kept body parts, recording event
16	Bound, drugged, strangled, sexual assault, necrophilia, dismembered, cannibalism, kept body parts
17	Bound, drugged, strangled, sexual assault, necrophilia, dismembered, kept body parts

Table 4: Ted Bundy

<b>Victims</b>	<b>Sexually Aggressive Acts Committed: Ted Bundy</b>
1	Bludgeoned, sexual assault
2	Bludgeoned, sexual assault
3	Bludgeoned, sexual assault
4	Bludgeoned, sexual assault
5	Bludgeoned, sexual assault
6	Bludgeoned, sexual assault
7	Bludgeoned, sexual assault
8	Bludgeoned, sexual assault
9	Bludgeoned, sexual assault
10	Bludgeoned, sexual assault
11	Bludgeoned, sexual assault, mutilation
12	Bludgeoned, sexual assault, mutilation, bound
13	Bludgeoned, sexual assault, mutilation
14	Bludgeoned, sexual assault
15	Bludgeoned, sexual assault
16	Bludgeoned, sexual assault
17	Bludgeoned, sexual assault

18	Bludgeoned, sexual assault, sexual assault with a foreign object, biting
19	Bludgeoned, sexual assault, biting
20	Bludgeoned, sexual assault, suffocation
21	Bludgeoned, sexual assault, strangling
22	Bludgeoned, sexual assault, strangling

Table 5: Lawrence Bittaker and Roy Norris

<b>Victims</b>	<b>Sexually Aggressive Act Committed: Lawrence Bittaker &amp; Roy Norris</b>
1	Bound, sexual assault, repeated sexual assault, torture, strangled
2	Drugged, bound, sexual assault, repeated sexual assault, strangled, torture, recorded event
3	Bound, sexual assault, repeated sexual assault, torture, recording of event, strangled
4	Bound, sexual assault, repeated sexual assault, torture, recording of event, bludgeoned
5	Bound, sexual assault, repeated sexual assault, torture, stabbed, recording of event, strangled

Table 6: Angelo Buono & Kenneth Bianchi

<b>Victims</b>	<b>Sexually Aggressive Acts Committed: Angelo Buono &amp; Kenneth Bianchi</b>
1	Bound, sexual assault, strangled, posed body sexually
2	Bound, sexual assault, repeated sexual assault, strangled
3	Bound, sexual assault, strangled
4	Bound, beaten, sexual assault, strangled
5	Strangled, no evidence of sexual assault
6	Bound, sexual assault, torture, strangled
7	Bound, sexual assault, torture, strangled

8	Bound, sexual assault, torture, strangled, kept personal items
9	Bound, sexual assault, torture, strangled, kept personal items
10	Bound, sexual assault, torture, strangled
11	Bound, sexual assault, torture, strangled
12	Bound, sexual assault, torture, strangled

Table 7: Leonard Lake & Charles Ng

<b>Victims</b>	<b>Sexually Aggressive Acts Committed: Leonard Lake &amp; Charles Ng</b>
1	Shot, dismembered
2	Shot, dismembered
3	Shot, dismembered
4	Shot, dismembered
5	Shot, dismembered
6	Bound, sexual assault, repeated sexual assault, torture, recording event, dismembered
7	Shot, dismembered
8	Shot, dismembered
9	Bound, sexual assault, repeated sexual assault, torture, recording event, dismembered
10	Bound, sexual assault, repeated sexual assault, torture, recording event, dismembered
11	Shot, dismembered
12	Shot, dismembered

Table 8: Paul Bernardo & Karla Homolka

Victims	Sexually Aggressive Acts Committed: Paul Bernardo & Karla Homolka
1	Drugging of victim, sexual assault, repeated sexual assault, forcing another to participate, recording event
2	Sexual assault, repeated sexual assault, torture, recording event, binding victim, strangled, dismembered, forcing another to participate
3	Sexual assault, repeated sexual assault, torture, recording event, binding victim, drugging victim, held captive for days, strangled, forcing another to participate

Table 9: Ian Brady & Myra Hindley

Victims	Sexually Aggressive Acts Committed: Ian Brady & Myra Hindley
1	Sexual assault, throat cut
2	Sexual assault, throat cut, strangled
3	Sexual assault, strangled, recording of event
4	Bound, sexual assault, recording of event, tortured, strangled
5	Bludgeoned, strangled

