AARMS Vol. 16, No. 3 (2017) 5–34. **10.32565/aarms.2017.3.1**

Serial Killers on the Other Side of the Bars: "Bestial Humans—Human Beasts"[1]

Péter RUZSONYI[2]

Serial killers are present all over the globe. Their acts shock and—not surprisingly—anger the public. This study will—for the first time in Hungary—focus on serial killers convicted in Hungary by analyzing their crimes and their behavior during incarceration.

This paper has the as-yet unprecedented aim of providing a general picture about serial killers on the "other side" of the prison bars, and within the prisons themselves. Besides dealing with the life and activities of the serial killers before their incarceration on international level, it will also put forward a comprehensive picture about the origin and meaning of the term "serial killer", all the while discussing the general attributes of those who belong to this category. The study will also provide an overview about the main ideas on making distinctions and conducting classification into different types and examines the issues that are related to female serial killers.

We will also analyze the actions of serial killers incarcerated within Hungarian prisons and evaluate their behaviour within the institution in order to predict their likely conduct using a completely novel risk assessment procedure.

Our study also has a second part in which we will address the peculiarities pertaining to the punishment of life without parole, especially as 67% of the currently incarcerated Hungarian serial killers have received this sanction for their deeds.

Keywords: *serial killers, serial murderers, bestial humans*

"Serial killers fail to think of other people as human." [10]
Katherine Ramsland

Introduction

If we browse through the channel list of an average television capable of receiving signals from about 30–50 channels, it is very much likely that the Hungarian broadcasters' repertoire will include at least ten movies dealing in some way with serial murders. The editors have every right to believe that such shows would have a positive increase on their view count. But what reasons lie behind the popularity of such stories? Would an increase in frequency also result in an increase of quality?

[1] The work was created in commission of the National University of Public Service under the priority project PACSDOP-2.1.2-CCHOP-15-2016-00001 entitled "Public Service Development Establishing Good Governance" in the Ludovika Workshop.

[2] Ph.D., Correctional Brigadier-General, University Professor, Pro-Dean, Head of Department of Corrections, Faculty of Law Enforcement, National University of Public Service; e-mail: ruzsonyi.peter@uni-nke.hu

People tend to have an affection towards grim and/or terrifying things, but they preferably experience these within the safe and secure premises of their homes, having their remote controller within reach. Should the scenes become unbearably gruesome, they can simply switch to another channel and avoid any unpleasant consequences. In our daily lives, of course, solving such a problem is a far more difficult undertaking. In the last 200 years, 650 serial killers had been focused on by the police in the United States. These criminals "are responsible for a minimum range of 3,500 homicides to a maximum of 5,650 homicides." [1: 42]

The estimations on the number of serial murderers unleashed at any given time within the United States are varied. Hickey believes that currently 30–40 criminals are active [1] while Holms and Holms believe that this number is closer to 200. [2] According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (hereinafter: FBI), the numbers are even more staggering: they claim "that at any given time between 200 and 500 serial killers are on the loose and that they kill 3,500 people a year". [3: 6]

Despite these haunting numbers, basically no American citizen considers him/or herself as a potential victim and the whole notion seems unreally distant and terrifying for a regular person.

The attention of the media reaches unrealistic heights when they have a chance to open up a topic on serial murderers, thus they often contribute to the increasing fear among the citizens. "Breaking" news based on gossips and assumptions tend to make the work of the law enforcement authorities more difficult. Even after their capture, perpetrators keep staying on the front page of tabloid magazines until their incarceration when the public quickly loses its interest. The attention of both the media and the experts dissipates rather quickly.

This is the part where the tasks of the prison services begin. What can and what should be done with these criminals? Providing an answer to these questions is a difficult endeavour since when viewed from the perspective of penology, this field is barely more than a blank space. We simply lack the required theoretical and practical knowledge and experience, not only because of the scarcity of relevant and available academic literature, but also because of the fact that the number of serial murderers in Hungary is—luckily—relatively low. In our study we endeavour to expand the knowledge that may facilitate providing satisfying answers to the questions above.

The Meaning and Origin of the Term "Serial Murderer"

Despite the fact that the first homicides bearing some of the definitive marks of "serial murders" have only been classified as such around 1700–1800 (e.g. Jack the Ripper), it is almost absolutely certain that such offences had existed even before this period. The limited form documentation and the rudimentary investigations at that time meant that even if these perpetrators were detained for some reason, their previous crimes remained undiscovered. [4]

The author of the first academic publication on the topic was dr. Richard von Krafft-Ebing, a German–Austrian physician and forensic medical expert, psychiatrist and sexologist. He analyzed violent and sexual offenders and the crimes they had committed. His discoveries were published in 1886 in his textbook *Psychopathia Sexualis*,[3] in which he described several

[3] Original title: *Psychopatia Sexualis: eine Klinisch-Forensische Studie.* 1886.

case studies related to sexual homicides, serial murders and other crimes having a sexual nature. [5]

The term "serial murderer" was coined by Hughes [6] in 1950 in his work entitled *The Complete Detective*. This was merely a literary term until 1976, when—during the investigation of the *Son of Sam* case—FBI special agent Robert Ressler suggested the introduction of the term into the professional terminology after a consultation with the Behavioral Science Unit of the FBI.

The most widely accepted definition of "serial murderer" was provided by Douglas et al., [7] who stated that: *those persons are considered serial murderers who commit at least three separate murders in separate locations, with an emotional cooling-off period between them.* This length of the cooling-off period may differ with each individual and can last for days, weeks, months or even years.[4] [7]

The importance of emphasizing the different locations and separate dates stems from the fact that these are the factors that differentiate serial murderers from mass[5] and spree murderers.[6] [7]

Authors Canter and Wenting [8] and Salfati and Bateman [9] added one small, but important detail to the definition provided above. They expanded the list of factors previously given with the condition of "unlawful killing", thereby excluding the lawful use of firearms and other weapons by law enforcement officers and its consequences.

Ramsland's argument further clarifies the "classic" definition: he points out that some offenders "bring their victims to the same location at different times" and kill them there. [10: xi]

In our study we accept both amendments as valid conditions.

The General Characteristics of Serial Killers

General Approach

An average persons's knowledge on serial murderers is shallow. According to Ramsland, "the public wants monsters to be obvious, and many popular culture productions reinforce that naïve hope that they're largely on the fringes of society. But monsters do live among us—easily and with little detection, because the clever ones know how to adapt and to deflect suspicion.

Many people believe that serial killers are loners and losers, unable to maintain careers or relationships. They're supposedly undereducated, narcissistic, and searching for short-term gratification." [10: 177–178]

The dangers emanating from forming incorrect stereotypes are emphasized by Morton and Hilts as well. They argue that "the majority of serial killers are not reclusive, social misfits who live alone. They are not monsters and may not appear strange." [11: 3]

---

4 Holmes and Holmes determied that the length of these periods is at least a month. We believe that the existence of such a limiting factor is not satisfyingly proven since the personality and as such the reactions and emotions of serial murderers differ in each individual.

5 Mass murderers kill more than three victims at the same location and time.

6 Spree murderers kill three or more people consecutively at three or more different locations.

Morton and Hilts believe that since determining every single factor that may exert an influence on the human behaviour is impossible, attempting to collect all the determinants that might cause a person to become a serial murderer would be a futile effort as well. Based on their experiences at FBI, the authors tried to collect key characteristics the existence (or lack) of which might tipify serial killers: [11: 11–12]

- Predisposition to serial killing, much like other violent offenses, is biological, social, and psychological in nature and it is not limited to any specific characteristic or trait.
- The development of a serial killer involves a combination of these factors which exist together in a rare confluence in certain individuals. They have the appropriate biological predisposition, molded by their psychological makeup, which is present at a critical time in their social development.
- There are no specific combinations of traits or characteristics shown to differentiate serial killers from other violent offenders.
- There is no generic template for a serial killer.
- Serial killers are driven by their own unique motives or reasons.
- Serial killers are not limited to any specific demographic group, such as their sex, age, race, or religion.
- The majority of serial killers who are sexually motivated erotized violence during development. For them, violence and sexual gratification are inexplicably intertwined in their psyche.
- Both the serial murders and the perpetrators themselves have enjoyed widespread attention in the last 200 years. Since satisfying answers to the questios of the general population were unavailable, they were substituted by myths and preconceptions. Based on the determinants provided by Hickey, we compare these myths with scientifically proven facts.

Table 1. *Myths versus Facts.* [1: 5–6]

Myth	**Fact**
They are nearly all white.	One in five serial killers is black.
They are all male.	Nearly 17% are female.
They are insane.	Insanity is a legal term. Very few offenders (2%–4%) are legally insane.
They are all lust killers.	Many are, but several cases do not involve sexual assaults, torture, or sexual mutilations.
They kill dozens of victims.	A few have high body counts but most kill under 10 victims.
They kill alone.	About one in four have one or more partners in murder.
Victims are beaten, stabbed, strangled or tortured to death.	Some victims are poisoned or shot.
They are all very intelligent.	Most of them are of average intelligence.

