

Antisocial Personality Disorder, Sexual Sadism, Malignant Narcissism, and Serial Murder

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ABSTRACT: This paper examines the research on serial murder and its relationship to antisocial personality disorder and sexual sadism. The concept of malignant narcissism is also discussed. Case studies of serial killers are examined regarding the nature of sexual violation and crime scene behavior.

KEYWORDS: forensic science, sexual sadism, serial killer, malignant narcissism, antisocial personality, lust murder, psychopath

Few, if any crimes, have captured public fear and imagination as has serial murder. Although it is not a new phenomenon, the bulk of literature on the subject has been considered to be of journalistic accounts; most of these are case studies. Journalistic treatment of serial murder—in print or visual media—has predominantly been biographical in nature. Psychiatric and psychological contributions adopt a clinical approach, generally seeking to elucidate psychodynamic processes involved in the behaviors of individual serial murderers. The law enforcement community, on the other hand, has tended to examine and compare numbers of serial murder cases from essentially an investigative perspective. There is a scant but growing literature that seeks to deduce principles and themes that underlie the phenomenon of serial murder. For example, some of these studies examine demographic characteristics of numbers of offenders and their victims in an attempt to establish patterns of victimization that may characterize this crime.

Statement of the Problem

Examination of the case studies published on male serial killers reveals that the majority of those known to us violated their victims sexually.

It is not uncommon to read of offenders who physically and/or sexually tortured their victims. These killers are often portrayed as “sexual sadists.” An impressive proportion of published accounts either state or in some manner allude to the supposition that most serial killers are “psychopaths,” with little or no attention to the clinical rigor necessary to render such an assessment. Given the frequent reference in the academic literature as well as the popular media to serial murderers as “psychopathic sexual sadists,” our research examined the extent to which clinical criteria for antisocial

personality disorder and sexual sadism are met by a sample of serial murderers whose cases were documented in the journalistic, academic, and law enforcement literatures. The intent of this study is to examine the research on serial murder in an attempt to locate antisocial personality disorder and sexual sadism as psychopathologies of serial murderers who had violated their victims sexually.

This study examined the crime scene behaviors and case histories of a sample of serial murderers in an effort to identify commonalities in the psychological makeup and personal background of these offenders that are consistent with clinical criteria. This approach may provide the basis for inferences regarding psychodynamic aspects of the offensive behavior, the conscious and unconscious mental processes, and emotive energies that interact and underlie human behavior, which may suggest particular psychological traits that are indicative of specific psychopathology. Such information would contribute to our clinical understanding of serial murderers. Moreover, the nature and degree of existing pathology will inform research on the etiology of serial murder.

Review of the Literature

Defining Serial Murder: Issues of Scope

The term serial murder is used to describe murder events perpetrated in repetition or series. In defining serial murder, however, different sources stipulate different criteria. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (F.B.I.) describes serial killings as “three or more separate events with an emotional cooling-off period between homicides (1).”

The National Institute of Justice (N.I.J.) defines serial murder as “a series of two or more murders committed as separate events, usually, but not always, by one offender acting alone. The crimes may occur over a period of time ranging from hours to years. Quite often the motive is psychological, and the offender’s behavior and the physical evidence observed at the crime scenes will reflect sadistic, sexual overtones (2).”

In a recent anthology of works on serial murder as a phenomenon, Egger (3) notes the continued lack of consensus regarding definition. He presents a revision of his own definition of serial murder as follows:

A serial murder occurs when one or more individuals (males, in most known cases) commit a second murder and/or subsequent murder; is relationshipless (no prior relationship between victim and attacker); is at a different time and has no apparent connection to the initial murder; and is usually committed in a different geographical location. Further, the motive is not for material gain and is believed to be for the murderer’s desire to have power over his victims (3).

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Egger goes on to contrast his definition with that of other researchers who contends that serial murders do not necessarily involve strangers, nor do they necessarily exclude personal gain as motive. Levin and Fox (4) see serial murder as one type of mass murder and depict serial murderers as "mass murderers who slay their victims on different occasions (4)." This may also fit the definition of "spree" murders. Similarly, Holmes and De Burger (5) present serial murder as one type of multicides, and they identify serial murder with repeated homicides committed by an offender whose motivation is to kill (as distinct from crimes of passion or personal profit motive) and whose victims are generally strangers or slight acquaintances.

The F.B.I. maintains an official listing of the nation's male and female serial killers based on information from police reports submitted nationwide, as well as from regular computer searches of newswire services. Using the F.B.I. definition, The National Center of the Analysis of Violent Crime, a national clearinghouse of information on violent crime operated by the F.B.I., identified 331 serial murderers in the United States between January 1977 and April 1992 (author's personal files).

Although there has been a number of scholarly works on the broader subject of multiple murder, the initial challenge for this study was to isolate a specific population of serial murderers who violated their victims sexually—from a literature using different operational definitions. For purposes of this study, a serial killer is an individual who, either alone or with a partner, kills a number of people, at least three, over a period of time.

Typological Considerations

Although the popular media frequently present what is purported to be "the profile of serial killers," a review of the literature reveals many dimensions along which serial murders differ from one another. A number of classification schemes for serial murder and serial murderers have been put forth in the literature. Holmes (6) categorizes serial murderers according to the extent of their mobility. Hickey (7) also describes a typology based on offender mobility, but speaks in terms of three categories: place-specific, local, and traveling offenders. Place-specific murderers kill within their own homes, where they work, or other specific sites. John Wayne Gacy, who killed at least 33 young men and boys, would fit into this category. Local serial killers do not cross state lines but tend to kill within an urbanized area. Convicted child killer Wayne Williams, who killed male youths in Atlanta, would be considered a local serial killer. Traveling serial murderers cross state lines in the commission of their series of killings. Bundy was one such killer.

Holmes and DeBurger (5) use motivation as the basis for another typology in which, following from an analysis of secondary data on 110 serial murderers, they distinguish four types: The visionary-type murderer attributes his crimes to visions or voices directing him to commit the murders. This individual, responding to hallucinations, meets clinical criteria for psychosis; the mission-oriented killer who sees his goal as eliminating an identifiable group of people such as prostitutes or young women; the hedonistic-type who kills for the pleasure(s) derived from his acts; and the power/control-type who kills to experience dominance and empowerment.

The underlying motivation of the murders for serial killers is in the act of killing and in the power derived from control over the victim. Perhaps more to the point, it appears that this kind of killer experiences profound satisfaction from having complete life-or-death control over his victim. This typology remains a useful

construction for outlining motivational differences among serial murderers.

Kozenczak (8) notes that "[p]erhaps the most distinguishing aspect of this type of crime is that the murder is committed for gratification based on sexual or violent fantasies, developed initially during youth." The case study literature on serial murderers suggests that the majority came from violent households and were subject to cruel or inappropriate parenting and rejection in childhood.

The primary motivations for the killings committed by the 203 serial killers reviewed by Hickey (7) included sex (58% of the sample), enjoyment (sadistic pleasure) of killing (38%), monetary gain (36%), and personal/unspecified (27%). The stereotypic image of the serial murderer being driven exclusively by lust and sex is not supported by this study. In fact, as Hickey notes, in many cases, the killings appeared to be the product of multiple motivations. In the authors' experience, the majority of crime scenes do indicate sexual violation occurs and, therefore, can be factored into the motivational equation.

In a study of 36 convicted, incarcerated sexual murderers, 29 of whom had committed a series of murders. Ressler, Burgess, and Douglas (1) present a typology based upon the degree of organization reflected in the behavior of the perpetrator. The organized offender is usually above average in intelligence. He is methodical and cunning. His crime is well thought out and carefully planned. He is likely to own a car which is in good condition. The crime is usually committed away from his area of residence or work. He is mobile and travels many more miles than the average person. Fantasy and ritual are important to the organized type offender. He selects a victim, whom he considers the "right" type, someone he can control (either through manipulation or strength), usually a stranger. Most of his victims will share specific traits. He is considered socially adept. He uses his verbal skills to manipulate his victims and gain control over them until he has them within his "comfort zone."

The organized killer is fully cognizant of criminality of his act and takes pride in his ability to thwart the police investigation. He will often times take a "souvenir" from his victim that may be used to relive the event or augment the fantasy surrounding the killing. For the organized offender, the souvenir constitutes a "trophy." He is excited by the cruelty of the act and may engage in torturing the victim. Sexual control of the victim plays an important part in this scenario.

