

NUOVA SECONDARIA

MENSILE DI CULTURA, RICERCA PEDAGOGICA E ORIENTAMENTI DIDATTICI

RICERCA



04
DICEMBRE
2017

“Orribil furon li peccati miei;
ma la bontà infinita ha sì gran braccia,
che prende ciò che si rivolge a lei.”

[PURGATORIO, III, 121-123]

**SPECIALE ESAMI
DI STATO 2017**

**SOCIETÀ DELLA CONOSCENZA
E FORMAZIONE: TRA MITO E REALTÀ**

**IL LAVORO E LA NATURA DELL'UOMO.
LA RIFLESSIONE ROUSSEAUIANA**

PSICOLOGIA E IMPRENDITORIALITÀ

**I PROMESSI SPOSI:
UN ROMANZO NUOVO**

Studi^o edizioni
EDITTRICE
LA SCUOLA

NUOVA SECONDARIA RICERCA

4 dicembre
2017

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Introduzione

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Il numero 4 di «Nuova Secondaria Ricerca» (dicembre 2017) è composto da quattro saggi e un dossier dedicato a *La religione a scuola: tra istanze educative degli alunni e formazione degli insegnanti*.

Il numero si apre con l'articolo di saggio di Peter Ruzsonyi, *Extreme crimes, extreme criminals and extreme punishment. Serial killers on the other side of the bars: "Bestial humans – human beasts"* il cui obiettivo è, a partire dall'origine del termine "killer seriale", esporre una panoramica generale delle principali differenziazioni e classificazioni in cui è possibile suddividere gli assassini seriali osservati dall'altro lato rispetto alle sbarre della prigione, trattando in modo particolare le questioni che sono specificamente correlate alle serial killer femminili.

Segue il saggio di Francesca Martinelli *Quale educazione per il lavoratore del futuro?* che affronta una rilettura del rapporto tra formazione, educazione, istruzione e lavoro. Le trasformazioni economiche, sociali e culturali del lavoro sono qui rilette a partire da una prospettiva pedagogica di matrice fenomenologica, che riconosce nella libertà responsabile del soggetto un'intenzionalità generativa capace di interpretare in termini evolutivi i cambiamenti in corso.

Lo scopo del contributo di Tadeusz Sierotowicz, intitolato *Fenomenologia del metodo investigativo L'abduzione e il metodo di Monsieur Poirot*, è ripercorrere l'idea epistemologica secondo cui alla base della scienza vi è il ragionamento abduttivo. L'autore reinterpreta ciò alla luce del romanzo di Agatha Christie in riferimento al paradigma indiziario e al metodo investigativo di Hercule Poirot.

Il saggio di Vincenza Costantino, *Pedagogia, teatro e democrazia. Spunti e riflessioni sul possibile legame fra educazione, arte e politica*, propone alcuni spunti critici sul possibile legame fra educazione, arte e politica partendo dal confronto fra l'epoca antica e quella odierna, con particolare riferimento alla Grecia del V sec. a. C. in cui si colloca la nascita di un certo concetto di *paideia*, dei generi teatrali e delle prime forme democratiche.

Infine l'inserito monografico *La religione a scuola: tra istanze educative degli alunni e formazione degli insegnanti*, curato da Andrea Porcarelli, analizza il tema delle dimensioni religiose dell'educazione nel mondo della scuola, statale e paritaria. Se fino a qualche anno fa la pedagogia marginalizzava la dimensione religiosa, oggi chi si occupa di educazione non può non considerarlo e studiarlo in tutti i contesti (compreso quello scolastico) e a tutti i livelli, in quanto elemento caratterizzante l'esistenza umana. Il contributo di Sergio Ciatelli è dedicato alla scuola paritaria di ispirazione cristiana, e specificamente cattolica, mentre Porcarelli approfondisce il tema dei modelli di formazione degli insegnanti di Religione, attraverso l'analisi di un sistema formativo molto articolato, che prevede azioni di sistema a livello nazionale, regionale e infine territoriale e diocesano.

Extreme crimes, extreme criminals and extreme punishment. Serial killers on the other side of the bars: “Bestial humans – human beasts”*

Peter Ruzsonyi

L'obiettivo di questo documento è quello di fornire un quadro generale sugli assassini seriali dall'altro lato rispetto alle sbarre della prigione e all'interno delle stesse prigioni. Oltre ad analizzare la vita e le attività di queste persone prima della loro incarcerazione, fornirà anche una visione completa circa l'origine e il significato del termine "killer seriale", discutendo le caratteristiche personali generalmente attribuibili a coloro che appartengono a questa categoria. Lo studio fornirà inoltre una panoramica delle principali idee su come differenziarli e classificarli in categorie diverse e tratterà anche le questioni che sono specificamente correlate alle serial killer femminili.