Myth	Fact
They have high mobility in the United States.	Most offenders remain in a local area.
They are driven to kill because they were sexually abused as children.	Many kill as a result of rejection and abandonment in childhood.
Most serial murderers cannot stop killing.	Some serial killers stopped killing for several years before they killed again or until they were caught.
Most serial killers want to be caught.	Like anyone, they learn and gain confidence from experience. Many want-to-be serial killers end up in prison after their first murder. Some become very adept at concealing their identities and may feel as if they will never be caught.

Serial Killers and Psychopathy—Terminological Overlaps and Attempts at Providing Definite Answers

In professional literature, the term "sociopath" is often used as a synonym for the terms "psychopathy" or "antisocial personality disorder". The term "psychopath" was originally used by psychiatrists and psychologists to define a series of symptoms including impulsivity, recklessness and disregard for other people. During the 1950s, psychiatrists suggested using the term "sociopath" for persons suffering from psychopathological disorders thereby making a difference from the incomparably more severe psychotic disorders. Towards the end of the 1960s, psychiatrists initiated another terminological change by proposing the use of the term "antisocial personality disorder" (APD) instead of the words "sociopath" or "psychopath". Many experts currently working on the field of psychopathology disagree with this suggestion since they believe that there are significant diagnostical differences among these terms. In our case, however, these differences are not that important since when focusing on the topic of serial killers, the basic characteristics that are relevant to the majority of the offenders are similar in each of the professional terms above. [12] We will use and interpret them as synonyms to each other.

In the year 2005, the FBI hosted a multi-disciplinary symposium with the participation of the field's 135 most accomplished professionals. Their aim was to determine and collect the similarities that can be found in the personalities of serial murderers. In their written conclusion, the participants emphasized that "understanding psychopathy becomes particularly critical to law enforcement during a serial murder investigation and upon the arrest of a psychopathic serial killer. The crime scene behavior of psychopaths is likely to be distinct from other offenders. This distinct behavior can assist law enforcement in linking serial cases." [11: 15]

Morton and Hilts also analyzed the connection between serial murderers and psychopats. Based on his discoveries he argues that not all psychopaths necessarily become serial murderers, but rather it is the serial killers themselves who possess some or more traits which are usually found within psychopats. Those psychopaths who perform a series of murders

consider human lives worthless and show severe indifference toward their victims. This tendency is particularly true in the case of those whose intent to kill is derived from sexual motives and who are able to locate, follow, attack, rape and murder new victims without the slightest trace of remorse. Morton and Hilts conclude with an important statement: “psychopathy alone does not explain the motivations of a serial killer.” [11: 14]

The Differences Between Serial and Mass Murderers

Although the main topic of this paper is serial murder, we also intend to provide a brief outlook on mass murderers as this effort will help us point out the difference within these categories.

This chart depicts the significant differences between the two types of offenders.

Table 2. *The significant differences between the two types of offenders.* [1: 27]

	Mass murderer	**Serial murderer**
Murder is a means of control over life	√	√
Usually arrested or killed at crime scene	√	
Often commits suicide after the crime	√	
Eludes arrest and detection		√
Likely to travel and seek out victims		√
Evokes long-term media/public attention		√
Kills individuals		√
Kills several in short period of time	√	
Murders viewed as single incident	√	
Murderer is usually white male	√	√
Motivated primarily by material gain or revenge	√	
Victims usually female		√
Firearms are the common choice of weapon	√	
Kills in spontaneous rage	√	

It is apparent that with regards to the offense, there are strong differences between the behaviour of mass murderers and serial murderers. The most significant distinction between them is that mass murderers most often commit a single, large-scale offense with victims who are unknown to them. They are indifferent to the consequences of their actions and have no intention to escape from the premises. As a matter of fact, many of them commit suicide on the spot. Contrary to mass murderers, serial killers murder specific, carefully picked individuals after which a psychological “cooldown” phase begins. They spare no effort in avoiding exposure and arrest.

Apparently, the differences between the offences committed by mass murderers and serial killers are significant. On the other hand, by analyzing the motives behind the subjects of the two categories, a certain sort of connection can be discovered. Fox and Levin agree with this

assumption by stating that the "typologies of serial and mass murder often have a troubling but unavoidable degree of overlap among their categories." [13: 442]

Attempts at Typifying Serial Killers

The typification of serial murderers is based on one of three fundamental systems. *(1)* Some authors perform it according to a method based on certain factors such as the offenders' behavior during the time of the offense, the conditions of the perpetration and the general characteristics of the vicinity. Another group *(2)* creates classes based on the perpetrators' leading motives while other professionals *(3)* combine the two principles of systemization.

Sorting Based on the Location and Conditions of the Offense

Branson's attempt is based on certain factors pertaining to the life and behaviour of the perpetrators, both during and after the committing the offence. Based on his findings, he created the categories of "organized" and "disorganized" offenders.

Table 3. *The categories of "organized" and "disorganized" offenders.* [4: 34]

Disorganized, asocial offenders	Organized, nonsocial offenders
– IQ below average: 80–95 range	– IQ above average: 105–120[7] range
– socially inadequate	– socially adequate
– lives alone, usually does not date	– lives with a partner or dates frequently
– absent or unstable father	– stable father figure
– family emotional abuse, inconsistent	– family physical abuse, harsh
– lives and/or works near the crime scene	– geographically/occupationally mobile
– minimal interest in news media	– follows the news media
– usually a high school dropout	– may be college educated
– poor hygiene/housekeeping skills	– good hygiene/housekeeping skills
– keeps a secret hiding place in the home	– does not usually keep a hiding place
– nocturnal (nighttime) habits	– diurnal (daytime) habits
– drives a clunky car or pickup truck	– drives a flashy car
– needs to return to crime scene for reliving memories	– needs to return to crime scene to see what police have done
– may contact victim's family to play games	– usually contacts police to play games
– no interest in police work	– a police groupie or wanabee
– experiments with self-help programs	– doesn't experiment with self-help

[7] The IQ of the "organized" serial killers may at times be extraordinarily high. Such example was Ted Bundy (IQ of 124) who killed more than 30 young women and Gary Heidnik (IQ of 130–148) who had six female victims. [14]

Disorganized, asocial offenders	Organized, nonsocial offenders
– kills at one site, considers mission over	– kills at one site, disposes at another
– usually leaves body intact	– may dismember body
– attacks in a “blitz” pattern	– attacks using seduction into restraints
– depersonalizes victim to a thing or it	– keeps personal, holds a conversation
– leaves a chaotic crime scene	– leaves a controlled crime scene
– leaves physical evidence	– leaves little physical evidence
– responds best to counseling interview	– responds best to direct interview

Canter et al. warns that humans rarely fit into any pre-determined offender categories: “the concept of Organized and Disorganized offenders is not a genuine psychologically based distinction but, rather, is a commonsensical, day-to-day speculation about differences between people.” [15: 310]

Douglas et al. were not satisfied either with having only two categories, so they introduced a “mixed” one, the members of which may possess traits from each of the categories above. This system—just like the previous ones—does not take the motives of the perpetrators into account. Based on further analyses of the offenders’ personal traits and crime scene characteristics the group of experts implemented another change: a perpetrator can be organized, disorganized, mixed or sadistic. [7]

Typification Based on the Offenders’ Motives

The motive-based classification of serial killers was first performed in 1988 by R. M. Holmes and DeBurger and was later fine-tuned by R. M and S. T. Holmes (this is the version that eventually gained widespread recognition). Based on their findings they classified the perpetrators into four categories:

1. *Visionary Type:* these murderers kill as a result of command hallucinations, delusions, or visions whose sources customarily include the forces of good or evil. These offenders are typically psychotic, leaving the crime scene in utter disarray. The homicides occur quickly with no extensive acts of torture.
2. *Mission-Oriented Type:* the goal for these slayers is to kill certain types of people or to rid society of particular types of individuals. These serial murderers target victims based on their ethnicity, occupation (e.g. prostitutes) and/or age. Additionally, they determine whom to assail based on whether the person is deemed unworthy, undesirable or somehow less than human.
3. *Hedonistic Type:* these offenders murder as a result of sensation seeking or otherwise derive some sort of pleasure from their killings. The authors divided this type of assailant into two subcategories: the lust killer and the thrill killer.