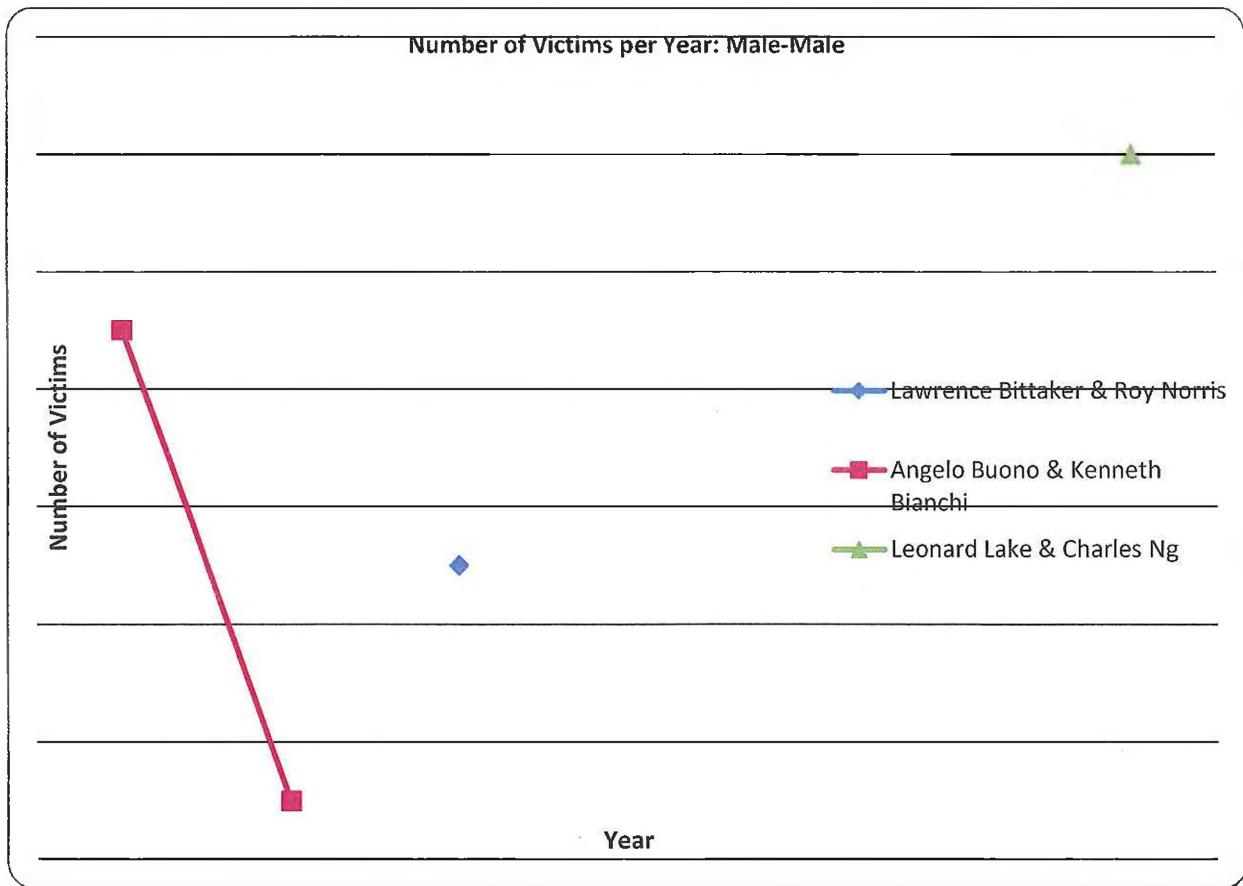
Table 10: Fred & Rosemary West

Victims	Sexually Aggressive Acts Committed: Fred & Rosemary West
1	Bound, sexual assault, repeat sexual assault, torture, dismembered
2	Bound, sexual assault, repeat sexual assault, torture, dismembered
3	Bound, sexual assault, repeat sexual assault, torture, dismembered
4	Bound, sexual assault, repeat sexual assault, torture, dismembered
5	Bound, sexual assault, repeat sexual assault, torture, dismembered
6	Bound, sexual assault, repeat sexual assault, torture, dismembered
7	Bound, sexual assault, repeat sexual assault, torture, dismembered
8	Bound, sexual assault, repeat sexual assault, torture, dismembered
9	Bound, sexual assault, repeat sexual assault, torture, dismembered