Analizzeremo anche le azioni di quei serial killer che sono incarcerati nelle prigioni ungheresi e valuteremo il loro comportamento al fine di prevedere la loro probabile condotta utilizzando una procedura completamente nuova di valutazione del rischio.

Attualmente, il 62% dei serial killer sconta un ergastolo senza libertà condizionale. In Ungheria, la pratica della condanna dei detenuti a vita senza condizionale è regolata dal Codice Penale: nel suo principio, questa forma di punizione significa che coloro che ricevono questa condanna non saranno mai rilasciati con la condizionale (§ 42). L'Articolo 46/A-B del codice di prigione introduce tuttavia una procedura obbligatoria di clemenza per coloro che hanno un ergastolo senza condizionale, che può essere avviata dopo 40 anni di pena. In questo studio cerchiamo di raccogliere le caratteristiche di questa autorizzazione, valutare i pareri professionali correlati e anche proporre una correzione.

The aim of this paper is to provide a general picture about serial murderers on the “other side” of the prison bars and within the prisons themselves. Besides analyzing the life and activities of these people before their incarceration, it will also provide a comprehensive picture about the origin and meaning of the term “serial killer”, all the while discussing the generally applicable personal attributes of those who belong to this category. The study will also provide an overview of the main ideas on how to differentiate and classify them into different categories and will also discuss the issues that are related specifically to female serial killers.

We will also analyze the actions of those serial killers who are incarcerated within Hungarian prisons and evaluate their behaviour in order to predict their likely conduct using a completely novel risk assessment procedure. Currently, 62% of the serial killers serve a sentence of life without parole. In Hungary, the practice of sentencing convicts to life without parole is regulated by the Criminal Code. In its principle, this form of punishment means that those who receive this sentence shall never be released on parole (42. §). Article 46/A-B of the Prison Code, however, introduces a mandatory clemency procedure for those serving a life sentence without parole. This procedure may be initiated after 40 years served. In this study, we endeavour to collect the attributes of this sanction, evaluate related professional opinions and also put forth a suggestion for an amendment.

** The work was created in commission of the National University of Public Service under the priority project KÖFOP-2.1.2-VEKOP-15-2016-00001 titled “Public Service Development Establishing Good Governance” in Ludovika Workshop.*

Serial killers fail to think of other people as human.
Katherine Ramsland

1. 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?

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 The estimations on the number of serial murderers are unleashed at any given time within the the United States are varied. Hickey believes that currently 30 – 40 criminals are active² while Holms and Holms believe that this number is closer to 200³. 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 at large and that they kill 3 500 people a year»⁴.

Despite these haunting numbers, basically no American citizen considers him- or herself as a

potential victim and the whole notion seems unrealistically 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 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 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

2. The meaning and origin of the term “serial murderer”

Despite the fact 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 completely certain that the 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 undiscovered⁵. 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

¹ E. W. Hickey, *Serial Murderers and Their Victims* (Sixth Edition), Wadsworth, Cengage Learning Belmont, CA, 2013, p. 42.

² *Ibi.*

³ R. Holmes - S.Holmes, *Serial murder* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage, 1998.

⁴ R. I. Simon, *Serial Killers, Evil, and Us*, National Forum. Fall 2000, Vol. 80 Issue 4, 2000, p. 6.

⁵ A. L. Branson, *Criminal Profiling and Serial Killers: A Case Study*. Ann Arbor, ProQuest Information and Learning Company, MI 2006.

sexologist. He analyzed violent and sexual offenders and the crimes they had committed. His discoveries were published in 1886 in his textbook "Psychopathia Sexualis"⁶, in which he described several case studies related to sexual homicides, serial murders and other crimes having a sexual nature⁷.

The term „serial murderer” was coined by Hughes⁸ in his work titled "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 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. (1992), who state 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.⁹

The importance of emphasizing the different locations and separate dates stems from the fact that these are the factors that differentiate serial murderers from mass¹⁰ and spree murderers¹¹. Authors Canter and Wenting¹² and Salfati and

Bateman¹³ 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's¹⁴ argument further clarifies the "classic" definition: he points out that some offenders "bring their victims to the same location at different times" to and kill them there¹⁵.

In our study we accept both amendments as valid conditions.