4. The lust killer murders principally for sexual gratification even if this does not entail traditional intercourse. However, sex or multiple sadistically erotic acts with a live victim are common. Orgasm or sexually arousing behavior (i.e. masturbation) is the driving force for this offender, even after the person has killed the victim. Moreover, this attacker may also be sexually excited and/or satisfied from the murder itself. Ritualistic displays of sexual mutilation, facial disfigurement, cannibalism, body dismemberment, vampirism and necrophilia are routinely featured in this type of homicidal act.
   The thrill killer murders for the visceral excitement the assailant experiences. However, once the victim is dead, the offender loses complete interest. As a result, the process of killing is prolonged as long as possible through extended acts of torture. The use of restraints and the presence of bite marks and burns on the victim's body are characteristic behaviors for this type of slayer. Sadistic acts whose frequency is prolonged as long as possible prior to death, a concealed corpse, manual or ligature strangulation and an animated victim during multiple sexual acts all characterize the patterns and motives of this type of assailant.
5. *Power/Control Oriented Type:* these offenders harbor deep-seated feelings of inadequacy or attempt to compensate for a perceived lack of social or personal mastery over themselves by thoroughly dominating their victims. The primary motive for these offenders is not sexual in nature. Instead, these assailants desire complete and unfettered control over and subjugation of their powerless victims, including also the postmortem period. A profound sense of omnipotence—having the ultimate power of life or death over one's victims as they cower and plead for their lives—fuels this type of serial killer. The act of murder is extended in order to increase the felt sense of gratification. [17] [2] [18]
   The categories created by Holmes and Holmes have been considered essential ever since, despite the fact that the system had become the subject of constant criticism from those who wished to create a new form of typology. Among these, the study of Canter and Wentink enjoys paramount importance. They analysed the reliability of the Holmes and Holmes system and addressed the following criticism in their conlusion: [8: 7–8]

- reliability and validity of data collection;
- lack of empirical testing of the model;
- definitional issues;
- overlap of criteria between types;
- the question of mixed types.

The authors suggested the use of a new type of classification which—based on the motives behind the murders—enables the classification of perpetrators into one of the following subcategories:

1. *Visionary:* Suffering from a break with reality, the visionary serial killer murders because he has seen visions or heard voices from demons, angels, the devil or God telling him to kill a particular individual or particular types of people. His quick, act-focused killings are seen as a job to be done.
2. *Mission:* The mission killer is focused on the act of murder itself. He is compelled to murder in order to rid the world of a group of people he has judged to be unworthy or undesirable.

Hedonistic: This type of sexual killer is subdivided into the following two groups:

1. *Lust:* The lust killer kills for sexual gratification; sex is the focal point of the murder, even after he has killed the victim. This type of murderer derives pleasure from the process of the murderous event. Various acts such as cannibalism, necrophilia and dismemberment are prevalent in this type of murder.
2. *Thrill:* The thrill killer murders for the pleasure and excitement of killing. Once the victim is dead, this murderer loses interest. This type of killing often involves a long process involving extended acts of torture.
3. *Power/Control:* This killer derives pleasure and gratification from having control over the victim, and considered to be a "master" at what he does. His motives are driven by the need for power and dominance over another human being. The longer he can extend the process of murder, the greater his gratification. [8]

Douglas et al. also conducted an in-depth study of the motives behind the serial murderers' offences. They determined four fundamental motives: manipulation, domination, control and sexual lust. [7]

In this decade, professionals have been experimenting with more nuanced types that analyze previous ideas. Criminal psychologist Robert J. Homant and criminologist Daniel B. Kennedy studied multiple professionals' suggestions at typification. Focusing mostly on the motivations of sadistic, sexually-driven serial murderers established the following three types of offenders: [19]

1. *"Trauma Control Model"*, based on the work of Eric Hickey: an occurrence of a greatly traumatizing experience during childhood or infancy of the perpetrator which induced a vulnerability or psychological disposition to hot-tempered, impetuous, confused and mistrustful reactions. These people usually blame various external factors and consider them the reasons behind their deeds. They react aggressively to outside stimuli as a way of attempting to restore their disoriented inner balance or self esteem.
2. *"Motivational Model"*, based on the work of John Douglas, Ann Burgess, Allen Burges and Robert Ressler: the serial murderer is "created" as a result of the five following factors: uneffective/incapable social environment, childhood crises, escape into a fantasy world, interpersonal failures and various negative attributes, characteristics and behavioural manifestations that from their point of view validate and rationalize dominance and certain restraints.
3. *"Lust Murder as Paraphilia"*, based on the work of C. E. Purcell and Bruce Arrigo: this behaviour is the result of a disease, the wrongly functioning neural pathways causes the body to mingle sex-related and agression-related impulses. [16]

The result of the latest (2006) typification created by the FBI is a new motivational system containing the following seven categories for serial murder: [11: 18]

1. *Driven by anger:* feels passionate anger or hate against a given subgroup of society or society as a whole.
2. *Crime as a form of enterprise:* the offender gains some sort of advantage from the murder (be it financial or else). These crimes are most frequently drug-related or have a connection to organized crime and crime gangs.

3. *Financial gain:* the offender obtains money or some sort of monetary compensation as a result from the murders. Typical examples would be the "black widow" type murders, murders committed during robberies or murders that are related to certain (insurance, social security) frauds.
4. *Ideological murder:* the offender commits murders in order to serve a group's (or his/her own) peculiar notions and goals. Typical examples to this category are the terrorists or other people who target a certain racial, ethnic group or a gender.
5. *Domination, arousal:* the perpetrator enjoys his/her leverage over the victims and/or becomes aroused by murder.
6. *Psychosis:* the perpetrators suffer from a severe mental disorder which is the main reason behind the murders. Symptoms may include the hearing of distorted voices and/or visual hallucinations and paranoid, spectacular or bizarre visions.
7. *Sexual nature:* the main motives are the sexual needs/perversions of the murderers.

Typification Taking into Account Conditions and the Offenders' Motivation

The principal aim of typification is to facilitate criminal investigations and thus contribute to the (quick) arrest of serial murderers. This endeavour requires a systemic compilation of the offenders' motives and the characteristics of the offense. As a result of this undertaking, the FBI created a new type of classification which recognizes the following three groups: [20]

1. *Medical Killer:* highly intelligent people working in the field of healthcare or pharmaceutics and who know how to kill without being noticed for a longer timespan.
2. *Organized Killers:* they are also highly intelligent and plan their actions in detail while taking every precaution in order not to leave any traces behind. They are often psychopaths who follow and observe their victims for days. They can easily establish new acquaintances and often have a charming, good-natured behaviour. They either hide the victim's body or place it in a visible location so that it would be found easily. They usually establish contact with the investigating authorities and try to follow the investigation from as close as possible.
3. *Disorganized Killers:* they usually kill without planning and chose their victims spontaneously. They do not try to hide either the bodies or their tracks. They are usually unintelligent and highly antisocial. They move frequently and have no families, friends, or anyone else they might stay in closer contact with. The main reasons behind the murders are frequently "voices from above", "whispers" and other delusions.
4. The various methods of typifications and the knowledge systematized within them contribute to the expansion of the information at the authorities' disposal and thus earn a more detailed and complex image of serial killers. These structures significantly improve profiling and facilitate the capture of offenders. During his work, Ramsland had analyzed the cases of more than a thousand serial killers. He concluded that "there are many motives that drive these offenders, they come from diverse backgrounds, and for almost every claim that has been made about them there are exceptions that weaken or undermine it." [10: x]

Russell takes a largely similar approach. He notes that in the past decades a vast number of experts had been trying to oversimplify the psychology of these murderers. However,

whenever these authors tried to created a “genuine” system, there was always somebody who found counter-examples which undermined the original efforts. [21]

In our opinion, no typification attempt is futile since they still expand the knowledge of the authorities and also helps them in achieving new points of view.

Female Serial Killers

Experts calculate that female serial killers take up 10–15% of the global population. [22: 179]

Offences where the perpetrator is a woman occur everywhere in the world. Based on regional allocation, Scott provides an analysis of the female serial killers who were active between 1600–2003.

Table 4. *The female serial killers who were active between 1600–2003.* [19: 183]

Country	Offenders
United States	52
Canada and Mexico	4
England	11
Europe (except England)	25
Russia	1
Australia, New Zealand	4
Africa	1
Multiple countries	3
Unknown	1
Total	**102**

When analyzing the chart we have to keep in mind that there are many countries—for example China, Japan, North Korea, Russia (especially the former Soviet Union)—which refused to allow any investigations conducted by other countries or human rights organizations. It is likely that—due to various political reasons—these countries kept the cases involving serial murder a secret. There are several regions where no data collections have been initiated until the recent period.

A Historical Outlook

Hungarian criminology contains several serial murder cases where the perpetrator was a woman.

1. Erzsébet Báthory, the Bloody Countess

The first “documented” case had taken place during the very beginning of the 17th century and is linked to countess Erzsébet Báthory (1570–1614). Lore has it that during searching for the secret of youth, the vain lady did not refrain from sacrificing youg virgins. She flogged,

mutilated and tortured the girls she had had collected and then hanged them upside down in order to obtain their blood. According to the charges brought up against her, she was responsible for the death of more than 600 victims. She was accused with “keeping several young girls and virgins and other women within her quarters before ruthlessly killing or executing them using all sorts of instruments”. Based on this indictment, Erzsébet Báthory had been—without a trial and a verdict—put into solitary confinement in a bricked up room within the castle of Csejte. She died soon after, at the age of 54.