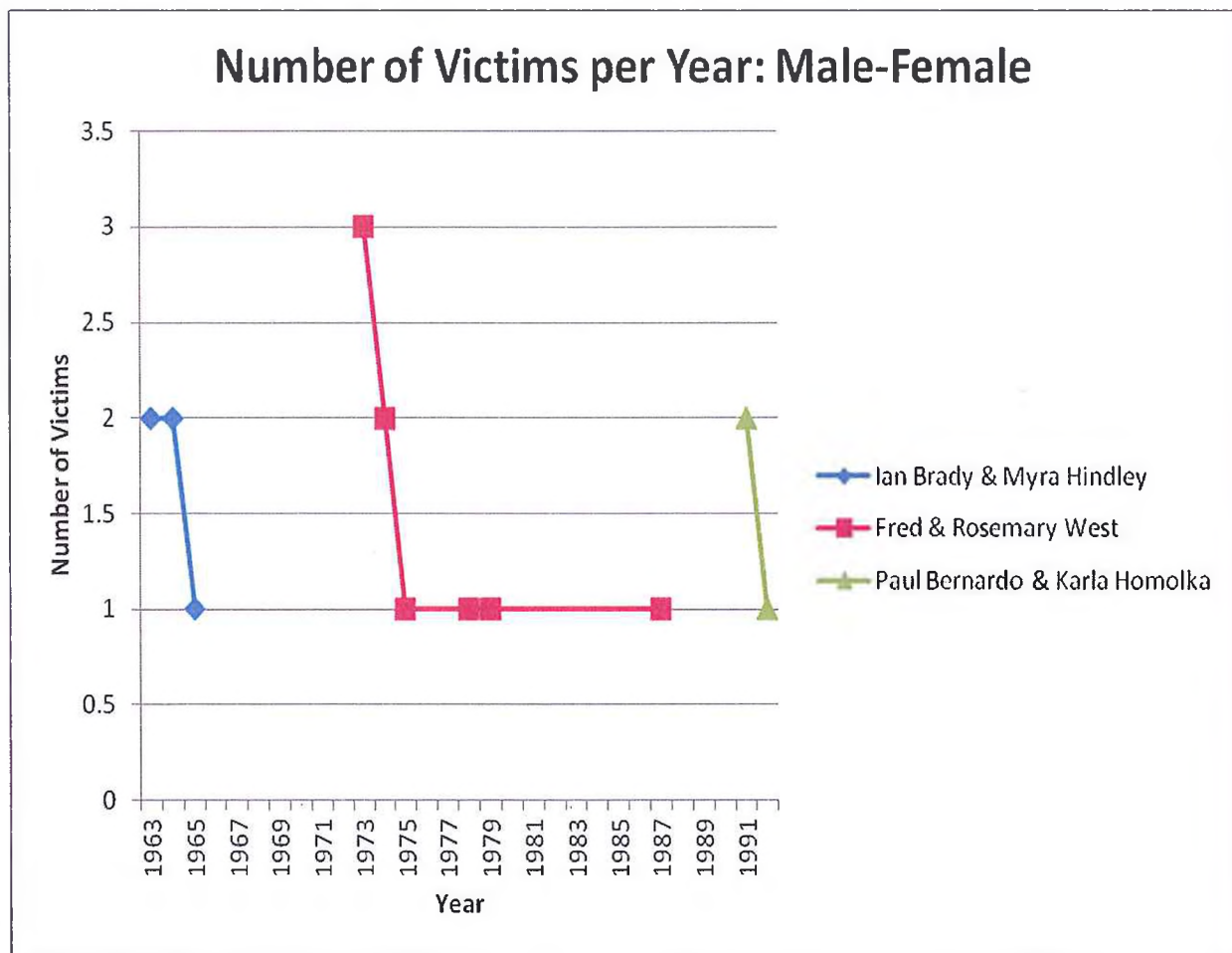
Graphs 7-9 illustrate the number of victims per year claimed by each serial killer or serial killer dyad. In some cases there are many over multiple years and in some all of the murders were committed in a year's time before the killer(s) were apprehended by law enforcement officials. Information was unavailable as to the exact date that Lake and Ng killed their victims which is why they are a single mark on the Graph 7.

There did not seem to be an apparent pattern in males and male/male pairs. For example, both Dahmer and Kemper's number of victims increase over time, whereas Bundy's number of victims decreases dramatically over the years. Buono and Bianchi have nine victims one year but only one the next whereas Bittaker and Norris killed all of their victims in a span of months (Newton, n.d.). Male/female dyads have more victims initially and then decrease soon after. There was no information available in any of the studies as to why there are such vast differences in each of these groups.

