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Expressions of Sexual Deviance in Black Serial Killers

Lucia J. Weatherall
Walden University

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Walden University

College of Social and Behavioral Sciences

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Lucia J. Weatherall

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Walden University
2020

Abstract

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by

Lucia J. Weatherall

MPhil, Walden University, 2019

MSP, University of Phoenix, 2014

BS, University of Phoenix, 2012

Dissertation Submitted in Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Psychology

Walden University

August 2020

Abstract

The number of Black serial killers (BSKs) has increased, but empirical studies have not focused on this unique population, including their expressions of sexual deviance. The purpose of this case study was to understand the common socialization experiences and the expressions of sexual deviance in BSKs. Two conceptual frameworks were used to identify the concepts to explore: Bandura's social learning theory of aggression and Agnew's general strain theory. Data collected came from archival court and police records in Texas. A content-analysis approach was used to analyze the archival data, organized by criminal background, sexual deviance, familial data, and social development. The results identified rape and sadism as the primary expressions of sexual deviance in BSKs. The level of aggression and trauma experienced during childhood was consistent across all cases. The results, while limited by the lack of interviews with family and law enforcement, indicated that BSKs present a social problem and have an adaptive skill not hindered by mental impairments or limited education. The results suggested empirical research needs to explore aggression and strain on African American children, the possible connection to the lack of paternal involvement, and expressions of sexual deviance in BSKs. Future research on BSKs can help create an accurate profile to assist law enforcement agencies identify predators.

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Dedication

I dedicate this study, and doctorate, to my phenomenal husband Lloyd, and our three exceptional children, Zaria Jolie Angel, Micah Elijah, and Eliana Amor. You have remained my strongest and most loyal supporters; My Tribe. You (individually and as a Whole) had to sacrifice time with me, your wife and your mom. Nights and weekends that I should have been cooking dinner, helping with homework, having family time, and numerous other priceless moments were replaced with the back of my head buried in books or typing *another* paper. From the bottom of my heart and the depths of my being; I thank you for always supporting me, loving me, cheering for me, and motivating me. I love you with all that I am. You are my why, my reason, my purpose, my everything; I am the most blessed woman in this world to have each of you by my side during this journey called Life.

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The saying, “It takes a village,” extends farther than my childhood experiences and development. My family (Village) does not end with the people who share a genetic link; they include people who demonstrate unconditional loyalty, dedication, and support that goes beyond individual egos. My Village (My Tribe) has grown, changed, evolved, and strengthen during this process. I must acknowledge the family, friends, and faculty who will always have a place in my heart.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

The purpose of the study was to describe the expressions of sexual deviance in Black serial killers (BSKs). BSKs are an underexplored group who attack vulnerable and easily forgotten victims. For example, limited scholarly studies on BSKs suggest that they target prostitutes, the homeless, drug addicts, and runaways who do not prompt the same level of urgency when reported missing (Hickey, 2015; Quinet, 2007). These victims are referred to as the “missing-missing” and typically live a transient lifestyle; therefore, law enforcement rarely puts forth the same effort as they do for a child or young woman (i.e., college student) to locate them when (or if) reported missing (Branson, 2013; Cottrell, 2015; Donley & Gualtieri, 2017; LePard et al., 2015; Lester & White, 2014). The results of this study add to the scholarly research on the topic and reveal potential directions for future studies on BSKs, including a better understanding of the patterns of violent behaviors like sexual deviance, which contributes to social change. The results can assist law enforcement agencies with patterns and behaviors in BSKs, including the expressions of sexual deviance, so these offenders can be arrested.

Chapter 1 starts with an overview of the study, including a summary of the background research found on the topic. The chapter also presents the problem statement and purpose of the study, the research questions, and the conceptual framework. Next, the chapter proceeds with the nature of the study, definitions, assumptions, scope and delimitations, limitations, and significance of the study. Chapter 1 concludes with a summary and transition into Chapter 2, the literature review.

Background

Research on serial killers has gained momentum and continued to delve into the factors that motivate their behaviors, including cognitive and social developments and psychological influences. Research has also identified deviant sexual behaviors associated with serial murder (Prentky et al., 1989; Stefanska et al., 2016; Wiest, 2016). However, most studies have included a disproportionate number of White serial killers (WSKs; Kraemer et al., 2004; Osborn & Salfati, 2015). But additional research has demonstrated that the population of BSKs continues to increase, and their victim selections present a social problem. Nevertheless, the research on BSKs remains limited, including any focus on the expressions of sexual deviance (Chan et al., 2015; Hickey, 2006, 2015; Lester & White, 2014). Because identifying commonalities and differences in serial murders across cultures and nations was difficult, there is a need for more global research on serial murder (Labuschagne & Salfati, 2015; Salfati et al., 2015).

The available research on serial killers and their expressions of sexual deviance had revealed some similarities in characteristics in the offenders, including social isolation, childhood abuse, increased collection of pornography, and sexual deviant expressions (Branson, 2013; Healey & Beauregard, 2015, 2017; Healey et al., 2016; Hickey 2006; Maniglio, 2012; Murray, 2017; Simon, 2015). Further, emotional attachments, or lack of them, can shape the sexual activities; when left unfulfilled, individuals can develop increased anger, frustrations, and violent behaviors (Schmitt & Jonason, 2015). Additional research had indicated common patterns of behaviors for individuals who experience internal sexual frustrations and eventual external aggression

against others, including serial murder (Eitle, 2010; Voisin et al., 2016). Although, most of these researchers' results have been focused on WSKs. The recommendation for additional research comes from the increasing number of BSKs, which this study addresses.

Problem Statement

The research on expressions of sexual deviance in WSKs continues to evolve (Carstens & Stevens, 2016). A study of 342 sexually violent offenders showed that 131 (38.3%) murdered their victim or victims, with White males representing 85% of the sexually violent offenders compared to Black males at 9% (Healey et al., 2016). Yet, the number of WSKs had declined between the 1970s to the 1990s while the number of BSKs increased from 13% in the 1980s (Lester & White, 2014) to 51% of the population by 2014 (Hickey, 2015). The findings of the limited research on BSKs indicated that these individuals do not fit the typical Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) profile of most serial killers, so BSKs may have gone undetected by law enforcement longer than other serial killers (Lester & White, 2014; Walsh, 2005).

A few studies have identified unique characteristics in BSKs (Hickey, 2015), including victim selection (Labuschagne & Salfati, 2015) and personality traits (Branson, 2013). For example, Donley and Gualtieri (2017) stated most BSKs target the missing-missing populations, which includes the homeless, prostitutes, throwaway (runaway) minors, and substance abusers (Quinet, 2007). Childhood development studies on BSKs have also identified fewer reports of childhood abuse, at-risk behaviors (i.e., killing animal, pyromania, etc.), and loner activities (Lester & White, 2014) compared to WSKs

(Beckham, & Prohaska, 2012). Additionally, most BSKs rape their victims (Lester & White, 2014; Salfati et al., 2015), and African Americans make up 47% of serial rapists (Wright et al., 2016). The act of rape suggests that what BSKs have in common was a type of sexual deviant expression (Hickey, 2006). Nevertheless, scholarly studies have not thoroughly explored the expressions of sexual deviance in BSKs.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this qualitative case study was to describe the expressions of sexual deviance in BSKs in Texas. The case study design required accessing archival records that included family history, criminal activities, and sociodemographic of BSKs to identify the expressions of sexual deviance in BSK. A content-analysis approach was used to look for patterns across cases.

Research Questions

This study had one primary research question: What are the common socialization experiences and expressions of sexual deviance in BSKs? Four sub questions guided the research to answer the primary question:

1. What are the common and unique family of origin and childhood experiences of BSKs?
2. What are the common and unique adolescent developmental experiences of known BSKs?
3. What are the common and unique expressions of sexual deviance in BSKs?
4. How are the family of origin, childhood, and adolescent experiences connected with the expression of sexual deviance in adult BSKs?

Conceptual Framework

The social learning theory (SLT) of aggression (Bandura, 1971) and the general strain theory (GST; Agnew, 1992) guided this research to examine data on BSKs, looking at the contextual elements and strains that affected social development and learning in children. The GST indicates three types of negative strain in a person's immediate environment that can influence the development of delinquency: (a) failure to achieve positive goals, (b) the removal of positive stimuli, and (c) inclusion of negative stimuli (Agnew, 1992). Studies have suggested that African Americans report strain more often than any other social group, with more African American men expressing strain through aggression and deviant behavior than African American women (Sung Joon, 2007).

In addition to GST, Bandura's SLT of aggression states that individuals model their behaviors by observing the social environment and that individuals exposed to aggressive and violent behaviors will display the more aggressive or violent behaviors (Bandura, 1971). These behaviors include date or marital rape and battering (Friedrich, 1990). Studies have shown that when children experience sexual abuse, they tend to commit sexual offenses against others (Aebi et al, 2015; Carter & Hollin, 2015).

These theories suggested that individuals exposed to aggression, violent behaviors, and other negative stimuli during childhood development have a higher probability to model that behavior throughout their development (Agnew, 1992; Bandura, 1971). Offenders tend to repeat the experiences of abuse and violence when committing offenses as juveniles or adults (Slattery & Meyer, 2013). Examining published records (archival data) on the childhood and social development of BSKs was guided the key

concepts of these framework and created the bounded contextual lens to interpret the data. Chapter 2 provides more detailed description of these theories.

Nature of Study

This study followed a qualitative case study approach to examine BSKs through archival records to explore the reported familial, criminal, sociodemographic, psychological, and expressions of sexual deviances in BSKs. The goal was to examine 10-12 BSKs who met the participant inclusion criteria. The archival records included police records, court testimony, court evidence, media and news reports, documentaries, and other biographical data (if available). The archival data underwent two cycles of manual coding to ensure the most comprehensive study. The first cycle was focused on identifying codes, categories, and themes guided by the SLT and GST (the two chosen frameworks). To remain as close to the data and to stay on an inductive approach, the second cycle included pattern coding, using words groupings in the data instead of words and phrases identified in previous research (Ravitch & Carl, 2016; Saldaña, 2016).

Conducting a case study on BSKs provided more choices for data collection sources. The attempts to answer the research questions did not require any traditional testing tools, questionnaires, interviews, or surveys (Creswell, 2014). The process of studying BSKs also required a retrospective look at their past including relationships with family and social connections. The various data collection methods provided a comprehensive pool of information necessary for analysis (Yin, 2014). Due to ethical guidelines and IRB requirement, the study did not include any interviews with

incarcerated BSKs in Texas (APA, 2013). Consequently, the study required gaining adequate access to data (Yin, 2014).

Definitions

Black serial killers (BSKs): Individuals who identify as Black, African, African American, or Afro-American decent and who have committed two or more murders over time and space and meet the FBI standard for serial killers.

Emotional cooling off: The timeframe for serial killers that can last a few days to weeks but usually spans months or years, between each murder. During this time the offenders resume their “normal” activities (FBI, 2008).

Missing-missing: Individuals identified as homeless, prostitutes, runaways, throwaways, drug addicts, and others with nomadic and transient lifestyles. They remain a low priority to law enforcement (and media reporting) when (or if) they are reported missing (Quinet, 2007).

Post-traumatic stress disorder: A trauma and stress-related disorder recognized by the DSM -5 that develops into symptoms of anxiety, fear, helplessness, flashbacks, and memories resulting from traumatic stress or experience (APA, 2013).

Serial killer: Defined by the FBI as an individual who murdered at least two victims, in separate events, that included an emotional cooling off period between each of the murders (FBI, 2008).

Sexual deviance: A form of sexual expression that can range from individuals’ who have fantasies about rape to actual criminal behaviors, including rape, sexual

violence, and murder (Carsten & Stevens, 2016; Healey & Beauregard, 2017; Hickey, 2015).

Sexual deviant expressions: Sexual behaviors causing arousal that include voyeurism, exhibitionism, sadism, masochism, and paraphilia (Hickey, 2006).

Sexual (sexually) violent predator (SVP): An individual who has multiple victims over time and space, displays psychopathic traits, and a high frequency of sexual deviance (Hickey, 2015).

Texas Department of Criminal Justice (TDCJ): The primary responsibilities of the TDCJ include operation of the state adult prison system, adult parole supervision system, and oversight and funding of the adult probation system (TDCJ, 2018).

White serial killers (WSKs): Individuals identified as Caucasian, Anglo, or of European descent who have committed two or more murders, over time and space, and meet the FBI standard for serial killers.

Assumptions

The primary assumption for the study included the lack of accessibility to the target group (BSKs in Texas). The ethical standards of research made them inaccessible to interview when conducting the study. Therefore, the sources of data for the study included published public court records and police records from various Texas jurisdictions. Another assumption for the case study included that an adequate number of BSK cases met the sampling requirements to do a meaningful case study (at least 10-12, but with as many as possible). This remained an essential factor to achieve data and

theoretical separation (Guest et al., 2006). Similarly, I assumed I would be able to access sufficient archival data to conduct analysis that would answer the research questions.

Scope and Delimitations

This qualitative case study focused solely on BSKs in Texas, with the exclusion of WSKs, serial killers who do not identify as Black, and BSKs committing murders outside of Texas. The study concentrated on the childhood development, characteristics, and expressions of sexual deviances in BSK, as guided by the research questions. The use of archival records reduced the chance of transferability of method and results (Shenton, 2004).

Limitations

The qualitative case study approach came with certain limitations. For this study, I did not have access to any living BSKs for interviewing. Due to ethical and IRB standards, the study did not include any interviews from BSK friends, family, or social acquaintances. This reduced the ability to represent the voices of this target group.

The limited professional connection with Dr. Eric W. Hickey, who owns the dataset (detailed in Chapter 3), reduced the risk of my bias in selecting cases and analyzing the data. The inclusion of archival data eliminated personal or professional connections that might have hindered the data collection or analysis process. On the other hand, the use of the case study approach using archival data created the risk of reaching saturation. Thus, to meet saturation, the participant criteria included as many BSKs in Texas who met at least 70% (seven of 10) set criteria for inclusion in the study. Although

the goal included at least 10 to 12 BSKs in Texas, the more BSKs in Texas identified increased the potential for the required saturation.

Significance

Black individuals account for 13% of the United States population, which is disproportionate to the increased population of BSKs (Hickey, 2015). The current literature on sexual deviance and serial killing does not cover the depth and breadth of sexual deviance in BSKs. The steady increase of the BSK population in conjunction with victim selection has indicated an underrepresentation of a social phenomenon (Branson, 2013; Hickey, 2006). But there is a lack of research on the expressions of sexual deviance in BSKs. Thus, the results of this study provide information on the phenomenon and more accurate and informative methods for investigations of BSKs. The social implication of the study includes adding to the scholarly research on the topic and the potential to assist law enforcement with patterns and characteristic in BSKs. The study also paves additional avenues for future studies on BSK.

Summary

This study describes the expressions of sexual deviance in BSKs in Texas. The results of the study can provide the means to identify patterns of violent behaviors, including sexual deviance, in BSKs. The chapter provided an overview of the research including a summary of the background research found on the topic, BSKs, and sexual deviance. The chapter covered the problem statement and purpose of the study, the research questions, and the conceptual frameworks SLT of aggression and GST. The chapter also provided the nature of the study, definitions, assumptions, scope and

delimitations, limitations, and significance of the study. Next, the dissertation transitions to Chapter 2, the literature review on the expressions of sexual deviance in BSKs.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

The purpose of this qualitative case study was to describe the expressions of sexual deviance in BSKs in Texas. The literature on serial killing gained momentum in the mid-1980s including research on the character and behavioral traits, ages, gender, childhood experiences, and sexual motives of offenders. The current research on serial killers had been on sexual motivations and behaviors including how fantasies influenced expressions of sexual deviance. Studies on sexual deviance identify a common theme with maladaptive parental attachments and social interactions in White offenders (Healey & Beauregard, 2015; Maniglio, 2012). Though the social interest in serial killers continues to gain awareness, scholarly research on serial killing remains limited. BSKs display unique characteristics separate from WSKs, but the research had not focused on this increasing population (Branson, 2013; Hickey, 2015; Hodgskiss, 2004; Lester & White, 2014).

This chapter provides an in-depth dialogue of the scholarly literature available on serial killers, BSKs, sexually violent predators (SVPs), and expressions of sexual deviance. The chapter begins with a description of the literature search strategy that led to the history of serial killing, current definitions, common myths, the current scholarly understanding, and identified limitations. Next, the chapter addresses the emergence of the research on BSKs, including identifiable limitations in the literature. Next, the chapter presents the history and background defining expressions of sexual deviance, including the evidence found and the need for more research on the expression of sexual deviance

in BSK. The chapter then provides the conceptual framework that anchored the case study including the GST and Bandura's SLT of aggression. The chapter concludes with a summary and transition to Chapter 3.

Literature Search Strategy

The literature review research strategy started with scholarly peer-reviewed resources on serial killing (i.e., definitions, history, studies, BSKs) and then on deviant sexual expressions, funneling to more refined topics. The strategy required a search of numerous databases to locate the available studies including, but not limited to, PsychoINFO, PsycARTICLES, SAGE Journals, ProQuest, and Thoreau. Additional search engines used in the literature search included Google Scholar, Walden (online) Library, University of Phoenix (online) Library. The last resource included the City of Garland Public Library. The keywords used to search past and current research included, *serial killer, multiple murd*, serial murd* (to capture any article with murder, murders, murdered, etc.), sexual, violence, sexual offending, sex offender, sexual predator, pedophilia, sex, fantasy, rape, paraphilia, deviance, and deviant*. Additional terms used to filter the primary search options included, *Black, African, African American, Afro-American, Colored, Coloured, and Negro* to locate literature specific to the population and to search beyond Western empirical studies.

The scholarly research on serial murder (and offenders) remains in the early stages; several studies have used the term *infancy*. Accordingly, to ensure a comprehensive and diverse review, the search expanded beyond peer-reviewed literature to include books on the specific topics of serial murders, serial killers, sex crimes, and

BSKs. The date range for scholarly literature ranged from 1986 to the present day with an attempt to locate the historical beginnings on research exploring serial murder, BSKs, and expressions of sexual deviance. Likewise, the empirical research studies that supported the conceptual framework (GST and Bandura's SLT) fell outside of the search parameters (published year). Therefore, the strategy disregarded the date range while seeking out potential BSKs to include in the study.

Serial Killers

Serial killers' actions have inspired movies, books, documentaries, fan clubs, and empirical research, but the public and media persona of serial killers carries more myth than reality. The most common myth includes the profile of a serial killer: a single White male who lives in solitude. In contrast to media perceptions, serial killers acclimate well and can maintain social appearances of a normal person including having a spouse and children (Arndt et al., 2004; Beasley, 2004; Hickey, 2015; Kraemer et al., 2004). A few of the most notorious serial killers (i.e., Ted Bundy, Jeffery Dahmer, John W. Gacy) could charm their victims into a false sense of security that led to their deaths. Other serial offenders (e.g., Dennis Rader, Gary Ridgway, the Unabomber, Zodiac) eluded capture after they left a string of victims over several years. In contrast, some serial murders have stayed off the police radar and out of the news headlines by victimizing prostitutes and transients—victims less likely to arouse concern or suspicions if missing (Quinet, 2007). During the process of conducting this case study, the FBI identified a BSK suspected of killing more than 90 victims over a span of 30 years, naming him the most prolific serial killer in U.S. history (FBI, 2019).