3. The general characteristics of serial killers

3.1. 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 naive 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»¹⁶.

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»¹⁷.

⁶ Original title: *Psychopatia Sexualis: eine Klinisch-Forensische Studie* (1886)

⁷ R. von Krafft-Ebing, Richard von *Psychopathia Sexualis: The Classic Study of Deviant Sex*. Reprint edition, Arcade Publishing, New York 2011.

⁸ R. Hughes, *The complete detective: Being the life and strange and exciting cases of Raymond Schindler, master detective*. Erle Stanley Gardner, Octavo 1950.

⁹ Holmes and Holmes determined 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 is different in each individual. Cfr. J. Douglas - A. W. Burgess - A. G. Burgess - R. K. Ressler, "*Crime Classification Manual: A Standard System for Investigating and Classifying Violent Crimes*", Lexington Books, Lexington, Mass. 1992.

¹⁰ Mass murderers kill more than three victims at the same location and in the same time.

¹¹ *Ibi*. Spree murderers kills three or more people consecutively at three or more different locations.

¹² D. V. Canter - N. Wentink, *An empirical test of Holmes and Holmes's serial murder typology*, Criminal Justice and Behavior, 31 (2004), 489-515.

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¹³ C. G. Salfati - A. L. Bateman, *Serial homicide: An investigation of behavioural consistency*. Journal of Investigative Psychology and Offender Profiling, 2(2005), 121-144.

¹⁴ K. Ramsland, *Inside the Minds of Serial Killers: Why They Kill*. Westport, Conn, Praeger. eBook 2006.

¹⁵ *Ibi*, p. XI.

¹⁶ *Ibi*, pp. 177-178.

¹⁷ R. J. Morton - M. A. Hilts, *Serial Murder. Multi-Disciplinary Perspectives for Investigators*. Behavioral Analysis Unit-2, National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime Critical Incident Response Group,

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:

- 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 psyche¹⁸.

Both the serial murders and the perpetrators themselves have enjoyed widespread attention in the last 200 years. Since satisfying answers to

Federal Bureau of Investigation, Quantico, Virginia 2006, p. 3.

¹⁸ *Ibi*, pp. 11-12.

the questions 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 facts¹⁹.

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 are of average intelligence.
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.

3.2. Serial killers and psychopathy – terminological overlaps and attempts at

¹⁹ E. W. Hickey, *Serial Murderers and Their Victims* (Sixth Edition), Wadsworth, Cengage Learning Belmont, CA, 2013, pp. 5-6.

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 above²⁰. 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»²¹.

²⁰ J. Levin - J. A. Fox, *Normalcy in Behavioral Characteristics of the Sadistic Serial Killer*, in R. N. Kocsis, (ed.), *Serial Murder and the Psychology of Violent Crimes*. Humana Press, Totowa, NJ 2008 , pp. 3-14.

²¹ R. J. Morton - M. A. Hiltz, *Serial Murder. Multi-Disciplinary Perspectives for Investigators. Behavioral Analysis Unit-2, National Center for the Analysis of*

Morton and Hiltz also analyzed the connection between serial murderers and psychopaths. 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 psychopaths. 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 Hiltz conclude with an important statement: «psychopathy alone does not explain the motivations of a serial killer»²²

3.3. 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 offenders²³:

	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	√	√

Violent Crime Critical Incident Response Group, cit., p. 15.

²² *Ibi*, p. 14.

²³ E. W. Hickey, *Serial Murderers and Their Victims*, cit., p. 27.

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»²⁴.

4. Attempts at tipifying serial killers

The typification of serial murderers is based on one of three fundamental systems. (1) Some authors perform it according to 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'

²⁴ J.A. Fox - J. Levin, *Multiple homicide: patterns of serial and mass murder*, in M.Tonry (Ed.): *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research*, vol. 23, University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1998, p. 442.

leading motives while other professionals (3) combine the two principles of systemization.

4.1. Sorting based on the location and conditions of the offense

Branson's²⁵ (2006) 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”.

Disorganized, asocial offenders	Organized, nonsocial offenders
- IQ below average: 80-95 range	- IQ above average: 105-120 ²⁶ range
- socially inadequate	- socially adequate
- lives alone, usually does not date	- lives with partner or dates frequently
- absent or unstable father	- stable father figure
- family emotional abuse, inconsistent	- family physical abuse, harsh
- lives and/or works near 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	- needs to return to crime scene to see what police have

²⁵ A. L. Branson, *Criminal Profiling and Serial Killers: A Case Study*. Ann Arbor, ProQuest Information and Learning Company, MI 2006, p. 34.