The organized offender usually brings his own weapon to the crime scene and avoids leaving evidence behind. He is familiar with police procedures. He will follow the news reports and focus on police statements in an attempt to judge the extent of the investigation. The body is often removed from the crime scene. He may do this to "taunt" the police by leaving the corpse in plain public view, or to prevent its discovery by transporting it to a location where it will be well hidden (9).

The series of criminal behaviors of this type of offender are suggestive of an individual with an antisocial personality disorder to the extent that repeated behaviors are immoral and marked by pronounced irresponsibility. This prototypical offender is the focus of this research; However, the authors' research also included offenders who are described as disorganized and were suffering from an antisocial personality disorder.

The disorganized offender is considered socially inadequate because he is secluded and isolated. He is quiet and withdrawn and would be described as a loner or recluse. The disorganized offender is an underachiever with a poor self-image. He has poor

personal hygiene habits and his clothes are usually dirty and messy. His acquaintances consider him weird or odd because he is strange in appearance and behavior. He may have delusional ideas and many times has a diagnosable disorder.

This type of offender internalizes hurt, anger, and fear. He is sexually incompetent and may never have had a sexual experience with anyone. Interpersonal relationships are difficult for this subject who does not date. This type of offender compensates through substitute sexual activities. This offender has committed sex related activities such as voyeurism, exhibitionism, panty thefts, and fetish burglaries, and sometimes autoerotic activities. Sadistic fantasies, pornography, and masturbation are used to compensate for his lack of interpersonal relationships.

He has no close personal friends. He usually lives alone or with a significantly older female relative. He is in an anxious mood during the crime. There is a minimal use of alcohol and/or drugs. He does not focus on or have an interest in the news media relative to his crime.

The disorganized offender lacks the cunning of the Organized Offender. He commits the crime in a frenzy. A "blitz-style" of attack, usually with blunt force trauma, is used in an attempt to silence the victim quickly. After sudden violence to the victim; death follows quickly. The offense is spontaneous and the victim is a victim of opportunity. The crime scene may be isolated, but there is no real effort to hide or conceal the body. The crime scene is tightly clustered. There usually is evidence found. The weapon may be present. The body is usually left at the location of assault. The crime scene is in proximity to the offender's residence or place of employment. The crime scene is random and sloppy. There may be evidence of blood smearing (on self, the victim, or upon surface areas at the scene) as well as uncontrolled stabbing or slashing. There will be depersonalization of the victim through extreme assault to face.

The disorganized offender engages in post mortem activities such as bite marks to breasts, buttocks, neck, thighs, and abdomen. There may be postmortem dissection of the body, which is exploratory in nature. Any mutilation of the body will also be postmortem and there may be anthropophagy, which is the consumption of the victim's flesh and blood.

Sexual acts with the body will include the insertion of foreign objects into the anal or vaginal cavities, masturbation upon the victim or her clothing, ejaculation into the stab wounds, and sexual experimentation with the body. In most instances, there is no penis penetration of the body by this type of offender. The body may be positioned by the offender for some symbolic purpose. There may be evidence of ritualism. This type of offender may be expressing some sort of psychosexual need in the symbolic positioning of the body or in some ritualistic aspect of the crime scene. This type of offender may take a souvenir. The souvenir can be an object or article of clothing taken as a remembrance, or, in some instances, the souvenir may even be a body part. This type of offender has been known to return souvenirs to either the gravesite or the crime scene. This type of offender has been known to undergo a significant behavior change after the crime. Drug and/or alcohol abuse, religiosity, etc (9).

Psychological and Psychosexual Pathologies

There is frequent reference in the media to the apparent "craziness" of serial murderers. This cannot, however, be taken to imply that the offender is psychotically disordered; cases such as Joseph Kallinger, a diagnosed schizophrenic, as described by Schrieber

(10) is an exception. There are researchers who suggest that serial murders are not the product of major mental illness but more a matter of free will and conscious choice. Ritter (11) analyzed 27 well-known serial murder cases, drawing upon information from secondary sources. Ritter held that high dominance needs and psychopathy were the most important traits toward an explanation for serial murder behavior. She decries major mental illness as an adequate explanation for this behavior, and suggests that serial murderers choose their avocation.

Levin and Fox (4) focus on the concept of psychopathy as integral to the personality structure of the serial murderer. Psychopathy does not provide an adequate explanation of serial murder. Without doubt, not all those with antisocial personality disorder will kill; nor are all serial murderers psychopaths.

Brown (12) refers to several diagnostic categories that may be considered in addition to antisocial personality disorder. He states that most serial murderers are diagnosed as either personality disorders (antisocial and sadistic personality disorders) or suffering from some form of sexual disorder, a small percentage are diagnosed with a psychotic illness and that some, both psychotic and not, have been found to have an organic disorder. Brown contends that "most serial killers display obsessive-compulsive features in the commission of their crimes and that probably the only uninvestigated DSM-III-R category which applies to these persons is multiple personality disorder (12)."

Leibman (13) states that serial murderers are ego disharmonious, dissociating themselves from their actions. Another way of describing this behavior could be that it is ego syntonic.

According to the research of Ressler and Burgess (1986) (14), 81% of the 36 sex murderers consumed pornographic materials; 72% demonstrated fetishistic behavior such as stealing, wearing, or masturbating with women's undergarments; 71% engaged in voyeurism. Other activities included sadomasochistic bondage, bestiality, making obscene phone calls, frotteurism, and coprophilia. Because the majority of these subjects were serial killers, these results suggest a variety of sexual deviations existing among serial murderers. The degree to which sadism was present as an element in the behavioral repertoire of the subjects is not clear. Sadistic behavior was noted in the childhood histories of these offenders. The authors report that the early aggressive behaviors of the subjects were first acted out against animals. The sadistic behavior then extended beyond animals to other objects and included peers. The sexual aggression becomes established in the child's mind and is reinforced in ritualistic play with other children. The patterns of aggressive arousal first acted out in play are later directed towards people. In his recently published book on serial murder, Ressler (15) went into more detail about the childhood and adolescence of the serial murderers in his 1986 study. All had come from dysfunctional families and experienced a "childhood of violence (16)." Half of the sample had a history of mental illness in the family and half had parents that were participants in criminal behavior. Nearly three fourths (70%) came from alcohol or drug-abusing family environments. Emotional abuse was common to all of the murderers and some were also physically abused. As adolescents, violent sexual fantasies were the precursor to later violent behavior. As adults, all were sexually dysfunctional and unable to sustain consensual adult relationships. Ressler felt that the combination of inadequate socialization, violent fantasies, and a precipitating incident served to push these men "over the line" of acceptable behavior.

Antisocial Personality Disorder

The concept of a disorder whereby an individual persists in antisocial behaviors throughout his/her lifetime, although seemingly having no guilt about it, has a formal documented evolution that spans nearly two centuries. Pinel (16) first observed and documented a group of patients who behaved in impulsive and self-destructive ways yet evidenced no defects in reasoning ability. Another among the early denotations for this cluster of socially objectionable behaviors was Prichard's (17) notion of "moral insanity." The idea of a diseased "moral faculty" to explain criminal behavior formed the central position in much of the debate of the nineteenth century. The German psychiatric community spoke of "psychopathic inferiority," leaning toward a physical basis for the disorder (18). Kraepelin, (19) in successive editions of his psychiatric text, from 1887 to 1915, developed the theory of psychopathy in terms of degenerative moral stature, biogenic in its origin. Similarly, Lombroso (20) ascribed moral insanity to the "born criminal" whom, he believed, suffered from a variant of epilepsy.

Meloy (21) attributes Birnbaum (22) with introducing the term sociopathy to the literature to describe the disorder as the product of social learning in a deficient formative environment, thus emphasizing a psychogenic basis. Freud noted that "among adult criminals we must no doubt except those who commit crimes without any sense of guilt, who have either developed no moral inhibitions or who, in their conflict with society, consider themselves justified in their actions (23)."

Cleckley describes 16 traits symptomatic of the psychopathic personality (24). In this clinical picture is included evidence of poor judgment, irresponsibility, and lack of remorse or shame, as well as the recognition that the psychopath can be charming and successful. Reich (1945) speaks of the psychopathic character type as one who is self-assured, sometimes arrogant, elastic, energetic, and often impressive in his bearing. Notable to Reich was an absence of reaction formation on the part of the psychopath to his openly aggressive and sadistic behaviors (25). McCord and McCord (1956) focus on impulsivity and aggression in an emotionally isolated individual who seeks to fulfil his craving for excitement without being inhibited by social norms or personal conscience (26).