History and Profile

Research on serial killing continued to increase over the last 40 years, but crimes committed by serial killers have a long history. For example, during the 15th century, Gilles de Rais tortured and murdered 100 children (Castle & Hensley, 2002). But the first documented case of serial murder in the United States occurred during the 1800s. As recently as 20 years ago, the act of serial (multiple) murder lacked comprehensive studies, as it was considered out of the norm of criminal behaviors. Law enforcement agencies have also varied in their definition for serial killers; but, most agree that serial murderers had two (or more) victims in separate incidences that included an emotional cooling off period between each murder (FBI, 2008; Osborne & Salfati, 2015).

Researchers have also suggested the sexual fantasies of serial offenders influence the increased levels of violence between each murder. Sexual fantasies and sexual sadism have motivated some serial murderers to role-play with their victims. For example, Prentky et al. (1989) found 86% of serial murderers reported violent fantasy compared to 23% of single murder offenders, $p = .001$. The researchers identified a significant difference in fetishism in single murderers compared to their serial counterparts (33% vs. 71%, $p = .03$); the latter experienced almost twice the level of fetish behavior. Examples of fetishism include removing sex organs, teeth, and hair to use for sexual gratification later (Hickey, 2015). The most notable disparity in the serial murderer sample group ($n = 25$) was racial disparity, which only included one BSK (Prentky et al., 1989).

Research had continued to delve into the psychological profiles, motivations, and the potential of a serial murderer epidemic with the increasing occurrences of serial

murder (Drukteinis, 1992; Stote & Standing, 1995). Earlier studies indicated that serial murderers lacked emotional remorse, empathy, or responsibility for their actions. Research identified this similarity as narcissism (Schlesinger, 1998). Additionally, psychopathy had frequently been identified as a characteristic of serial killers. Although some serial killers meet the criteria for psychopathy (PCL-R score ≥ 30 ; Hare, 2003), research suggested that psychopaths do not always commit serial murder. Studies have indicated different factors might explain the actions of serial killers, including the level of animal cruelty demonstrated in childhood, sexual assaults (as victim and offender), military experiences, their geographic location, and mental illness as well as psychological, genetic, economic, cultural influences, and the age of offenders (Castle & Hensley, 2002; Laws & Marshall, 2003; Maniglio, 2012; Singer & Hensley, 2004).

The motivations that drive an individual to repeatedly murder over a span of time differs depending on each offender. In other words, the available research determined it a challenge to provide one answer to explain how a person evolves into a serial killer (Hickey, 2015). In contrast, the research continues to emphasize similar limitations, including the lack of comprehensive studies on serial murderers. Future studies on serial offenders may need to include as many case studies as possible while maintaining an objective and standardized process (Beasley, 2004).

Current Definitions and Models of Serial Killer Psychopathology

The studies located for the literature review support an increase in sexual violence based on childhood experiences and exposure. For example, in a case study of a serial killer, several psychological tests were administered (i.e., PCL-R, MMPI-2, and WCST)

in addition to questionnaires and semi structured interviews to obtain a comprehensive cognitive, emotional, and social understanding. The researchers concluded the possibility of a different type of psychopathy found in serial killers (not scoring ≥ 30 on the PCL-R)—that is, this individual did not outwardly display antisocial behaviors. However, he did not demonstrate any significant levels of empathy or emotional and social attachments. The subject presented with the antisocial personality disorder but was a personable individual and able to blend in with others. In other words, the serial killer had observed and modeled the required actions to present a normal life while violating social norms and committing multiple murders (Angrilli et al., 2013).

Research and World View on Serial Murders

Researchers in England, South Africa, and Canada have also attempted to determine common patterns, trends, and characteristics to define serial killers (Carstens & Stevens, 2016; Gresswell & Hollins, 1994; Hodgskiss, 2004; Salfati et al., 2015). These studies included differing definitions for serial killers. One definition required serial killers demonstrated six characteristics: (a) offenders had ≥ 2 victims, (b) committed stranger attacks, (c) each murder occurred at a different time, (d) each murder occurred at a different location, (e) murder was a compulsive act or satisfying a fantasy, and (f) an identified victim pattern. Additionally, there was a common offender profile; the United Kingdom follows the Western model of a single White male (Gresswell & Hollin, 1994; Wiest, 2016). But these profiles lacked a comprehensive sample. For instance, some countries have tribal communities without a connection to modern technology and off the grid, limiting available data. For example, South Africa lacked

documentation of serial murders prior to the turn of the century. One difference South African serial killers had from other countries included no records of female serial killers (Hodgskiss, 2004).

Despite a lack of comprehensive research due to a lack of data, there was an extensive library of research on the motives, characteristics, behaviors and demographics, classifications, victim typology, and legal definitions for serial killing in South Africa (Omar, 2008). The amount of research in South Africa detailed similarities and differences with Western serial killers. The first similarity included an increased number of BSKs on both sides of the world. BSKs in South Africa have demonstrated the same levels of violence, planning, and avoidance as their American counterparts. BSKs in the United States must have a more detailed plan. BSKs planned the capture and disposal of their victims, whereas BSKs in South Africa had more rural land to dispose of a body and the elements helped with decomposition. But, BSKs in South Africa lacked reliable transportation and lured their victims to their deaths (Sorochnski et al., 2015). Further research on serial killers in South Africa and the United States showed that prostitutes composed 22% of the victims in the United States, and in South African serial murders victims included 2.6% of the sample ($n = 8$). The higher number of BSKs in South Africa remained consistent with the population of the region. The number of BSKs in the United States also continued to increase even when the total population of African Americans remained consistent (Salfati et al., 2015).

Research on serial killers in South Africa also demonstrated similar traits in psychopathy, personality, and mental illness. Sexual violence against victims usually

manifested from a fantasy of the offender that motivated the actions during the attack. South African serial killers demonstrated higher levels of sexual motivation (Salfati et al., 2015). Paraphilia often originates from fantasy and considered abnormal sexual expressions, including harmless fetishes to toxic and traumatic sexual harm (Carstens & Stevens, 2016; Van der Watt et al., 2014). Despite this research, future studies need to expand beyond the Western (U.S.) perspective. The lack of global research on a universal behavior (serial murder) affects the international community negatively and makes identifying commonalities and differences in serial murderers difficult (Labuschagne & Salfati, 2015).

Developmental Models and Research

Serial killing is an elusive act; traditional psychological research is not possible and other methods are needed to identify commonalities in behaviors, motives, or underlying events that trigger serial murder. Three theories on serial killers provide researchers an anchor to pursue additional studies that help to identify and determine motivations. The theories on serial murder most commonly referenced in scholarly studies include the motivational model, the trauma control model, and the integrated model of paraphilias. Though most researchers disclose the lack of empirical data to support the theories, numerous studies reference one or more of the theories in their studies (Healey & Beauregard, 2015, 2017; Kerr & Beech; 2016). For example, Arrigo and Purcell (2001) developed the integrated model of paraphilias model based on what they believed the motivational model and trauma control model lacked.

The motivational model of sexual homicide, developed by the FBI, suggests that serial killers demonstrate various expressions of sexual deviance. The motivational model identifies a correlation with children who lacked adequate attachment to parents and social isolation. They also display higher frequencies of sexually violent fantasies to quench the need for power and control. During childhood, according to the motivational model, serial murderers torture small animals and commit arson to provide short-term relief until the offender could express sexual deviance during the commission of murders (Burgess et al., 1986).

The trauma control model was the first theory focused exclusively on serial killers, which describes the foundations influencing individuals to commit multiple murders (Hickey, 2015). The trauma control model supports a combination of factors into serial murder including predisposition, biological, environmental, and psychosocial. In other words, genetics, physical, emotional, or sexual childhood trauma can influence individuals into committing serial murder. Furthermore, social and environment can also affect thoughts, emotions, and behaviors of serial killers. Depending on the individual, either one incident or a combination of traumas could result in serial murder, which can be sexual and nonsexual.

Research supported the use of the trauma control model to examine serial killer behavior. Using the trauma control model, Arndt, Hietpas, and Kim (2004) conducted a qualitative study on 285 cases selected from *Hunting Humans* (1990) to identify the characteristics of male serial killers (81% WSKs, 16% BSKs, 3% Hispanic, and <1% Asian). The researchers separated the cases based on their motives—sexual and

nonsexual. Additional categories used in the study included comparing the serial killers with stable lifestyles compared to transient and team killers and solo offenders. The findings support the trauma control model with 63% of the sexually motivated offenders having prior criminal offenses compared to 46% of the nonsexual group ($x^2 = 9.14, p < .01$). The sexually motivated killers displayed more stability, selected women victims (strangers), and preferred a more hands-on method, consistent with the trauma control model (Arndt et al., 2004).

Finally, the integrated model of paraphilias of sexual homicide was an extension to the motivational model and trauma control model. The model states a lack of parental attachments during childhood increases paraphilia and sexual murders (Arrigo & Purcell, 2001). Although none of the theories provide a finite conclusion to the motivations of serial murderers, the motivational model, trauma control model, and integrated model of paraphilias provide researchers with a foundation to anchor future comprehensive research. For example, Healey and Beauregard (2015) used the models to research sexual deviance and low self-esteem through semi structured interviews and reviews of archival data (police reports, mental health records, and statements from victims) from a sample of 229 males confined in federal prison for a minimum of 2 years (from April 1994 through June 2000, in Quebec, Canada) for sexual crimes. The results supported the three theories on serial sexual killers; most serial sexual killers expressed low self-esteem and sexually deviant fantasies. On the other hand, the results also indicated low self-esteem and deviant sexual thoughts do not always motivate individuals to commit serial murder.

Using the motivational model, trauma control model, and integrated model of paraphilias as the theoretical model in a later study quantitative study, Healey and Beauregard (2017) attempted to identify a correlation of impulsivity in individuals with low self-esteem and sexually deviant interests, and if they committed serial murder. The sample included 229 males incarcerated for sexual assault from and confined in federal prison (located in Quebec, Canada) for a minimum of two years, 1997 – 2000. Nonhomicidal sexual offenders comprised 63.8% of the sample ($n = 146$), and the homicide sex offenders included 36.2% of the sample ($n = 83$). The results found that homicide sex offenders demonstrated violent personal characteristics not present in nonhomicidal sexual offenders. Healey and Beauregard (2017) found a significant link to impulsivity in the individuals convicted of sexual murders. The limitations included the self-reporting, and the researchers suggested future studies continue to focus on specific factors when individuals commit serial sexual murders.

Kerr and Beech (2016) sought to identify the motives in sexual homicides through the detailed experiences of the offenders. They conducted a qualitative case study using semi-structured interviews with eight White SVPs convicted of sexual murder (two of them committed serial murders). All participants conducted their interviews in private sessions (two-four hours per session) and allowed to detail their recollections and accounts of the crimes they had committed. The results from coding found four themes: (a) avenge sexual abuse, (b) homicidal impulsivity, (c) prior trauma (i.e., catathymic reaction), and (d) emotional trauma. The motivational model, trauma control model, and IPM compliment (sometimes overlapping) each other providing a foundation on the

motivational factors that create a serial killer. Kerr and Beech (2016) argued the models still lack empirical data. The researchers admitted the limitations of the sample size, and self-reporting requires additional studies; including a specific focus on serial sexual murderers with and without mental illness. Further, the motivational models lack an appreciation for the underlying influences of sexual homicides, beyond anger and sexual deviance.

Role of the Media

Donley and Gualtieri (2017) conducted a mixed-method study of 84 online news articles that reported on serial murder and his victims (two known and four homeless individuals). The results supported the hypothesis; the articles focused on the offender, then law enforcement efforts/involvement, followed by advocating agencies, rarely did the articles discuss the victims beyond identifying them as homeless. The researchers suggested future studies look at differences in media coverage in different countries and cross-cultural analysis. Researchers state a similar limitation, the need for more data. The topic of serial murder requires additional research to gather as much scientific data to explore and understand serial offenders fully.

When BSKs come to light, as with Marc Stapleton, the media decide which victims and offenders make their headlines. The lack of focus on BSKs leaves their common target (prostitutes, homeless, etc.) at risk for repeated abduction and murder (Cottrell, 2015; Levi-Minzi & Shields, 2007). The lack of interest and reporting on BSKs by journalists and media outlets affected the ways scholars' study serial killers; the focus of research comes from social issues. A study conducted by Branson (2013) determined

the vilification of Black men continues as a common theme; media perceptions follow the misconception of an unintelligent and violent thug incapable of the skills to commit serial murder. The race-based profile negatively results in BSKs slipping below the radar of law enforcement and criminologists.

Research on Black Serial Killers

In comparison to the number of active serial killers, the number of BSKs increased from 30% in the 1950s, to 51% of the total population over a 150-year span, whereas WSKs have declined between the 1970s to 2010, from 217 to 9. (Cottrell, 2015; Lester & White, 2014). The steady increase of the BSK population in conjunction with victim selection identifies an underrepresentation of a social phenomenon (Branson, 2013; Hickey, 2015).

Lester and White (2014) accessed archival data to study BSKs in America. They identified and coded 500 BSK cases from 1900 through 2012, to explore the differences between BSKs and WSKs. The selected sample included 205 WSKs and 57 BSKs. The results found notable differences in the presence of parents during childhood compared to the parents of BSKs. For example, 9.2% of WSKs compared to 27.8% of BSKs had fathers in prison, and 18.8% of BSKs had mothers in prison (at some point during childhood), compared to 5.1% of WSKs mothers. Also, the different levels of social isolation during childhood that 70.9% of WSKs reported, compared to 37.5% of BSKs. Another childhood distinction, approximately 44% of WSKs reported exposure to physical violence sometime before young adulthood, compared to 16.8% of BSKs. Last, more than a quarter (26.7%) of WSKs will drug their victims; whereas, only 2.3% of

BSKs demonstrated similar behavior. (Lester & White, 2014). The researchers identified the possibility of childhood differences and preferences in violent acts. The potential risk of Type I error required caution with the interpretation of the study results. The trends and differences identified by Lester and White (2014), open the potential for future studies to explore the childhood experiences in BSKs, and its influences on adult behaviors.

Childhood Development and Social Structures

The results of these studies implied significant differences in familial structure, education, and potential victims. BSKs lacked in education, experienced more stable social attachments, had parents with criminal histories, less likely to have faced abuse, or demonstrated at-risk behavior. Childhood development studies on BSKs identified fewer reports of childhood abuse, at-risk behaviors (i.e., killing animal, pyromania, etc.), and loner activities as compared to WSK (Beckham & Prohaska, 2012).

Lester and White's (2014) study identified commonalities with familial structures in BSKs. Their research suggested childhood development in BSKs differs from WSKs, including at-risk behaviors. For example, a quantitative study of 563 low-income African American children (ages 13-19) focused on their experiences with verbal parental aggression. The results identified a resentment of parents, increased sexual activity, high levels of aggression in males. In the females exposed to verbal parental aggression, they demonstrated a higher frequency of post-traumatic stress disorder, had a maladaptive connection to caregivers, and have a higher risk for psychological problems (Voisin et al., 2014).

Bartol and Bartol (2012) discuss the importance of identifying conduct disorders in juveniles; based on the potential conduct disorder results in psychopathy as an adult. The onset of offending leads to chronic behaviors for both individuals with high psychopathy scores on the PCL-R and those with psychopathic traits. Likewise, both qualitative and quantitative research methods were used to support theories that can explain deviant behaviors, including serial murder. For example, one study explored commonalities and differences in six minors who committed serial murder and determined each adolescent demonstrated sexual sadism (Myers, 2004).

The research on BSKs stretched beyond the Western views, and the research of BSKs in South Africa further demonstrate the lack of research on the expression of sexual deviance in BSKs. The study accessed archival data to describe the expressions of sexual deviance in a sample of BSKs in Texas. Researchers suggested additional studies need to increase the sample size, narrow the psychological autopsies, and conduct interviews with family and friends to ensure the validity in the data set. There are a few studies that identified unique characteristics in BSK, including victim selection and personality traits (Branson, 2013; Hickey, 2015; Labuschagne & Salfati, 2015).

Victim Selection and Violent Behaviors

BSKs tend to kill within their own race and target the type of victims who bring little to no attention when they go missing (Branson, 2013; Hickey, 2015). Research identified the most common victims for BSKs include homeless, prostitutes, runaways, throwaway, and substance abusers; also called, the missing-missing (Quinet, 2007). Studies conducted on serial murders and victim selection find a similar result; lifestyle

choices of the missing-missing make their absences a low priority for law enforcements and appealing to BSK. Law enforcement agencies might never receive notification when these individuals disappeared. When (and if reported) it usually occurs after a significant amount of time.

Additionally, the nomadic lifestyle and crossing jurisdictions, creates an additional barrier when linking similar crimes to one individual (LePard et al., 2015). The available research indicates BSKs do not fit the typical FBI profile of most serial killers and allowed BSKs to have gone undetected by law enforcement longer than WSKs. The victims who survive encounters with BSKs rarely report the crimes for various reasons, including lack of credibility for personal life choices, fear of blame for the attack, or low self-esteem (Donley & Gualtieri, 2017; Hickey, 2015; Lester & White, 2014; Quinet, 2007; Walsh, 2005).

The research on sexual violence indicates 47% of serial rapists are African American. The research on BSKs find most rape their victims. The act of rape suggests BSKs have sexual deviant expression, and many studies find expressions of sexual deviance start in the form of fantasy. For example, Maury Troy Travis (BSK) recorded his crimes that included kidnapping his victims (at least 12), he tortured and raped them before murdering them. For that reason, empirical research on BSKs needs to focus on the expression of sexual deviance. BSK studies need to increase the sample size, include psychological autopsies, and (if possible) interviews with family and friends; to ensure the validity in the data set (Bartol & Bartol, 2012; Hickey, 2006; LePard et al., 2015; Lester & White, 2014; Quinet, 2007; Salfati et al., 2015; Wright et al., 2016).

Expressions of Sexual Deviance

The volume of research on sexual deviance focuses on White males and provided the scholarly community with helpful information. Therefore, to obtain the research and clarify terminology this study will use SVPs when discussing the research studies and offenders. According to Hickey (2015) sexually violent offenders usually had one victim, committed one offense, and behaviors did not escalate. In comparison, SVP had multiple victims over time and space, displayed psychopathic traits, and a high frequency of sexual deviance. Some literature used the terms SVP and sexually violent offenders interchangeably; for consistency SVP addressed in this study had more than one victim.

Various studies focused on the events that manifest individuals from fantasy about sexual deviance into SVP. For example, a qualitative study compared 25 serial (96% WSKs, $n = 24$; 4% BSK, $n = 1$) and 17 single (82% WSKs, $n = 14$; 12% BSKs, $n = 2$) killers to determine the frequency of violent sexual fantasies in the subjects. 86% of the serial murderers and 23% of the single murderers had violent fantasy associated with their crimes, and chronic assaults. Serial murderers also engaged in paraphilias. The study also discussed the maladaptive parent-child relationship directly affects self-esteem, and result in sexually deviant fantasy (Prentky et al., 1989).

The use of fantasy provided offenders with a sense of control over their feelings and actions. Numerous theories supported the effect of parenting styles and the development of sexual deviance, that usually begins with fantasy and escalates to homicide. When individuals included expressions of sexual deviance in murder; that changed the type of offender. The personality traits of serial SVPs included narcissism,

obsessive-compulsive disorder, or schizoid traits (Chan et al., 2015; Healey & Beaugard, 2015; Healy & Beaugard, 2017; Maniglio, 2012). For example, a quantitative study with 624 SVPs (13 met criteria for serial killers) completed semi-structured interviews with a psychologist and criminologist; participants also completed a computerized questionnaire. Nine of the serial killers ($p < 0.01$, $\Phi = 28$) presented with narcissistic traits, eight also had obsessive-compulsive traits and Schizoid traits ($p < .05$) (Chan et al., 2015). On the other hand, researchers failed to identify a need to study the sexual deviance in BSKs.