Graph 7: Victims per Year: Male-Male Pairs

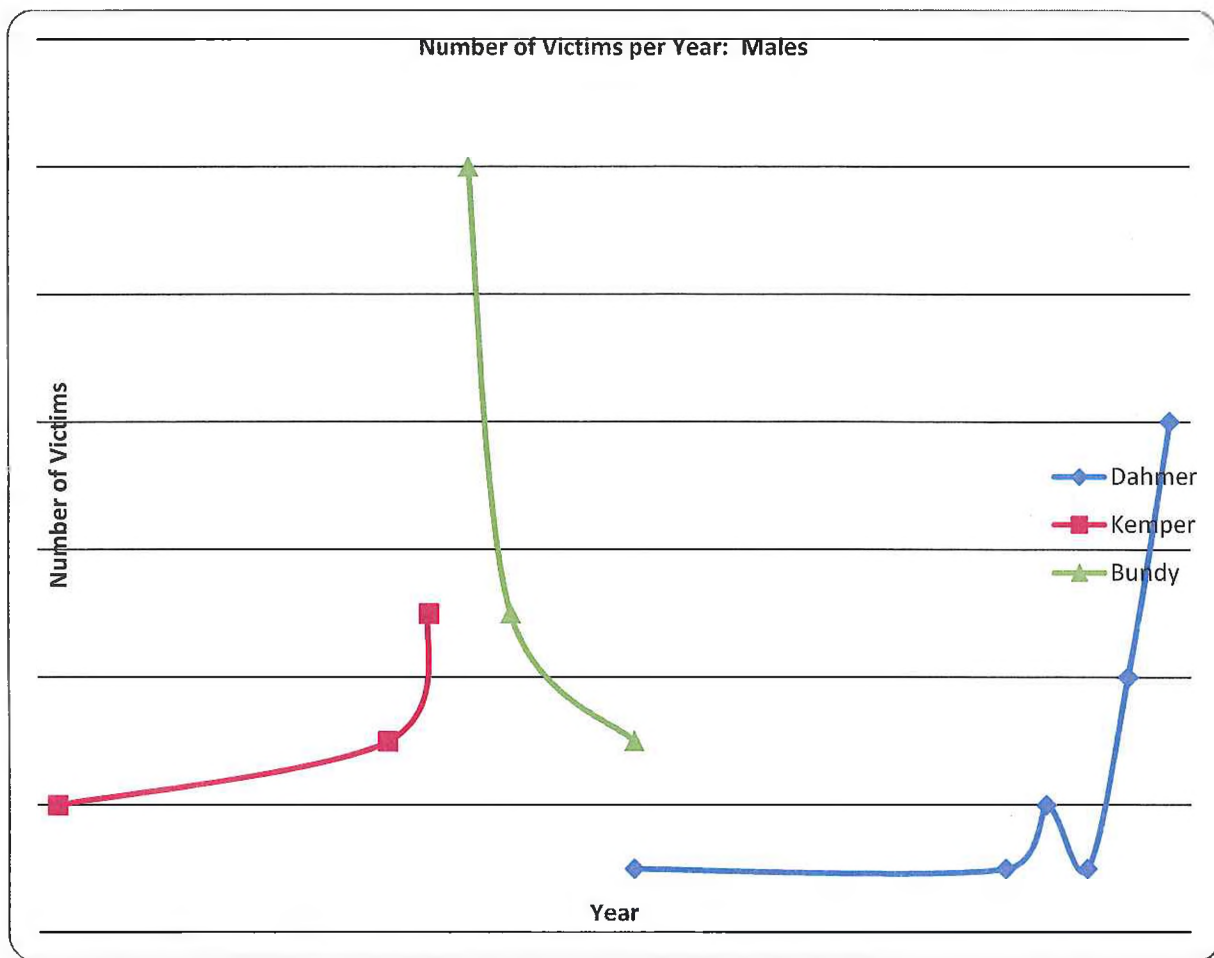


Graph 8: Victims per Year: Male-Female Pairs





Graph 9: Victims per Year: Males



## Discussion

Each of these three male serial sexual killers were interesting in their own way. Jeffrey Dahmer escalated little by little over time. He grew up killing animals, dismembering them and playing with their bones for fun (Hickey, 2010). He killed his first victim when he was a young man. His reason for this was because he did not want the young man to leave (Hickey, 2010). He then took the victim's body to the basement, committed some necrophilic acts, then dismembered and disposed of the body (Palermo, 2008). He went from sexual assault,

strangling, necrophilia and dismembering his first few victims to additionally taking photographic images, necrophilia, keeping body parts, cannibalism and injecting victims' brains with acid in the hopes he could turn them into zombies that he could use for his sexual pleasure (Hickey, 2010)(Palermo, 2008). Graph 1 illustrates his gradual degeneration over time.

Edmund Kemper evolved from shooting his grandparents as a young man to abducting, raping, strangling or shooting and necrophilia (Schlesinger, 2000). His victims were usually female hitchhikers whom he would kill. Afterwards he would have sex with the bodies, decapitate them, take photographs of the deceased victims and dissect the bodies (Schlesinger, 2000). His total number of victims was 10. These victims included his grandparents, his mother, his mother's best friend and the six unfortunate female- hitchhikers he picked up.