Kernberg (27,28) refers to malignant narcissism, a form of antisocial personality disorder. In this syndrome, ego pathology is characterized by four factors: Narcissistic personality structure (disorder), overt antisocial behavior (passive or aggressive), manifested by sadistic cruelty (with murder as its most extreme form), egosyntonic aggression, or sadism (a source of pleasure—accepted and rationalized against the normal prohibition that most persons have against sadism, and a reprojected of primitive persecutory superego features in the form of paranoid tendencies. The sadism is characterologically integrated and justified by a chronic sadistic arrogance. The reprojected of the primitive persecutory superego features may be characterized by classifying others as suckers, fools, or dangerous enemies.

Meissner (29) has enlarged our concept of paranoid projection to encompass this facet. According to Meissner, "The theory of the paranoid process is an extension of the theory of internalization, particularly concerning itself with those forms of internalization that have pathogenic potential."

With serial murderers, we find the pathological self-love, the lack of object love, the superego pathology, and especially the general sense of emptiness and dissatisfaction. These people are

nonaffiliates. There is an impoverishment of internal life in these nonaffiliates as the result of their having devalued what they have not received from others. In other words, there has been a failure of early object integration. The internal world of object relations is destroyed. Psychological development does not occur using normal methods of identification and empathy. There is a sense of aloneness, emptiness, and meaninglessness in life without the pleasure of learning or empathic bonding. One finds a stimulus hunger, the need to be entertained, and stimulated to replace the missing world of object relations. The perpetrator of serial murder expects the victim to perform and initiate certain behaviors to "entertain" him. A sadistic perversion of the learning experience may occur when the murderer dissects or otherwise mutilates the victim.

According to Markman (30), the primary ingredient missing from the sociopath's psyche is conscience. Psychopathy, sociopathy, and antisocial personality disorder are not generally classified as a mental illness per se, but rather as a disorder of character. McCord (31) notes that psychopathy has been defined either as a discrete category whereby one is considered either psychopathic or not, or as representing a point along a continuum in which some individuals occupy an extreme position relative to specific traits and behaviors.

Dr. Robert Hare presented the emotional and interpersonal traits of psychopathy in "Without Conscience—The Disturbing World of The Psychopaths Among Us." Hare described what he referred to as the "Key Symptoms of Psychopathy," which he divided into two groupings: The emotional/interpersonal consisting of glib and superficial egocentric and grandiose, lack of remorse or guilt, lack of empathy, deceitful and manipulative, shallow emotions; and social deviance consisting of impulsive, poor behavior controls, need for excitement, lack of responsibility, early behavior problems, and adult antisocial behavior (32). According to Hare (32), psychopaths have ". . . a deeply disturbing inability to care about the pain and suffering experienced by others . . ." We find this perspective consistent with observable data and applicable to investigation. Hare's work best represents our point of view.

In an examination of psychopathy as a concept, Blackburn (33) notes the interchangeability of the terms sociopath and psychopath, particularly in the American literature. He notes the particular influence of Robin's (34,35) work in its explicit equating of "sociopathic personality" with violation of social rules, on the determination of DSM-III-R criteria for antisocial personality disorder.

According to the DSM-IV (36), the essential feature of the disorder is to be found in patterns of irresponsible and antisocial behaviors beginning in childhood or early adolescence and continuing into adulthood. Lying, stealing, truancy, vandalism, initiating fights, running away from home, and physical cruelty are typical childhood signs. In adulthood, the antisocial pattern continues and may include failure to honor financial obligations, maintain consistent employment, or plan ahead. These individuals fail to conform to social norms and repeatedly engage in antisocial behaviors that are grounds for arrest, such as destroying property, harassing others, and stealing. Often these antisocial acts are committed with no seeming necessity. People with antisocial personality disorder tend toward irritability and aggressivity, and often become involved in physical fights and assaults, including spouse and child beating. Reckless behavior without regard for personal safety is common, as indicated by driving while intoxicated or getting numerous speeding tickets. Frequently, these individuals are promiscuous, failing to sustain a monogamous relationship for more than one year. They do not learn from past experiences and tend

to resume the same kinds of antisocial behaviors they were punished for. They lack feelings of remorse about the effects of their behavior on others and may feel justified in having violated others.

Sexual Sadism

Money (37) defines a paraphilia as a "condition occurring in men and women of being compulsively responsive to and obligatively dependent upon an unusual and personally or socially unacceptable stimulus, perceived or in the imagery of fantasy, for optimal initiation and maintenance of erotosexual arousal and the facilitation or attainment of orgasm (37)." Paraphilias are thus sexual deviations marked by persistent sexual arousal patterns in which unusual objects, rituals, or situations are required for sexual gratification. They are understood to reflect psychosexual disorder in which the preferred or exclusive means of sexual gratification is deviant. Unusual or bizarre imagery or acts are necessary for sexual excitement. According to the DSM IV, such imagery or acts tend to be insistent and involuntarily repetitive and generally involve either a preference for use of a nonhuman object for sexual arousal, repetitive sexual activity with humans involving real or simulated suffering or humiliation, or repetitive sexual activity with nonconsenting partners. Nine paraphilias are currently recognized in the DSM IV. These are fetishism, transvestic fetishism, voyeurism, exhibitionism, sexual sadism, sexual masochism, pedophilia, zoophilia, and frotteurism. Meloy (21) defines sexual sadism as "the conscious experience of pleasurable sexual arousal through the infliction of physical or emotional pain on the actual object (21)."

Literature Depictions of Serial Murderers as "Psychopathic Sexual Sadists"

Among the number of paraphilias discussed in De River's (38) often cited work "Crime and the Sexual Psychopath," is lust murder. De River speaks of sadism as a compelling element in some lust murders; in others, arousal is not derived from the infliction of pain and suffering of the victim but rather from the act of killing. In this latter case, however, as with necrophiles, De River recognizes that even though the offender may not witness any prolonged degree of suffering on the part of the victim, he is likely to "[call] upon his imagination and fancy to supply him with the necessary engrams to satisfy his craving for his depravity (38)." This is not unlike lust murderers who torture victims before killing them, and then recall "an after-image (engram) of the sensation produced by the physical torture and mutilation, extending beyond time and space (38)." The sadistic scenario is thus conjured in the imagination, be it a recreation of the actual crime scene, or the product of fantasy. In each instance, lust murders are viewed as behaviors of sadistic sexual psychopaths.

Neustatter (39) devotes a chapter in his book *The Mind of the Murderer* to the sadistic and mutilative sexual homicides of Neville Heath. The title of the chapter is "Neville Heath—The Psychopathic Sadist." Neustatter describes Heath using the actual terms psychopathic and sexual sadist. He explains:

The element of illness lies in the psychopathy, and, if it may be so put, the badness in a man like Heath lies in making no attempt to avoid situations in which he is likely to succumb to his dreadful urges; thus, within a few weeks of one murder, he commits a second. . . . The lack of sexual control in Heath's case is in perfect keeping with his utter lack of concern and disregard for the suffering or welfare of others in any direction (40).

According to Vetter (40), serial murderers are almost routinely characterized in media accounts and much legal documentation as "psychopaths" or "sociopaths," which he notes are terms that were superseded by the diagnostic category "antisocial personality disorder" by the psychiatric community in its 1968 revision of the American Psychiatric Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM).

A reading of Brittain's (41) work on the sadistic murderer reveals that such individuals are unconcerned with the moral implications of their brutality. They are excited by the sight of suffering and helplessness of their victims, whom they experience as objects, and usually kill by strangulation, apparently because of their total control over the victim that this method offers them.

Because it appears that a substantial proportion of male serial murderers violate their victims sexually, it is important to examine the role sexual behavior has in the killings. Hucker, Langevin, Dickey, Chambers, and Wright (42) diagnosed 43% of their sample of 51 sexually aggressive men as sadists according to DSM criteria. Dietz (43), like Brittain before him, contends that the paraphilia most frequently associated with sex murders is sadism. In fact, of serial killers, Dietz states, "[w]hile every serial killer is mentally disordered, nearly all are psychopathic sexual sadists, and few, if any, are psychotic." Psychotic offenders rarely have the wherewithal repeatedly to escape apprehension (43)."