History and Background on Expressions of Sexual Deviance

The taboo subject of sex, sexual development, and sexual expressions hinder relevant discussions; not only in scholarly research but in Western mainstream media and television. Sexual deviance, a form of sexual expression, can range from individuals' fantasies about rape to criminal behaviors, including rape, sexual violence, and murder. Sexual offenders can commit sexual violence even if they do not penetrate their victims (Carstens & Stevens, 2016; Healey & Beaugard, 2017; Hickey, 2015). Freud provided the first insight into the sexual development and its influence in human behavior (Laws & Marshall, 2003).

Moreover, it helped lay the foundation on the types of behaviors that fell into the category of deviance. For example, early psychology accepted homosexuality as an expression in sexual deviance (Jones, 1910). The definition of *normal* sexual behavior shifted and changed with time and social norms. Alfred Kinsey stepped forward to challenge the belief that homosexuality qualified as deviant behaviors; claiming most

boys experience some level of homosexual behavior, therefore normal sexual development (Kinsey et al., 2003).

The studies on sexual deviance determined behaviorism best supported the expression of sexual deviance. One study determined SVPs fell into various categories, and sub-types who assault strangers, acquaintances, and family members; including incest and child molestation. Other forms of sexual deviant expressions include voyeurism, exhibitionism, sadism, masochism, and paraphilia (Hickey, 2006). The early research on sexual deviance provided aversion treatments to suppress the sexual deviant thought or action. Individuals who experienced homosexual thoughts and feelings would expose themselves to a shock therapy to reduce sexual arousal. Thankfully, for standards and ethical requirements, this method of research no longer occurs (Callahan & Leitenberg, 1973).

The sexually sadistic offenders will achieve arousal at some point during the commission of the crime (Chan et al., 2015; Dietz et al., 1990; Healey et al., 2016; Wright et al., 2016). An exploratory study on 30 sexually sadistic males found some commonalities but warned any generalization based on one study would not benefit the scholarly community. The suggestions for future research include a more focused study with specific questions to identify a trend or pattern in learned behaviors (Dietz et al., 1990). The available scholarly literature and research studies on sexual deviance continue to primarily focus on White SVPs (Healey et al., 2016). For example, one study of 96 male SVPs, 81 identified as White; and of that group, 61% were single with a mean age

of 33.62 years (SD 10.43) (Chan et al., 2015). In one of the few research studies on Black SVPs, results found almost half of the serial rapists are Black men (Wright et al., 2016).

Recent studies followed the same pattern as its predecessors with using White males to provide the bulk of the sample group (Kraemer et al., 2004; Osborn & Salfati, 2015). The evolution of normal helped fine tune the scope of the required research. In other words, the acceptance that individuals who have sexual deviant thoughts and fantasies demonstrate the same level of normal when they do not act out their fantasies. According to researchers, the use of fantasy, even sexually sadistic, to work through emotional struggles and frustration can provide therapeutic results when the fantasy does not manifest into actual behaviors. The concern with serial killers who had past expressions of sexual deviance included the resulting emotions when the actual act fails to meet up to the standards set by the fantasy (Prentky et al., 1989).

Beckham and Prohaska (2012) conducted a qualitative study on the sexual deviance of men who use the internet to seek out and murder their victims (i.e., prostitutes). The study identified similarities in characteristics of offenders; including social isolation, childhood abuse, increased collection of pornography, and sexual deviant expressions. The similarities in offenders also included personality traits and childhood trauma resulted in sexual deviance and violence. Adequate data on the number of active SVPs remains limited because of the underreporting by victims. Several factors prevent victims from reporting sexual assaults; including their age, the relationship to the offender, and the victims' profession or personal behaviors (Hickey, 2006).

Definitions and Understanding of Sexual Deviance

Sexual deviance derives from abnormal paraphilias that usually start as sexual fantasies (Chan et al., 2015; Hickey, 2006). Several factors motivate individuals to pursue fantasy to escape their realities. Sexually deviant fantasy gives individuals with insecurities, low self-esteem, and social isolations (loneliness) a feeling of control, intimacies, and an identity. The *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders – Fifth Edition* (DSM-5) defined sexual deviance as a mental disorder, incorporated within paraphilia (APA, 2013). DSM-5 explained paraphilia can manifest into both normal and abnormal fantasies and sexual arousal. Hickey (2006) identified five categories of paraphilia: (a) physical and nonviolent; (b) nonphysical and nonviolent; (c) sadistic; (d) masochistic; and (e) sadomasochistic. Within each of the categories includes a comprehensive classification system on expressions in sexual deviance. Sexually violent offenders sexually violent offenders differ from SVPs in the recidivism of behavior (Hickey, 2015).

The least harmful method of sexual deviance included fantasy and role-play where the individual had control and can dominate. SVPs satisfied their sexual desires through fantasy for a while; yet, the fantasy did not fulfill the need for belonging and intimacy. Individuals who failed to move beyond fantasy become more deviant in their thoughts and resulted into seeking victims to act out the fantasy becoming SVPs (Healey & Beauregard, 2015; Healey & Beauregard, 2017; Murray, 2017).

For example, a study using 86 SVPs, both single-victim ($n = 73$) and serial offenders ($n = 13$), determined 46 of them, 47.9% ($n = 35$) of single-victim and 84.6% (n

= 11) of serial SVPs, experienced sexual deviant fantasies within 48 hours of the murders (Chan et al., 2015). Maniglio (2012) conducted a study of 186 SVPs and concluded individuals lacking emotional stability and increased social alienation experienced more sexual deviant fantasies. Sexually deviant fantasies presented as a risk factor for offending in the future. The insecurities that developed from failed childhood attachments manifested into fantasy to fill the needs of intimacy and belonging.

The internet provides people unlimited access to sexually explicit materials that, for some, can manifest into sexual deviance; fueled by the underlying paraphilia. The level of violence and deviance expressed within the fantasy varied between individuals (Van der Watt et al., 2014). Schmitt and Jonason (2015) stated lack of emotional attachments shapes sexual activities. When left unfulfilled, individuals can develop increased anger, frustrations, and express violent behaviors. A study on the pattern of behaviors suggested individuals who experienced internal sexual frustration evolved into external aggression against others (Stefanska et al., 2016).

SVPs rape their victims as a common type of (and underreported) sexual assault, but not all SVPs murder their victims. Most SVPs who committed murder started with sexually deviant fantasies (Hickey, 2006; Oliver et al., 2007; Van der Watt et al., 2014). Therefore, the next step includes identifying a source for the behaviors. The information on SVPs studies supported mental illness' role in the level and frequency of their sexual deviance. For example, in a study of 13 SVPs who committed serial murders, all of them had at least one personality disorder (Chan et al., 2015).

A different study determined a common root cause for the sexually deviant fantasies that resulted in the offenders committing serial murder, included a lack of parental bonding and attachment during childhood development (Healey & Beauregard, 2015). Additional studies have questioned the influence genetics play in the predisposition sexual deviance with limited correlations in results. Numerous other studies on sexual deviance in serial murders referenced childhood experiences and effects of conflicts in the parent-child relationship as the primary catalyst to the behaviors (Chan et al., 2015; Maniglio, 2012; Oliver et al., 2007; Simon, 2015).

The Development of Sexual Deviance

Individuals dealing with social development concerns, including aggression and sexual deviance, usually starts from childhood and with parent-child relationships (Bandura, 1971; Burgess et al., 1986; Carstens & Stevens, 2016; Healey & Beauregard, 2017; Maniglio, 2012; Myers et al., 1993; Viosin et al., 2014). Healey and Beauregard (2017) identified the impulsivity associated with SVPs, including a commonality in the childhood development of sexual murderers, included a dysfunctional (or nonexistent) parental attachment with one or both parents. Abnormal paraphilias can develop during adolescence, and if not addressed, will continue throughout life (Bandura, 1971; Carstens & Stevens, 2016).

A natural part of the human experience includes sexual expression. The use of sex to cope with presenting psychological concerns provided individuals with a healthy outlet (Bakaroudis, 2014). Failing to address underlying mental issues, other than through sexual expression alone, led to sexually deviant behaviors. The motivational model of

sexual homicide stated the maladaptive parent-child relationship (i.e., abuse, neglect) resulted in low self-esteem, isolation, and increased hostility. The inability to establish a healthy bond sends children down a path of low self-esteem manifesting into negative emotions that evolved into deviant thoughts and behaviors, including sexual aggression (Burgess et al., 1986; Maniglio, 2012; Myers et al., 1993; Voisin et al., 2014).

A study of SVPs ($n = 229$) found a commonality of low self-esteem who had maladaptive relationships with their caregivers and used fantasy to satisfy sexually deviant thoughts and achieve control (Healey & Beauregard, 2015). Rapists report a lack of attachment to their fathers; whereas child molesters stated avoidance or nonchalant attachment to their mothers (Maniglio, 2012). The lack of attachment in childhood continues into adulthood. For example, a study of 170 male SVPs (112 rapists and 58 murders) found the majority (38%) lacked intimate relationships at the time of the offense (Oliver et al., 2007). In the study conducted by Chan et al., (2015) 69.4% ($n = 85$) SVP had no intimate companionship at the time of their crimes, 23.5% ($n = 20$) had committed relationships (married and unmarried), and 7.1% ($n = 6$) were divorced/separated from their intimate partner. However, other case studies on SVPs (who committed serial murder) used their committed relationships as a method to fit into societal norms and deflected attention from their actions (Maniglio, 2012; Murray, 2017; Simon, 2015).

Sexual Deviance and Serial Murder

The research on the expressions of sexual deviance in White males continues to evolve; including studies on offenders who committed serial murders (Healey &

Beauregard, 2016). In a bit of contrast to the FBI (2008) definition, most law enforcement agencies and criminologists agree an individual defined as a serial killer murdered three or more people, with a *cooling off* period between each murder (Bartol & Bartol, 2012; Hickey, 2015). The motivation for serial murderers usually had an underlying sexual gratification but have four main influences; (a) attention seeking, (b) thrill killings, (c) anger and (d) monetary (Simon, 2015).

Serial killers fall into one of two types, organized and unorganized. Nevertheless, serial murderers (organized and unorganized) do not start their criminal activity by killing their victims. They demonstrate a progressive escalation from sexually deviant fantasies into criminal behaviors over several years (Murray, 2017). For example, Jeffery Dahmer suffered from loneliness and used fantasy to fulfill his social needs; that manifested into sexual sadism, then serial killings (Martens, 2011).

The internet provided another avenue for SVPs to prey upon and lure their victims. SVPs who demonstrated higher frequencies of sexually deviant expressions, including fantasy, kill prostitutes (Beckham & Prohaska, 2012). Murray (2017) conducted an ethnographic content analysis on mass and serial killers and the influence of sexually deviant fantasy. The results found serial and mass murders who experienced worthlessness, self-doubt, and an increased level of inadequacy, begun with deviant sexual fantasies to fulfill the loneliness. The use of fantasy does not affect Western society alone. A study of SVPs in South Africa who raped strangers started by acting out only a portion of the fantasy; like trial runs before the first murder (Van der Watt et al., 2014). SVPs who had sexually deviant fantasies demonstrated a lack of impulse control

and turned their fantasies into actual crimes, including serial murder. The relationship between the sexually deviant fantasy and WSKs seems evident with continued studies on the subject (Chan et al., 2015; Maniglio, 2012).

Beckham and Prohaska (2012) conducted a qualitative study on sexual deviance in men who murdered and used the internet to seek out their victims. They did an exploratory research case study on Kylan Laurent, Vincent Tabak, Cody Legebokoff, and Philip Markoff, to determine similarities in characteristics. These four men used the internet as their primary tool to seek out and lure their victims (prostitutes) to their death. Laurent and Legebokoff met the definition, and fit the psychological profile, for serial killers.

The study identified similarities in characteristics in offenders; including, social isolation, childhood abuse, increased collection of pornography, and expressions of sexual deviance. The similarities in personality traits and childhood trauma resulted in sexual deviance and violence. The study determined future research needs to explore this type of offender (Beckham & Prohaska, 2012). The make-up of WSKs as the sample group remained a common theme in research on the expressions of sexual deviance. In the United States, African Americans comprise 13% of the population; in the 150-years of records on serial killing BSKs comprised the majority of the population with 50.99%. The books provided an insight into this elusive offender. The literature and research on serial killing did not cover the depth and breadth of sexual deviance in BSKs (Branson, 2013; Cottrell, 2015; Hickey, 2015; Lester & White, 2014).

Conceptual Frameworks

Research on serial killers started to increase in its focus and perspectives. The research moved into the motivations and actions of the offenders. SVPs have emerged as a sub-culture within the serial killing field. The studies on SVPs who committed serial killing suggested the information remained limited and needed a more specific focus. The use of archival data, to complete a qualitative case study on the expression of sexual deviance in BSKs in Texas, required two theories to keep the research on track. The first theory, introduced by Albert Bandura, the SLT of aggression (1971), provided the conceptual framework for the proposed research on the expression of sexual deviance in BSKs. The second theory, GST (Agnew, 1992), focused on the strains that affected social development and learning in children and its ongoing effects. The use of the SLT and GST only provided the support to interpret the data on the expressions of sexual deviance of BSKs in Texas.

The Social Learning Theory and Aggression

Bandura presented the SLT of aggression as a comprehensive explanation of human behavior based on observation and modeling (i.e., operant conditioning) (Bandura, 1971). Bandura studied numerous aspects of social learning and human behaviors before the comprehensive SLT model, including the development of aggressive behavior. The *Bobo Doll* study sought to identify the level of influence exposure to aggressive behaviors had on children. The study included 96 children (even number of boys and girls) ages ranged from approximately three to six (median age of 4.3). The children split into three experimental groups ($n = 24$) experienced aggressive behaviors

from adult role models, films, and cartoons; the control group ($n = 24$) had no exposure to any aggressive models. The results suggested the children exposed to real-life aggression in adults modeled the similar levels of aggression; with the boys behaving with more aggression than the adult male they observed displaying aggression (Bandura et al., 1963).

Aggressive behaviors manifest from an unhealthy expression of emotions and feelings. Children model their actions based on their observations of their parents' behaviors; providing the foundation and most influence in self-efficacy. For example, children learn the limitations of the aggression they demonstrated; weighing the pros and cons of the situation before acting out with aggression (Bandura et al., 1963, Bandura 1971). Children modeled the behavior displayed by the relevant social group; including parents, siblings, friends, teachers, and celebrities. The primary influences on psychological development and well-being started within the family unit, structure, and experiences. In other words, the social surroundings will either help or hurt the child's development based on the modeling (Bandura, 1971).

Observational learning stated an individual exposed to aggressive and violent actions will display more aggressive or violent behaviors. For example, Singer and Hensley (2004), used the SLT and conducted an in-depth qualitative case study on five serial murders who inflicted cruelty to animals during their childhood. The researchers determined each participant experienced long-term humiliation that manifested into anger and frustration. The results of the study suggested because of their young ages and small stature as children, offenders used animals to inflict the pain, suffering, and humiliation

they experienced. This type of action gave the participants temporary solace; all five promoted from the hurting animals, and eventually killed people.

Children who experienced family violence had an increased likelihood to commit sexual battery, including date or marital rape based on the SLT. Children who experienced sexual abuse modeled this behavior as adults and committed sexual offenses; usually the same type of abuse they experienced (Bartol & Bartol, 2012; Friedrich, 1990; Singer & Hensley, 2004). A quantitative study of 13,964 male offenders in state and federal prisons used computer-aided interviews. The researcher used the SLT to determine the association of sexual and physical abuse during childhood with offending (sexual and violent) as an adult. The results identified 4.4% of the offenders experienced sexual abuse, and 35.8% experienced physical abuse during childhood (Felson & Lane, 2009).

Offenders who experienced physical abuse committed violent offenses, including sexual assault. Black offenders committed violent crimes more often than nonviolent crimes; but, less likely to sexually assault children. The SLT stated children exposed to abuse will act out with similar behaviors as adults (Felson & Lane, 2009). For example, a study using the SLT in an etiological approach on sexual offenses committed by juveniles recruited 416 male delinquents and sought to compare their experiences of sexual victimization. The two groups of juvenile delinquents included convicted of sex offenders ($n = 272$) and non-sexual offenders ($n = 199$). The racial breakdown of the group included African Americans (51.1%), White (29%), and other groups made up the remaining demographic (19.9%). The participants completed anonymous surveys on

numerous aspects of sexual experiences and victimization. The results found 79.4% ($n = 216$) of the sexual offenders and 46.7% ($n = 93$) of the non-sexual offenders experienced sexual abuse ($\chi^2 = 54.39$, $df = 1$, $p < .000$). The former group experienced more abuse from relatives and parents, with the abuse resulting from either force or disguised as games. Also, a finding of interest included the report from 75% of sexual offending group who stated penetration was the worst level of victimization experienced, compared to 46.2% of non-sexual offenders ($\chi^2 = 28.44$, $df = 3$, $n = 309$, $p < .000$) (Burton, Miller, & Shill, 2002).

General Strain Theory

Askew (1992) presented the GST that looked at three types of negative strain in a person's immediate environment. The first type of negative strain occurred when individuals failed to meet a goal with a positive value. The second type of strain happened when individuals had positive stimuli removed or experienced the threat of removal. The last type of strain occurred when individuals had negative (noxious) stimuli introduced or experienced the threat of negative stimuli. The GST described a lack of parent-child bonding and child attachment had resulted in sexually deviant fantasies.

According to the GST, individuals respond with two types of emotions to strain, self-directed and other-directed. African Americans reported strain more often than any other social group. African American women reported strain more often than African American men and demonstrated the self-directed emotional response. African American men expressed strain through aggression and deviant behavior (i.e. other-directed) and in higher frequency than African American women (Jang, 2007). For example, in one

quantitative study with 1,915 African American participants ($n = 950$, girls and $n = 965$ boys), girls respond to strain with deviance that remained self-contained; experiencing higher frequency of depression ($z = 1.29, p < .10$) and suicidal thoughts. Future studies need to use the GST to identify other deviances including high-risk sexual activities and prevention programs for youths (Francis, 2014).

The GST provided the secondary conceptual framework to anchor the study on the expressions of sexual deviance in BSKs. Expressions of sexual deviance resulted from negative relationships, strain, and social learning. The focus of social background and its influence on juvenile and adult behavior provided meaningful guidance to develop the data collection instruments and analysis plan for this study.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the increased number of BSKs, and the victims who went unnoticed evolved into a quiet (and unknown) social issue. Additionally, the type of victims selected by BSKs also increased, but the reduced focus on their victims puts the population at risk. The research on serial killing increased interest in the last 25 years and continues to evolve and grow. The research demonstrated the growth remained one-sided. The literature on the motivations to commit serial murders, included social development, psychological influences, and cognitive development. The research on serial murder expanded into the sexual deviance and abnormal behaviors in concert with the killings. However, WSKs remained the primary sample group; feeding into the myth that White men comprised most serial killers. The reality of the situation came to light during the literature review. Studies on BSKs remained limited, to almost non-existent, and required

more research. More specific, empirical research has not addressed the expressions of sexual deviance in BSKs. Insight into this social issue provided information to law enforcement agencies that needs tools to identify and capture serial killers, specifically BSKs.

Chapter 3: Research Method

Introduction

The purpose of this case study was to describe the expressions of sexual deviance in BSKs. The case study design required accessing archival records, including family history, criminal activities, and socio demographics of BSKs in Texas to identify the expressions of sexual deviance. A content-analysis approach was used to look for patterns across cases.