²⁶ 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. (WHITTINGTON-EGAN, 2008).

reliving memories	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
- 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»²⁷.

Douglas et. al. were not satisfied with having only two categories either, 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 either. 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 sadistic²⁸.

4.2. 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 categories²⁹:

- 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.

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

²⁷ D. V. Canter - L. J. Alison - E. Alison - N. Wentink, *The organized/disorganized typology of serial murder: myth or model? Psychology, Public Policy, and Law* 10(3) (2004), p. 310.

²⁸ J. Douglas - A. W. Burgess - A. G. Burgess - R. K. Ressler, *Crime Classification Manual: A Standard System for Investigating and Classifying Violent Crimes*, Lexington Books, Lexington, Mass. 1992.

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²⁹ Cfr. R.M. Holmes - J. DeBurger, *Profiles in Terror: The Serial Murder. Probation*. Vol.49, 1985, pp.29-34; R. M. Holmes - S.Holmes, *Serial murder* (2nd ed.) Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage, 1998; R.M. Holmes - S.T. Holmes, *Profiling violent crimes: An investigative tool* (3rd ed.) Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, Ca 2002.

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.

- 4) 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 during 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.

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 Wentink³⁰ enjoys paramount importance. They analysed the reliability of the Holmes and Holmes system and addressed the following criticism in their conclusion:

- 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 sub-categories:

(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:

(3) 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.

(4) 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.

(5) Power/Control: This killer derives pleasure

³⁰ D. V. Canter - N.Wentink, *An empirical test of Holmes and Holmes's serial murder typology. Criminal Justice and Behavior* 31(2004), p. 7-8.

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 gratification³¹.

Douglas et. al. also conducted an in-depth study of the motives behind the serial murderers’ offences (1992). They determined four fundamental motives: manipulation, domination, control and sexual lust.

In this decade, professionals have been experimenting with more nuanced types that analyze previous ideas. Criminal psychologist Robert J. Homan 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:

- (1) “Trauma Control Model”, based on the work of Eric Hickey³²: an occurrence of a greatly traumatizing experience during the 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 Robert Ressler, Ann Burgess Allen Burges and John Douglas³³: 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 Bruce Arrigo and C. E. Purcell³⁴: this behaviour is the result of a disease, the wrongly functioning neural pathways cause the body to mingle sex-related and aggression-related impulses³⁵.

The result of the latest (2005) typification created by the FBI is a new motivational system containing the following seven categories for serial murder.

- (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.

³¹ *Ibidem*.

³² E. W. Hickey, *Serial Murderers and Their Victims*, (Sixth Edition), Wadsworth, Cengage Learning Belmont, CA, 2013.

³³ J. Douglas - A. W. Burgess - A. G. Burgess - R. K. Ressler, *Crime Classification Manual: A Standard System for Investigating and Classifying Violent Crimes*, Lexington Books, Lexington, Mass. 1992.

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³⁴ C. E. Purcell - B. A. Arrigo, *The Psychology of Lust Murder - Paraphilia, Sexual Killing, and Serial Homicide*, Academic Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts 2006.

³⁵ R. J. Homan – D. B. Kennedy, “Serial Murder: A Biopsychological Approach,” in W. Petherick, (ed.), *Serial Crime: Theoretical and Practical Issues in Behavioral Profiling*, Academic Press, San Diego, CA 2006, 189–224.

- (5) Domination, arousal: the perpetrator enjoys his/her leverage over the victims and/or becomes aroused by murder.
- (6) Psychosis: the perpetrators suffers 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 murderers³⁶.

4.3. 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:

- (1) Medical Killers – highly intelligent people working in the field of healthcare or pharmaceuticals 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 become found easily. They usually establish contact with the investigating authorities and try to follow the investigation from as close as possible.

³⁶ R. J. Morton - M. A. Hilts, *Serial Murder. Multi-Disciplinary Perspectives for Investigators. Behavioral Analysis Unit-2, National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime Critical Incident Response Group*, cit., p. 18.

- (3) Disorganized Killers – they usually kill without planning and chose their victims spontaneously. They do not try to hide neither the bodies nor 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 (FBI, 2009).

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»³⁷.

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 efforts³⁸.

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.

5. Female serial killers

Experts calculate that female serial killers take up 10-15% of the global population³⁹. Offences

³⁷ K. Ramsland, *Inside the Minds of Serial Killers: Why They Kill*. Westport, Conn, Praeger. eBook 2006, p. X.