Arbolita-Florez and Holley (44) conclude from their research on multiple murderers that most are sexual sadists who derive great satisfaction from the publicity surrounding their case in addition to the sexual mutilations and/or deaths they cause. Berger (45) found from his interviews of a number of recognized experts on serial murder who themselves had conducted extensive interviews with serial killers that they concluded "most serial killers are sexual sadists (45)." In his discussion of a serial murderer who was convicted of killing two young women and one teenaged girl, and who confessed to more than two dozen other killings across five states during the 1970's, Meloy (21) describes Theodore Bundy as "a contemporary sexual psychopath (21)." Moreover, he speaks of other sexually psychopathic serial murderers and entertains the contention by Lunde (46), among others, that there is a temporal coupling of erotic stimulation and violence in the childhood histories of what they call sexually psychopathic serial murderers.

Levin and Fox (4) appear to conclude that there is a typical serial killer—a white male, usually in his late twenties or thirties, who murders his stranger victims by strangulation or beating. Crime scenes of their 42 subjects evidenced brutality, sadism, and mutilation from which Levin and Fox (4) concluded that serial murderers commonly have a deep need for domination and control. According to these authors, "[t]hose who go to this extreme (of sexually motivated murder) in their quest for control have failed to internalize a moral code for the treatment of others. Serial murderers are able to repeat their acts of brutality and sadism because they lack conscience, guilt, or superego. Levin and Fox refer to them as sociopaths (4)."

The object of our research is to examine the extent to which criteria for antisocial personality disorder and sexual sadism appear to be met in a sample of serial murderers, and to examine the validity of frequent references in the serial murder literature that put forth serial killers as "psychopathic sexual sadists."

Methodology

Persisting variations in definition provide problems for researchers who must be mindful that specific cases may or may not qualify

as serial murder depending upon the particular definition used. Although there has been a number of scholarly works on the broader subject of multiple murder, the initial challenge for this study was to isolate a specific population—serial murderers who violated their victims sexually—from a literature based upon research using different operational definitions of serial murder.

For the purposes of this research, the authors will focus on only male offenders and will use the operational definition of serial murder as follows: *A serial murderer is an individual who, either alone or with a partner, is suspected of killing at least three people, over a period of time with time breaks between the murders.*

Sample of Cases

The authors compiled a list of serial murderers within the United States on the basis of a computer search of newswire services through the Nexis system specifying the key term "serial murder." This search revealed the names of all serial murderers reported by the AP and UPI newswire services from the earliest available data until December 1993. Records of the F.B.I.'s National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime (NCAVC) were also examined for additional serial murder cases.

Finally, the authors supplemented this list with other known cases from personal records derived from information given one author in his capacities as homicide consultant, crime scene photographs, official police reports, and police files as well as from files related to our previous research on the subject of serial homicide from 1988 to 1993. This includes psychiatric as well as law enforcement data.

Those cases that met the operational definition of serial murder in this study provided the authors with a base population of 387 serial murderers with various motivations. (See Table 1), Table 1 presents a basic summary of these 387 cases. Table 2 summarizes the apparent motivational underpinnings of murders for the 387 serial murderers presented in Table 1.

The authors then examined those 387 cases for evidence that the serial murderer violated his victim sexually. For the purposes of this study, the authors used the following definition (1) "sexual homicide describes murders with evidence or observations that indicate that the motive for murder was sexual in nature. These include the condition of the victim's body, sexual positioning of the victim's body, insertion of foreign objects into the victim's body cavities, evidence of sexual intercourse (oral, anal, vaginal), and evidence of substitute sexual activity, interest, or sadistic fantasy (1)."

The primary sample of this research is 248 of the 387 serial murderers who violated their victims sexually. These offenders were both male and female and also included serial killers who were not apprehended such as The Bound Torture Killer, The Baltimore Murders, Ft. Worth Murders, Green River Killer, New Bedford Killings, and the like.

This current research, however, concentrates on male offenders who were suspected of killing three or more persons over a period of time in a manner that included sexual violation. The primary sample of 248 included four female offenders and 12 unapprehended serial killers.

The authors eliminated the four female offenders and the 12 unknown unapprehended serial killers from the primary sample of 248 resulting in a total population of 232 identified, male serial killers who had violated their victims sexually.

Application of DSM-IV Criteria

This research focused on an identified sample of serial murderers whose behaviors were available for review. The authors used a case history evaluation protocol (See Figs. 1 and 2), based upon the DSM-IV [39] criteria of antisocial personality disorder (301.70) and sexual sadism (302.84) to examine the population of 232 serial killers, who had violated their victims sexually. Examination of data sources for those 232 killers revealed information for only 68 of them to complete the protocols for this study. The data sources used by the authors consisted of crime scene photographs, police files, and confidential police reports provided to the primary author in his capacity of consultant, as well as psychiatric and related psychological reports and published biographical materials on the subjects of this study. Table 3 summarizes the descriptive characteristics of the 68 subjects of this study. The first 68 cases which appear in Table 1 met the rigorous definition of antisocial personality disorder and sexual sadism. Tables 4 and 5 summarize the application of DSM-IV criteria of antisocial personality disorder to the 68 subjects of this study.

Conclusion

The 68 offenders in this study displayed aggressive and antisocial behaviors during their childhood which escalated and took on elements of sexual sadism in adulthood.

There was also a style and pattern to their killings that involved domination, control, humiliation, and sadistic sexual violence. The

TABLE 1a—Serial killers in the U.S.

CASE#	SEX	RACE	VICTIMS	METHOD	MOTIVE	
1	19	M	W	6	STRANGLE, TORTURE	SEX
2	20	M	W	6	SHOT	SEX
3	23	M	W	12	STRANGLE, TORTURE	SEX
4	17	M	W	5	SHOT, STAB	SEX
5	26	M	W	5	STRANGLE, TORTURE	SEX
6	30	M	W	26	STAB, STRANGLE, TORTURE	SEX
7	31	M	W	9	RELATED TO CASE# 23	SEX
8	41	M	W	6	STRANGLE, TORTURE	SEX
9	44	M	W	33	BEAT, STRANGLE	SEX
10	48	M	W	5	BEAT, BLOWS TO HEAD	SEX
11	49	M	W	10	SHOT, STAB	SEX
12	58	M	W	6	SHOT, MUTILATE	SEX
13	60	M	W	4	SHOT	SEX
14	64	M	W	7	SHOT, DECAPITATE	SEX
15	68	M	W	22	STRANGLE	SEX
16	69	M	B	10	BEAT, SHOT, STAB	SEX
17	70	M	W	7	BEAT, SHOT, STRANGLE	SEX
18	75	M	W	27	SHOT, STRANGLE	SEX
19	79	M	W	7	STAB, STRANGLE, TORTURE	SEX
20	85	M	W	17	STRANGLE, TORTURE	SEX
21	93	M	B	3	STRANGLE, MUTILATE	SEX
22	97	M	W	4	SHOT	SEX
23	98	M	W	13	STRANGLE	SEX
24	113	M	W	22	STAB, DISMEMBER	SEX
25	119	M	W	10	DISMEMBER	SEX
26	124	M	W	33	STRANGLE, TORTURE	SEX
27	125	M	W	12	SHOT, TORTURE	SEX
28	127	M	B	9	STRANGLE	SEX
29	131	M	W	4	SHOT, STAB, STRANGLE	SEX
30	135	M	W	4	STRANGLE	SEX
31	137	M	W	4	STRANGLE	SEX
32	155	M	W	17	SHOT, STAB, TORTURE	SEX
33	162	M	W	16	STRANGLE, STAB	SEX
34	183	M	W	5	TORTURE, ELECTROCUTE	SEX
35	184	M	W	4	SHOT, STAB	SEX
36	185	M	W	27	RELATED TO CASE# 75	SEX
37	187	M	B	16	SHOT, STAB	SEX
38	196	M	W	3	STAB, TORTURE	SEX
39	199	M	W	6	SHOT, TORTURE	SEX
40	201	M	W	10	SHOT, STAB, STRANGLE	SEX
41	209	M	W	39	STRANGLE, STAB	SEX
42	211	M	W	25	STRANGLE, TORTURE	SEX
43	223	M	W	9	SHOT, STAB, STRANGLE	SEX
44	226	M	W	4	SHOT, STAB	SEX
45	251	M	W	5	BEAT, STRANGLE, STAB	SEX
46	257	M	W	5	SHOT, STAB, TORTURE	SEX
47	261	M	W	22	SHOT, STRANGLE,	SEX
48	263	M	O	25	RELATED TO CASE# 211	SEX
49	264	M	W	5	RELATED TO CASE# 26	SEX
50	266	M	W	6	BEAT	SEX
51	271	M	W	5	TORTURE, BLUDGEON	SEX
52	279	M	W	5	STAB, MUTILATE	SEX
53	283	M	H	14	BEAT, SHOT, MUTILATE	SEX
54	295	M	W	7	STAB, TORTURE	SEX
55	296	M	W	7	STAB, MUTILATE	SEX
56	297	M	W	6	STRANGLE	SEX
57	298	M	B	3	BEAT, MUTILATE	SEX
58	309	M	W	11	STRANGLE	SEX
59	318	M	W	8	STRANGLE	SEX
60	323	M	W	12	STRANGLE, STAB	SEX
61	325	M	B	5	STRANGLE, TORTURE	SEX