This chapter will provide a detailed explanation of the research design and methods to support the purpose of this study. First, the chapter starts with the research design and rationale for its use. Next, the chapter provides details of the researcher's role and the methods to access the archival data. The chapter will continue with the methodology, including the process of selecting the cases used in the study, the instrumentation, the procedures to access data, and the plan for coding. The chapter concludes by addressing issues of trustworthiness and ethical methods involved in the study.

Research Design and Rationale

This qualitative case study has one primary research question: What are the common socialization experiences and expressions of sexual deviance in BSKs? Four sub questions guided the research to answer the primary question:

1. What are the common and unique family of origin and childhood experiences of BSKs?

2. What are the common and unique adolescent developmental experiences of known BSKs?
3. What are the common and unique expressions of sexual deviance in BSKs?
4. How are the family of origin, childhood, and adolescent experiences connected with the expression of sexual deviance in adult BSKs?

The central concepts and phenomenon of the study included describing the expressions of sexual deviance in BSKs in Texas. The study required delving into various dimensions of experiences of BSK, including their family and adolescent origins and experiences. Although expressions of sexual deviance have been researched and defined, studies have not focused on this target group and instead have been focused on White offenders. Moreover, research has identified correlations to expressions in sexual deviance and the various criminogenic types and the benefits of exploring the family and adolescent experiences in adult BSKs.

In this study, a multiple-case study approach was used to explore the research questions, as it remains an effective method to examine *what* and *how* research questions on phenomenon within a bounded context (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Yin, 2014). Based on the bounded context for this research, the unique phenomenon, accessing the public and archival records assisted in answering the research questions. Furthermore, the multiple-case study approach provided several benefits: (a) it reduced the risk of manipulating data or BSK behaviors, (b) incorporated the boundaries of the context into the phenomenon of the study, and (c) included examination of the contextual conditions most relevant to the BSK phenomenon (see Baxter & Jack, 2008).

Some previous studies on similar concepts involved a quantitative approach to research the developmental models of serial murder (i.e., motivational model, trauma control model, and integrated model of paraphilias) that studied SVP, including those who committed serial murders. This was primarily because the access to SVP allowed for a larger population for the research and required the quantitative approach. However, most of the available studies on serial killing (associated with or without expressions in sexual deviance) have required a qualitative approach. But the access to interview and study serial murderers remains a barrier to a meaningful qualitative approach because individuals who commit serial murders display psychopathology and cannot be relied on to provide honest and forthcoming responses to surveys. Despite this barrier, the ability for BSKs to remain under the radar of law enforcement required a qualitative approach (see Angrilli et al., 2013; Branson, 2013; Castle & Hensley, 2002; Hickey, 2015). The case study approach over other qualitative approaches (e.g. systems approach, narrative analysis) was the best method based on the availability of archival and public records (data sources). Additionally, access to BSKs, the individuals with direct experience of the phenomena, was intangible for the study.

Role of the Researcher

In all qualitative research, the researcher has a significant role in the process (Ravitch & Carl, 2016). The responsibilities of the researcher, the primary tool for the study, includes collecting the observational data, conducting interviews, and studying the associated documents, videos, and media, which usually consists of some form of observation. Because this study did not allow for observing BSKs in their natural

environment, I accessed archival data including information on the familial background (via documentaries, media, and newspaper reports) of the BSKs who met the selected criteria. In addition to family data, the available and accessible criminal (police) and court records (i.e., transcripts, motions, decisions, etc.) on disposed cases provided data to identify the socio demographics on selected participants. Once I gathered the data, I proceed with coding and conducting a content analysis on the data. Qualitative studies sometimes require additional data to achieve the required saturation (Ravitch & Carl, 2016). Based on the type and quality of data I obtained, I reached a ceiling of information in some areas, making saturation a concern.

Personal bias might occur during a qualitative study and often a result of either a personal or professional relationship with the topic or the individuals involved. For this research, I have a professional connection with Dr. Eric W. Hickey, who provided a dataset of serial murderers to find potential candidates for the study and was a source of reference on the topic of serial murder and BSKs during the data collection and analysis. The potential for bias in the study could have also occurred in the selection, review, and extraction of data from the archival data obtained. To reduce the risk of personal bias in data collection, I reached out to professional experts in the field to review the results and provide suggestions and feedback.

I do not have any additional professional or personal connections to BSKs, their families, or BSK relationships (social or professional). The research topic remains outside of my professional field, removing the potential for any work-related conflicts of

interest. Additionally, my connection to the problem remains academic with the desire to advance scholarly research on a social phenomenon.

Methodology

Participant Selection Logic

The population required to conduct the study included BSKs in Texas who have a demonstrated history of sexually deviant behaviors. The current literature does not address the BSK population to determine commonalities in their development to explain behaviors adequately. The following criteria helped determine the participants selected to answer the research question (and sub questions):

1. Individual must have been identified as either Black or African American.
2. The individual must have met the FBI standard used to qualify as a serial killer (i.e., two or more victims).
3. The individual must have had a documented record of sexual assaults or behaviors
4. The individual must have had a documented record of sexual assaults or behaviors associated with at least one of the murders committed in Texas.

Police reports or archival records confirmed whether the individuals met the criteria listed. Overall, participants needed to meet seven of the 10 criteria for inclusion:

1. Identify as Black or African American
2. Meet FBI standard for serial killing (i.e., two or more killings with emotional cooling off between murders)
3. Documented sexual assaults

4. Documented sexual behavior
5. Documented sexual assault associated with one murder in Texas
6. Documented sexual behavior associated with one murder in Texas
7. Police record in Texas confirms sexual assaults/behavior
8. Public records in Texas confirm sexual assaults/behavior
9. Archival records provide familial information (including childhood & adolescent development)
10. Archival records provide social development (including childhood & adolescent development)

I searched and identified as many potential participants for the study to increase the chances of reaching data saturation. The current availability of preliminary data sources for analysis yielded 14 BSK cases to examine and analyze as an embedded unit of analysis (see Yin, 2014).

The target population consisted of BSKs in Texas, identified as an underrepresented criminal group in scholarly research (Branson, 2013; Lester & White, 2014). A purposeful sample using the criterion for participant selection will come from various datasets, including the Hickey dataset (2019). The criteria establish a standard for a purposeful sampling strategy for selecting cases from the various datasets. The databases represented a possible pool of 100 cases to locate participants who could meet seven of the ten participant criteria.

Instrumentation

The literature study, in conjunction with the SLT of aggression, and the GST guided the content to extract from the data obtained. Based on the published literature and frameworks, as the key concepts that distinguished serial killers and other types of homicidal perpetrators, I used this instrument developed for data collection:

Table 1

Instrument for Data Collection

	Framework (SLT/GTS)
Sequence/Timing of Murder	Emotional Cooling off between murders, criminal adaptive behaviors, violent assault and/or rape associated (SLT)
Common Socialization Experiences	No HS Diploma and/or history of mental retardation (GTS/SLT)
Unique Socialization Experiences	No mental retardation and/or illness with adaptive behaviors (SLT)
Common sexual deviance expression	Rape, sadomasochism, child molesters (GST and STL)
Unique sexual deviance expression	voyeur and necrophilia, (STL)
Common characteristics in Family of origin	Negative Familial Support with associated GST (P & N)
Unique characteristics in Family of origin	Positive Familial Support with no associated GST or limited strain
Common Childhood experience	Violent childhood trauma (SLT)
Unique childhood experiences	No childhood violence and/or trauma (GST)
	Framework (SLT/GTS)

Procedures for Recruitment, Participation, and Data Collection

Once I received IRB approval for the study, I began with a search of the Hickey dataset (2019), to identify potential cases for the study who met the participant criteria listed above. Next, I searched public databases (media documentaries, newspaper articles, books, etc.) on serial killers to identify additional BSK cases that met required criteria

used in the study. Upon meeting the required criteria for selection into the study, I conducted daily searches for open records on the BSK cases in Texas. When available through public access, no restrictions prevented inclusion of the data for secondary analysis. Which included police requests for reports, open (public) records requests, media reporting, in addition to court records, mitigation reports, and transcripts for disposed BSK cases.

I made formal requests for some of the archival data, when I could not obtain information through public sites and records (e.g., open records requests, police records, Freedom of Information Act). For example, obtaining some of the archival data required an email to request access to the information. Also, obtaining access to some court and police records proved difficult, even using proper requests. The last method to access archival records included personal contact with court administrators and state officials to determine ethical procedures to gain access to disposed court cases on BSKs in Texas.

The study required the following to achieve saturation:

1. Reviewed the Hickey dataset (2019), to locate BSKs in Texas.
2. Identifying as many cases as possible meeting the criteria to include BSKs from Texas, and expand to other sources (Cottrell, 2015).
3. Identified viable cases to include in the sample size and to access archival records on known BSKs in Texas. The participant criteria filtered out individuals who did not fit the sample group.
4. Accessed archival records that provided the primary sources of data required for the case study. The data originated from reliable and credible sources for

ensured objectivity. Police and criminal records, and available court transcripts for cases provided public access to legal documentation of criminal activities before (and after) apprehension. Published print and electronic media report (newspaper reports, documentaries, books, and other written materials) supplemented and corroborated the police and court records.

Data Analysis Plan

The content-analysis approach provided a method for data management and analysis beneficial to archival case study research. The process allowed me to look beyond counting words that identified themes during coding; and focused on the characteristics of the language and its intended meaning (purpose). The conventional content analysis provided a study design that assisted with describing the phenomenon, in an inductive and deductive process (Elo et al., 2014; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). A chart was used code the data, and each participant who met seven of the 10 criteria, had an individual Excel worksheet for the first cycle. Using the chart, the following sub questions were aligned with first cycle concepts and most relevant themes:

- What are the common and unique family of origin and childhood experiences of Case #?
- What are the common and unique adolescent developmental experiences of Case #?
- What are the common and unique expressions of sexual deviance in Case #?
- How is the family of origin, childhood, and adolescent experiences connected with the expression of sexual deviance in Case #?

Data accessed and available for the study underwent two cycles of manual coding. The first cycle used In Vivo to identify the codes, categories, and themes, driven by the two frameworks and additional key concepts from the literature. To remain as close to the data and to stay on an inductive approach, the second cycle included pattern coding. In other words, I continued to use the words identified in the data instead of using researcher developed words synonymous with data (Ravitch & Carl, 2016; Saldaña, 2016). The coding for BSKs included their social patterns, social behaviors, criminal history (during childhood, adolescence, and adulthood [if applicable]) to identify:

1. different categories (and potential subcategories),
2. themes to answer the primary and sub-research questions, and
3. themes might create or classify a new theory.

The coding methods included the use of Excel to keep accurate records and store the manual coding.

Issues of Trustworthiness

The research design took the necessary steps to maintain the standards of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability; ensuring the trustworthiness of the content analysis study. The research design considered each factor to meet the guidelines for an ethical and empirical research, with a factually based conclusion. The study used peer-reviewed materials, when available, for content-analysis of the data obtained. The situation remained undetermined at the start of the study. Therefore, peer-reviewed material remained limited and required supplementary information. The scholarly research has yet to thoroughly pursue BSKs. Nevertheless, through saturation

and establishing credibility, analytical generalization should be attainable by additional researchers. The three phases of the research design, (a) preparation, (b) organizational, and (c) reporting provide the researcher with questions to ensure trustworthiness (Elo et al., 2014). Additional factors I employed to ensure adequate credibility included the use of a case study, a well-established qualitative method, and by using faculty members to review the study (Shenton, 2004).

Qualitative studies also require dependability. The research design used for this study included accessing legal documents and vetted materials, this provided a level of dependability based on the original process used to collect the information. The use of an Excel provided a tracking tool to confirm the coding process used to obtain results from the data. Last, using an archival approach reduced reflexivity, and resulted in no unintended influences between cases and researcher. The non-existent personal interactions increased the confirmability of results (see Ravitch & Carl, 2016; Rubin & Rubin, 2012; Shenton, 2004; Yin, 2014).

Ethical Procedures

Accessing archival data for this study removed numerous ethical concerns. For example, in regard to participant interviews, no interviews occurred for the study. Hence, selected BSK cases did not require signed agreements. As previously stated, meeting with (and interviewing) convicted BSKs violated both University standards and APA guidelines. The lack of interviews did not remove all the requirements for an ethical research design. For example, I obtained a signed agreement provided by Dr. Hickey for his participation and dataset (2019). Accessible and available data collected for the study

will remain stored electronically on a hard drive, back up thumb drive, and saved in a protected cloud file for a minimum of five years.

Summary

In conclusion, a successful qualitative case study required a thoughtful and specific research design and rationale to answer the proposed research question: What are the common socialization experiences and expressions of sexual deviance in BSKs? My role as researcher played the most significant role in the study. I completed an unbiased content analysis using accessible and available archival data. The methodology employed strategies and logic to secure an adequate sample size; with specific characteristics and criteria; including a plan to obtain enough participants and data to meet saturation. The data underwent two cycles of manual coding to identify codes, categories, and themes that provided answers to the RQ. The research design also provided steps to address any issues or concerns on trustworthiness. Last, I employed ethical procedures for the qualitative case study on the expression of sexual deviance in BSKs in Texas.

Chapter 4: Results

The purpose of this qualitative case study was to describe the expressions of sexual deviance in BSKs in Texas. I requested and obtained archival records on family history, criminal activities, and socio demographics of BSKs in Texas used to identify expressions of their sexual deviance. The qualitative case study had one primary research question to address the common socialization experiences and expressions of sexual deviance in BSKs and four sub questions related to family origin and childhood, adolescent developmental experiences, sexual deviance expressions, and how family origin and childhood and adolescent experiences are connected to expressions of sexual deviance are connected.

This chapter begins with a description of the setting of the case study. The chapter also includes the demographics of the BSK subjects as well as the details of the data collection process including the number of cases, location, frequency, and the duration (and recording method). The data analysis process was also detailed, including the process of moving from coding into identifying the categories and themes. The next section of the chapter describes the trustworthiness of the study before a discussion of the results.

Setting

Most qualitative studies involve interviews with participants to obtain data for analysis (Yin, 2014), but this case study did not allow for access to interview representatives of the target group because BSKs fall into a protected population, and ethical procedures would not allow access to incarcerated individuals selected for the

case study. Archival records were reviewed instead, as they provided the most convenient and reliable source from which to obtain data. The setting for the study begun with a review of the Hickey dataset (2019) which included 1,000 serial killers on Excel spreadsheets. I filtered the data to identify offenders by race (Black) and the state they committed the offense (TX). The first process identified 14 BSKs from the Hickey dataset who committed at least two murders (with at least one of those in Texas).

To improve saturation, the next step required locating additional BSKs in Texas who met inclusion criteria detailed. The book *Rise of the Black Serial Killer* provided separate chapters for individual, duo, group, and gang BSKs identified through Cottrell's (2015) comprehensive research. I reviewed the names of individual BSKs and identified 33 individuals who committed at least two murders (one in Texas) and had a history of rape (sexual deviance).

The next step, as a method to confirm the data found on 14 BSKs cases in Hickey (2019) data set and the 33 cases from the Cottrell book required obtaining secondary data from the TDCJ offender database on the public access website to confirm if the BSKs had a recorded criminal history of sexual behaviors or sexual deviance. When the TDCJ offender site did not yield a result but the location of crimes was provided, the inquiry search expanded to the city and county court records to search for the secondary data. The Harris County District Clerk required creating a free user account for access at the site; no other county or city records required user login accounts to access the public information.

The searches of the TDCJ, city, and county records on the 47 BSKs identified using the Hickey dataset and Cottrell book, produced 14 BSK cases that met at least seven of the 10 criteria. The identified cases had criminal history (records) in Texas, that included an identified degree of murder and sexual assault (i.e., behaviors).

Data Collection

The summary of the sources is provided in Table 2.

Table 2

Sources Used

Case No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	X		X		X	X			X
2	X		X			X			
3	X	X		X	X		X		
4	X	X			X		X	X	X
5	X	X			X	X	X		X
6	X				X				X
7	X		X						X
8	X			X	X			X	X
9	X	X	X	X					X
10	X	X		X					X
11	X	X	X				X	X	X
12	X	X		X					
13		X			X			X	X
14					X			X	X

Note. 1 = Texas Dep't of Criminal Justice, 2 = BSK (by name) v. The State of Texas (or other state), 3 = Texas Office of AG, 4 = Houston Chronicle, 5 = Associated Press & National News publications, 6 = Texas County Records, 7 = Local Newspapers (various Texas cities), 8 = Network Affiliates/News Media, 9 = Other Online Sources

The PDF records provided by TDCJ or data obtained using county, court, and police records were saved electronically and stored on a thumb drive. Using an Excel spreadsheet, I recorded data into individual spreadsheets for each of BSK case. The data obtained included court orders, indictments, appeals, sentencing reports, and criminal

record in Texas Databases. The data collection methods and sources remained the same for each of the 14 BSK cases.

To obtain additional archival TDCJ records (secondary data), the agency required the offenders name and either a date of birth or inmate identification number. The data collection process for the case study started with requests to the TDCJ public archival records, which required an e-mail. The process to obtain the secondary data included additional costs not originally anticipated. Within 10 days of the initial request to TDCJ, I received individual reports for the BSK cases via e-mail (at \$.10 per page); some reports contained as few as two pages, and others included 16 pages. One of the BSK requests came back with no records found within the TDCJ. The information returned included a variation of redacted indictments, plea agreements, and final jury findings for remaining BSK cases. Using the secondary data provided about each offender from TDCJ, and with additional searches for police and public data (i.e., county records, state press releases, court appeals, etc.), the additional archival data included the information required to meet the screening criteria, including familial records, public records, police charges (not resulting in convictions).

Seven of the BSKs identified received death sentences in Texas; five were executed and two on death row. The TDCJ rejected additional requests to release mitigation reports that provide additional background data regarding familial history. The screening process resulted in 14 BSK cases that met required criteria for inclusion. Abiding by the processes set and to ensure confidentiality of the BSKs, each of the subjects have a case number.

Variation in Data Collection

Using Excel spreadsheets, the data on BSKs were broken into sections to obtain criminal history, sexual deviance, characteristics in family, childhood experiences, adolescent development, and sequence of murder. Most of the processes described in Chapter 3 were adhered to in the actual data collection effort. On the other hand, the Hickey dataset (2019) did not result in an adequate number of participants to screen for inclusion in the case study. This barrier required access to additional data on BSK to screen for inclusion. The only other variation was the unexpected fee assessed per page for the reports from TDCJ.

Demographics

Table 3 presents a summary of the descriptive characteristics of the sample.

Table 3

Sample Demographics

Black serial killer characteristic	Frequency ($n = 14$)
Sexual assault and/or deviance associated with at least 1 murder	35.7% ($n = 5$)
Sexual assault without an associated murder	57.1% ($n = 8$)
Criminal history of assaults and/or violence	92.9% ($n = 13$)
Criminal history without violence and/or no criminal history	.07% ($n = 1$)
Criminal history of theft, robbery, and/or burglary	57.1% ($n = 8$)
Experienced childhood trauma and/or violence	57.1% ($n = 8$)
Experienced no childhood trauma and/or violence	28.6% ($n = 4$)
History of mental retardation and/or low IQ	35.7% ($n = 5$)
No History of mental retardation and/or low IQ	57.1% ($n = 8$)
History of Mental Illness and/or Disorder	16.7% ($n = 3$)
No History of Mental Illness and/or Disorder	28.6% ($n = 4$)
Maladaptive Social and/or Criminal Behaviors	16.7% ($n = 3$)
Social and/or Criminally Adaptive Behaviors	57.1% ($n = 8$)

The Black Serial Killer Cases

The following synopsis of the 14 BSKs who met the set criteria includes the archival data obtained for the case study analysis on the expressions of their sexual deviance.