Finally, Ted Bundy appears to have chosen his methods of luring his victims, killing, either bludgeoning or strangling, torture and abduction and did not deviate from that too greatly. There are two spikes in his graph that indicate an increase. These spikes are when Bundy changed his MO (modus operandi) from attacking a single female to attacking multiple women in a single event by breaking into their houses or dorms (Schlesinger, 2000). In one case, he broke into a sorority house and attacked four of the members within it. According to Schlesinger, these spikes represent Bundy's "complete loss of control over his compulsion to kill," (Schlesinger, 2000, p. 215).

Bittaker and Norris were a pair that met in prison. Norris was a prior rapist and Bittaker was life-long criminal and attempted murderer (Newton, n.d.). As they were in prison, they discussed how fun it would be to kill one victim from each teenage year, 13-19 (Newton, n.d.). As Graph 2 indicates, they began their killing already deeply perverted, as noted by the number of acts accompanying their first sexual homicide and simply escalated gradually over time. One

can only imagine what they could have done had they not been caught after killing five girls. They kidnapped, bound, raped repeatedly, stabbed with an icepick through both ears, tortured and strangled using wire coat hangers, a sledgehammer and pliers (Newton, n.d.). After that, they began to take pictures as well as make audio recordings of the victim's screams which they would later use to terrify future victims (Newton, n.d.).

Buono and Bianchi were cousins who pretended to be policemen to pick up prostitutes and other women for their sexual and killing pleasure (Castleden, 2005). Angelo was a notorious womanizer and the younger Bianchi was committing petty crimes (Castleden, 2005). Once the victims were inside of the car, they were raped, tortured and eventually killed. One victim's death lasted over an hour and a half as a plastic bag was tied to her head and domestic gas was fed into the bag (Castleden, 2005). Their crimes involved abduction, sexual assault, strangulation, torture, repeated sexual assault, injecting one victim with Windex, and keeping personal items belonging to the victims (Castleden, 2005).

Lake and Ng were both Vietnam veterans. Lake had a history of mental illness and abnormal sexual fantasies and desires (Bellamy, n.d.). His ultimate desire was similar to that of Dahmer's: to have a sexual zombie that he could use and abuse whenever he wanted. He believed that the apocalypse was near and built a bunker next to his cabin in Wilseyville, California. Lake and Ng were unusual compared to the other two male/male dyads in this study in the fact that they did not exclusively kill women. In some instances they killed entire families, killing the men and children first before torturing, sexually assaulting and killing the women (Bellamy, n.d.). They sexually assaulted repeatedly, dismembered, tortured, visually recorded and shot their female victims (Bellamy, n.d.). Some were buried in shallow graves and others were placed in an incinerator and their bones scattered across the property (Bellamy, n.d.).

There are twelve known victims, however, according to the amount of bone fragments recovered from the cabin in Wilseyville, it is estimated that there may have been closer to thirty (Bellamy, n.d.). The spikes in the chart #2 represent the women that were murdered while the dramatic dips represent the men and children victims.

Ian Brady and Myra Hindley were boyfriend and girlfriend in Manchester, England. Ian confessed to Myra that he had the desire to commit the perfect murder (Vronsky, 2007). Myra did not object and went so far as to help him lure his first victim. They saw a girl walking along the side of the road and Myra asked if she would help her find an expensive glove in the moors. The girl agreed and Ian followed the girl into the Moors. He emerged later, alone, having slit her throat and sexually assaulted the girl (Castledon, 2005)(Vronsky, 2007). This same pattern was repeated for the other victims. However, in the case of the fourth victim, an audio recording was made of the pair of murderers taunting their victim, and the victim screaming and pleading for mercy (Castledon, 2005)(Vronsky, 2007).

Fred and Rosemary West were a very sexually perverse couple. Rosemary, with the permission of Fred, prostituted herself in their family home with their children present to obtain extra money (Castledon, 2005). Fred and Rosemary would take in female lodgers or nannies and torture, rape, kill them, and then bury them in the backyard of their home (Castledon, 2005). Their MO remained constant throughout their killings. However, unfortunately for them, on occasion, a few of their victims escaped. Their total confirmed number of killings is ten, including one of their own daughters. However, they are suspected to have murdered at least 18 (Castledon, 2005).