TABLE 1b

CASE#	SEX	RACE	VICTIMS	METHOD	MOTIVE	
62	331	M	W	41	SHOT, BEAT, STRANGLE	SEX
63	352	M	W	5	RELATED TO CASE# 226	SEX
64	360	M	B	14	STAB, MUTILATE	SEX
65	366	M	B	22	STAB, STRANGLE, DROWN	SEX
66	370	M	B	6	STAB, STRANGLE	SEX
67	372	M	W	9	STRANGLE, TORTURE	SEX
68	382	M	W	14	SHOT, STRANGLE, STAB	SEX
69	5	M	B	9	SLAYED	SEX
70	7	M	W	4	BEAT	SEX
71	9	M	W	6	STAB	SEX
72	10	M	W	14	DISMEMBERED	SEX
73	11	M	UNK.	5	SHOT, STABBED	SEX
74	12	M	W	5	STAB, HATCHET, CUT	SEX
75	14	M	W	4	SHOT	SEX
76	15	M	W	6	BEAT, DISMEMBER	SEX
77	18	M	W	4	SUFFOCATE	SEX
78	22	M	B	5	SHOT, BEAT, STAB	SEX
79	24	M	B	33	AXED	SEX
80	25	M	W	5	SHOT, BEAT, DROWN	SEX
81	29	M	W	8	STAB	SEX
82	32	M	W	3	BEAT, STRANGLE	SEX
83	35	M	B	4	SHOT	SEX
84	36	M	W	8	RELATED TO CASE# 75	SEX
85	37	M	B	5	STAB, CHOKE	SEX
86	38	M	W	3	SHOT	SEX
87	39	M	B	5	STAB, STRANGLE	SEX
88	40	F	B	10	RELATED TO CASE# 89	SEX
89	42	M	W	14	STRANGLE, SHOT, STAB	SEX
90	43	M	W	6	SLAYED	SEX
91	45	M	W	6	BLOWS TO SKULL	SEX
92	46	M	W	6	RELATED TO CASE# 46	SEX
93	47	M	W	25	SHOT	SEX
94	50	M	W	5	STRANGLE	SEX
95	53	M	W	8	STRANGLE	SEX
96	55	M	B	9	STRANGLE	SEX
97	56	M	W	3	STAB, CHOKE	SEX
98	15	M	W	15	SHOT, STAB, DISMEMBER	SEX
99	62	M	W	8	BEAT, STAB	SEX
100	65	M	W	6	STRANGLE	SEX
101	66	M	B	10	SHOT, STAB, STRANGLE	SEX
102	72	M	B	15	SHOT, STAB	SEX
103	76	M	H	25	MACHETE, BLOWS TO HEAD	SEX
104	77	M	H	7	SHOT, BEAT	SEX
105	78	M	H	8	STRANGLE, TORTURE	SEX
106	80	M	B	4	STRANGLE	SEX
107	82	M	W	8	STRANGLE	SEX
108	83	M	H	9	STRANGLE	SEX
109	86	M	W	4	SLAYED	SEX
110	89	M	W	5	SHOT	SEX
111	90	M	B	3	SHOT, STRANGLE	SEX
112	91	M	W	29	SHOT, STAB, POISON	SEX
113	92	M	W	3	STRANGLE, AX, SHOT	SEX
114	95	M	W	4	BEAT, STAB, DROWN	SEX
115	96	M	H	3	SHOT, STAB	SEX
116	100	M	W	4	STAB, STRANGLE	SEX
117	103	M	W	50	BEAT, GASSED	SEX
118	106	M	W	5	SHOT, STAB	SEX
119	107	M	W	3	SLAYED	SEX
120	109	M	W	22	SHOT	SEX
121	115	M	W	5	STRANGLE, SUFFOCATE	SEX
122	118	M	W	20	BEAT, STAB, SHOT	SEX

TABLE 1c

CASE#	SEX	RACE	VICTIMS	METHOD	MOTIVE	
123	120	M	W	8	STRANGLE, BEAT	SEX
124	122	M	UNK.	9	SHOT, STRANGLE, STAB	SEX
125	126	F	W	4	RELATED TO CASE# 125	SEX
126	130	M	W	18	TORTURE	SEX
127	132	M	W	7	STRANGLE	SEX
128	133	M	W	4	STAB	SEX
129	136	M	W	3	BEAT, STRANGLE	SEX
130	138	M	W	5	STAB	SEX
131	139	M	W	6	SHOT	SEX
132	141	M	W	7	STRANGLE	SEX
133	143	M	W	4	STAB, MUTILATE	SEX
134	144	M	W	4	STAB	SEX
135	145	M	B	7	STAB	SEX
136	146	M	W	23	SHOT, STAB	SEX
137	148	M	W	49	STRANGED	SEX
138	150	M	W	9	STAB	SEX
139	152	M	W	15	SLAYED	SEX
140	155	M	B	8	BEAT, STRANGLE	SEX
141	156	M	B	8	RELATED TO CASE# 155	SEX
142	158	M	B	3	BEAT	SEX
143	160	M	B	7	BEAT, STAB	SEX
144	166	M	H	6	BEAT, STAB	SEX
145	167	M	W	5	STAB, MUTILATE	SEX
146	169	M	W	33	RELATED TO CASE# 198	SEX
147	170	M	B	6	SHOTGUN	SEX
148	173	M	W	5	STRANGLE	SEX
149	175	M	B	4	BEAT, STRANGLE, STAB	SEX
150	177	M	W	4	SUFFOCATE	SEX
151	178	M	W	5	BEAT, STRANGLE	SEX
152	181	M	B	8	STAB, STRANGLE, SUFF.	SEX
153	182	M	B	9	SUFFOCATE, STRANGLE	SEX
154	183	M	UNK.	6	STRANGLE	SEX
155	184	M	B	3	STAB	SEX
156	185	M	UNK.	7	SLAYED	SEX
157	188	M	B	3	BEAT, STAB	SEX
158	181	M	W	5	BEAT, HAMMER	SEX
159	192	M	W	3	STAB, TORTURE	SEX
160	193	M	B	6	SLAYED	SEX
161	194	M	W	7	STRANGLE, DROWN	SEX
162	195	M	W	3	SLAYED	SEX
163	197	M	W	4	BEAT, ARSON	SEX
164	198	M	W	33	DISMEMBERED, SHOT	SEX
165	200	M	B	3	SHOT	SEX
166	203	M	W	7	STRANGLE	SEX
167	205	M	W	35	SHOT, STRANGLE	SEX
168	208	M	W	3	STAB	SEX
169	207	M	W	18	RELATED TO CASE# 130	SEX
170	208	M	W	18	RELATED TO CASE# 130	SEX
171	210	M	W	6	SHOT, BEAT, STAB	SEX
172	212	M	W	6	RELATED TO CASE# 199	SEX
173	213	M	W	7	BEAT, STRANGLE	SEX
174	214	M	W	3	BEAT, STRANGLE	SEX
175	215	M	B	9	STRANGLE, DISMEMBER	SEX
176	216	M	B	4	RELATED TO CASE# 215	SEX
177	220	M	B	4	STAB, CHOKE	SEX
178	221	M	W	4	STAB, CHOKE	SEX
179	229	M	W	6	BEAT, GNAW, DISMEM.	SEX
180	230	M	W	17	DECAPITATED, DISMEM.	SEX
181	231	M	W	5	BEAT, STRANGLE	SEX
182	232	M	UNK.	8	STRANGLE, DROWN	SEX
183	233	M	W	3	STRANGLE, DISMEMBER	SEX

murders were committed with the least sense of guilt or shame, and the killers displayed a total lack of remorse.

Jerry Brudos, dubbed "The Lust Killer," murdered four young women during 1968 and 1969 in a series of lust murders that were predicated on a sadistic and bizarre plan to kidnap and kill women, whom he would force to dress and pose in various sexually provocative positions. In some instances, he would continue his sexual fantasies by dressing the bodies after death. His perversions included necrophilia and sexual mutilation of the corpses.