Case #1

Four sources indicated (Associated Press, 2009; *#1 v. Quarterman*, 2009; *#1 v. State of Texas*, 2006; Harris County District Clerk, 2020; TDCJ, 2020) that over a 6-month period (August 1997–January 1998), Case #1 committed three known murders, two rapes, and dozens of robberies. TDCJ records confirmed before Case #1’s crime spree, he had a long criminal history that included assaults, robberies, kidnapping, rapes, and homicides that spanned over several years. Most of the murders occurred during the commission of robberies. Case #1 had a history of violence connected to the robberies he committed. This including punching, hitting, or using weapons. Case #1 kidnaped and raped (oral and vaginal) his female victims, placing them in the trunk of a vehicle, but he did not kill them.

Data from three sources (Associated Press, 2009; TDCJ, 2020; Turner, 2010) triangulated familial and developmental data for Case #1 and indicated he had strong ties to his church, and he even taught Sunday school. A witness referred to Case #1 as a “typical fun-loving teenager.” Case #1 dropped out of high school in the 10th grade, and by the time of his incarceration he had fathered five children. Executed in 2010, Case #1 admitted making mistakes and denied any guilt until the State of Texas carried out his death sentence.

Case #2

Two sources indicated (TDCJ, 2020; Turner, 2005) during his trial, prosecutors described Case #2 as a serial robber, rapist, and murderer. Case #2's crimes spanned over a 20-year period and culminated into a 1-month crime spree including four armed robberies, two sexual assaults, and two murders. The murders occurred while he robbed his victims. DNA evidence also linked Case #2 to sexual assaults in previous years.

Data from three sources (see Glenn, 2010; TDCJ, 2020; Turner, 2005) triangulated Case #2's childhood exposures that led him to mirror the life of violence he experienced. Case #2's sister died when he was 5, and he was present as she burned to death. Case #2 later witnessed his mother kill her boyfriend. A few years later his aunt would murder his mother (her sister). Case #2 struggled in school, dropping out in the eighth grade after years of failing. Case #2 adapted similar traits he experienced during childhood, including alcoholism and violence. IQ test results indicated Case #2 suffered from mental retardation with a score of 65. Prosecutors countered the claim by stating Case #2 had obtained his GED in prison. The murders occurred while he robbed his victims (Tilghman, 2005). The rapes he committed did not coincide with the murders, and beyond the rapes he did not demonstrate any additional sexually deviance.

Case #3

Four sources (see Graczyk, 2015; TX OAG, 2015; TDCJ, 2020; #3 v. *Thaler*, 2013) verified Case #3 confessed to the murders of five victims over a 6-year period. Case #3's last three victims, a mother and her twin daughters, had been beaten and stabbed. DNA found at the scene included semen and the blood on the victims' bed. Case

#3 admitted to fondling one of the twins and ejaculating. Two months prior to the three murders he beat and killed his first known victim during an argument. It would be 6 years until his next murder during the robbery of a convenience store when he killed the clerk. DNA also linked him to the murder of a prostitute, but he never faced charges. A South Texas jury sentenced him to death after finding him guilty in the murders of the twins.

Data obtained from four sources (Graczyk, 2015; Hoffberger, 2015; TX OAG, 2015; #3 v. *Thaler*, 2013) triangulated developmental for Case #3. His lawyers appealed and argued his below-average IQ, and the brain damage suffered when a baseball hit him in the head, made him ineligible for the death penalty sentence. He attended 1 year in a Christian college to play football, but after a knee injury prevented playing, he fell into drug addiction. His lawyers also claimed years of drug use further impaired his mental capacity. Family members stated he was dedicated to his family roles (father, son, sibling) prior to the injury. Beyond the admitted sexual assault (molestation) with DNA evidence, Case #3 had no other documented expressions of sexual deviance. The murders with associated ejaculation suggest sexual pleasure achieved through violence (sadism). Case #3 received a stay of execution and sits on death row in Texas.

Case #4

According to four sources (Associated Press, 2013; Garcia, 2013; TDCJ, 2020) Case #4 committed four murders in two separate incidents on the same day in North Texas. He killed two victims at each location and critically injured others during the attacks. At the first location he shot and killed his girlfriend and her daughter. Fifteen minutes later and 10 miles away, the second murders included his ex-wife and stepchild,

whom he shot and killed. Prior to the second shooting, he threw a grenade into the home. He also injured two of his ex-wife's children. Case #4 tried to avoid capture at the second shooting by posing as a victim. Case #4 plead not guilty by reason of insanity. Nothing in Case #4's background supported a claim of insanity.

Data from five sources (Associated Press, 2013; Facebook, 2020; Garcia, 2013; Owens, 2017) triangulated familial and socialization data on Case #4, born and raised in East Texas. Case #4 graduated high school and obtained a scholarship to play football at a Christian university in Texas. By all accounts, he had a stable home life during his childhood. Several family members spoke to reporters after his arrest and stated Case #4's family raised a good person who would not harm children. Case #4's stepfather implied of challenges Case #4 faced and "everyone makes mistakes" (Associated Press, 2013).

Case #4 served in the military for about 10 years, but he did not see combat or deployment overseas and received an honorable discharge because of his weight. The 6'7" man at his largest weighed 600+ pounds and required weight loss surgery. Case #4 lied to family and friends about his experiences in the military, claiming he served numerous tours and was awarded a Purple Heart. Family members indicated something happened during Case #4's time in the military because his personality changed. Friends and acquaintances knew Case #4 as a special education teacher who founded a nonprofit charity for children. During the same time Case #4 performed with other large men and was a local celebrity when he danced during half-time for an NBA team.

Based on data from three sources (Associated Press, 2013; Owens, 2017; Tsiaperas 2017) Case #4's estranged wife (victim) and family knew a violent man, described as evil and deceitful. In 2011, 2 years before the murders, she asked for a separation, and he threatened to execute her and her children. The judge granted an order of protection because of the probability in future violence. Days prior to the murder, Case #4 paid a coworker he pursued for sex. She needed the money for her child's upcoming birthday. Case #4 sent her text message thanking her for letting him "do what he liked...I hope your (child) has a good birthday." During the trial, the jury watched video footage taken from cameras Case #4 hid in the bathroom and bedroom of his girlfriend's 17-year old daughter (one of his victims). The cameras were installed and recorded footage of her in the shower and dressing in the days leading up to the murders. Case #4 expressed voyeurism with this behavior.

Case #4's public Facebook posts demonstrated some level of aggression and violence, in December 2007, he posted "...bitch...i could buy and sale yo broke ass...get yo tramp as of (sic) my page trick!!!" A few of Case #4's posts discussed respect and love for children, women, and faith in God. Two days after posting about God he posted, "...I'm going to change my name to:

BustyouinthemouthforfunandyoucantdonothingaboutitLeeandwillsplitthatwigbacktothew hitemeat.....come on that's funny." The defense argued Case #4 had brain trauma from playing football, and their forensic psychologist unsuccessfully argued the low sodium level, a reaction from prescribed medications, caused confusion on the day of the murders. A forensic psychologist by the court determined Case #4 suffered from major

depressive disorder but did not have post-traumatic stress disorder or meet the definition of insane (Tsiaperas, 2017).

The possibility of Case #4's actions having a correlation to the reduction in electrolytes requires more consideration. Research on the complications from chronic Hyponatremia (reduced sodium) suggested the consequences (including death) when patients go untreated (Buffington & Abreo, 2016). The lesions identified and the atrophy of Case #4's brain, in addition to the medications that reduced his sodium levels, may have resulted in acute reaction of neuronal derangement and required medical attention. A research study identified a connection with patients who took antidepressants and an increase in Hyponatremia (Leth-Møller et al., 2016). However, the literature on acute reactions to the electrolyte loss remains in the beginning stages, requiring more studies (Nardone, et al., 2016).

Case #5

According to four sources (*#5 v. The State of Texas*, 2019; Stelle, 2016; Kaufman County Courts, 2020; TDCJ, 2020) Case #5 killed five victims over an eight-hour span, with numerous emotional cooling off periods between murders. Case #5's shot his aunt then went a few blocks to his mother's home and shot her in the head. He set her home on fire with leaving her body inside and stealing her car. Two individuals, a classmate from high school and his girlfriend survived Case #5's attack when he broke into their home and shot into a bedroom. The three-year-old son, of another classmate, witnessed Case #5 come into his home and shot and kill both of his parents. Before police found Case #5 after hidden in nearby woods, security cameras captured him having dinner at a local

restaurant between murders. Case #5's last murder, also on video, captured him (without say a word) shoot and kill as store clerk after stealing a beer. Case #5's family testified he informed them of his plans to commit the murders; although afraid of Case #5 they did not report his threats to the police.

Data from four sources (Steele, 2016; #5 v. *State of Texas*, 2019; Golgowski, 2013; TDCJ, 2020) triangulated familial and developmental data on Case #5. Two WAIS-IV tests identified Case #5 scored with a sub average intelligence and fell within the established range for intellectual-functioning deficits that onset during childhood. At 17-years-old, Case #5's older brother died violently during a robbery. Family members testified Case #5 used drugs and his brother's death set him down a "bad path," a claim supported by the criminal record. Case #5 had criminal charges in the Kaufman County Courts Records (2020), that started four months before his 18th birthday, and spanned a 19-year period, that included five charges for capital murder. Case #5 had three charges for sexual assaults and one for aggravated sexual assault of a child. Case #5 also had charges which ranged from non-violent (no liability insurance, failure to change lanes, speeding, burglary of a building, etc.) to aggressive and violent (family violence, assault, aggravated assault with a deadly weapon). Records for Case #5 did not provide information on parental structure or the parenting style he experienced.

Case #6

According to three sources (Arlington Police Department, 2005; Hyde, 2006; TDCJ, 2020) Case #6's crimes included robbery, assaults, rapes, and three convictions for murder. Case #6, at 13 years-old, escaped unharmed from a house that burned his

mother and killed his younger sisters (ages three and five-months). Family members described the next few years as tragic and Case #6 continued to commit crimes. Within six years of the house fire Case #6 committed an armed robbery while enlisted in the Marines. Stationed on the West coast, police apprehended Case #6 after he had robbed a man. He served time in prison for his crimes and received a dishonorable discharged from the Marines. After serving four years in prison and released on parole, Case #6 had lost a significant amount of weight and moved to North Texas to live with his mother. Over the next three years a serial rapist, a slender Black male, entered victims' homes through broken or unlocked windows. The perpetrator would attack his victims while they slept, cover their mouths, threaten to harm or kill them, and sexually assault them. Although law enforcement remained confident Case #6 committed the rapes, the backlog of rape kits, lack of preservation, and statutes of limitations made prosecuting Case #6 improbable.

Data from three sources (WFAA, 2008; Hyde, 2006; TDCJ, 2020) triangulated Case #6's socialization experiences. A year after Case #6's release from prison he married and had a daughter. Case #6 worked on and off doing manual labor. By the time his daughter turned one he plead guilty to the rape and murder of a nurse, he used a rock to hit her in the head until she died. While serving 19-year prison sentence for this murder, DNA evidence linked him to two additional cold-case murders, both victims raped. One victim died by a gunshot to her face. Case #6 drug the other victim by her neck and strangled her with a knotted rope. He plead guilty to these additional murders

and currently serving a life sentence for three murders and burglary of a habitat in a TDCJ facility.

Law enforcement linked Case #6 to 18 unsolved murders committed within 3 years and between the time he moved in with his mother to his arrest for the murder of the nurse. The sexual deviance for Case #6 continued while incarcerated and other inmates avoided contact with him, he openly masturbated and talked about the women he killed (Arlington Police Department, 2005; Associated Press, 2005; WFAA, 2009).

Case #7

According to data from three sources (Associated Press, 2008; Marie, 2018; TDCJ, 2020) Case #7 kidnapped and killed his first known victim in October of 1971. He served approximately 15 years in prison for the murder he committed on his 2nd birthday. Case #7, in TDCJ custody since November of 1986, received a life sentence for the sexual assault and attempted murder of a minor. In January 2008, Case #7's DNA linked him to an unsolved murder and kidnapping in Port Arthur, a small town on the Gulf of Mexico, about 90 minutes east of Houston.

Data from three sources (Associated Press, 2008; Marie, 2018; TDCJ, 2020) triangulated criminal background for Case #7. On September 11, 1986, Case #7 broke into his 34-year old victim's home with her 18-year-old daughter present. He hog-tied and strangled the 18-year old; later found by the victim's son. The police found no signs of sexual assault on the daughter. Case #7 kidnapped the mother and she vanished without a trace. November 1986, Case #7 kidnapped a minor whom he sexually assaulted, beat, and hog-tied. She survived her attack and reported Case #7 to police.

Case #7 went to the prison for the assault. In 2008, police confronted Case #7 about the DNA linking him to unsolved murder and the abduction of the missing woman in September of 1986. Case #7 confessed stating he killed and dumped the 34-year old mother in the same (geographic) place he attacked the minor who survived. Police never located her body and chose not to prosecute Case #7 for either crime since received a life sentence for November 1986, sexual assault and kidnapping.

Beyond the three murders and sexual assault of the minor, no additional TDCJ information could be obtained on Case #7's criminal background. Case #7's crimes and convictions occurred on or before 1987 and archived. According the numerous newspaper reports about the cold case in Port Arthur, Case #7 had a violent criminal past. No additional police reports, court documents, or media reporting provided any information on Case #7's family origin, childhood, or adolescent experiences. Based on the TDCJ records, Case #7 had spent all but three months in police custody or in a TDCJ facility since 1971. In the short time in which he was released from prison on 6/6/1986, Case #7 committed two additional murders (9/11/86) and one sexual assault (11/6/86) within six months.

Case #8

According to Orlansky (2019), Case #8 born the 15th of 16 children, and confirmed half of Case #8's siblings died at birth or while infants. The remaining children lived with both parents in poverty in Southwest Texas. The family home lacked running water or power several times over the years. Case #8's mother drank while pregnant with him, she could not read or write, and most probably mentally retarded. She

reversed the first two letters of her husband's name when she named Case #8. She signed her name using an "X". Two of Case #8's sister also had intellectual deficiencies, and their father drank and beat his mother.

According to five sources (*#8 v. Thaler*, 2011; *#8 v. Thaler*, 2013; Graczyk, 2018; TDCJ, 2020; TX OAG, 2013). Case #8's low IQ did not prevent his habitual criminal activities started after he graduated high school. EC received a 13-year sentence for burglary of a building and habitat, he was released on parole in 1997, Case #8 violated his parole in 1994, after released in 1990. Within five months of release he had broken into at least 20 homes and Case #8 raped (sodomized) a 10-year-old after he tied her up with tape and forced her into a closet. Case #8 committed at least four additional murders, shot five (possibly more) people, and broken into no less than five homes in over the next six months. Some of the murders occurred when he broke into victims' homes or robbed them. Case #8 killed his brother-in-law after his sister said she had been beaten. Case #8 staged the murder to look like a burglary. Case #8's crimes included planning and preparation, he used gloves, cut the wires to land-line phones, used flashlights, wore masks, had a gun, and entered homes while people slept or alone. While in police custody, Case #8 negotiated to show investigators the location of the murder weapon at his parents' home. Under the guise to point officers in the direction of an unloaded gun, he attempted to get access to the loaded gun in a different location at the home.

Data from two sources (Smith, 2013; TDCJ, 2020) confirmed Case #8's last crime, sent him to death row, occurred when he broke into a home occupied by a 16-year-

old and her young child. The younger sister, 14-years old, returned home with her boyfriend, during the robbery. Case #8 tied up all three, had them remove their clothes, raped the sisters (oral and vaginal), and threatened them while holding a gun to their heads. When the girls' uncle (a local firefighter) arrived to check on them, Case #8 shot and killed him when he entered the home. On the witness stand, and against the advice of legal counsel, Case #8 stated he wanted to *kill white folks, wished he'd killed more*, and the (girls) *lucky they ain't dead*.

Data from five sources (Associated Press, 2013; Caplan, 2016; #8 v. *Thaler*, 2011; Orlansky, 2019; TDCJ, 2020) triangulated familial and socialization. When EC arrived to the TDCJ death row unit, the 29 years old. could not read or write, he had never lived on his own, his parents or sisters did his shopping and provided him with a place to live. Case #8 could only cook eggs. Case #8 graduated high school because his enrollment in the special education programs exempted him from exams. Three IQ tests confirmed Case #8's intellectual disability at the ages of seven; twelve, and when he entered TDCJ at 29. TDCJ enrolled Case #8 in the program for inmates with lower IQs. During appeal, the prosecutor argued Case #8's criminal behaviors met the Briseno factors, and demonstrated forethought, planning, and purpose with each of his crimes, including the murders and attempt to dupe police at his parents' home. Despite his low IQ, the State argued Case #8 demonstrated adaptive skills to act out his continued criminal activity and avoid detection and capture. The courts agreed, and Texas set the date for Case #8's death sentence for the murder of a South Texas firefighter. The United States Supreme

Court refused to hear his appeal, and Case #8 died by lethal injection in the Texas death chamber.

Case #9

According to data from four sources (*#9 v. Quarterman*, 2007; TX OAG, 2009; TDCJ, 2020; Turner, 2009) Case #9 had over 20 arrests prior to receiving the death penalty for the rape and murder. According to court records of testimony, Case #9 committed violent physical assaults in commission of rapes, and he confessed to three murders (and linked to two additional murders). Court records (*#9 v. Quarterman*, 2007) confirmed Case #9 had a troublesome childhood and adolescence. By the age of five, both of Case #9's parents were in prison. Case #9 received treatment at the local hospital for numerous incidences during childhood, including ingesting kerosene and a victim of a gang rape committed by boys in the neighborhood. At seven, Case #9's aunt assumed custody of him for the next five years, until she suffered a stroke. Unable to care for him, the state placed Case #9 into foster care where he claimed to have suffered extensive physical, sexual, and emotional abuse.

Data from three sources (TX OAG, 2009; TDCJ, 2020; Turner, 2009) triangulated development and socialization for JJ. He dropped out of school when he was in the 10th grade, left foster care by 17 and started to live on the street. Case #9 burglarized cars to make money and Case #9's extensive documented criminal history started when he was 18 years old. Case #9 confessed to committing no less than 18 rapes, including his niece. Court records indicate Case #9 asked his niece (eight or nine years old) to walk with him

to the store when he attacked and raped her. After the attack, she testified in court, Case #9 threatened to kill her if she told.

According to court records (*#9 v. Quarterman*, 2007; TDCJ, 2020) worked driving trucks and taxi cabs as a method to pursue his victims (he sought out prostitutes). Case #9 picked them up and would offer them drugs or \$20 in exchange for sex (not all worked as prostitutes). Case #9 confessed he would take his victims to the country, rape and leave them naked, if they agreed to the arrangement. The victims who refused his propositions or failed to follow through with the sexual encounter after using drugs would face a worse fate. Police records, court documented verified he would beat, choked, and raped his victims. Case #9 cut or rip off the victims' clothes to rape them. Case #9 used numerous methods to physically assault his victims including punching, slapping, stomping with feet, using rocks or concrete on the head and face area. One of the prostitutes Case #9 met became his wife and they had children together. Case #9 spent six months in jail for an assault committed against her, she testified he told her that he would have killed her had she not called the police.