Paul Bernardo and Karla Homolka were, like Brady and Hindley, a boyfriend and girlfriend couple. During his many visits to the Homolka home he developed an intense obsession

with Karla's younger sister, Tammy (Vronsky, 2007). Karla, wanting to please her dominant and abusive boyfriend, drugged her sister's drink and gave Tammy to Paul for Christmas. Paul videotaped the two of them raping Tammy until he noticed that the girl was no longer breathing (Vronsky, 2007). This was the first of the three victims of the pair. The next two victims were young girls whom Bernardo perceived to be virgins. These girls were abducted, drugged, raped repeatedly by both Bernardo and Homolka, tortured, killed and dismembered (Vronsky, 2007). All of the incidents were video taped.

Based upon my readings and research I believed I was able to identify the roles which each member of the pair played. I identified behaviors such as the individual who first possessed or developed the murderous fantasy, the individual who killed the victims, controlling or influencing the other partner physically or mentally, being the more assertive of the two, being the mastermind behind the crimes committed and an overall commanding nature in situations.

In the Buono-Bianchi pair Angelo Buono appears to have been the dominant of the pair. He had prior experience raping and manipulating young women into doing what he desired and took his cousin Kenneth Bianchi under his wing, so to speak, to teach him how to pick up women and eventually, kill them. In addition, when Bianchi killed on his own without Buono's help, he left valuable clues behind that ultimately led to their capture (Castledon, 2005).

I was unable to determine which of the Bittaker-Norris pair was the dominant. Both had homicidal fantasies, both had a criminal history, both participated in the murdering, torturing and sexual assaulting of their five victims. It is possible that both of these men were dominant, just like in the case of Leonard Lake and Charles Ng. However, I was unable to obtain enough information about these two to determine if that was indeed the case.

There is another pair, however, that was also highly unusual, and that was the pair of

Leonard Lake and Charles Ng. Both of them possessed homicidal and sexually deviant fantasies. Both of them stockpiled weaponry and feared what they believed to be the impending apocalypse. Both of these men believe that it would be their responsibility to repopulate the Earth with the women they captured. It is for these reasons that I believe both Lake and Ng were dominant.

In each of these male-female serial sexual killer cases, it appeared that the males are the dominant of the pairs. These women shared their partners' disturbing desires. In the Brady-Hindley pair, I believe that Ian Brady was the dominant of the two. He was the one who desired to commit the perfect murder to which his girlfriend, Myra Hindley, did not appear to object (Castledon, 2005). He was the one who killed and sexually assaulted the victims. He was the one who planned each of the murders. Hindley would drive the car while Brady picked out victims (Vronsky, 2007). She also took part in the killing of their fourth victim and can be heard on the audio recording taunting the victim (Castledon, 2005).

I believed Fred West was the dominant of the two Wests. He permitted his wife to have sex with her father as well as set up an in-home prostitution business providing that he was permitted to watch (Castledon, 2005). He had an extensive criminal history that included murder and sexual assault and was sexually sadistic in his previous marriage (Castledon, 2005). However, Rosemary willingly participated in each of the murders committed going so far as to rape the women and watch as her husband raped them even when a victim was her own daughter (Castledon, 2005). Finally, Paul Bernardo was the dominant in the Bernardo-Homolka pair. He abused Karla physically, sexually and verbally going so far as to punch her in the arm whenever she displeased him (Vronsky). In addition to his power over Karla, Bernardo was a rapist and was eventually convicted of 19 sexual assaults (Vronsky). His power over Karla was so great

that she “gave” her younger sister’s virginity to him as a Christmas present (Vronsky, 2007). He went so far as to force Karla to participate in the rape of her own sister. The two of them also had sex tapes in which Paul gave Karla a script and forced her to refer to herself as a slut, bitch, cunt and whore (Vronsky, 2007).

Despite the fact these submissive partners in both male/male and male/female pairs did not initiate these acts does not make them blameless by any means. It appeared that in each of these cases the submissive partners were a case of shared psychotic disorder as discussed in the literature review (Silvio et al., 2006). The only case in which I had my doubts was that of Karla Homolka. There is evidence that Bernardo was very physically, emotionally and sexually abusive to Karla (Vronsky, 2007). In fact, his abuse was the very reason for their downfall. He had struck her too many times and she ran away telling her family of her ordeal and all about the killings (Vronsky, 2007). However, it cannot be overlooked that she participated in all three of their murders. In all of the male/female pairs, the females were often used by the dominant males to reassure and put the victim’s at ease because women are often perceived as nurturing, loving and caring and few would suspect a husband and wife of being serial sexual murderers (Vronsky).