We have to note that we do not consider the documentation of the Báthory case credible. The internal political situation during that era was extremely unstable, therefore it is likely that the trial itself was mostly the consequence of the Habsburgs’ scheming who wanted to get a hold of the Báthory–Nádasdy wealth. Contemporary documents prove that most of the questions during the investigations were aimed at certain isolated events and that most of the answers had been extorted through means of torture. László Nagy argues that the basis for the well-known story originates from a jesuit priest’s note drafted more than a hundred years after Báthory’s death. Taking into account the facts listed above, the credibility of the story above is strongly debatable. [23] Klára Szabó emphasizes that current investigations do not necessarily support the suspected criminality of Báthory. Even if they accept the fact that she used to treat her subordinates cruelly, they do so by acknowledging the fact that back then this manner of treatment was a generally accepted—albeit vicious—form of punishment. [24]

2. Zsuzsanna Fazekas, née Zsuzsanna Oláh, the murderous midwife

Despite the fact that from a chronological aspect this case is the second one, it can well be considered the first that has completely been uncovered and proven. The murders were committed during the first third of the 20th century by several women living in the village of Tiszazug. An investigation began in 1929 against multiple midwives who had poisoned their husbands using arsenic retrieved from flypapers. The poison was brewed and circulated by one of the midwives, Zsuzsanna Fazekas, née Zsuzsanna Oláh. [25] [26] A significant number of homicides were discovered during the investigation: only in the cemeteries of Nagyrév and Tiszakürt, the corpses of 162 adults males had been exhumed—all of them likely victims. During the trial, 28 suspects (out of which 26 were women) stood before the judges and proven guilty for 162 cases of voluntary homicide. [27] Mrs Fazekas committed suicide after the verdict, three others were executed, 10 received life in prison while the rest received determinate sentences ranging from 5–10 years. The real scope of the case is unknown to us even today due to the fact that no exhumations were conducted within the region of Tiszazug as the authorities tried to close the case as quickly as possible. Even without exact data, it is likely that the women of Tiszazug are responsible for the deaths of hundreds of men.

3. Viktória Fődi

Viktória Fődi (1886–1940) lived in Átokháza, the region between Mórahalom and the plains close to the Serbian border. She had changed her appearance as early as the 1910s, donning male clothes and leaving her old husband. She took on day jobs where her newly found attire

helped her earn more wages, especially during the years of World War I when most of the men had been drafted into the military.

Her renown increased in 1919, after her first murder and she had become known as the enforcer of the plains of whom the men harassing their wives had every right to be afraid. The robustly built woman living as a man killed for money. She was only convicted for two murders, but according to the legends, she was responsible for the deaths of at least 30 men.

The homicides were executed in a similar manner and were masked as suicides: the victims seemingly hanged themselves on the upper supporting wooden bars of the stables. What truly happened was that Viktória Fődi had whipped the horses in order to lure the farmers out and have them check what happened, after which she threw the loop of the rope (which was thrown over the girder) around the neck of the victim, pulled him up and killed him, masking the murder as a suicide.

Local lore has a lot more homicides than the official records and most of these are known as “rightful vengeances”. It is believed that she had given up her muliebrity in order to protect local women. Viktória Fődi had been living as a man until and even after her condemnation. She kept smoking a pipe, wore pants and visited bars—these attributes were indispensable for men back then. Her true gender was discovered later in prison—to the surprise of her fellow inmates. She had been sentenced to death but the verdict was later overruled by Regent Miklós Horthy to life. She died in prison in Budapest in 1940. [28] [29] [30] [31]

4. Ágnes Pándi

Ágnes Pándi was born as a Belgian citizen, after her parents had moved from Hungary to Belgium. She had been subjected to multiple atrocities during her childhood: her father raped her while still young and kept forcing himself on her. Nobody assumed that between 1986 and 1989 the Brussels house of the seemingly decent family (with the father being a Hungarian–Belgian dual citizen and pastor) would serve as a location for one of the most terrifying series of homicides in Belgian and Hungarian criminal history.

Under her father’s influence and command, she shot her step-sister, her mother (who was living separately) and then later killed her other step-sister. She was also an accomplice to the murder of two other members of her family. She had been sentenced to 21 years in prison and was released in 2010. She currently lives in a convent. (Her father, András Pándi had been sentenced to life in prison in 2002 for the murder of six family members. Together with his daughter, he killed two ex-wives and four children. He died in prison at the age of 86.)

The Typology of Female Serial Murderers

The Hungarian Prison Service currently does not house any female serial murderers. Despite this fact—in order to obtain a more detailed insight—we consider it necessary to briefly address the motives behind the offences committed by them.

The typification of female serial murderers was first conducted by Michael D. Kelleher and C. L. Kelleher in 1998. They classified single serial murderers into the following five categories: [32]

1. *black widow:* her victims are spouses, partners, relatives;
2. *angel of death:* who kills elderly people under her care (usually in a healthcare facility), mostly because of mercy and/or pity;
3. *sexual predator:* whose motives behind the murder are sexual;
4. *revenge:* kills out of hate or jealousy;
5. *killer for profit:* murders for financial gain and/or as a collateral offence while committing another crime.
6. Silvio et al. performed an in-depth study of the attributes related to female serial killers based on which they classified the offenders into the following categories: (1) black widow; (2) angel of death; (3) vengeful murderer; (4) killers for profit; (5) team killers; (6) sexual predator. [33]

Table 5. *The chief characteristics of the six categories.* [33: 102]

	Black Widow	**Angel of Death**	**Revenge Killer**	**Profit or Crime**	**Team Killer**	**Sexual Predator**
Starting Age	> 25	21	Early twenties	25–30	20–25	Mid-thirties
Cycle	> 10 yrs	1–2 yrs	< 2 yrs	10 yrs	1–2 yrs	> 1 yr
Average of Victims	6–8	8	3–4	10	9–15	6–7
Victim Type	Family members	Patients in hospitals	Family members	People with money	Varies	Varies
Preferred Weapon	Poison	Lethal injection	Poison	Poison	Multiple methods	Violent methods
Sexual in Nature	No	No	No	No	Yes or No	Yes

Each of these systems contains a subgroup called "angel of death". Lubaszka, Shon and Hinch argue that classifying every healthcare worker into the "angel of death" or "doctor death" subgroups is a doubtful practice, since the group itself is extremely complex and thus using a common category would oversimplify it and hide some significant differences. It is likely that we would not be able to discover their method of selection and their practice of "working" without anybody noticing. [34] By analyzing the relevant academic literature, Lubaszka came to the conclusion that serial murderers working in the field of healthcare differ significantly from "regular" serial murderers. They have different methods of choosing their victims, different behaviour on the crime scene and resort to different practices in order to avoid detection. [35]

We have to accept the fact that as far as the state of current scientific inquiries go, a flawless classification system does not exist yet. The critical statement of Ferguson et. al. provides an adequate depiction of the situation: "Unfortunately, no one definition of serial murder will achieve the ability to identify and distinguish serial murderers without error. It is unlikely that all offenders will so easily conform their behavior to match established categories". [36: 292]

What are our options then? We believe that there is no need to become desperate since imperfections in our knowledge does not mean a complete lack of understanding. Experts are already very well aware of several attributes relevant to serial murderers and their knowledge is continuously expanding, providing them with new aspects and methods through which an even more detailed picture can be obtained. Finding the reasons behind the serial murders, discovering ways to avoid it and capturing the perpetrators as soon as possible is in everyone's best interests.

We believe that the issue of serial murders is one of the most vivid examples of dynamic systems. Due to newly gained practice and experience, previously unknown connections have been discovered. There are many disciplines that can facilitate the creation of a typification system which is "currently the best" and contribute to the continuous expansion of professional knowledge.

Prison and incarceration affairs is a field that can benefit from the newest knowledge on serial murderers since new and more effective methods can be created and introduced to this subgroup of prisoners. The field can also conribute to this special effort by collecting the experience gained during executing the incarceration of sentenced serial murderers.