Ted Bundy, who represents the epitome of the serial killer, brutally murdered and sexually violated over 30 young women. Bundy's attacks on women centered around control and total domination. Bundy wanted his victims to be totally submissive to him. His plans involved sadistic fantasies with a combination of sex and violence featuring a dominant male and a submissive female. Most of his victims were raped, traumatized, and then killed. Bundy performed necrophilia shortly after killing them.

Lawrence Bittaker and Roy Norris met in prison. They shared a mutual interest in female domination, rape, torture, and murder. They murdered five young women using a combination of methods that included stabbing them through the ears with an ice pick and strangling them manually, and with wire coat hangers, which were tightened around the victim's necks with pliers. They tape-recorded two of their torture sessions while they repeatedly raped, sodomized, and tortured the young women. The victims were chosen at random and the murders carried out in an almost obsessive manner.

The behaviors of these subjects are appropriately described as psychopathic sexual sadism. There were no "dual" diagnoses or comorbidity in this study. Such people abandon all ambitions and dedicate themselves to immediate enjoyment which Kernberg, (29) termed "unambitious hedonism" and social isolation, a primitive ego organization is part of all severe personality disorders that also have identity diffusion. This represents a lack of integration and a lack of the concept of the self and significant others. Instead, a grandiose self integrates with the resultant ego-syntonic sadism. The more evident the antisocial features and the more disintegrated the internal object relations, the worse the pathology.

Sex and aggression (as we understand them in psychoanalytic terms), and the perversion of a destructive and hostile libido, are at the core of the narcissistic personality that perpetrates these acts. The severe ego splitting may or may not be a manifestation of psychosis. Most of these perpetrators were not grossly psychotic or insane in the legal sense because they were not judged insane at time of trial.

The presentation of these killers is different depending on the defense structure and the degree of grandiosity. Scientific and psychological investigation has not led investigators to the conclusion that the majority of sexual murderers are emotionally ill, in either the medical sense or by legal definition. Few have been known to have been driven by either delusions or hallucinations.

The term "psychopath" developed from the concept of "psychopathic inferiority." Cleckley's review of "psychopathic states" is

TABLE 1d

CASE#	SEX	RACE	VICTIMS	METHOD	MOTIVE	
184	238	M	W	21	SHOT, STRANGLE	SEX/ROB
185	239	M	W	21	RELATED TO CASE# 237	SEX/ROB
188	240	M	UNK.	7	BEAT, STAB, STRANGLE	SEX
187	242	M	W	5	SHOT, STAB	SEX
188	244	M	B	5	STRANGLE	SEX
189	246	M	W	4	BEAT	SEX
190	247	M	B	6	SHOT, BEAT, AX	SEX
191	250	M	W	15	SHOT, STAB	SEX
192	252	M	B	3	STAB, SHOT	SEX
193	254	M	W	10	SLAYED	SEX
194	255	M	W	5	STRANGLE, BEAT, STAB	SEX
195	259	M	W	15	SHOT, INJECTED	SEX
196	260	F	W	15	RELATED TO CASE#259	SEX
197	262	M	W	9	STRANGLE	SEX
198	265	M	W	20	SHOT, AXED	SEX
199	267	M	W	9	BEAT	SEX
200	268	M	W	6	BEAT, STAB	SEX
201	282	M	UNK.	4	STRANGLE	SEX
202	284	M	W	4	STRANGLE	SEX
203	285	M	UNK.	6	STRANGLE	SEX
204	286	M	W	5	SHOT	SEX
205	287	M	W	8	STRANGLE, SHOT	SEX
206	288	M	W	6	SHOT	SEX/ROB
207	290	M	W	18	STRANGLED	SEX
208	292	M	UNK.	5	STAB, STRANGLE, DROWN	SEX
209	293	M	B	4	ARSON/SLAYED	SEX/ROB
210	294	M	W	3	SHOT	SEX
211	300	M	UNK.	10	STRANGLED	SEX
212	301	M	UNK.	5	SHOT, STAB, BEAT	SEX
213	304	M	W	4	BEAT, STAB	SEX
214	305	M	W	3	BEAT	SEX
215	306	M	W	20	TORTURE	SEX
216	307	M	W	3	BEAT	SEX
217	308	M	W	7	SLAIN	SEX/DRUG
218	311	M	W	11	STRANGLE, STAB	SEX/ROB
219	313	M	UNK.	15	SHOT, STAB	SEX
220	316	M	B	6	BEAT, STRANGLE, TORTURE	SEX
221	319	M	W	7	BEAT, STAB	SEX/ROB
222	320	M	W	4	STRANGLE	SEX
223	321	M	W	7	STRANGLE	SEX
224	322	M	H	5	STAB, MUTILATE	SEX
225	323	M	UNK.	17	STRANGLE	SEX
226	327	M	B	3	SUFFOCATION	SEX/ROB
227	328	M	W	18	RELATED TO CASE# 130	SEX
228	329	M	W	9	SHOT	SEX
229	330	M	W	9	SHOT	SEX
230	340	M	W	20	SHOT	SEX
231	342	M	W	22	RELATED TO CASE# 238	SEX/ROB
232	344	M	B	5	SHOT, STAB	SEX
233	346	M	UNK.	12	CLUBBED	SEX
234	347	M	W	34	STRANGLE	SEX
235	358	M	H	7	STAB	SEX
236	361	M	W	5	STRANGLE	SEX
237	363	M	W	3	STAB, MUTILATE	SEX
238	364	M	W	6	RELATED TO CASE# 139	SEX
239	366	M	W	20	STAB, STRANGLE, DROWN	SEX
240	367	M	W	7	SHOT	SEX
241	369	M	W	4	BEAT, SHOT	SEX/ROB
242	373	M	W	5	STAB, ARSON HIT&RUN	SEX
243	374	M	W	4	STAB, STRANGLE	SEX
244	376	M	W	5	STRANGLE	SEX

TABLE 1e

CASE#	SEX	RACE	VICTIMS	METHOD	MOTIVE	
245	377	M	W	27	STRANGLE	SEX
248	381	M	UNK.	8	SLAYED	SEX
247	383	F	W	6	SHOT	SEX
248	385	M	W	4	STRANGLE	SEX
249	1	M	H	4	SLAYED	ROBBERY
250	2	M	B	5	BEAT, STAB, CHOKE	ROBBERY
251	3	M	W	8	SHOT	ROBBERY
252	4	M	W	10	POISON	THRILL
253	5	M	W	6	POISON (INSULIN)	THRILL
254	8	M	W	3	STAB	OCULT
255	13	F	W	6	POISON	THEFT
256	16	F	W	20	RELATED TO CASE# 116	THEFT
257	21	M	B	3	SHOT	THRILL
258	27	M	W	7	SHOTGUN	THRILL
259	28	M	W	50	POISON, BLOWS TO HEAD	PROFIT
260	33	M	W	12	DISMEMBER	THRILL
261	34	M	W	5	SHOT, STAB	ROBBERY
262	51	M	W	3	SHOT	UNKNOWN
263	52	F	W	3	SHOT	UNKNOWN
264	54	M	W	4	POISON	PROFIT
265	67	M	B	4	RELATED TO CASE#299	RACIAL
266	61	M	W	6	SHOT, STAB	RACIAL
267	64	M	W	9	INJECTION	THRILL
268	67	M	W	8	SLAYED	UNKNOWN
269	71	M	W	5	SHOT	THRILL
270	73	M	W	13	SHOT	UNKNOWN
271	74	F	W	13	SHOT	UNKNOWN
272	81	M	W	16	SHOT, BEAT, STAB	OCULT
273	84	M	W	6	SHOT	ROBBERY
274	87	M	W	6	SHOT, INJECTED	ROBBERY
275	88	M	W	5	STAB	THRILL
276	94	M	B	10	SHOT	RACIAL
277	99	M	H	48	INJECTION	THRILL
278	101	F	W	10	POISON	THRILL
279	102	M	W	4	POISON	THRILL
280	104	M	W	6	NEGLECT, STARVE	CHILD KILLER
281	105	F	W	6	NEGLECT, STARVE	CHILD KILLER
282	108	M	W	5	SHOT, BEAT	ROBBERY
283	110	M	W	6	SHOT, BOMB	THEFT
284	111	F	W	4	POISON	CHILD KILLER
285	112	F	W	3	BEAT, SUFFOCATE	CHILD KILLER
286	114	F	W	3	SOTHERED	CHILD KILLER
287	116	M	W	20	POISON, SHOT	THEFT
288	117	M	H	5	SHOT	THRILL
289	121	M	W	15	SHOT, BOMB	RACIAL
290	123	F	W	11	RELATED TO CASE# 332	THRILL
291	126	M	W	14	SHOT, STAB, STRANGLE	THRILL
292	128	F	W	5	POISON	THEFT
293	134	F	W	10	POISON	THEFT
294	140	M	W	5	SHOT	THRILL
295	142	F	W	6	STRANGLE, SLAYED	THRILL
296	147	M	W	4	BEAT STAB	UNKNOWN
297	149	M	W	4	SHOT	THRILL
298	151	M	W	17	SHOT	THRILL
299	163	F	W	19	BEAT, POISON, ARSON	THEFT
300	154	F	W	7	POISON	PROFIT
301	157	M	W	5	SHOT	ROBBERY
302	161	M	W	55	POISON	THRILL
303	168	M	B	4	SHOT, BLUDGEON	ROBBERY
304	171	F	W	4	SHOT	UNKNOWN
305	172	M	W	35	POISON	THEFT