³⁸ S. Russell, *Lethal Intent*, Kensington, New York 2002.

³⁹ H. Scott, *The “Gentler Sex”: Patterns in Female Serial Murder*, in R. N. Kocsis (eds.), *Serial Murder and the Psychology of Violent Crimes*. Humana Press,

where the perpetrator is a woman occur everywhere in the world. Scott provides an analysis of the female serial killers active between 1600-2003, based on regional allocation⁴⁰.

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 any 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 young virgins. She flogged mutilated, 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 debatable⁴¹. 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 inhuman – form of punishment⁴².

(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 was started in 1929 against multiple midwives who had poisoned their husbands using arsenic retrieved from flypapers. The poison was brewed and

⁴¹ L. Nagy, *A rossz hírű Báthoryak*. Budapest, Kossuth Könyvkiadó 1985.

⁴² K. Szabó, *Mítosz kontra valóság, avagy igazságot Báthory Erzsébetnek?, Rubicon* 2016 www.rubicon.hu/magyar/oldalak/mitosz_kontra_valosag_avagy_igazsagot_bathory_erszetbetnek/

Totowa, NJ 2008, p. 179.

⁴⁰ *Ibi*, p. 183.

circulated by one of the midwives, Zsuzsanna Fazekas, née Zsuzsanna Oláh⁴³. 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. (Bodó, 2002) 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 Földi

Viktória Földi (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.

⁴³ Cfr. E. Ládonyi, *Átkos lidércként nehezedett a falura...* "A nagyrévi bába, Fazekas Gyuláné szerepe a tiszazugi arzénos gyilkossági ügyekben, Korall, 8 2007/28-29. sz. 226-246; Z. Móricz, *Tiszazugi méregkeverők*, Nyugat, 1930.

What truly happened was that Viktória Földi 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 vengeance”. It is believed that she had given up her muliebrity in order to protect local women. Viktória Földi 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 from 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 within prison in Budapest in 1940⁴⁴.

(4) Pándi Ágnes

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

⁴⁴ Cfr. A. Veszélka, *Pipás Pista, az átokházi tanyavilág hóhéra*. Szeged, Bába és Társa Kft 2006; I. Bubryák, *PIPÁS PISTA talán IGAZ TÖRTÉNETE*. Szeged, Bába Kiadó 201; A. Kolozsi, *Ádám Kötéssel jön bosszút állni Pipás Pista néni*. 2015: http://index.hu/tudomany/tortenelem/2015/02/12/pipas_pista_bergyilkos_noi_sorozatgyilkos/; N. Balkányi, *Általában akasztott a férfiruhában járó női sorozatgyilkos*, 2015.

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 more detailed insights – 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. Kelleher⁴⁵. They classified single serial murderers into the following five categories:

- (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.

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.

The chief characteristics of the six categories⁴⁶:

	Black Widow	Angel of Death	Revenge Killer	Profit or Crime	Team Killer	Sexual Predator
Start 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

⁴⁵ M. D. Kelleher, - C. L. Kelleher, *Murder most rare: The female serial killer*, Praeger, Westport, CT 1998.

⁴⁶ H.Silvio - K. McCloskey - J. Ramos-Grenier, *Exploring the Phenomenon of Female Sexual Predator Serial Killers in the United States*, *Criminology Research Forum* (Editor: Froeling, Karen T.), Nova Science Publishers Inc. 2007, p. 102.

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 Hinch⁴⁷ 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. By analyzing the relevant academic literature, Lubaszka⁴⁸ 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.

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

⁴⁷ C. K. Lubaszka - P. C. Shon – R. Hinch, *Healthcare Serial Killers as Confidence Men*, *Journal of Investigative Psychology and Offender Profiling*, 11 (2014), pp. 1–28.

⁴⁸ C. K. Lubaszka, *Pre- and post-offence behaviours of healthcare serial killers as a confidence game*. *Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Ontario Institute of Technology*, in C. K. Lubaszka - P. C. Shon - R. Hinch, *R. Healthcare Serial Killers as Confidence Men*, cit.

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 categories⁴⁹.

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 contribute 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

⁴⁹ C.J Ferguson et. al., *Defining and classifying serial murder in the context of perpetrator motivation*, Journal of Criminal Justice, 31 (2003), p. 292.

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 inquiry⁵⁰.

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.⁵¹ We determined that on said date there were 1240 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

⁵⁰ 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 the all governors and staff of the relevant correctional institutions. We are grateful for their devoted and valuable assistance!