Court records confirmed after Case #9 murdered one of the victims, he engaged in necrophilia. He gave himself oral sex with her head then, in Case #9's words, "had normal sex" (rape). In another murder, after Case #9 beat and raped his victim, he left her to die. Case #9 confessed to police he returned 40 minutes later and raped her again, before stealing her wallet and boots. The coroner testified in court the victim died when she drowned in her own blood (TX OAG, 2009; TDCJ, 2020).

In appeal court documents (*#9 v. Quarterman*, 2007) TDCJ had conducted a psychological evaluation during his second incarceration for sexual assault. The report stated Case #9 had a history of auditory and visual hallucinations. Case #9 told the evaluator his mother directed his actions through the hallucinations. Test results indicated Case #9 had a low IQ which added to his behavior problems, but he did not receive treatment for his mental illness. During a subsequent interview with a psychologist he denied the hallucination, and although Case #9 claimed to have attempted suicide twice, he declined any services to address the mental health issues. TDCJ did not mandate any mental health services to JJ during his incarcerations. Questionnaires completed years later (during subsequent incarcerations) failed to identify any mental disorders and Case #9 did not mention the hallucinations.

Case #10

According to four sources (Moritz, 2004; *#10 v. Texas*, 1997; *#10 v. State*, 1997; TDCJ, 2020) Case #10 committed his first murder at 19. Because the crime occurred in 1977, the details regarding the victim, cause of death, and additional information have been archived. What the sources did detail included Case #10's criminal behavior upon his release from TDCJ custody after serving seven years. Case #10, a known drug dealer, also had a pattern of sexually assaulting young girls. Testimony provided during the penalty phase of Case #10's murder trial detailed his actions a week before his 29th birthday. Court records confirmed Case #10 approached 15-year-old sisters (twins) with a gun as they walked home from Dairy Queen. Case #10 forced them to take off their clothes, then he tied both of them up. Case #10 raped one sister orally while molesting

the other. Case #10 told them he would burn down their home if they told anyone; they did not report the assault when it occurred.

Three years later, Case #10 met a woman and they dated for a short while. After they broke up, Case #10 continued to visit the woman, providing her drugs and gifts to her young children. Case #10 used the visits to gain access and rape the woman's young daughter for two years. Case #10 impregnated her 10-year-old. The child's mother confronted Case #10 and told him she would report the crime to the police; she demanded money to end the pregnancy. Case #10 agreed to pay the family money to get the child an abortion and not involve the police. The next morning, Case #10 arrived at the home with a shotgun. Case #10 shot four members of the family. Case #10 wounded the 10-year-old's uncle but killed two older aunts and the 10-year-old victim. She died protecting her younger sibling. DNA records provided in court confirmed Case #10, with a 99.999% certainty, fathered the unborn fetus recovered from the 10-year-old. She completed the fourth grade the day before her murder (Carson, 2004; *#10 v. Texas*, 1997; *#10 v. State*, 1997; TDCJ, 2020 TX OAG, 2004).

Data from court documents (*#10 v. Texas*, 1997; *#10 v. State*, 1997; TX OAG, 2004) triangulated familial and socialization for Case #10. Psychological reports and testimony provided in court described Case #10 as an intelligent individual who understood the concept of right and wrong. On the other hand, Case #10's perceptions came from a foundation of survival due to his upbringing in the projects of Fort Worth. Family members testified Case #10 lived a life of misfortune with a family history of drug use and abuse. Case #10 did not finish school and dropped out before he completed

the 10th grade. One expert witness testified Case #10 had uncultivated talent and artistic abilities.

Case #11

According to four sources (George, 2011; Houston Police Department, 2009; KHOU, 2009; TDCJ, 2020) Case #11 lived a double life. Case #11 worked two jobs to support his common-law-wife and her young children. She called him a “gentle lover” and did not believe the charges when he was arrested for the rape and murder of a local prostitute two-years earlier. Friends did not believe Case #11 would seek the attention of prostitutes because of his ability to attract females. Case #11’s criminal history included a misdemeanor charges for assault, driving with a suspended license, and possession of marijuana and drug paraphernalia, including one felony charge for injury to a child. Co-workers confirmed Case #11’s wife would call in for him when he was arrested for these charges. Each of Case #11’s booking photos had a different hair style and physical appearance, with police speculating this made it more difficult to link him to crimes based on victims’ descriptions.

Data from three sources (ABC7, 2011; Hollandsworth, 2011; KHOU, 2009) triangulated familial and socialization for Case #11’s family. They continued to refute DNA evidence presented in court that linked Case #11 to seven unsolved rapes and murders of prostitutes and five sexual assaults. While on trial, one family member testified Case #11 worked hard and his family (including herself) raised him right. In spite of that testimony, some co-workers reported Case #11 had a dark side and prone to mood swings. According to reports, Case #11 demonstrated signs of depression and

spoke of committing suicide or killing others. Some co-workers recalled Case #11 covered in bruises and scratches “like someone threw a cat on him”, he often looked at female co-workers and made them uncomfortable.

Police records and court testimony confirmed (Houston Police Department, 2009; George, 2011; Hollandsworth, 2011; #11 v. *State*, 2012; TDCJ, 2020) during a six-month span, while Case #11 portrayed a dedicated family man, authorities discovered six prostitutes’ bodies raped, stabbed, and dumped. Over a dozen victims testified Case #11 raped them behind a local church in the Houston area. Case #11’s DNA linked him to numerous unsolved sexual assaults over a 13-year span, including the rape of a 13-year old. Case #11 used a knife in the commission of the rapes and murders, stabbing one victim 54 times. Additional news reports confirmed Case #11 chose victims who did not garner the same level of attention because of their profession. The victims and their families did not report the assaults, or in some cases did not claim the bodies, allowing Case #11 to continue with a double life. Case #11’s last victim, a prostitute, agreed to have sex. Case #11 drove her to a secluded location and had consensual sex. Once she requested payment Case #11 used a knife and tied her up, raped (vaginal and anal) her, and then locked her in the trunk. She escaped and went to a nearby home and called police, she described her attacker’s zodiac tattoo. The MO and description matched the open investigation by the Houston Police Department and FBI. Law enforcement obtained Case #11’s DNA and matched it to the samples collected at the unsolved murders and sexual assaults. The jury took one hour to convict Case #11 and gave him a sentence of life with the possibility of parole.

Case #12

According to four sources (*#12 v. Quarterman*, 2007; *#12 v. State*, 2004; TX OAG, 2009; TDCJ, 2020) Case #12's criminal history started in Ohio when, at 25, he strangled his girlfriend's twin sister with a scarf. Although not charged in this murder, his girlfriend testified during the penalty phase of the trial, for the rape a 12-year old. Case #12 committed the rape two months after the first murder. According to testimony, Case #12 threatened to kill anyone the victim told about the assault. The minor told her mother; whom prohibited Case #12 from contacting the family. A month later, the minor found her mother strangled with an extension cord. Three weeks later Case #12 strangled her father. Case #12 plead guilty to raping the minor and DNA linked him in both the murders of her parents, but Ohio did not charge him in those murders. Case #12 received a life sentence and paroled after serving six years; he moved to Texas. Within five years of release, DNA linked Case #12 to the strangulation of two more women. The victims included the grandmother of Case #12's girlfriend. Case #12 returned to prison for six additional years before receiving another parole. In less than a year of release, Case #12 kidnapped and murdered, by strangulation, his 64-year-old stepmother, married 45 years to his father. In commission of the murder, Case #12 stole her car, pawned her wedding ring, and forged two checks.

Data from court documents (*#12 v. Quarterman*, 2007; *#12 v. State*, 2004; TDCJ, 2020) triangulated Case #12's familial history, childhood, and adolescent development. Case #12 completed the seventh grade and lived with his mother and stepfather until his 13th birthday. Case #12's mother used corporal punishment to discipline the children,

this included the use of handles from brooms or mops, extension cords, and tree branches (i.e. switches). During Case #12's childhood, Case #12 (and his siblings) did not deem her punishments as abuse; only calling her strict. In contrast to his claims, his older sister provided additional details about Case #12's early development. She stated Case #12's mother attempted a self-abortion using a coat hanger and drinking bleach with castor oil. Case #12's mother and stepfather drank, fought, and abused the children emotionally and often neglected them. Record confirmed Case #12's mother prostituted herself as a method to distract others while he and his sibling would steal items, including firewood. Living in nursing home and struck with dementia, investigators did not have an opportunity to interview Case #12's mother.

Data from sources (*#12 v. Quarterman*, 2007; *#12 v. State*, 2004; TDCJ, 2020) confirmed after Case #12 left his mother's home in Arkansas he moved in with his father and stepmother. Case #12's father used the same type of corporal punishment he experienced with his mother. Testimony from court records confirmed Case #12's stepmother displayed a kindness and affection for Case #12 while he lived in their home and during his incarcerations. She wrote him letters, helped his secure employments during parole, and treated him like a son.

The appeal records (*#12 v. Quarterman*, 2007; *#12 v. State*, 2004) confirmed (based on testimony) Case #12 participated in three IQ examinations (Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale-III [twice] and Stanford-Binet), and evaluators dismissed the first and third scores (66) based on Case #12's emotional state. Experts testified the emotional responses and behaviors of Case #12 at the time of the exams made the scores invalid.

Case #12's second attempt IQ examination with the WAIS-III resulted in a score of 80, and examiners determined this score demonstrated the true level of his IQ. Moreover, Case #12 demonstrated social adaptive behaviors that coincided with the higher score. Case #12 secured a commercial driver's license after learning how to read maps, operate a nine-speed manual transmission, and determine his pay using basic math percentages. Case #12 also could play chess and knew how to conceal his crimes. Case #12 demonstrated adaptive behaviors even though he had a limited formal education. Data regarding mental illness prior to Case #12 18th birthday did not exist due to the rural upbringing in Arkansas and his limited education. None of the data suggested any mental illness or defect during Case #12's developmental stages (childhood through adolescence).

Case #13

Case #13's criminal history and offenses made him one of the few known BSK to the public. According to six sources (Leung, 2004; King, 1982; Mitchell, 2006; Montaldo, 2019; *State v #13*, 2006; Whitley, 2003) Case #13 murdered (based on his confessions) at least 80 women over eight years, in five states (Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Tennessee, and Texas), and in Canada. Prior to the discovery of the last case (#14), Case #13 had the most suspected murders by any known serial killer. Although Case #13 had a history of sexual assaults, he did not kill those victims. Case #13 committed his first known sexual assault at 15 when he attacked a woman on his paper route, he told authorities he felt like beating someone up. Case #13 had to spend time in a psychiatric hospital after this attack. By the age of 16, Case #13 (and his parents) realized he could

voluntarily commit himself for psychological treatment when his violent behaviors got him in trouble. Over the next five years he went into the same clinic approximately 10 times. Case #13 conducted an IQ exam and it determined he had mild mental retardation (scoring 68); and participated in numerous psychological evaluations during his time in mental health facilities. One report determined Case #13 suffered from paranoid schizophrenia, one evaluation concluded no psychosis, no hallucinations but Case #13 had homicidal impulses and passive-aggressive approach to life with high probability of violence. Another report labeled Case #13 a psychotic woman-hater and that rage fueled Case #13's crimes.

Shortly before his 21st birthday, Case #13 had gained entry into a woman's apartment by asking for "Charles". He forced his way in and attempted to strangle her and put his hand on her genitals, he fled as she fought him off. Based on court records, Case #13 used this method numerous times, but he did not always attack when individuals answered the door. Five women reported waking to find a man on top of them with his hands on their genitals, Case #13 matched the attacker's general description although not seen (King, 1982; Mitchell, 2006; Montaldo, 2019).

Based on data from six sources (Leung, 2004; King, 1982; Mitchell, 2006; Montaldo, 2019; *MI v #13*, 2006; Whitley, 2003) Case #13 did not face charges for any of the murders he confessed to committing. Testimony from psychologist argued the murders provided sexual gratification to Case #13 even though he did not sexually assault the woman he murdered. Case #13 kidnapped and tortured his victims and killed through strangulation, stabbing, slashing their throats, or drowning. Testimony confirmed Case

#13 attacked two women on the same day; the latter escaping because the blood of the former hindered Case #13's ability to hold onto her. Some of Case #13's murder victims received up to 50 stab wounds with knives, screwdrivers, or other sharp objects. Case #13 often spoke of the anger he had for women and the "evil in their eyes" as a motive for killing. Case #13 did not believe in any religious doctrine. Case #13 had sex for the first time at 14 but claimed to lack a sexual attraction to women. He reported conflicts with his sexual orientation and identity. Case #13 expressed primitive thoughts and fantasies, although he lived on a college campus his reports remained confidential and not passed onto local police. Although Case #13's IQ placed him as mildly retarded, he demonstrated excellent street smarts by the random nature of his crimes. To avoid detection, Case #13 used mental health services to circumvent the legal system.

Data from five sources (King, 1982; Mitchell, 2006; Montaldo, 2019; *MI v #13*, 2006; Whitley, 2003) triangulated the familial and social development of Case #13. At the age of two, Case #13 parents divorced. Case #13's mother moved to another state, she left Case #13 and his sister to live with their grandmother. Case #13 (age eight) and his sister got meningitis and resulted in him missing an entire year of school. During which time he would hunt and skin rabbits. Case #13 stated the illness affected his memory; psychological reports contradicted the claim. Case #13 had an excellent memory and could recall minute details. Shortly before Case #13's 10th birthday, his mother remarried a man with six children, and they later had two more children. Case #13 felt neglected and left out of his family.

The conflicting data from people with knowledge about Case #13's relationship with his mother provides two perspectives. Family and friends testified and reported a close relationship and how Case #13's mother dedicated herself to protecting him when he experienced bullying at school. In contrast, while in psychiatric hospitals, Case #13 took on the role of bullying other patients. Data indicated Case #13's mother tutored him until he graduated at 19 and never abused him. Case #13 reported, during his stays in mental health facilities, his mother yelled, beat, struck him in the face with a *switch* (thin and flexible branch), and claimed she did not like him. Case #13 also complained of a bad relationship with his stepfather, a truck driver. Case #13 did not interact with others while in school and remained a loner, but often got into conflicts with female students. Case #13 could not read beyond a fourth-grade level. While in high school, he excelled in football and track, he graduated despite his illiteracy. However, an injury ended his ability to play in college. At the age of 25, Case #13 briefly married and fathered children. During his married, his wife reported Case #13 controlled her physical appearance and limited her social activities outside the home. She also told police that after sex he would leave the house for hours and would return disheveled (King, 1982; Mitchell, 2006; Montaldo, 2019; *MI v #13*, 2006; Whitley, 2003).

Case #14

On October 6, 2019, the FBI named Case #14 the most prolific serial killer in American history. According to the FBI (2018) Case #14 committed a variety of crimes to support his habits with drugs, alcohol, and prostitutes going back as far as 1955. This included shoplifting, drug charges, fraud, and violent offenses (i.e., assaults, breaking and

entering, rape and sodomy). He dropped out of high school and left his home state of Ohio and traveled across the United States before 1960. Police apprehended Case #14 in a Kentucky homeless shelter and extradited him to California on narcotics charge in 2012. Once detained, law enforcement obtained a DNA sample, linking him to three unsolved murders in California. Case #14 received three life sentences for those murders. California officials sent Case #14's DNA to the FBI and identified a connection to murders from California to Florida. DNA evidence links this BSK to an unsolved murder from 1994, in Odessa, a small rural town in West Texas. Texas Rangers took custody and transferred Case #14 to Texas in November 2018 (Allyn, 2019; FBI, 2018; Williams, 2018).

In late 2019, 60 Minutes (the weekly news program on CBS TV) aired a segment on Case #14 and played portions of recorded confessions Case #14 made to a Texas Ranger. The Ranger stated he acknowledged Case #14 as a 'killer' and not a rapist upon meeting. The Ranger confirmed he purposefully avoided discussions of remorse or closure for the victims' families with Case #14. The Ranger provided Case #14 with Dr. Pepper and Domino's pizza, and for the first time Case #14 spoke about his murders. In failing health early summer of 2019, the wheelchair bound 78-year-old spoke in detail for 48 days (and the interviews recorded and aired). Case #14, with a smile on his face (and almost gleam in his eyes) and speaking about one of his victims said "She's fightin' for her life, and I'm fightin for my pleasure!" His body language remained animated while he spoke of the murders, he smiles and chuckled. Case #14 confirmed he murdered individuals he knew police would not take time to investigate, and he would leave the

jurisdiction after a murder. Case #14 said, “They were broke and homeless and walked right into my spider web.” Case #14 claimed he committed the most murders in Miami and Los Angeles while he, according to the Texas Ranger, “preyed on the fringes of society.” Also, Case #14’s method of killing and his transient lifestyle made it harder for police to connect his murders (Alfonsi, 2019).

According to data from six sources (Allyn, 2019, Alfonsi, 2019; FBI, 2018; FBI, 2019; Lauren, 2018; & Tron, 2019) Case #14 surpassed Gary Greenway as the most prolific serial killer in United States history. Case #14 (to date) confessed to 93 murders he committed in 19 states from 1970-2005. The Texas Ranger confirmed, based on Case #14’s confessions and crime scene evidence, more than half of the confessions as accurate. Police and courts have disposed of 50 cold cases. Case #14, a talented artist, provided (and to date, continues to provide) detailed drawing of the victims he murdered. He does not recall specific dates of murders, but he recalled the cars he drove over the decades to help law enforcement create a chronology of the murders. The Texas Ranger who conducted the interviews described Case #14 as “wicked smart with a photographic memory able to remember the smallest of details”. Case #14 drew one victim he murdered in 1972 and provided crime details confirmed by police. The women depicted in Case #14’s drawing have two similarities in the physical characteristics, the oval eyes and red lipstick. The Ranger commented on Case #14’s physical demeanor when he spoke about a victim. Case #14 would stroke the side of his face near his chin, he would squint, look out then up (segment aired the described behavior). The Texas Ranger said,

“...you can tell he has this revolving carrousel of victims, and it’s just spinning, and he’s waiting for it to stop on the victim he wants to talk about” (Alfonsi, 2019).

Data from interviews conducted with Case #14 confirmed he purposefully picked women (by his own admission) Quinet (2007) identified as the missing-missing, including prostitutes and drug addicts. Case #14 said “I didn’t take chances. I didn’t have nobody with me, and I pick on motherfuckers that wouldn’t be missed. That’s why I didn’t get busted a long time ago. I didn’t waste no time digging bodies. I got so crazy I wanted more. That’s a curse that I have got.” (Lock, 2019). Case #14 did not shoot or stab his victims, instead using his physical size and strength to beat and strangle his victims to death. Some of the murders he had confessed to committing, police and medical examiners had ruled accidental, overdose, or natural based on the victims’ lifestyles prior to their deaths. The information Case #14 provided matched with evidence found during the investigations all over the country during Case #14’s decades long killing spree (FBI, 2018, Alfonsi, 2019).

Data from four sources (AP, 2019; Janos, 2018; Lauren, 2018; Wilber, 2019) triangulated the limited information on Case #14’s familial history and socialization. Case #14 self-reported, during an interview, while still a baby his teenaged mother abandoned him on the side of the road. Case #14 referred to her as “a lady of the night”. Case #14 also claimed a (unproven) family lineage to Malcolm X. According to police reports, Case #14’s mother gave birth to him while in jail and raised primarily by his grandmother, his childhood remains undisclosed beyond his limited statements. Case #14, based on self-reporting, experienced his first erection while he watched his

kindergarten teacher touch her neck. He reported continued arousal throughout adolescence when females would touch their necks. Case #14 married for a short time and maintained two long-term relationships, he stated he had no desire to harm woman he loved and avoided looking at their necks.