According to Graph 6, strangling is the most common method used when serial killers or serial killer pairs murder their victims. Having provided detailed descriptions of paraphilias as well as sexually sadistic behavior, it should come as no surprise that strangling is the most common killing method. It takes a very long time; Paul Bernardo stated that it took him over seven minutes to strangle one victim (Vronsky). In addition, the killer can feel and watch the victim die in their hands. It was for this reason that this is considered a very personal way to kill someone which makes it even more sadistic in nature (Warren et al., 1996). It was interesting to

note that in a study conducted by Warren, Hazelwood and Dietz showed very similar statistics (1996). In their study of 20 sexually sadistic serial killers, 60% of them used strangulation as the means in which they killed their victims.

Sexual sadism played a huge role in all of these cases. Sexually sadistic fantasy is a common factor in serial killers as discussed in the literature review (Warren et al., 1996) (Purcell & Arrigo, 2006). These sadistic fantasies, combined with masturbation and occasionally violent pornography stimulate the killer. However, after a period of time, the violent fantasy is not enough to stimulate them anymore and their fantasies must become more and more violent over time (Maniglio, 2010). These activities pair sexually aggressive thoughts with sexual arousal (Maniglio, 2010). Eventually the fantasies are not enough to arouse them and they move on to killing. Based on this, I found it very telling that five out of the nine groups mentioned bound their victims. This is important as it shows that the killer or killer pairs wanted to exercise an absolute and sadistic control over their victims (Warren et al., 1996).

As discussed by Purcell & Arrigo, psychopathy plays an important role in criminal behavior, primarily in serial homicide and sexual homicide (2006). Three of the characteristics that can identify a psychopath are a grandiose sense of self worth, manipulateness, as well as pathological lying (Purcell & Arrigo, 2006). These characteristics may explain why serial killers continue to kill for so long before being apprehended. In addition, because of their grandiose sense of self worth and a strong desire for control over their victims, this provides them with a God-like feeling of power (Purcell & Arrigo, 2006).

Based on all of the graphs and charts presented in the results section, it appeared that there was a gradual increase in sexually aggressive behavior as the number of victims increases. No one group was far more sexually aggressive than another. Certain pairs or individuals are



more aggressive within their own category such as Jeffrey Dahmer, Bittaker and Norris and Bernardo and Homolka. The only exception to this would be Leonard Lake and Charles Ng. All of the dyads or single killers studied escalate their sexually aggressive behavior gradually over time. The only exception, according to Table 10 and Graph 3, and Table 4 and Graph 1 respectively, would be that of Fred and Rosemary West, and to a certain extent, Ted Bundy. This is due to the lack of detailed information about each killing committed by this pair and individual.

After conducting this study I concluded that, based on the articles and studies I consulted, sexually aggressive behavior in serial sexual homicide is, in fact, dynamic. Most of the groups increased in their sexually aggressive behavior over time. This conclusion was supported by Warren et al. in their study on 20 convicted sexual homicide offenders. The offenders reported masturbating to sadistic sexual fantasies. However, after a period of time, they had to change their fantasies to become more sexually sadistic or include more sexually sadistic behaviors in order to maintain sexual arousal and pleasure (Warren et al., 1996). There was no information provided in any of my sources that explains why some killers escalate their sexually aggressive behavior faster than others. This would be an excellent topic for future research.

The manner in which all of these killers and killer dyads were eventually apprehended by police is rather interesting and dynamic as well. Dahmer and the Wests were all apprehended after a victim escaped and reported the incident to the police (Castledon, 2005). Bundy and the pair of Lake and Ng were caught by the police after making simple mistakes that drew unwanted attention to themselves: being pulled over for a traffic stop and stealing from a local store respectively (Castledon, 2005)(Bellamy, n.d.). Homolka and Bernardo were arrested after Bernardo beat Homolka and she went to her parent's and confessed to all of the murders

(Vronsky, 2007). Bittaker & Norris and Brady & Hindley were apprehended after bragging to friends about the crimes they had committed (Castledon, 2005). Initially these friends were skeptical until victim's bodies were located. Kemper, after killing his final victim, called the police and turned himself in and confessed to his other murders (Castledon, 2005). Finally, Buono and Bianchi were discovered after Bianchi began spending too much time with police friends and roused suspicion by requesting ride-alongs while police were investigating his murders (Castledon, 2005). It appears that all of these killers and killer pairs became arrogant to the point they made careless mistakes. However, research in this area would be beneficial.

Each killer and killer dyad developed manners of killing and sexually aggressive behavior that was sexually arousing to each of them. These behaviors can be viewed in Graphs 2-10. The most common behaviors were sexual assault, repeated sexual assault, binding of the victim(s) and strangulation. Paul Bernardo preferred his victims degrade themselves and refer to him as "master" and "king" (Vronsky, 2007). Lawrence Bittaker and Roy Norris enjoyed hearing their victims scream (Newton, n.d.). Finally, Jeffrey Dahmer took pleasure in having complete control over his victims going so far as to handcuff them and sedate them (Giannangelo, 1996).