Serial Killers in Hungarian Correctional Institutions

Registry Anomalies

At the very beginning of our research, we seemed to be facing a fundamental difficulty: no one was able to determine the number of serial killers who were detained in Hungarian prisons at the given time. Despite the fact that we based our inquiry on an internationally accepted definition, our experience was that hands-on available information on the topic was nowhere to be found. Another issue was that the prison registry system used in Hungary derives its basic principles from the categories provided by Act C of 2012 (hereinafter: Criminal Code), which does not recognize serial killers as legally separate entities. Taking into account all these factors, our sole option was to gradually narrow our list in order to proceed with our inquiry.[8]

The total number of detainees on our chosen day (12 January 2016) was 17,388. Out of recognition to the principles dictated by the concept of the presumption of innocence, we excluded those who were on remand. (On the given date, there was one remand prisoner charged with an offence that agrees with what is provided under the definition of serial murder. This person will not be mentioned in this study by any means and his/her attributes and characteristics will not be included either.) For the rest of our inquiry we focused on the remaining 13,171 convicts, 235 detainees and 162 other inmates subjected to court-ordered psychiatric treatment (hereinafter: psychiatric treatment). The next step was to filter out those who had committed an offence falling under the umbrella term of homicide.[9] We determined

[8] Determining the precise number of serial killers and obtaining all the relevant documents for further analysis would have been impossible without the immense help of the following departments of the Hungarian Prison Service Headquarters: the Incarceration Affairs Service, the Central Department of Transfer and Registry and all the governors and staff of the relevant correctional institutions. We are grateful for their devoted and valuable assistance!

[9] In this paper, the following offences fall under the term of homicide: murder, attempted murder, voluntary manslaughter, murder of a newborn, abortion, aiding and abetting suicide.

that on the said date there were 1,240 prisoners and a further 62 people subjected to psychiatric treatment who had committed such an offence before their incarceration.

From this already narrowed roster, we selected those who caused the death of more than one person (according to the provisions of Chapter XV, Section 160 of the Criminal Code). After we had narrowed the scope of the likely candidates, we managed to lower the number of subjects to 137 convicts housed in 21 different institutions located in Hungary. This was the last part of our research where we could turn to the Central System of Registry for assistance. For the rest of our inquiry, our primary method was to process the appropriate registry documentation of each relevant prison manually in order to obtain the exact number of serial killers determined as such by the definition of serial murder.

After the provided data had been processed, we determined that on 12 January 2016, 16 serial killers were housed in Hungarian prisons, out of which 15 (№1–№15[10]) were convicted, and 1 (№16) subjected to psychiatric treatment. As a rule, we were only focusing on the data relevant to the 15 convicted prisoners during our research. Exceptions were made on four separate occasions: (1) we included №16's attributes during the analysis of the motives behind the serial killers' offences and the resulting classification; (2) we also included them in the analysis of attempted suicides; (3) during the illustration of the frequency of life sentences made without the possibility of parole (hereinafter: life without parole), and finally (4) we added the relevant data of another prisoner (№17) during calculating the frequency of acts of self-harm. As this person committed suicide in 2015, the relevant data is not included in this study. Despite—and partly because of—this fact, using his data was justified and important for providing adequate answers to three of the questions above.

Characteristics of Hungarian Serial Killers

Classification based on *placement* and *sentence length.* Currently, six Hungarian correctional institutions serve as the serial killers' place of detention.

Table 6. *Hungarian correctional institutions which serve as the serial killers' place of detention.* [Edited by the author.]

Name of prison	**Number**
Budapest Strict and Medium Regime Prison: №6, №8, №11, №12, №13, №14, №15	7
Márianosztra Strict and Medium Regime Prison: №10	1
Sátoraljaújhely Strict and Medium Regime Prison: №9	1
Szeged Strict and Medium Regime Prison: №1, №3, №4, №5, №7	5
Tiszalök National Prison: №2	1
Forensic Psychiatric and Mental Institution №16	1
Total	**16**

[10] In this paper the names of the serial killers serving their sentences in Hungarian correctional institutions will not be provided. Instead, we assigned a specific number to each of them, which serves two purposes: (1) we acknowledge the personal rights of each prisoner (2) by using these numbers consistently we ensure that the data provided below will be easily linked to a "virtual person", thereby providing adequate source material for possible future inquiries.

Table 7. *Composition of prisoners based on sentence length.*
[Edited by the author.]

Length of sentence	**Number**
Life without parole: №4, №5, №7, №8, №9, №11, №12, №13, №14, №15	10
Life with parole:	–
Determinate (years) prison sentence: №1, №2, №3, №6, №10, №16	6
Total	**16**

The Motive Behind the Offences

Typification was conducted based on relevant registry data and available information and was performed according to a special system of classification widely used by the FBI. [11: 18]

Table 8. *The Motive Behind the Offences.*
[Edited by the author.]

Motive	**Number**
Anger—Passionate fury or hatred against a subgroup or society as a whole: –	0
Criminality as a form of enterprise: №2	1
Financial gain: №1, №3, №5, №10, №11, №12, №13, №14, №15	9
Murder based on ideology—targets are the members of a specific race, gender or ethnicity: №7, №8, №9	3
Lust for domination and/or arousal: the perpetrator enjoys the leverage gained over the victim and/or becomes aroused by killing: №6	1
Psychosis—the perpetrator suffers from a serious mental disorder which serves as the principal factor and reason behind committing the murders: №16	1
Sexual nature: №4	1
Total	**16**[11]

The frequency of main motives leading up to the offence in Hungary differs significantly from the internal proportions provided by international research. While serial murders of sexual nature represent the largest proportion on an international scale, in Hungary they were a driving factor only in the case of one person. In Hungary, the most decisive and frequent motive behind the offences is financial gain (subgroups 2 and 3; total of 10 persons, amounting to 62.5%).

Hereinafter, our detailed analysis will be limited to the scope of convicted prisoners only. We decided so because the offence committed by the person sentenced to psychiatrictreat-

[11] In this case, the motives of all 16 perpetrators have been categorized meaning that the data of person who had been sentenced to court-ordered psychological treatment to be carried out in the Forensic Psychiatric and Mental Institution will also be taken into account.

ment (to be performed in the Forensic Psychiatric and Mental Institution) does not completely agree with the criteria of serial murder. Although the profile of the offence meets two conditions (four victims, murders committed separately with delays between them), the time between the murders was exceptionally (three consecutive days) low. Despite the claim of Douglas et al. [7] who state that the length of the "cooling off" period can vary greatly with each individual, the daily murders led us to the conclusion that this period had not occurred at all. The person in question suffers from a grave mental disorder—his/her deeds were dictated by visions and inner voices—which in turn led him/her to eradicate his/her entire family after he/she had "merged" with the demon. In our opinion, the most adequate procedure was to include this person's data during the motive-based classification (since there is a separate category dedicated to perpetrators suffering from some sort of mental disorder), but exclude it from the remaining part of the inquiry.

Characteristics of the Serial Murderers' Prison Socialization

In our opinion, serial murder is the most radical form of violent offence and serial killers are the most vivid benchmarks of the negative attributes that are usually associated with murderers. Our formal-logical conclusion therefore is the following: if we can achieve any sort—noting even the smallest increment—of improvement in the personality of these convicts, then there will be even more hope for success for the rest of the prisoners.

The serial killers' successful reintegration into society—with the exception of a very small number of cases—cannot be a viable goal. As most of them will never have the option to return to society as a free person, the principal and exclusive aim will be to ensure their successful adaptation to the prison environment.

Staying in Contact—Link to the External World

According to Ágnes Solt, three-quarters of prisoners had had a relationship that later ceased to exist. The most important reasons for the loss of friends, distant relatives and acquaintances were the physical distance and time. These two attributes slowly erode such relationships as those within them may begin to think that such a limited form of contact is not worth maintaining. On the other hand, in the case of closer relatives and immediate families, it is not these factors that cause these relations to wither but arguments, debates, divorces and deaths take their place. After analyzing the reasons behind the disappearance of contacts, we can conclude that those sentenced to life without parole belong to a strikingly different category. In their case, futility and the feeling of pointlessness are the chief factors that play a role in breaking bonds. The author in her research emphasizes the tendency according to which "the mental state of the prisoners gradually deteriorates due to the conditions experienced by them. Their disillusion, hopelessness and desperation gradually increase as decades pass." [37: 92] This process is even more apparent in the case of convicts sentenced to longer periods "who, over time become introverted and mistrustful while their self-esteem deteriorates". Their social activity fades as they drift into the routine-like schedule of each day. Their external relations gradually erode and finally terminate, causing them immense suffering and pain. [37: 98]

Collecting the specific reasons that played a role in the deterioration of the serial killers' relationships (family and friends) was beyond our powers. However, we are able to provide a brief "snapshot" of the situation experienced on the given date.

Table 9. *The serial killers' relationships.* [Edited by the author.]

Regular/stable/organized relationships	**Irregular/unstable/disorganized relationships**
№2; №3; №7; №8; №10; №11; №12	№1; №4; №5; №6; №9; №13; №14; №15

As a rule, we can ascertain that the relationship of seven (four among them sentenced to life without parole) convicts was stable, while the remaining ones (eight persons out of which six having a life without parole sentence) were irregular. Apparently, 75% of those sentenced to life have disorganized relationships, making it even more obvious that in their cases, social relationships tend to loosen up as friends and families slowly give up on these convicts.