⁵¹ 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.

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 – №15⁵²) 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:

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
Tiszaölk National Prison: №2	1
Forensic Psychiatric and Mental Institution №16	1
TOTAL	16

Composition of prisoners based on sentence length:

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 FBI⁵³:

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:	16⁵⁴

⁵² 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.

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⁵³ R. J. Morton - M. A. Hilts, *Serial Murder. Multi-Disciplinary Perspectives for Investigators. Behavioral Analysis Unit-2*, cit.

⁵⁴ 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

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 psychiatric treatment (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. (1992) 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

treatment to be carried out in the Forensic Psychiatric and Mental Institution will also be taken into account.

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.” (Solt, 2009 p. 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 pain⁵⁵.

Collecting the specific reasons that played a role in the deterioration of the serial killers’

⁵⁵ A. Solt, *Az életfogytig tartó szabadságvesztés empirikus vizsgálata*, Börtönügyi Szemle, 2009/2, p. 98.

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.

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.

The following chart shows regular and irregular relationships in the context of spent years.

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 passes⁵⁶. In addition, a number of authors emphasize that those who have been sentenced to life are even more threatened⁵⁷.

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

⁵⁶ P. Frottier - S. Fruehwald - K. Ritter - R. Eher - J. Schwaerzler, - P. Bauer, *Jailhouse Blues revisited*, Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology, 2002/37. 68-73.

⁵⁷ Cfr. A. Liebling, *The role of the prison environment in prison suicide and prisoner distress*, in G.E. Dear, *Preventing suicide and other self-harm in prison*, Palgrave-Macmillan, Basingstoke (UK) 2006, pp. 16-28; J. Borrill, *Self-inflicted deaths of prisoners serving life sentences 1988-2001*, British Journal of Forensic Practice, 2002/4. 30-38.

decades of incarceration this number is almost 25%»⁵⁸.

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 making for 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.

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 ⁵⁹ 2004 2006

The completed suicide (№17), the attempted suicide (№14) and the six deliberate acts of self-harm (№12 once; №14 twice,⁶⁰ №17 three times) expressly shows the subjects’ rejection of

⁵⁸ A. Solt, *Az életfogytig tartó szabadságvesztés empirikus vizsgálata*, cit., p. 93.

⁵⁹ During serving a previous sentence.

⁶⁰ №14 resorted to self-harm on two consecutive days. Grotesquely, on the second occasion he etched the word “life” into his arm.

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 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. Garami⁶¹ 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

During analyzing the behaviour of inmates within a prison, it is important to assess their relation to 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.

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

⁶¹ L. Garami, *Élő halottak? A tényleges életfogytiglani szabadságvesztés végrehajtásának fő problémái*, Börtönügyi Szemle, 1999/2. 56-63.

№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 ⁶²	2004	2007	<i>Violence against other prisoner</i>

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 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 attack 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 the efficient exchange of information and genuine teamwork. Ever since the beginning we have been advocating the inclusion of prisoners with long sentences to the rewards system, during which we mostly focus on strengthening personal relationships and supplementing the personal needs of such convicts”. (Csóti, 2005 p. 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

⁶² № 17 committed suicide in 2015.

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.

	№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

	№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 collected 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 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.

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

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

Each of the serial killers received close to 11 (10.9) rewards. In addition to discrepancies (№3 – 37 rewards; №8 – zero rewards) between 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 acts⁶³. 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»⁶⁴. 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»⁶⁵

Disciplinary Measures

Besides rewards, punishments (using correctional terms: disciplinary measures) can

⁶³ A. Solt, *Az életfogytig tartó szabadságvesztés empirikus vizsgálata*, cit.

⁶⁴ J. Boros, *A hosszú tartamú szabadságvesztés hatása a fogvatartottak személyiségére*, *Börtönügyi Szemle*, 2005/2, p. 24.

⁶⁵ C. Matovics, *A Szegedi Fegyház és Börtön hosszúidős speciális rezsimű (HSR) körletének működési tapasztalatai*, *Börtönügyi Szemle*, 2 (2009), p. 105.

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).

	№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

	№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 number of years spent incarcerated, then the convict is *cooperative* (+)
- (3) is around zero (-1; 0; 1), then two general subgroups can be established:

- (3-1) if the number of rewards and punishments does not exceed three, then the prisoner is *neutral* (+0)
- (3-2) if the number of rewards and punishments exceeds three, then the prisoner is *irregular and unpredictable* (-0)
- (4) is negative, but does not exceed 3, then the prisoner is *not cooperative* (-)
- (5) is negative and exceeds 3, then the prisoner is *openly hostile and dangerous* (--).