The data from six sources (Allyn, 2019; AP, 2019; Janos, 2018; Lauren, 2018; Lock, 2019; Wilber, 2019) triangulates Case #14's socialization, criminal background, and expressions of sexual deviance. Case #14 had a brief career in boxing; he hit one opponent in the abdomen and broke his spine. He often fought other inmates in jail. Data obtained confirmed Case #14's expressions of sexual deviance included rape and sadism. Case #14 served time in jail and prison for numerous crimes including assaults, rape, and sodomy. Despite masturbating during each of the murders, Case #14 disputed (almost offended by) the label of rapist. Case #14 only accepted the reference of serial killer when he participated in interviews. Case #14 described his murders in a manner that most people would describe sex. Case #14 stated he enjoyed taking his time with each victim, he would beat and choked the victims until they lost consciousness. Case #14 would allow them to regain consciousness. Case #14 would masturbate with one hand while he would strangle his victims with the other. Case #14 repeated the process until they died from the trauma he inflicted during his sadistic rituals. Case #14 conceded other people probably took the blame for some of his crimes. During a phone interview Case #14 admitted he hoped "God might smile on" him for confessing. Case #14's extensive history of serial murder and sexual deviance came to light in late 2018. This limited the amount of familial data available on Case #14 while conducting the study.

Data Analysis

Description of the Analysis Process

In the first step of the data analysis process, I used the research questions to create four sections: criminal background, sexual deviance, social development, and familial data. Then, for each case, I reviewed each source material and extracted short phrases and complete sentences that best represented or “fit” with each section. These became the codes for the two cycles of analysis. An example of the coding spreadsheet for *Criminal Behavior* is presented in Appendix B. Each case had between 5 and 9 data sources, and for each of the four sections approximately 5 to 10 codes were generated per case, generating approximately 280 codes. For example, in Case 1, the Criminal Behavior section had 6 codes:

1. Lengthy and violent criminal history, which spanned several years.
2. Crimes involved a litany of assaults, homicides, kidnappings, robberies, and rape.
3. Crimes started as theft/robbery, progressed to assaulting individuals during the thefts.
4. Crimes escalated to shooting, kidnapping, and sexual assaults.
5. Sexual assaults did not occur with murders.
6. Violent prisoner, got into fights

For the first cycle of moving codes to categories, I used Saldaña’s (2016) In Vivo coding method to identify and extract words and phrases with similar salience and vivid relationship to the section. For example, using the Case 1 codes, the words *lengthy*,

violent, escalated, kidnapping, and rape generated the category *pervasive and chronic violence*. From the categories I grouped them into single terms to identify the themes in each subject's criminal background. For example, using Case #1 codes and categories the following themes emerged, *theft, assault, murder with violence, sexual deviance*.

For the second cycle of coding I examined the data and used Saldaña's (2016) pattern coding method to group the categories and themes into shorter summaries to examine the patterns of human relationship and to analyze common themes across cases. For example, using the same codes for criminal behavior in Case 1; the second cycle category identified *escalating physical violence, chronic pattern of aggressive behavior*, and the theme *chronic physical aggression*. The second cycle allow for comparisons to the two theoretical frameworks.

In summary, for each of the four sections I examined the data using the In Vivo for the first cycle and pattern coding for the second cycle. This process allowed for answering the main research question and the four sub questions. The case study model created a fluidity in the process needed to identify codes and determine if patterns (categories) existed that pointed to themes in the first cycle (Saldaña, 2016). Once the codes illuminated a pattern then they could be grouped into categories that could be further integrated into themes. The conduct and triangulation of the two methods enhanced credibility and dependability of the results.

The Themes

Criminal background. Determining the themes required identifying the type of acts each BSK committed (or charged) to identify the code. For example, the codes

included kidnapping, robbery, battery, rape, shooting, strangulations, and auto theft described the behaviors committed by the identified BSK. From the criminal behavior code came identified themes (see Table 4).

Sexual deviance. Determining the themes required reviewing the classifications identified by Hickey (2006) for rape, child predation, sadism, and paraphilia. The next step included identifying if the expressions of sexual deviance occurred in conjunction with the murders. From the codes and categories, identified themes in sexual deviance (see Table 4).

Social development. Determining the themes for the BSKs started with coding the highest level of education, IQ scores (if available), any diagnosed mental illness or disorders, and the BSK's ability to adapt his criminal and social behaviors to blend in with norms. Social development codes also identified known athleticism, addictive behaviors, and military association. The codes and categories provided a focused theme on social development (see Table 4) and exposure to strain during childhood into adulthood.

Familial data. The themes identified during the first coding cycle (see Table 4) included the exposure to childhood traumas (abuse, abandonment, and various levels of violence), the amount of parental support, sibling relationships. The second cycle addressed the relevance in the SLT of aggression and the themes of positive or negative parental support and the type of strain experience (i.e., negative or positive, per GST). These are defined and described in the Results.

Table 4

First Cycle Coding Themes for 14 Black Serial Killers in Texas

Case No	Criminal background	Sexual deviance	Social development	Familial data
1	theft, physical assault, murder with physical assaults; sexual deviance	violent rape without murder	no HS diploma	No data available –
2	theft, physical assault, murder with physical assaults; sexual deviance	violent rape without murder	no HS diploma and mental retardation	negative familial support
3	theft, physical assault, murder with physical assaults	murder with nonviolent masturbation/molestation	mental retardation and drug addiction (athlete)	supportive family influence and environment
4	no warning and/or prior pattern (discrepant case)	Non-violent voyeur without murder (discrepant case)	military and mental disorder - social and intellectual adaptive (athlete)	supportive family influence and environment
5	sexual deviance; theft; matricide; same day murders	violent rape (including minor(s)) without murder	mental retardation and drug addiction	supportive family influence and environment
6	theft; chronic physical assaults; murder with sexual deviance	murder with violent rape	Military; no mental defect; maladaptive social behavior	negative influences, limited family support
7	chronic physical assaults; murder with sexual deviance	violent rape (with minor) without murder	No data available –	No data available –
8	sexual deviance; theft and physical assaults with murders	violent rape (with minor(s)) without murder	no HS diploma, mental retardation and social defect; criminally adaptive	negative family support & influences
9	physical violence and sexual deviance with murders.	murder with violent rape (incest - minor)	no HS diploma, mental retardation and social defect; criminally adaptive	negative family support & influences

(table continues)

Case No	Criminal background	Sexual deviance	Social development	Familial data
10	sexual deviance; physical violence with murders	violent rape (with minor(s)) without murder	no HS diploma; no social or mental defect	negative family support & influences
11	physical violence and sexual deviance with murders.	murder with violent rape	mental defects; socially and criminally adaptive	supportive family influence and environment
12	sexual deviance; matricide; physical violence with murders	violent rape (with minor(s)) without murder	no HS diploma; no social or mental defect	negative family support & limited positive influences
13	sexual deviance; physical violence with murders	violent rape without murder	no intellectual defect, socially deficient and criminally adaptive and mental defect (athlete)	supportive family influence and environment; prone to violence and lies (psychopath, or BPD?)
14	physical violence and sexual deviance with murders	Violent rape w/o murder, and murder with violent sexual deviance (masturbation)	no HS diploma, no mental defects; socially and criminally adaptive	limited family support and influence. Socially driven

The themes provided a meaningful method to answer the RQs and identified a discrepant case that went in a different direction. The discrepant case motivated the recommendations for future study. Some cases failed to yield data necessary for coding; an anticipated limitation. Although archival data fell into one of the six sources of evidence in case study research, the strengths outweighed the weaknesses. Therefore, the data obtained remained stable information for future studies, the ability to retrieve adequate data for analysis might hinder the results (Yin, 2014).

Discrepant case. Case #4 met the initial screen criteria for inclusion in the study (and identified in Hickey's dataset (2019)). However, Case #4's themes differed from the remaining BSKs in criminal background and expressions of sexual deviance. For example, the themes of theft (robbery, burglary, shoplifting, etc.) and physical violence (including sexual and physical assaults) remained consistent for 13 of the 14 BSK subjects. Recovered archival records for Case #4 did not indicate any prior criminal convictions for theft or physical violence. The police records confirmed a protective order against Case #4 for domestic violence. Case #4 had not demonstrated the same chronic pattern of violent physical behavior consistent with the other BSK subjects. Case #4 experienced brain trauma from injuries in football and suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder after his time in the military. The potential influence of the lower sodium levels requires further study and consideration.

Moreover, 13 BSKs had identified themes of rape (with and without murder) or sexually deviant behaviors that occurred during their murders (sexual gratification, masturbation, and molestation). Data obtained on Case #4 did not identify a criminal

history of violence in his expressions of sexual deviance. Case #4 had a documented history of non-violent sexual deviance (voyeur and consensual sadism) in both police and court records. Data for Case #4 did not identify a pattern of sexual violence in his behaviors or sexual deviance, with or without an associated murder. Part of the data analysis required avoidance of making the data fit into a desired idea or preconceived results of the study.

One potential reason for the discrepant case included the current FBI standard identifying an individual as a serial killer. The requirement stated offenders must commit at least two murders (with an emotional cooling off) to fall into the category of a serial killer (2008). Prior to 2008, the standard required three or more murders, with emotional cooling off. Case #4 killed four individuals at two different times (15 minutes apart). Case #4 provided opportunities for recommendations and considerations in future studies, not pursued in this study based on the bounded context.

Evidence of Trustworthiness

I took the necessary steps to maintain the trustworthiness of the data collection procedures for the content analysis. The research design I selected, considered each factor to meet the guidelines for an ethical and empirical research, with a factually based conclusion. I used peer-reviewed materials, when available, for content-analysis of data obtained. Scholarly research has yet to thoroughly pursue research on BSKs. I obtained supplemental archival data to confirm the court and police records, including newspaper and magazine (electronic and archive) articles with interviews with BSKs, prosecuting counsel, defense attorneys, victims, witnesses, family, friends, and acquaintances of the

subjects (Yin, 2014). Public access to a Facebook account for one BSK, and televised interviews with another BSK, provided the study limited access to a voice for the cases. Additional factors employed to ensure adequate credibility included using faculty members to review the study (Shenton, 2004).

The findings of the study allowed for the transferability using the same bounded context of BSKs. Future studies should expand to include BSKs outside of Texas and conduct interviews with BSKs, and archival data. The research design allowed access to legal documents and vetted materials originating from state, local, and county records through open-record requests. The documents improved the dependability of the data via triangulation of sources and the original process used to collect the information. The Excel spreadsheet provided an adequate data management tool to carry out the coding process used to produce the results. Last, using an archival approach reduced reflexivity, no personal interactions resulted in unintended influences (see Ravitch & Carl, 2016; Rubin & Rubin, 2012; Shenton, 2004; Yin, 2014).

Results

In response to the primary research questions and the four sub-questions: What are the common socialization experiences and expressions of sexual deviance in BSKs? Seven of the 14 BSKs included in the case study failed to complete high school and five had documented mental retardation. The data collected for 12 of the 14 BSKs found a common theme of negative family experiences and exposures occurred with 58.3% ($n = 7$) during childhood. The common expression of sexual deviance in 93.0% ($n = 13$) of the BSKs included rape (vaginal, oral, and sodomy) and sexual molestation.

Family Origins and Childhood Experiences

Data found on the family and childhood experiences for 12 of the 14 BSKs determined seven (58.3%) experienced a negative parental relationship that included neglect, emotional abuse, or abandonment associated with violent childhood trauma (violent deaths, addictions, arsons, poverty, and/or sexual/physical/mental abuse). Data for the remaining five (41.7%) BSKs identified a positive family support system, only one (20%) of those five had exposure to a violent childhood trauma. The data did not confirm the presence of both parental figures during childhood in 78.6% ($n = 11$) of the BSKs cases. Data confirmed two BSKs had stepfathers and one BSK had his biological father present during childhood (abuse committed by biological father confirmed); whereas the familial data on the remaining nine indicated the presence of one parent or the extended family during childhood who assisted with child rearing or had knowledge of such actions.

The lack of a consistent father figure within the BSKs in Texas suggests the importance of a positive paternal influence during childhood development, and the parental styles effect on social developments (Bartol & Bartol, 2012). Likewise, the excessive exposure to violence and childhood traumas carried into the adult behaviors. Data gathered for the BSKs demonstrated the onset of sexual deviance and violence in their adolescent development.

Adolescent Developmental Experiences

Records on adolescent experiences for 13 of the 14 BSKs (92.9%) found seven (53.9%) did not complete high school. Seven (53.9%) had a history of mental illness or

retardation. None of the BSKs graduated from college. Three (23.1%) of the 13 participated in an organized sport. Records confirmed three (23.1%) of the 13 BSKs demonstrated maladaptive social behaviors during adolescent development into adulthood. Five (38.5%) of the 13 demonstrated no documented mental or social defects.

Expressions of Sexual Deviance

Police and court records for 12 of the 14 BSKs (85.7%) confirmed they committed multiple acts of rape (including vaginal, anal, and oral). Seven (58.3%) of the 12 BSKs committed sexual assaults against minors. Data confirmed five (41.7%) of the 12 BSKs committed at least one rape associated with the murder. Data collected for seven of the BSKs who raped/assaulted minors, confirmed one (14.3%) committed a murder during the assault. Records confirmed 10 (71.4%) of the 14 BSKs murdered their victims through strangulation, stabbing, or physical assaults (with or without rape). Court testimony and records asserted the BSKs achieved sexual gratification through the violence acts committed during the murders; a sadistic expression of sexual deviance (Hickey, 2006).

Data confirmed the remaining two (16.7%) BSKs did not express rape as a sexual deviance, associated with the murder. One (7.1%) committed a sexual assault w/o penetration (molestation/masturbation) associated with the murder victims. The other BSK's records confirmed non-violent expressions of sexual deviance without an associated murder (discussed in the discrepant case). The data suggested rape (including vaginal, anal, and oral) occurred as the most common expression of sexual deviance for the BSKs in Texas. The violence against the murder victims (including strangulation,

stabbing, and physical assaults) fell into the paraphilia category of sadism (Hickey, 2006).

Connection in Sexual Deviance and Family Origin, Childhood, and Adolescent Experiences

The connection of the familial origin, childhood, and adolescent experiences to the sexual deviance started with a negative parental relationship found in 58.3% of the BSKs subjects. The data obtained identified BSKs in Texas had a lack of a consistent paternal presences during childhood. Half of the BSK subjects either failed to complete high school or had a documented history of mental retardation or illness. Three of the BSKs continued to struggle with adjusting socially and demonstrated maladaptive behaviors during adulthood.

After completing the second cycle of coding on sexual deviance, the 14 demonstrated expressions of sexual deviance; with 50% ($n = 7$) experienced sexual pleasure (arousal) through rape, masturbation, and sadism during one or more murders. The data collected confirmed rape as the most prevalent expression of sexual deviance with the BSKs subjects 85.7% ($n = 12$). The figures seem to fall in line with studies conducted on SVPs. Sexual deviance through sadistic behavior occurred (with and without an associated murder) in 64.3% ($n = 9$) of the BSKs. Another common expression of sexual deviance included child molestation (sadistic pedophilia) with 50% ($n = 7$) of the BSKs. (See Table 5).

Table 5

Expressions of Sexual Deviance in Black Serial Killers in Texas

Case No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	X							
2	X							
3			X		X			
4				X		X		
5	X				X			
6	X		X			X		
7	X				X	X		
8	X	X			X	X		
9	X				X	X	X	
10	X		X		X	X		X
11	X	X				X		
12	X				X	X		
13	X		X				X	
14	X	X	X			X	X	

Note.

1 = Rape (Vaginal and/or Oral)

2 = Sodomy

3 = Self-Masturbation and/or Molestation of Victim

4 = Voyeur

5 = Child Molester/Sadistic Pedophile

6 = Sadism

7 = Somnophilia

8 = Necrophilia

All the BSKs experienced an identified level of strain described by Agnew (1992), with most experiencing at least two of the three strains. For example, the BSKs who attended college with athletic aspirations, experienced injuries which resulted in leaving school, falling into addiction, and experiencing depression. Other BSKs experienced the traumatic loss of siblings and parents through death, murder, incarcerations, and abandonment. Whereas some of the BSKs experienced childhood abuse (sexual, physical, and emotional), lived in poverty, had parents with addictions, and other noxious exposures that created strain. Majority of the BSKs experienced the loss of positive stimuli and exposure to negative environments.

Using Bandura's (1971) SLT of aggression, the 14 BSK in the study experienced or expressed aggression in their social environments and during their childhood, in adulthood, or both. The 13 BSKs (92.9%) displayed at least one of the four rapist types, one of the most aggressive forms of sexual deviance, described by Hickey (2006): power-reassurance, power-assertive, anger-retaliation, and anger-excitation.

The results of the study support the SLT of aggression and GST used to anchor the study. The expressions of sexual deviance resulted from negative relationships, positive and negative stains, and social learning with BSK in Texas.

Summary

In conclusion, the common socialization experiences in BSK include negative familial and socialization experiences. The result confirmed the most common expression of sexual deviance includes rape. The next common expressions included sadism and child molestation. The four sub-questions, helped to guide the primary research question, found the common socialization experience included limited education with a history of mental retardation or mental illness. On the other hand, the results indicated a unique socialization in BSK who had no history of mental retardation, mental illness and demonstrated socially adaptive behaviors. The results also confirmed two of the BSK demonstrated unique expressions of sexual deviance to include voyeurism and necrophilia. The results confirmed the most common characteristic in the family origin included negative familial support with at least two of the three associated strains. In contrast with the unique characteristic of the discrepant case that identified positive familial support with no associated strain or one of the three strains. Last, the most

common childhood experience of the BSK included violence and childhood trauma associated with aggression. In Chapter 5, these results will be considered in light of the published research on serial killers and the chosen theoretical frameworks, and how the findings reveal suggestions for future research and professional application.

Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to examine sexual deviance in BSKs in Texas. The primary source for data included archival records to explore the reported familial, criminal, sociodemographic, psychological, and expressions of sexual deviance of BSKs in Texas. The key findings of the study indicated the most common expressions of sexual deviance in BSKs includes rape, sadism, and child molestation. The SLT of aggression and GST confirmed the influences of negative parental relationships and childhood traumas and their contributions to the social learning of BSKs in Texas.

Interpretation of the Findings

In response to the primary research question, BSKs in Texas commit rape as the most common expression in sexual deviance. These results confirmed other research, which had suggested African Americans compose almost half of serial rapists and BSKs rape their victims (Bartol & Bartol, 2012; Hickey, 2006; LePard et al., 2015; Lester & White, 2014; Quinet, 2007; Salfati et al., 2015; Wright et al., 2016). The findings also suggested BSKs do not rape their murder victims as a common practice; but instead use sadistic acts during the murder to achieve sexual pleasure. Additionally, the results differed from studies suggesting BSKs have limited education and more stability within social development and less exposure to abuse (Beckham & Prohaska, 2012; Lester & White, 2014). The current findings for BSKs in Texas revealed most did not graduate high school, they experienced strain and social aggression including social maladaptive behaviors, violence, and abuse. The findings of my study found similar results with the

expression of sexual deviance. The act of rape, an aggressive form of sexual deviance, could suggest a connection with the violence, abuse, and aggression experienced during childhood developments both with family and social experiences.