Table 10. *Regular and irregular relationships in the context of spent years.* [Edited by the author.]

Passed years	**Regular**	**Irregular**
0–5		№14; №15
6–10	№7; №8; №10; №11; №12	№9
11–15		№1; №4; №5
16 +	№2; №3	№6; №13

The identified correspondences differ in many aspects from the expectations set by academic literature.

1. In the analyzed sample, two convicts had been admitted in the timespan of five years. Despite the relatively short length of the time that passed, their relationships are irregular and unstable, although the principal reason behind this phenomenon may well be the fact that they are foreign citizens having no relatives living in Hungary.
2. 86% of those convicts who had been in prison for 6 to 10 years have regular relations. This is way beyond previous expectations.
3. As far as maintaining contacts is concerned, the "milestone" of relationships for serial killers in Hungary seems to be 10 years of incarceration. The links of those who had spent more than 10 years within became unstable and irregular. This tendency agrees with the expected outcome put forth by academic literature.
4. №2 and №3, who had been in prison for 21 and 18 years respectively, set a completely different pattern by being able to maintain stable and regular relations. There is a great chance that this unprecedented example is because each of them has been convicted for multiple offences, and as such their chances to be released in the future are significant.

Adaptation Difficulties, Rejection of the Situation: Intentional Self-harm, Attempted Suicide, Completed Suicide

The indicators put forward by international research seem to agree regarding suicidality. They boast statistical evidence to prove that the number of suicides committed by convicts sentenced to longer periods increases as time passes. [38] In addition, a number of authors emphasize that those who have been sentenced to life are even more threatened. [39] [40]

While analyzing the changes in suicide attempts admitted by the prisoners, Ágnes Solt has come to a similar conclusion. She claims that "the number of prisoners who attempt suicide increases depending on the time spent incarcerated. While out of those who had spent 8 years in prison only one-tenth claimed to have attempted suicide, in the case of those with decades of incarceration this number is almost 25%." [37: 93]

As for serial murderers, even though our analysis is solely based on assessing and processing the documented cases but due to the peculiarities in their incarceration and continuous control, chances for latency are practically nonexistent. The survey data is a lot more concrete than the subjective assessment of "admitted suicide attempts", therefore our results—mostly owing to their objectivity—are more precise and closer to reality.

Out of the currently incarcerated serial killers, the earliest admission was performed in 1995 (№6), and as such the scope of the analysis extends to the last 21 years. During this timeframe, one prisoner (№17) committed suicide in 2015. Statistically, this number is so low and the scope of those concerned is so limited, that in itself it is insufficient for making far-reaching conclusions. If, however, this number is coupled with the number of attempted suicides and the acts of self-harm, then the results can be significant and thus worthy of further statistical examination.

Table 11. *The statistics of the prisoners.* [Edited by the author.]

Prisoner no.	**Admission**	**Attempted suicide**		**Self-harm**	
		occurrence	date	occurrence	date
№12/life without parole	2009	–	–	one occasion	2014
№14/life without parole	2011	one occasion	2015	two occasions	2015
№17/life without parole	2004	completed	2015	three occasions	1985[12] 2004 2006

The completed suicide (№17), the attempted suicide (№14) and the six deliberate acts of self-harm (№12 once; №14 twice,[13] №17 three times) expressly shows the subjects' rejection of their experienced situation which they find intolerable. They felt like they had to do something in order to permanently "escape" from the unbearable conditions or at least—through the pain

[12] During serving a previous sentence.

[13] №14 resorted to self-harm on two consecutive days. Grotesquely, on the second occasion he etched the word "life" into his arm.

caused to themselves—alleviate the mental pressure. Among the reasons of these uncalculated and sudden acts we can point out the fact that all three of these persons had been sentenced to life and their designated accommodation was a special section reserved for prisoners sentenced to longer periods. The maximum-security conditions coupled with constant and enhanced control and the incomprehensibly infinite nature of time induced a mental crisis within them. Garami [41] adds that the punishment itself leads to consequences such as depression, which in turn may be accompanied by or lead to social isolation and suicide attempts.

The development of the "negative mood" within the subjects may have been further facilitated by their inconsistent and irregular relationships (from this regard, №12 is in the most favourable situation as he or she is being visited every 2–3 months; №14 has irregular relations, while №17 has never had any such contacts causing the "external world" to permanently close for him.) A characteristic of their monotonous daily life is that none of them has participated in activities such as education, training or vocational courses.

Violent Misconducts/Offences

While analyzing the behaviour of inmates within a prison, it is important to assess their relation with the staff and their peers besides their acts of self-harm. The best indicator that can be used to this end is the number and nature of violent misconducts committed by them.

Table 12. *Statistics of the violent misconducts/offences.* [Edited by the author.]

No.	**Admission**	**Violent misconduct**	
		Date	*Type*
№1	2001	2006	Escape
№2	1994	1999 2002 2003	Violence against staff member Threatening other prisoner Violence against staff member
№4/Life without parole	2002	2004	Preparation for terrorist attack, preparation for escape, attempted escape
№5/Life without parole	2002	2004	Preparation for terrorist attack, preparation for escape, attempted escape
№6	1995	2002	Violence against other prisoner
№14/Life without parole	2011	2014 2015	Violence against other prisoner Violence against other prisoner
№17/Life without parole[14]	2004	2007	Violence against other prisoner

A total seven convicts (44% of the incarcerated serial killers) committed violent misconducts 10 times altogether. Four of the prisoners attacked other prisoners on five occasions (25% of the serial killers), while one convict attacked staff members twice. Not only these

[14] №17 committed suicide in 2015.

misconducts are already way over the number of similar acts perpetrated by the "normal" prisoner populace, but the ones such as "escape" (№1), "preparation for terrorism and escape, attempted escape" (№4 and №5) are the most dangerous. During planning these acts, the perpetrators do not refrain from the idea of harming or even killing members of the staff, or taking them hostage, some of them actually incorporate such a deed into their plans. We are yet to find another group in Hungarian prison history where the number of such dangerous misconducts is so elevated and concentrated. In our opinion, the alarmingly high number of these acts (19% of the serial killers became involved in such an act—while the statistical data of 2015 for misconducts committed by the whole prison population in general was only 0.03%) can be attributed to two reasons: (1) two out of the three perpetrators had been sentenced to life without parole, therefore—according to relevant Hungarian regulations—there is no lawful alternative for them to leave prison and what is more, the severity of their punishment cannot be increased, meaning that they feel like they have nothing to lose. (2) These convicts have already got used to murder, as №1 killed three, №4 killed nine and №5 killed four persons.

The reasons for the fact that none of these attacks resulted in grave, life-threatening injuries or death are manifold:

1. a significant part of the convicts in question is housed in the special "HSR" (long-term special section) part of the prison where the professional experience and training of staff members is above average;
2. due to the smaller number of prisoners within this subgroup, each of the convicts receive more attention from the staff members, who therefore become quickly notified about the onsets of personal and private issues;
3. the inmates spend most of their time alone;
4. their movement outside of their designated cells is carried out with a constant and strict supervision and security measures;
5. the monitoring of the specially designed cells is extensive, frequent and thorough.

Rewards

Rewards are one of the most important pedagogical tools used within the institutions. This tool can be and must be used in all of the subgroups formed by prisoners. Csóti emphasizes that in the case of inmates sentenced to longer periods, "in order to create a foundation for individualized decisions, there is a great need among those working with such prisoners for an efficient exchange of information and genuine teamwork. Ever since the beginning we have been advocating the inclusion of prisoners with long-term sentences to the rewards system, during which we mostly focus on strengthening personal relationships and supplementing the personal needs for such convicts". [42: 28]

Turning back to serial killers, it is worth analyzing the number of rewards obtained by them from two aspects:

1. The prisoners' acceptance of the regime and their resulting way of life can be estimated by the number of rewards they have received. This, however, will only provide grounds for the individual analysis of each convict. In order to obtain a more detailed picture and to make comparing the behaviour of the prisoners possible, we calculate the quotient of the number of obtained rewards and the years spent in incarceration.

Table 13. *Statistics of the rewards.* [Edited by the author.]

	№1	№2	№3	№4	№5	№6	№7	№8
Total	20	12	37	26	16	10	1	0
Reward/year	1.3	0.6	2.0	2.0	1.2	0.5	0.1	0

Table 14. *Statistics of rewards.* [Edited by the author.]

	№9	№10	№11	№12	№13	№14	№15
Total	1	13	3	2	13	2	8
Reward/year	0.1	1.9	0.4	0.3	0.8	0.4	1.6

The number of received rewards annually by each prisoner is nearing 1 (0.9). Nevertheless, these items should not be interpreted on their own as the result may easily mislead the reader into thinking that the prisoners are actually very cooperative. The situation is of course a lot more complex. There are serial killers whose behaviour is exemplary—at least it may seem that way. Those two convicts who colleted the largest number of rewards (№3 obtained 37 rewards in 18 years; №4 received 26 rewards in 13 years) may easily be considered “model prisoners”, but such an assumption would be a grave mistake considering the fact that №4 is a psychotic person who displays significant talent in simulation. Not even the psychopathic murderers live up to the academic expectations, though: the other psychopath (№6) collected “only” 10 rewards in 21 years.