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	1staff = 4	1staff+1prisoner = 7	0	1staff = 4	1staff = 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

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	2prisoners=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.

“We do not allow them to live, we do not let them die.”

Life sentence without the possibility of parole (Life)

Out of the convicted 13 serial killers, 11 have received a life sentence without the possibility of parole since the introduction of the sentence of life without the possibility of. We consider that this figure in itself provides ample reason for the further elaboration of our standpoint. Our decision is also supported by the judicial practice which tends to use this form of punishment frequently when convicting serial murderers. This practice is graphically demonstrated by the fact that out of the nine verdicts that have been issued since 2005, only one (11%) was a determinate sentence, while the remaining eight (89%) was life without parole. It is likely that this practice will not change in the future, and accordingly most – if not all – of the convicted serial murderers will be sentenced to life without parole. The reasons behind the fact that this form of punishment has become so generally used are manifold: (1) serial murder is one of the most serious forms of homicide which (2) staggers the public but also demands their attention, and therefore (3) incites the public to doubt its sense of security. The fact that life without parole is so often and so „casually” utilized can be traced back to the termination of death penalty.

The events that led up to the “creation” of life without parole are summarized by Vókó:

in 1971, the punishment of life was introduced once again into the roster of

criminal sanctions. The ban on death penalty was issued by Decree no. 23. of the Hungarian Constitutional Court, issued on 31 October 1990. The legislators – seeking to provide a response to criminal offences while closing the gap that was apparent between determined-length sentences, life sentences with the possibility of parole and death penalty – introduced the sentence of life without parole where the conditional release is not an option⁶⁶.

Polt takes a more straightforward approach and states that «life sentence without providing the possibility of parole is an adequate substitution to death penalty, as the perpetrators are removed once and for all from society with no practical chance to earn their way back to it»⁶⁷. The trends in international criminal justice and the corresponding practice both seem to be heading towards this direction. Soon after the ratification of the European Agreement for banning death penalty in the 1990s, the sanction of life without parole was introduced. The legislators believed that societies would only support the termination of death sentence if a punishment that is severe enough would take its place.

The scope and numbers of the subjected prisoners have expanded manifold. According to the most up-to-date statistics⁶⁸, in 2014 there were 27 000 convicts sentenced to life within the member states of the European Council. 22 of those countries that possess official statistics show an increase of 66% from 2004 to 2014 in the number of convicts sentenced to life without parole. The fact that there had been 7 500 convicts sentenced to life without parole in these countries is even more staggering. Most of them are held in the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy and Switzerland⁶⁹.

⁶⁶ G. Vókó, *Bűnelkövetők jogkorlátozása jogállamban*. MTA Doktori Értekezés 2010, p. 217.

⁶⁷ P. Polt, *Új Btk. kommentár. 2. kötet*. Nemzeti Közzolgálati és Tankönyv Kiadó, Budapest 2013, p. 29.

⁶⁸ Council of Europe, *Annual Penal Statistics (SPACE)* 2004.8 and 2014.7.

⁶⁹ Council of Europe, *25th General Report of the CPT*. Council of Europe, 2016, pp. 34-35.

A Theoretical Approach to Life Without Parole

Ferenc Nagy analyzes the function of the sentence from the historical aspect of criminal law. He emphasizes that within the hierarchy of criminal sanctions available in countries where the rule of law is more developed, deprivation of liberty is the leading and most widely used form of punishment with its harshest variant being the one that excludes parole. In this context, life without parole seems to «bridge the gap between capital punishment and determinate sentences»⁷⁰.

Kabódi takes a systematic approach. In his opinion, this form of sanction cannot be regarded as loss of freedom, since when compared to the «temporary, transitional and »preparative« nature of regular (determinate) prison sentences, life without parole permanently deprives the subjects from their freedom. Life without parole – both in theory and in practice – is inadequate for fulfilling the standard goal of the convicts' successful reintegration. In short: from the aspect of penology, life without parole is not the deprivation of liberty.» He believes that «it is as a matter of fact a new form of punishment which occupies a peculiar, value-changing status within the system of sanctions. It is less than instantly and directly taking away the life of the subjects, but more than the simply depriving them of their liberty»⁷¹.

Pál Kiszely and István Nagy take a similar approach: they state that the introduction of the sentence has opened a new chapter in the history of Hungarian penology⁷².