Research had also suggested similarities with premeditation and the ability to avoid law enforcement with BSKs in South Africa and in the United States. For example, a previous study suggested BSKs in the United States demonstrated planning behaviors because of the need to have a place to hide the bodies (Sorochinski et al., 2015). But the findings for BSKs in Texas suggested the planning did not include hiding the bodies of victims. The BSKs in this study killed their victims during fights, robberies, assaults, or as an expression of sexual deviance including rape or sadistic acts, but they rarely demonstrated behaviors to hide the bodies of their victims. The findings also suggested BSKs targeted the missing-missing with intention to avoid law enforcement longer. The results of this study also suggest mental illness and retardation did not hinder BSKs in their ability to adapt both socially and criminally. BSKs with low IQs demonstrated planning behaviors to act out aggression and violence. The need for professional psychologists in the field to expand research studies into BSK childhood experiences, adolescent behaviors, including sexual experiences and expressions will be discussed more fully in the following sections.

Primary Victim Selection

The research on BSKs suggested they killed individuals within the same race and those deemed missing-missing. The studies on serial murders also suggested victim selection of vulnerable individuals who include homeless, runaways, and prostitutes

(Branson, 2013; Hickey, 2015; Quinet, 2007). The results of my research suggested BSKs in Texas targeted adult women as their most common victim (see Table 6), without regard to race. Although the results confirmed BSKs who had a long span of killing (over years) usually murdered the missing-missing to avoid detection from law enforcement. Several BSKs confirmed they would target prostitutes and drug addicts when seeking out victims. Case #14 stated he "...stayed in the ghetto" to remain undetected and continued killing. The data also confirmed the victim selection varied by race, age, socioeconomic status, and occupations as well as geographic location to avoid detection by law enforcement.

Studies suggested victims often fear blaming and shaming if they reported a sexual assault (see Donley & Gualtieri, 2017; Hickey, 2015; Lester & White, 2014; Quinet, 2007; Walsh, 2005). My research suggested BSKs had the ability to adapt their criminal behaviors to avoid police detection, even with low IQs. For example, Case #8 who could only cook eggs, adapted his criminal activities to avoid law enforcement and burglarized at least 25 homes (TDCJ, 2020). He acted with forethought and premeditation to avoid detection by law enforcement.

Some BSKs would also change their method of killing or physical appearances from hair styles to weight gains and losses. Others would purposefully seek out and commit crimes against the missing-missing or across jurisdictions, and in some cases BSKs did both. The variation of murder and the nomadic behavior allowed for a higher number of victims. For example, Case #13 sought young White women ages 14-44. Case #13 targeted victims who would normally receive attention by both law enforcement and

news media; but then again, Case #13 varied his method of killing his victims to include stabbing, strangling, and drowning victims. Case #13 did not sexually assault his murder victims to reduce forensic evidence left behind. Even with a low IQ, Case #13 socially adapted through the confidentiality requirements of psychiatric facilities. He confessed his dark desires with full knowledge the doctors could not disclose the information to law enforcement. Case #13 moved between different jurisdictions (cities and states), the most effective method Case #13 employed, the data suggested Case #13 traveled into Canada, when he lived in Michigan, and connected to an unsolved murder (Leung, 2004; King, 1982; Mitchell, 2006; Montaldo, 2019; *MI v #13*, 2006; Whitley, 2003).

The BSKs in Texas had murder sprees with a wide range, with some lasting a few hours with others spanning over 37 years. Most had killing and crime sprees over several years. Some BSKs experienced gaps between murders because of incarcerations in correctional facilities. Once released, they resumed their violent and aggressive behaviors including assaults, thefts, rapes, and additional murders. The delays in catching BSKs included the lack of effective forensic evidence and DNA testing when they committed the murders; cases went cold and remained unsolved.

Table 6

Murder Victim Selection of Black Serial Killers in Texas

Case No.	Missing – missing ¹	Children ^{2*}	Adolescents ^{3*}	Adult Women ^{4*}	Adult Men ^{5*}	Elderly ^{6*}
1					X	
2				X	X	X
3	X		X	X		
4			X	X		
5				X	X	
6				X		
7				X		
8**				X	X	X
9**	X					
10**		X				X
11	X			X		
12				X	X	X
13	X		X	X		
14	X					

Note.

1 = Prostitutes, drug addicts, runaways, and homeless: All genders and ages

2 = All genders aged 0 – 12

3 = All genders aged 13 – 17

4 = Ages 18 – 64

5 = Ages 18 – 64

6 = All genders aged 65 and older

* = No association with missing-missing

** = identity of one or more victims unavailable

Black Serial Killers and Law Enforcement Response

Prior research suggested there are factors influencing why BSKs fell “under the radar” of both media and law enforcement. First, media attention and focus affected how law enforcement prioritized and profiled offenders, including the perception Black men lacked the intelligence to carry out long-term murder. Second, law enforcement’s responses to reports of missing individuals who lived as prostitutes, drug addicts, and runaways (Branson, 2013; Cottrell, 2015; Levi-Minzi & Shields, 2007). The findings of

this study suggested similarities with the law enforcement response, the adaptive (and sometime nomadic) lifestyle, and limited police response made the missing-missing less valuable, which continued to make them easier victims for BSKs who had killings sprees over years.

In contrast, findings also confirmed BSKs remained within a geographic area but adapted to avoid detection. The data confirmed police often dismissed missing persons reports by family and friends of victims, as a personal choice, if they were a known prostitute or drug addict. For example, police closed investigations in Case #13 and Case #14's murders, ruling them as accidental deaths, overdoses, or natural causes. This inaction allowed BSKs to continue murdering for extended periods.

Black Serial Killer Profile

Research suggested BSKs' parents had higher frequencies of incarceration and lower frequencies of social isolation in comparison to WSKs (Lester & White, 2014). My research confirmed a pattern of parental absence and similar reports of isolation in childhood as WSKs. Though research had suggested a low exposure to childhood violence with BSKs (Lester & White, 2014), the findings in this study suggested that exposure to violence in childhood occurred in more than half of the cases. BSKs had variations of familial backgrounds. Some BSKs lived in two-parent homes and the dynamics differed, including blended families (step-relationships) or lived in poverty. Most BSKs had childhood experiences with single parent homes, a few lived with one or another parent at different times, and some had no parental involvement during childhood. Data did not verify the consistent involvement of the father across the cases.

The absence of the paternal figure in childhood development requires consideration in future studies. BSKs shared similar experiences in childhood including traumas, which included abuse and violence. For example, 92.9% ($n = 13$) of the BSKs had criminal histories with violence in their past.

Research suggested that WSKs tend to fit into their social environments (Arndt et al., 2004; Beasley, 2004; Hickey, 2015; Kraemer et al., 2004). My research suggested BSKs demonstrated nomadic behaviors and travel between cities and states to avoid detection. Some even altered the killing methods and physical appearance between murders. Conversely, BSKs demonstrated the same patterns as WSKs, and fit into their social environments while they sought out their victims. Some BSKs committed additional murders while on parole from prison. DNA evidence helped to link BSKs to their victims' years after the crimes. Case #14 committed murders for almost 40 years before DNA linked him to three cold cases (FBI, 2019). BSKs demonstrated the same skill to avoid detection, and suggests the need for forensic psychologists to expand the research studies on this population.

Social Learning Theory and General Strain Theory

The SLT (Bandura, 1971) and GST (Agnew, 1992) theorized that the social aggression and strain experienced in childhood manifested into deviant behaviors and aggressions. The results are consistent with the conceptual premise of violence and aggression with associated strain in childhood in GST. The results confirmed high levels of violence involved in their criminal activities, including the murders, and are consistent with the SLT of aggression and GST. The BSKs demonstrated a high level of violence

with associated murders, including rape; with only one resorting to necrophilia. The data did not include criminal records from other states for all the cases, a consideration for future studies. Studies suggested that WSKs demonstrated more at-risk behaviors (i.e. setting fires, killing small animal) compared to BSKs (Lester & White, 2014). My results suggested childhood trauma, abuse, and violence occurred frequently with the BSKs. Data did not indicate the at-risk behaviors identified by Lester and White.

SLT and GST studies demonstrated African American children can become aggressive and violent which resulted in other-inflicted strain (Agnew, 1992). The results suggested that BSKs demonstrated other inflicted strains leading up to murders. BSKs, with and without mental illness and impairment, did not alter the levels of other-inflicted aggression presented from early adolescents. With exception to Case #13, the data did not confirm psychological interventions to address the effects on the BSKs social developments. Future studies need to determine if BSKs who experienced strain and aggression in childhood received psychological interventions.

Published research on SVPs found a lack of intimate or committed relationships, or estrangements with partners, when they committed crimes; or they hid their sexual deviance (see Chan et al., 2007; Maniglio, 2012; Murray, 2017; Oliver et al., 2007; Simon, 2015). Research studies using SLT and GST suggested almost 80% of sexual offenders and 46% of non-sexual offenders experienced childhood (physical or sexual) abuse. Moreover, African American men had a higher frequency of other-directed aggression and deviant behaviors in response to strain (Burton, et al., 2002; Felson & Lane, 2009; Jang, 2007). I found a similar connection with childhood exposures to

violence and aggression, including physical and sexual abuse, and parental abandonment, which manifested into aggressive and violent behaviors. The violent crimes committed by BSKs included theft, assaults, murders, and various expressions of sexual deviances. The sexual pleasure experienced through the sadism included beating (with hands and objects), choking (with hands and items), stabbing, and stomping the victims. This type of aggressive behaviors supported the SLT of aggression and GST used to anchor the study and results.

Limitations of Study

The study had several limitations. First, I did not conduct direct interviews with BSKs, their friends, family, or social acquaintances. However, Case #14's recorded interviews (later televised) that provided additional data to interpret and gave a voice to one case. A second limitation was the scope that required BSKs had a criminal (including a sex related charge) connection in Texas.

The risk of personal bias diminished by limiting professional contact with Dr. Hickey in selecting cases and analyzing the data. The case study approach, using archival data, created the risk of reaching required data saturation. Using the set criteria for inclusion the study included 14 BSKs and enhanced data saturation potential. Limited access to court and police records for BSKs who committed crimes prior to 1993, reduced data obtained to code familial experiences and social developments.

Recommendations

There are several recommendations for future studies. First, I encourage researchers to consider BSKs with three or more killings, that include an emotional

cooling off period. Prior to the changes in 2008, the FBI standard for serial killers required at least three or more killings, with an emotional cooling off. The FBI, with various experts in criminology, collaborated and changed the requirement to two or more killings (2008). As a result, BSKs comprised 50% of the known serial killers based on the current FBI standard. Two of the 14 cases (14%) committed the murders the on the same day; both demonstrated an emotional cooling off that occurred between the murders. Case #4 had two emotional cooling off occurrences and demonstrated discrepancies with numerous factors involving criminal history, sexual deviance, and social development when compared to the other BSKs included in the study.

Additionally, future BSK studies can expand outside of Texas, as well as internationally. Studies on BSK in South Africa identified both similarities and differences with American counterparts (Labuschagne & Salfati, 2015; Salfati et al., 2015). Additional studies outside of the Western perspective provided different standards to categorize serial killers which helped with a more specified and refined profile (Gresswell & Hollin, 1994; Wiest, 2016). The results of my study suggested BSKs demonstrated a level of planning and social adaptability not identified in BSKs available research. For example, three of the BSKs made no efforts to hide or dispose of their victims' bodies, like the BSKs in South Africa (Soroichinski et al., 2015).

Additional recommendations include using the trauma control model or motivational model for future studies on BSKs. Hickey (2015) suggested that the combination of environment, psychosocial, and biology factor into sexually motivated murders. The results suggested childhood trauma and violence carry into the adult

behaviors of BSKs, including physical violence associated with murders. Future research should focus on comprehensive studies of this population, to include interviews with BSKs (when possible), their family, friends, acquaintances, police investigators, and attorneys to capture the voice of the subject, their perceptions, and perspectives of others. In lieu of interviews, I attempted to obtain and review mitigation reports and prolonged the data gathering process, and I did not obtain desired documents. If future researchers obtain the interview data, this negates the need for such reports. The results support the need to expand empirical research for BSKs and I recommend forensic psychologists conduct comparative and relationship-based quantitative studies.

Implications

The unique and consistent findings offer a meaningful contribution to the forensic psychology community and adding to the literature on BSKs. The common theme of negative parental support (and associated strain) with childhood trauma indicates a potential connection to aggression, sexual deviance, and serial murder as an adult. The data confirmed the presence of aggression during social development of the 14 BSKs either during childhood or expressed at an adult. I plan to use the result for presentations to law enforcement agencies at the local, state, and federal level. Providing law enforcement with additional data could assist with the pursuit and capture of this population. I plan to give presentations, discussing the negative familial exposure and strain during childhood, focused at the juvenile justice system.

Furthermore, the implications of this study can assist various law enforcement agencies. Presentations can assist agencies with investigation practices and techniques to

help identify victims of BSKs, who would otherwise go unnoticed or unidentified as victims of a serial killer. For example, law enforcement agencies should review the procedures in place when responding to missing persons reports or deaths of the missing-missing population. Far too often, agencies dismiss the reports as a voluntary choice when the individual lives a transient lifestyle, allowing BSKs longer crime sprees. The lack of a comprehensive investigations into the cause of deaths for the missing-missing, as in Case #14, suggested a dismissive approach in providing closure for the victims and their families. Law enforcement agencies, using systems to capture forensic evidence and search DNA profiles compared to cold cases, increased the number of BSKs identified. The lack of communication between law enforcement agencies in sexual assaults, missing persons, and murders allowed BSKs to prey upon women, elderly, and the missing-missing. Additional implication included increased communications between jurisdictions, and sharing of information on criminal activities, to identify patterns more quickly.

Conclusion

In summary, the purpose of the study described the expressions of sexual deviance in BSKs. The study determined BSKs rape their victims as the most common expression in sexual deviance. The study also suggested BSKs do not always murder the victims they rape, and instead express sexual deviance through sadistic acts. The results of the study determined BSKs remain out of the social spotlights and off the radar of law enforcement agencies. The study suggested that BSKs prey upon all levels of society, and across racial demographics. Although the missing-missing remain a vulnerable and easily

forgotten victims, BSKs kills women, children, and men. BSKs who committed murders over extended time used various methods to kill their victims as an adaptive method to avoid detection.

The results of the study suggested BSKs have a common pattern during childhood. BSKs exposed to abuses, aggression, and violence within their families and social development did not receive attention or a proper outlet. The underreporting of psychological interventions of African American boys could result from the belief systems that do not encourage weakness (Lester & White, 2014; Voison et al., 2013). BSKs with a limited education or intellect demonstrated an adaptability to aid with their criminal activities. The socially adaptive behaviors and criminally adaptive skills demonstrated by BSKs with lower IQ suggested a level of planning, premeditation, and deception. The finding conflicted with profiles on serial killers. This misconception benefited the BSKs population as they continued to navigate below the radar; until DNA matches (found by computers) caught up to them. The potential for a connection in expressions of sexual deviance and a lack of paternal figures during childhood requires the consideration of future studies.

The research on WSKs provided law enforcement agencies and researchers with a vast pool of data to profile perpetrators and reduce the number of their victims. Documentaries on WSKs (i.e. Ted Bundy, Jeffery Dahmer, and Todd Kohlhepp) provided intrigued audiences hours of information into their lives, motives, and victims. Meanwhile, BSKs (like their White counterparts) also have the appearance of normalcy (Arndt et al., 2004; Beasley, 2004; Hickey, 2015; Kraemer et al., 2004) and continued to

thrive undetected by law enforcement, family, friends, and co-workers. Case #11 lived a normal life, working as a waiter and taking care of his family. His common-law wife found it hard to believe she lived with a serial murderer; until DNA evidence linked him to a series of rapes and murders near their home. Case #14 methodically and with malice murdered almost 100 women, for almost four decades, across the United States.

Black men commit serial murder. BSKs present a social problem that requires more research and law enforcement consideration. Empirical research needs to explore the effects of exposure to aggression, violence, and strain during childhood on African American. Additionally, studies on the expressions of sexual deviance in BSKs, and the possible connection to paternal involvement. The results of the case study demonstrated BSKs possess an adaptive skill, a flexibility with victim selection, and variation of expressions in sexual deviance; not hindered by mental impairments or limited education. Last, research on BSKs would allow for a more accurate profile to assist law enforcement agencies. The social aggression and strain experienced during childhood manifest into actions, including rape and sadistic violence. Additional research on BSKs would provide beneficial information to develop interventions for at risk youths. Addressing the aggression and strain experienced during childhood might provide a healthy outlet. Left unaddressed we have a society at risk of finding a place on the carousel of victims, spinning in the mind of a predator.

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Appendix A: Sample of Black Serial Killer Coding

What are the family of origin and family experiences?	What are the adolescent developmental experiences?	What are the expressions of sexual deviance?	How is the family of origin, childhood, and adolescent experiences connected with expression of sexual deviance?	First cycle descriptive	First cycle concept	Second cycle patterns	Themes most relevant
Common: NDA Unique: NDA	Common: limited education Unique: NDA	Common: rape Unique: N/A	Aggression and violence in behavior based on criminal history and expressed in sexual deviance	In Vivo	Violent rape without murder, theft, assault, murder with violence, sexual deviance, no HS diploma	SVP, chronic physical aggression, multiple STL influences	Other inflicted violence and aggression
Common: negative family influence and mental retardation Unique	Common: limited education and mental retardation Unique	Common: rape Unique: N/A	Negative family influence with chronic patterns of aggressive behavior and in sexual deviance	In Vivo	Violent rape without murder, theft, assault, murder with violence, sexual deviance, no HS diploma w/ mental retardation, negative influences, no family support	SVP, career thief, chronic aggression with weapons, multiple STL influences w/ low IQ, GST (P & N) 2/3	Other inflicted violence and aggression w/ mental defect

Appendix B: Sample of Data Analysis

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	Codes lengthy and violent criminal history, which spanned several years and involved a litany of assaults, homicides, kidnappings, robberies, and rape. Crimes started as theft/robbery, progressed to assaulting individuals during the thefts. Crimes escalated to shooting, kidnapping, and sexual assaults. Sexual assaults did not occur with murders. violent	1st cycle Category pervasive and chronic violence. Shot victims during thefts, physical/sexual assaults	1st cycle Themes theft, assault, murder with violence; sexual deviance	2nd cycle Category escalating physical violence Chronic pattern of aggressive behavior	2nd cycle theme chronic physical aggression	
2	prisoner, got into fights sentenced to 30 years in prison in 1992 (age 33) for auto theft, records show, but he was paroled after serving five years. crimes started w with armed robbery at age 22. murders occurred during commission of robberies. Usually included stabbing or shooting the victim. Periods of cooling off were identified between offenses. History of robberies and assaults before and after he committed three murders, three rapes and more than a dozen armed	thefts (cars/people), physical/sexual assaults. Shot or stabbed murder victims	theft, assault, murder with violence; sexual deviance	chronic pattern of theft and violence with weapon, escalated to rape and murder	career thief, chronic aggression with weapons	
3	Convicted in 1996 for murder committed in 1989. stabbed to death victim and her twin daughters (16 yo). The murders went unsolved for almost six years. committed two previous murders (Oct 1989) during a fight with victim. murdered victim (July 1995) during the robbery. also linked to the slaying of a prostitute.	physical assaults, theft/robbery of murder victim	theft, assault, murder with violence	chronic pattern of murders with physical violence	murder with chronic physical aggression	
4	murders occurred during robberies. Would either					
◀ ▶ ... Coding for Criminal Bckgd		Coding for Sexual Deviance	Coding Social Development	Coding for Familial Data		

Ready