2. Another factor also worth addressing is the dynamism of prisoner cooperation as it will allow us to get a better picture of each inmate’s willingness to cooperate and its course. In order to proceed, we classified the prisoners into categories using three-year intervals based on their admission related to the latest crime they had committed.

Table 15. *Categories of the prisoners.* [Edited by the author.]

	№1	№2	№3	№4	№5	№6	№7	№8	№9	№10	№11	№12
1.-3 yrs.	3	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	3	2	1
2.-3 yrs.	4	0	0	3	5	0	0	0	1	2	0	0
3.-3 yrs.	0	1	0	10	6	3	0	0	0	8	1	1
4.-3 yrs.	9	0	9	10	4	0						
5.-3 yrs.	4	1	15	3	1	4						
6.-3 yrs.		8	13			2						
7.-3 yrs		2				0						
Total	**20**	**12**	**37**	**26**	**16**	**10**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**13**	**3**	**2**

Table 16. *Categories of the prisoners.* [Edited by the author.]

	№13	**№14**	**№15**
1.-3 yrs	0	1	8
2.-3 yrs	0	1	0
3.-3 yrs	0		
4.-3 yrs	6		
5.-3 yrs	4		
6.-3 yrs	3		
7.-3 yrs			
Total	**13**	**2**	**8**

Each of the serial killers received close to 11 (10.9) rewards. In addition to discrepancies (№3–37 rewards; №8–zero rewards) among the individuals, we can also point out deviations in time. During the first six years, 11 serial killers received a total of three or fewer rewards. Moreover, what is also apparent is the fact that most of the subjects become more cooperative from the third three-year interval. One of the possible reasons for this phenomenon was pointed out by Solt, who claims that longer periods have the positive effect of improving the prisoners' control over their conduct thereby contributing to their adaptation and limiting the number of impulsive, hasty and aggressive acts. [37] Boros seems to agree with the conclusion above, claiming that "the rational structure of the prison system, the framework of motivations and the organization of the daily lives of prisoners all incline these people to adapt and thus create and develop this self-control". [43: 24]

Matovics states that analyzing the behaviour of convicts sentenced to life led him to conclude that these people are characterized by a cooperative, conformist attitude. However, due to the nature of their sentence and the fact that they are housed in the isolated sections of the cell blocks, their feeling of vulnerability is higher than what is found in the members of the standard prison populace. This is what makes it difficult for them to accept the refusal of their petitions and often consider these events as personal insults from the decision-makers. They react sensitively to the behaviour and mood of the staff and their decisions made concerning their daily matters." [44: 105]

Disciplinary Measures

Besides rewards, punishments (using correctional terms: disciplinary measures) can also be used as a pedagogical tool. The number of disciplinary measures conducted against the populace in question is significantly low when compared to the rewards obtained (average: 3.4 punishments/person, which means 0.37 punishments annually).

Table 17. *Statistics of the disciplinary measure.* [Edited by the author.]

	№1	№2	№3	№4	№5	№6	№7	№8
Total	5	10	0	2	2	7	0	0
Measure/year	0.3	0.5	0	0.2	0.2	0.3	0	0

Table 18. *Statistics of the disciplinary measure.* [Edited by the author.]

	№9	№10	№11	№12	№13	№14	№15
Total	0	0	4	1	4	14	2
Measure/year	0	0	0.6	0.1	0.2	2.8	0.4

The chart indicates that five of the convicts (№3; №7; №8; №9; №10) display their cooperativeness by not performing any misconduct at all. The disobedience of another four prisoners (№4; №5; №12; №13) is not significant. Among all the serial killers there is but one convict who actively constantly rebels against the internal order within the institution.

Determining the Indicator of an Inmate's Cooperativeness

Determining an inmate's level of cooperativeness in an objective and systemic way is difficult. Nevertheless, we will still endeavour to create a new system of evaluation. In our opinion, an indicator that helps to determine the cooperativeness of an inmate and the stability of such behaviour can be created using statistical methodology.

Our approach is the following: the number of committed misconducts will be deducted from the number of rewards a prisoner has obtained. ("Regular" misconducts are "rewarded" with a score which will be multiplied by violent misconducts as follows: violent acts against fellow prisoners multiply by this score by three, violent misconducts or their attempt against staff members and the prison system itself will multiply the score by four). Based on the results we have assembled five different groups:

If the difference between the two items:

1. is positive, at least three and the result exceeds the years spent incarcerated, then the prisoner is *exceptionally cooperative* (++);
2. is positive and at least three, but the result falls below the number of years spent incarcerated, then the convict is *cooperative* (+);
3. is around zero (–1; 0; 1), then two general subgroups can be established:
4. (3–1) if the number of rewards and punishments does not exceed three, then the prisoner is *neutral* (+0);
5. (3–2) if the number of rewards and punishments exceeds three, then the prisoner is *irregular and unpredictable* (–0);
6. is negative, but does not exceed 3, then the prisoner is *not cooperative* (–);
7. is negative and exceeds 3, then the prisoner is *openly hostile and dangerous* (–).

Table 19. *Indicator of the inmates' cooperativeness.* [Edited by the author.]

Number	**№1**	**№2**	**№3**	**№4**	**№5**	**№6**	**№7**	**№8**
Reward	20	12	37	26	16	10	1	0
Regular misconduct	4	8	0	1	1	6	0	0
Violent misconduct against staff = 4 points against prisoner = 3 points	1 staff = 4	1 staff + 1 prisoner = 7	0	1 staff = 4	1 staff = 4	(1) = 3	0	0
Indicator	20 – 8 = +12	12 – 15 = –3	37 – 0 = +37	26 – 5 = +21	16 – 5 = +11	10 – 9 = +1	1 – 0 = +1	0 – 0 = 0
Years spent	15	21	18	13	13	21	7	7
Evaluation	+	–	++	++	+	–0	+0	+0

Table 20. *Indicator of the inmates' cooperativeness.* [Edited by the author.]

Number	**№9**	**№10**	**№11**	**№12**	**№13**	**№14**	**№15**
Reward	1	13	3	2	13	2	8
Regular misconduct	0	0	4	1	4	12	2
Violent misconduct against staff = 4 points against prisoner = 3 points	0	0	0	0	0	2 prisoners = 6	0
Indicator	1 – 0 = +1	13 – 0 = +13	3 – 4 = –1	2 – 1 = +1	13 – 4 = +9	2 – 18 = –16	8 – 2 = +6
Years spent	7	7	7	7	17	5	5
Calculated value							
Evaluation	+0	++	–0	+0	+	–	+

The behaviour of the serial killers based on the evaluation system above:

- Three convicts are *exceptionally cooperative* (20%)—two of which have multiple sentences, one has been sentenced to life without parole
- Four prisoners are *cooperative*—one of them having multiple convictions, three have been sentenced to life without parole.
- Four prisoners are *neutral*—all of them having life without parole sentences
- Two prisoners are *irregular and unpredictable* (13%)—one with multiple sentences, one sentenced to life without parole.

- One prisoner (7%) is *not cooperative*—multiple convictions.
- 1 prisoners (7%) is *openly hostile and dangerous*—life without parole.

Based on the analysis we are able to determine that:

1. during prison socialization, seven (47%) convicts not only did accept their situation but are also cooperative with the system and conform to the internal order. Three of these prisoners had been convicted multiple times, while four of them are sentenced to life without parole;
2. four prisoners have a neutral attitude—each of them sentenced to life without parole;
3. four prisoners completely renounce the prison system, their sentences and their current situation while either occasionally or constantly rebelling against the rules. Two of these convicts had been convicted multiple times, while two of them are sentenced to life without parole.

Significant differences between convicts imprisoned for life and convicts who have multiple sentences within these subgroups are not to be found. The sole exceptions to this fact are those whose behaviour is neutral, as all of them have life sentences without parole. An explanation to this could be that out of the four relevant prisoners three persons were only convicted in 2016. It is possible that they opted to "wait out" and alter their behaviour significantly, hoping that it might influence the court and the verdict. Their behaviour will probably change and stabilize later when they perceive the fact that they will remain in prison for the rest of their lives.

Out of the convicted serial killers in Hungary, 67% have a sentence of lifelong imprisonment without parole.

In the next part of our inquiry, (Life sentence without the possibility of parole—"We do not allow them to live, we do not let them die") we will address the issue and characteristics of this special—and internationally debated—form of punishment, the imprisonment of life without parole.

References

[1] HICKEY, E. W.: *Serial Murderers and Their Victims.* 6th ed. Belmont: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning, 2013.