both comprehensive and basic (24). Kraepelin (19) further subdivided psychopaths and discussed "early inhibition" in the origin of the disorder. Other authors have used the term "psychopathic" to encompass a wide variety of individuals who lack a sense of responsibility, do not profit from experience, fail to alter their behavior after punishment, and exhibit a lack of guilt (47). In the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual* of the American Psychiatric Association (48), the term "sociopathic personality disturbance," was listed under "personality disorders" and later discarded by the APA in 1968 when specific diagnostic entities such as antisocial personality were used. The *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual IV* lists antisocial personality (301.7) (36) in individuals where there was a pervasive pattern of disregard for and violation of the rights of others since age 15 years and indicated by at least three or more of seven specific characteristics. This category is now used to encompass a wide spectrum of individuals who commit criminal behavior (49).

Thus the term "sociopath" or "psychopath" can be subsumed under the diagnostic entity of Antisocial Personality Disorder, the former being much more general descriptions of individuals who evidence various behavioral disorders characterized by criminal activity (chronic antisocial behavior). For the most part, the most common observation is that psychopaths are unreliable and irresponsible; and, secondarily, untruthful and insincere.

According to Hare (32), "If you are dealing with a true psychopath, it is important to recognize that the current prognosis for

significant improvement in his or her attitudes and behavior is poor (32)."

The authors believe that "psychopathy" represents a failure of the development of the individual's personality and conscience. Psychopaths are not out of contact with reality, do not suffer from a thought disorder, and have no other evidence of psychotic disturbance. "Psychopathic" behavior represents a failure of the development of the conscience and sense of self.

The subjects of this study were extremely violent and fit the criteria of antisocial personality and sexual sadism. These 68 cases were the ones with sufficient data to draw conclusions and apply the criteria of antisocial personality disorder and sexual sadism. The behaviors of these subjects indicated that psychopathic sexual sadists killed because they liked to kill.

Technically, this meant that they satisfied psychological desires. That is to say, they sought sensual gratification. These desires were aggressive libidinal wishes that were not expressed in their daily lives and were a product of their developmental arrests and unresolved needs. Following the outburst of lust murder, behavior returned to "normal" (49,50) until the next outburst of murder. The victim, in the majority of cases, a woman, became the target of the "badness" displaced from the mother. This fusion of the destructive impulses resulted from disorganized developmental experiences and faulty object relations (51) along with the incapacity for empathic bonding both typically found in the antisocial personality disorder individual. This dynamic was consistent with

TABLE 1f

CASE#	SEX	RACE	VICTIMS	METHOD	MOTIVE	
306	174	M	W	6	SHOT	UNKNOWN
307	176	M	W	4	BEAT, STAB, SHOT	THRILL
308	179	M	W	6	SHOT	ROBBERY
309	180	M	W	3	BLOWS TO HEAD	UNKNOWN
310	186	F	UNK.	4	SMOTHER	CHILD KILLER
311	189	F	W	9	INJECTION	THRILL
312	190	M	W	13	SLAYED	UNKNOWN
313	202	M	W	9	BEAT, STRANGLE	THRILL
314	204	M	W	8	SHOT, BOMB	THRILL
315	217	M	W	10	SHOT	ROBBERY
316	218	M	W	10	RELATED TO CASE# 217	ROBBERY
317	219	M	W	3	SHOT, BEAT	OCCULT
318	222	M	W	8	SHOT, STAB	RACIAL
319	224	M	UNK.	3	SLAYED	UNKNOWN
320	225	M	H	5	SHOT	UNKNOWN
321	227	F	W	7	STRANGLE	CHILD KILLER
322	228	F	W	4	POISON	THEFT
323	234	F	W	8	POISON, ARSON	THEFT
324	236	F	W	3	POISON	THEFT
325	236	M	W	20	STAB	OCCULT
326	237	M	W	7	SHOT	ROBBERY
327	241	M	W	17	SHOT	ROBBERY
328	243	M	W	8	POISON	THRILL
329	245	M	W	3	SHOT, BEAT	THRILL
330	248	F	W	7	POISON	THEFT
331	249	M	W	23	AX	THRILL
332	253	M	W	27	SLAYED	THRILL
333	255	M	W	13	SHOT, STAB	THRILL
334	258	M	W	3	BEAT, STAB	UNKNOWN
335	259	M	W	3	SHOT	ROBBERY
336	270	F	W	6	SHOT	BLACK WIDOW
337	272	M	W	50	POISON, BLOWS TO HD	PROFIT
338	273	M	W	50	RELATED TO CASE# 272	PROFIT
339	274	M	W	9	SHOT	UNKNOWN
340	276	M	W	4	SHOT, BEAT	ROBBERY
341	276	M	B	11	SHOT	THRILL
342	277	M	UNK.	4	BEAT, STAB	UNKNOWN
343	278	F	H	8	POISON	THEFT
344	280	F	W	15	SHOT, POISON	BLACK WIDOW
345	281	M	UNK.	4	SHOT	UNKNOWN
346	289	M	B	3	SHOT	ROBBERY
347	291	M	H	4	SHOT	UNKNOWN
348	299	M	B	4	SHOT	RACIAL
349	302	M	W	3	SHOT	UNKNOWN
350	303	M	W	10	SHOT	UNKNOWN
351	310	M	W	3	STAB	OCCULT
352	312	M	H	3	SHOT, STRANGLE	UNKNOWN
353	314	M	B	3	SHOT, TORTURE	THRILL
354	315	M	W	4	SHOT, STAB	OCCULT
355	317	M	B	4	SLAYED	UNKNOWN
356	326	M	W	3	SHOT	RACIAL
357	332	M	W	11	SHOT	THRILL
358	333	M	B	3	BEAT	THRILL
359	334	M	W	17	RELATED TO CASE# 151	THRILL
360	335	M	W	7	SHOT	UNKNOWN
361	336	M	W	7	INJECTION	THRILL
362	337	M	W	6	SHOT	ROBBERY
363	338	M	W	3	BEAT, SHOT, STAB	ROBBERY
364	339	F	W	3	POISON	THEFT
365	341	M	UNK.	17	SHOT	ROBBERY
366	343	M	W	5	SHOT	ROBBERY
367	345	M	B	135	BLK. MUSLIM OFFSHOOT	RACIAL
368	348	M	B	4	RELATED TO CASE# 299	RACIAL
369	349	M	W	7	SHOT	ROBBERY
370	350	F	W	9	SUFFOCATION	CHILD KILLER
371	351	M	W	6	SHOT	THRILL
372	353	F	W	70	POISON	THRILL
373	354	M	H	5	SHOT	ROBBERY
374	355	F	W	6	POISON	BLACK WIDOW
375	356	F	B	4	SUFFOCATE	CHILD KILLER
376	357	F	W	10	POISON	BLACK WIDOW
377	359	M	W	4	SHOT	ROBBERY
378	362	M	B	5	SHOT	UNKNOWN
379	365	M	W	3	BEAT	THRILL
380	371	M	W	7	SHOT	ROBBERY
381	375	M	UNK.	3	SHOT	THRILL
382	378	F	W	5	SLAYED	CHILD KILLER
383	379	F	W	3	POISON	THRILL
384	380	F	W	8	RELATED TO CASE# 142	THRILL
385	384	M	W	5	BEAT	THRILL
386	386	M	B	15	SHOT	RACIAL
387	387	M	UNK.	37	SHOT, STAB	THRILL

The first 68 cases in Table 1 met the rigorous definition of antisocial personality disorder and sexual sadism.