## **Conclusion**

Based upon the research conducted for this study I had to reject my first hypothesis that stated that male-male pairs show significantly more sexually aggressive behavior than either of the other two groups. This was disproved based on the information presented in Graph #3 which illustrates the sexually aggressive behavior present in male-female serial killer pairs. Male-female pairs, with the exception of the West's because of the lack of in-depth information available on that specific pair, escalate their level of sexually aggressive behavior far more

quickly than in the cases of males and male-male pairs. While there is a gradual increase over time in male-male pairs, it is not nearly as significant as I predicted it would be and did not differ too greatly when compared with their single male serial killer counterparts.

However, I was able to affirm my second hypothesis which predicted that as the killing continues the amount of sexually aggressive behavior increases. The only case in which this did not apply is that of the pair Lake and Ng. However, as discussed before, they were an unusual pair in the fact that they killed both men and women. In addition, because of the lack of detailed data available, Fred and Rosemary West appear to be stagnant in their levels of sexually aggressive behavior as well.

Another aspect this study made apparent is that there is no “cookie cutter” serial killer. In other words, there is no one profile for serial killers. There is no one standard victim. There is no one standard method of killing, although strangling was predominantly the method used in the serial killers and serial killer dyads examined. What one killer perceives to be the perfect victim may completely turn off another. What thrills or intrigues one may bore or disgust another. The one thing that all serial killers share is their compulsion to kill.

This study also confirmed what criminal justice professionals have known for decades. If the serial killer is not caught after their first murder, they will continue to kill and will not stop without the intervention of law enforcement. In the case of Ted Bundy, law enforcement was not enough to stop him. He was arrested and escaped from jail twice while awaiting trial for prior murders. It behooves law enforcement personnel to seize the murderer as soon as possible to prevent further victims especially when the killings are sexually aggressive in nature.

I would like to see studies conducted in the future in the following areas. Why do male serial killers acting alone kill for a longer period of time than male/male and male/female pairs?

Why does sexually aggressive behavior increase over time? Why do some killers take part in precursor activity whilst others do not? Why are male/male and male/female pairs apprehended faster than male serial killers acting alone? Is it possible for there to be two dominant personalities in male/male pairs?

As this is the first study, to my knowledge, to attempt to quantify sexually aggressive behavior in serial-sexual homicide, it is recommended that further research be performed on this subject. There is still a great deal of information to unearth about serial killers and serial sexual homicide such as why some individuals can possess deviant sexual fantasies and not act on them while others cannot help but act upon them. Another subject that I believe should be investigated further is why some individuals feel a compulsion to kill and cannot control this compulsion. This information will greatly benefit law enforcement of all kinds in the future of this ever evolving field of criminology.

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## Appendix



Killer and Victim #	Precursor Activity			Method of Killing							Aftermath				
	Bound	Drugging	Sexual Assault	Shot	Smothered	Stabbed	Strangled	Bludgeoned	Dismembered	Necrophilia	Keeping Body Parts	Recording	Cannibalism	Torture	Mutilation
Kemper	1			X											
	2			X											
	3				X				X	X					
	4				X				X	X					
	5						X			X					
	6									X					
	7								X	X					
	8									X					
	9									X					
	10							X							
Dahmer	1		X				X		X	X					
	2	X	X				X	X	X		X				
	3	X	X	X			X		X	X					
	4	X	X	X			X		X	X					
	5	X	X	X			X		X	X	X				
	6	X	X	X			X		X	X					
	7	X	X	X			X		X	X					
	8	X	X	X			X		X	X		X	X		
	9	X	X	X			X		X	X					
	10	X	X	X			X		X	X	X				



22

X

Bittaker -  
Norris

1 X

X

2 X X

X

3 X

X

4 X

X

5 X

X

X

Buono-Bianchi

1 X

X

2 X

X

3 X

X

4 X

X

5

6 X

X

7 X

X

8 X

X

9 X

X

10 X

X

Lake-Ng

1

X

2

X

3

X

4

X

5

X

6 X

X

7

X



8				X
9	X			X
10	X			X
11				X
12				X

Bernardo-Homolka

1		X		X
2	X			X
3	X	X		X

Brady-Hindley

1				X
2				X
3				X
4	X			X
5				

West's

1	X			X
2	X			X
3	X			X
4	X			X
5	X			X
6	X			X
7	X			X
8	X			X
9	X			X
10	X			X

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