[2] HOLMES, R., HOLMES, S.*: Serial Murder.* 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1998.

[3] SIMON, R. I.: Serial Killers, Evil, and US. *National Forum,* 80 4 (2000), 23.

[4] BRANSON, A. L.: *Criminal Profiling and Serial Killers: A Case Study*. Ann Arbor: ProQuest Information and Learning Company, 2006.

[5] KRAFFT-EBING, R. von: *Psychopathia Sexualis: The Classic Study of Deviant Sex*. (Reprint ed.) New York: Arcade Publishing, 1886/2011.

[6] HUGHES, R.: *The Complete Detective: Being the Life and Strange and Exciting Cases of Raymond Schindler, Master Detective*. Reprint ed. Lanham: M. Evans & Company 1950/2014.

[7] DOUGLAS, J. E., BURGESS, A. W., BURGESS, A. G., RESSLER, R. K.: *Crime Classification Manual: A Standard System for Investigating and Classifying Violent Crimes.* Lanham: Lexington, Mass., Lexington Books, 1992.

[8] CANTER, D. V., WENTINK, N.: An Empirical Test of Holmes and Holmes's Serial Murder Typology. *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 31 (2004), 489–515. https://doi.org/10.1177/0093854804265179

[9] SALFATI, C. G., BATEMAN, A. L.: Serial Homicide: An Investigation of Behavioural Consistency. *Journal of Investigative Psychology and Offender Profiling*, 2 (2005), 121–144.

[10] RAMSLAND, K. M.: *Inside the Minds of Serial Killers: Why They Kill*. London: Praeger. eBook, 2006.

[11] MORTON, R. J., HILTS, M.A.: *Serial Murder. Multi-Disciplinary Perspectives for Investigators.* Behavioral Analysis Unit-2. Quantico: National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime Critical Incident Response Group, Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2006.

[12] LEVIN, J., FOX, J. A.: Normalcy in Behavioral Characteristics of the Sadistic Serial Killer. In. KOCSIS R. N. (ed.): *Serial Murder and the Psychology of Violent Crimes*. Totowa: Humana Press, 2008. 3–14. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-60327-049-6_1

[13] FOX, J. A., LEVIN, J.: Multiple Homicide: Patterns of Serial and Mass Murder. In. TONRY, M. (ed.): *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research.* University of Chicago Press, 23 (1998), 407–455. https://doi.org/10.1086/449274

[14] WHITTINGTON-EGAN, R.: *The Serial Killer Phenomenon. Contemporary Review* (2008). www.thefreelibrary.com/The+serial+killer+phenomenon.-a0189797503 (Downloaded: 14.03.2016)

[15] CANTER, D. V., ALISON, L. J., ALISON, E., WENTINK, N.: The Organized/Disorganized Typology of Serial Murder: Myth or Model? *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*, 10 3 (2004), 293–320. https://doi.org/10.1037/1076-8971.10.3.293

[16] PURCELL, C. E., ARRIGO, B. A.: *The Psychology of Lust Murder—Paraphilia, Sexual Killing, and Serial Homicide*. Cambridge: Academic Press, 2006.

[17] HOLMES, R. M., DEBURGER, J.: Profiles in Terror: The Serial Murder. *Probation,* 49 (1985), 29–34.

[18] HOLMES, R. M., HOLMES, S. T.: *Profiling Violent Crimes: An Investigative Tool.* 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2002.

[19] HOMAN, R. J., KENNEDY, D. B.: Serial Murder: A Biopsychological Approach. In. PETHERICK, W. (ed.): *Serial Crime: Theoretical and Practical Issues in Behavioral Profiling.* San Diego: Academic Press, 2006, 189–224.

[20] FBI: *Types of Serial Killers*. Washington D.C.: Crime Library, Crime Museum (Forensic Sciences—Law Enforcement—History of Crime), 2009.

[21] RUSSELL, S.: *Lethal Intent*. New York: Kensington, 2002.

[22] SCOTT, H.: The "Gentler Sex": Patterns in Female Serial Murder. In. KOCSIS R. N. (ed.): *Serial Murder and the Psychology of Violent Crimes*. Totowa: Humana Press, 2008. 179–196.

[23] NAGY L.: *A rossz hírű Báthoryak*. Budapest: Kossuth Könyvkiadó, 1985.

[24] SZABÓ K.: Mítosz kontra valóság, avagy igazságot Báthory Erzsébetnek? *Rubicon* (online), (2016). http://rubicon.hu/magyar/oldalak/mitosz_kontra_valosag_avagy_igazsagot_bathory_erzsebetnek/ (Downloaded: 20.03.2016)

[25] LÁDONYI E.: „Átkos lidércként nehezedett a falura…" A nagyrévi bába, Fazekas Gyuláné szerepe a tiszazugi arzénes gyilkossági ügyekben. *Korall*, 8 28–29 (2007), 226–246.

[26] MÓRICZ Zs.: Tiszazugi méregkeverők. *Nyugat*, 3 (1930).
[27] BODÓ B.: *Tiszazug. A Social History of a Murder*. New York: Epidemia, 2002.
[28] VESZELKA A.: *Pipás Pista, az átokházi tanyavilág hóhéra*. Szeged: Bába és Társa Kft, 2006.
[29] BUBRYÁK I.: *Pipás Pista talán igaz története*. Szeged: Bába Kiadó, 2013.
[30] KOLOZSI Á.: *Kötéllel jön bosszút állni Pipás Pista néni*. 2015. http://index.hu/tudomany/tortenelem/2015/02/12/pipas_pista_bergyilkos_noi_sorozatgyilkos/ (Downloaded: 10.04.2016)
[31] BALKÁNYI N.: Általában akasztott a férfiruhában járó női sorozatgyilkos. 2015. http://hvg.hu/kultura/20150421_Film_keszul_a_tanyavilag_nemet_valto_soro (Downloaded: 20.03.2016)
[32] KELLEHER, M. D., KELLEHER, C. L.: *Murder Most Rare: The Female Serial Killer*. Westport: Praeger, 1998.
[33] SILVIO, H., MCCLOSKEY, K., RAMOS-GRENIER, J.: Exploring the Phenomenon of Female Sexual Predator Serial Killers in the United States. In. FROELING, K. T. (ed.): *Criminology Research Forum.* New York: Nova Science Publishers Inc., 2007.
[34] LUBASZKA, C. K., SHON, P. C., HINCH, R.: Healthcare Serial Killers as Confidence Men. *Journal of Investigative Psychology and Offender Profiling*, 11 (2014), 1–28.
[35] LUBASZKA, C. K.: Pre- and Post-Offence Behaviours of Healthcare Serial Killers as a Confidence Game. (Unpublished MA Thesis) University of Ontario Institute of Technology, 2012. In. LUBASZKA, C. K., SHON, P. C., HINCH, R.: Healthcare Serial Killers as Confidence Men. *Journal of Investigative Psychology and Offender Profiling*, 11 (2014), 1–28.
[36] FERGUSON, C. J., WHITE, D. E., STACEY, C., LORENZ, M., BHIMANI, Z.: Defining and Classifying Serial Murder in the Context of Perpetrator Motivation. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 31 (2003), 287–292. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0047-2352(03)00009-6
[37] SOLT Á.: Az életfogytig tartó szabadságvesztés empirikus vizsgálata. *Börtönügyi Szemle*, 2 (2009), 77–98.
[38] FROTTIER, P., FRUEHWALD, S., RITTER, K., EHER, R., SCHWAERZLER, J., BAUER, P.: Jailhouse Blues Revisited. *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology*, 37 (2002), 68–73. https://doi.org/10.1007/s127-002-8217-7
[39] LIEBLING, A.: The Role of the Prison Environment in Prison Suicide and Prisoner Distress. In. DEAR, G. E. (ed.): *Preventing Suicide and other Self-Harm in Prison*. Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2006. 16–28.
[40] BORRILL, J.: Self-Inflicted Deaths of Prisoners Serving Life Sentences 1988–2001. *British Journal of Forensic Practice*, 4 (2002), 30–38. https://doi.org/10.1108/14636646200200024
[41] GARAMI L.: Élő halottak? A tényleges életfogytiglani szabadságvesztés végrehajtásának fő problémái. *Börtönügyi Szemle*, 2 (1999), 56–63.
[42] CSÓTI A.: A magyar börtönügy új kihívása: a tényleges életfogytig tartó szabadságvesztés. *Börtönügyi Szemle*, 2 (2005), 25–28.
[43] BOROS J.: A hosszú tartamú szabadságvesztés hatása a fogvatartottak személyiségére. *Börtönügyi Szemle*, 2 (2005), 19–24.
[44] MATOVICS Cs.: A Szegedi Fegyház és Börtön hosszúidős speciális rezsimű (HSR) körletének működési tapasztalatai. *Börtönügyi Szemle*, 2 (2009), 99–108.