The first 248 cases in Table 1 encompass the 68 offenders of this study as well as the serial killers, who met the "Sex Crimes" definition.

The 387 represent the total population of serial killers, suspected of killing three or more persons.

Victims column indicates suspected of killing.

their superficial adaptation and noninvolvement in any socially integrative manner.

In the homosexual serial murderers, the mechanism of projection was utilized to displace the "badness" to the same sexed victim. The perpetrator unconsciously identified with the victim, yet destroyed him, and thus preserved himself.

They have conscious detailed plans, which involve sadistic fantasies. According to Cartel, "... they apparently achieved euphoria through torturing and killing people without experiencing guilt or compassion for the victims or their families (52)." This lack of guilt is the hallmark of antisocial personality disorder.

The application of such criteria could allow for the identification

TABLE 2—Motivations of serial killers depicted in Table 1.

Killer's Motive (If Known)	N = 387	
	Number	Percent
Sex related murders	248	64.08%
Robbery/theft/profit	44	11.37%
Thrill killings	42	10.85%
Unknown	23	5.94%
Racial	10	2.58%
Child killer	9	2.33%
Occult	6	1.55%
Black widow type	4	1.03%

Indicates the various motivations of the killers. The various motivations of these killers are listed under the Motive column and include sex related murders, robbery/theft/profit motives, thrill killings, unknown motivations, racial murders, child killers, serial murder related to occult activities and black widow type murders.

PROTOCOL

NAME OF SUBJECT	CASE #
DSM-IV CRITERIA (301.70)	
Antisocial Personality Disorder	
A. Current age at least 18	
B. Conduct disorder before age 15, as indicated by at least three of the following:	
CRITERIA	CIRCLE THE SPECIFIC CONDUCT OBSERVED/REPORTED
1. Truant	7. Cruel to people
2. Ran away	8. Destroyed property
3. Fought	9. Set fires
4. Used weapons	10. Lied
5. Forced sex on others	11. Stole
6. Cruel to animals	12. Robbed
DESCRIPTION OF CONDUCT	
SOURCE	
C. Antisocial behavior since age 15, as indicated by four or more of the following:	
CRITERIA	CIRCLE THE SPECIFIC CONDUCT OBSERVED/REPORTED
1. Poor employment record	6. Lies
2. Repeated criminal acts	7. Reckless
3. Irritable and aggressive	8. Irresponsible parenting
4. Poor financial record	9. No monogamous relationships
5. Impulsive	10. Lacks remorse
DESCRIPTION OF CONDUCT	
SOURCE	

FIG. 1—Protocol for antisocial personality disorder.

of potential serial killers and, hopefully, lead to proper assessment of future dangerousness and treatment strategies. According to Monahan (1981) "The repetitive nature of sex-related serial murderers may, as such, render these offenders somewhat more predictable (53)."

The importance of categorizing and classification lies in the ability to study further specific parameters of behavior as well as allowing communication with individuals in the various professions such as law enforcement and psychology (Social Sciences).

DSM-IV permits the accumulation of data, such as neurological-biological information in a meaningful manner without changing the psychodynamic perspective.

PROTOCOL

NAME OF SUBJECT	CASE #
DSM-IV CRITERIA	
Sexual Sadism (302.84)	
<p>A. Over a period of at least six months, recurrent intense sexual urges and sexually arousing fantasies involving acts (real, not simulated) in which the psychological or physical suffering (including humiliation) of the victim is sexually exciting to the person.</p>	
<p>B. The person has acted on these urges, or is markedly distressed by them.</p>	
BEHAVIORS:	
<p>Sadistic fantasies or acts may involve activities that indicate the dominance of the person over his victim (e.g. forcing the victim to crawl, or keeping the victim in a cage), or restraint, blindfolding, paddling, spanking, whipping, pinching, beating, burning, electrical shocks, rape, cutting or stabbing, strangulation, torture, mutilation, or killing.</p>	
DESCRIPTION OF CONDUCT	

SOURCES:

FIG. 2—Protocol for sexual sadism.

TABLE 3—Descriptive characteristics of the 68 subjects of this study listed as 1 through 68 in Table 1.

Characteristic	N = 68	
	Number	Percent
Race		
Caucasian	56	82%
Black	10	15%
Hispanic	1	1.5%
Other	1	1.5%
Marital Status		
Married	8	12%
Divorced or separated	19	28%
Never married	41	60%
Age at time of first murder (years)		
Under 20	15	22%
20 to 24	7	10%
25 to 30	19	28%
Over 30	27	40%
Sexual Orientation of the murders		
Heterosexual	56	82%
Homosexual	12	18%

These subjects are listed as one through 68 in Table 1. This table provides race, social status, ages of the offenders at the time of the events and orientation.

With serial murderers, aggressive and destructive elements are externalized, allowing a temporary reestablishment of psychological equilibrium. Object relations theorists discuss these individuals with regard to "unmetabolized" elements and this is useful in understanding the targets of such aggression. These researchers

TABLE 4—Application of DSM-IV criteria of antisocial personality disorder (301.70) to subjects of this study: A. Current age at least 18, B. Conduct disorder before age 15.

Behavior/Conduct	N = 68	
	Number	Percent
Lied	66	97%
Stole	58	85%
Cruel to others	41	60%
Forced sex on others	24	35%
Truant	23	34%
Fought	13	19%
Vandalism	11	16%
Ran away	10	15%
Cruel to animals	10	15%
Used weapons	7	10%
Robbery	5	07%
Set fires	5	07%

TABLE 5—Application of DSM-IV criteria of antisocial personality disorder (301.70) to subjects of this study: C. Antisocial behavior since age 15.

Behavior/Conduct	N = 68	
	Number	Percent
Repeated criminal acts	66	97%
Lack of remorse	65	96%
Impulsive	64	94%
Lied	63	93%
Reckless in behavior	59	87%
Irritable and aggressive	35	51%
Poor employment	25	37%
No monogamous relationships	14	21%
Irresponsible parenting	11	16%
Poor financial records	3	04%

point to the failure of adaptive responses in the separation-individuation phase of development (Mahler, Pine, and Bergman 1975 (54)).

Somehow, the act of murder allowed the lust murderer to deal with internal frustrations that are related to early developmental conflicts. According to John Liebert (1986), "In absorbing the elements of badness through projection and displacement, female targets become objects of psychotic disorganization with a lack of realistic perception and true identification of the potential victim (51)."

In the homosexual serial killings, the mechanism is the same. The perpetrator, however, has identified with the mother and projected his rage to the same sex victim and thus preserved himself. The destructive elements of the early mother-child relationship were "introjected" and "split," and then projected with a recycling of this badness through projection and displacement. The female victim became dehumanized and, from the point of view of the killer, possessed the "badness." The same is true for the homosexual murderer utilizing the mechanisms of identification (with the mother) and then projection. The role of the father as a passive "object" in the lives of the homosexual perpetrator also played a role in the displacement of the aggression to another male. The victim became the "object" of the "badness" the perpetrator perceives about himself and can "act out" without destroying himself.

The results of this study may have implications for health practitioners for the assessment, treatment, and management of persons with the identifiable criteria of antisocial personality disorder and sexual sadism. An example of this application may be the clinical assessment of the future dangerousness of incarcerated offenders diagnosed as having antisocial personality disorder and the paraphilia of sexual sadism.

With what we know about science, the empirical world is in constant change. A good classification system allows the integration of new material and the opportunity for consistent study of changes, thereby allowing for the advance of scientific understanding. This knowledge can then be discussed in a common language.

In considering psychological issues in a demographic perspective, we must be aware that the material we study changes rapidly and a solid framework is necessary both to anticipate and classify such changes. Although this, to some extent, implies sophistication, even on the part of the offender, not only is such sophistication present but behaviors also change with various living styles. For example, perpetrators of crimes do change their modus operandi as they become more sophisticated in their criminal activities. Some criminals even read specialized journals to learn about law enforcement techniques. Many of the serial killers within this study followed the police investigation in the newspapers and media. They would adjust their activities and change their modus operandi to thwart the police investigation. In fact, many of these serial murderers were "students" of serial killings and had read about the activities of other serial murderers in the many popular books detailing these cases.

The categorization of antisocial personality disorder and sexual sadism allowed an elaboration of the concept of change and scientifically "grounds" the work. The application of such criteria could ultimately allow for the identification of potential serial killers and, hopefully, lead to a better understanding of their behavior. This permits an organized system for data accumulation and availability, thus facilitating communication. Perhaps someday, we may be able to focus our attention to the early developmental experiences of these individuals and preventive measures.

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