The opinions of Hungarian experts on the topic seem to disagree when it comes to debating its necessity and availability. One of the extremes is represented by Kornélia Hagymási, who claims that in the case of convicts sentenced to

⁷⁰ F. Nagy, *A magyar büntetőjog általános része*, HVG-Orac Kiadó, Budapest 2008, p. 272.

⁷¹ C. Kabódi, A szabadságvesztés határmezsgyéin. In A. Borbíró - E. Inzelt - K. Kerezsi - M. Lévy - L. Podoletz (szerk.), *A büntető hatalom korlátainak megtartása: a büntetés mint végső eszköz - Tanulmányok Gönczöl Katalin tiszteletére*, ELTE Eötvös Kiadó, Budapest 2014, p. 219.

⁷² P. Kiszely - I. Nagy, *Az idő rabságában. A hosszú időre ítélt büntetés-végrehajtásának helyzete a Szegedi Fegyház és Börtönben*, Börtönügyi Szemle, 2012/3, pp. 1-16.

life without parole, the «aim of imprisonment is imprisonment itself»⁷³.

Another approach is taken by Garami, who emphasizes the cooperative, active and responsible activity of the prison service and the prisoner: “the greatest question that the prison service has to face is whether they can create a form of punishment that does not disagree with the principles set by the prohibition of torture and inhuman treatment and at the same time provides adequate security measures while also offering a viable, acceptable, albeit limited perspective for those who had been sentenced to life without parole”. He highlights that the detention of such convicts has to be organized in a «special way that requires the individual application of the concept of minimal security, the establishment of a sense of responsibility, and allowing the convicts to make their life within better and that these efforts culminate in visible results. During the first period of serving the punishment, it is important to make sure that the convicts work out a notion of what might happen to them, what goals can they strive for and how these goals can be achieved»⁷⁴.

Do life sentences without parole have a dissuasive effect?

Although analyzing this question as a whole is beyond the reach of our current paper, we still consider it indispensable to briefly investigate the issue. First of all, we would like to point out the fact that we were unable to find genuine academic studies or arguments for the supposed dissuasive effect of death penalty, which was the most serious form of punishment before the era of life without parole. Due to this reason, our approach is skeptical. Our opinion is largely the same about its substitution, the sentence of life without parole which.

We accept the conclusions of Vont et. al, who – based on the academic results of Hirsch – express their doubts about the empirical justification of the dissuasive effects of severe

⁷³ K. Hagymási, *Végtelen idő a rácsok mögött – avagy mennyiben van ma létjogosultsága Magyarországon a tényleges életfogytig tartó szabadságvesztésnek*, Börtönügyi Szemle, 2009/2, p. 68.

⁷⁴ L. Garami, *Élő halottak? A tényleges életfogytiglani szabadságvesztés végrehajtásának fő problémái*, Börtönügyi Szemle, 1999/2, pp. 56-63.

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punishments. In order to obtain sufficient evidence, it has to be proven that during the perpetration of a crime, the criminals are aware of the severity of the sentence that would be imposed upon them, and no other reason but this severity itself is the factor that finally deters them from actually committing the crime. It seems that there is a connection between the certainty of the punishment and the ration of criminality, however this link is a lot weaker when it comes to their severity⁷⁵.

Lőrincz uses his own results to support the train of thoughts shown above. According to him, statistical data provides ample evidence for the non-existence of the link between the repressive periods of criminal policy and criminalism and the fact that the increase in imprisonments did not have any effect on the rate of crimes. We endorse his conclusion without reserve: «no repressive cycles have ever reduced criminality, but all of them had a significant negative impact on the prison service’s chances in the successful reintegration of prisoners»⁷⁶. (Lőrincz, 2014 p. 121)

Are imprisoned serial killers dangerous?

Presumptions

In 1999, the year the sentence of life without parole came into effect experts tried to predict the expected behavior of those who had been subjected to this form of punishment. Since the beginning, Garami has emphasized that as long as psychological attributes are concerned, each subject is a different personality with different different coping strategies and varied reactions to outside stimuli. When compared to other convicts however, there is a significant difference as the presence of futility, the “seemingly infinite nature of time”, coupled

⁷⁵ A. Vont - A. E. Bottoms - E. Burney - P. O. Wilkström, *Criminal Deterrence and Sentence Severity; An Analysis of Recent Researche*, Hart Publishing Oxford 1999.

⁷⁶ J. Lőrincz, *Száz év magány – a hazai börtönügy szakmatörténeti vázlata 1914–2014-ig*, in A. Borbíró - E. Inzelt - K. Kerecsi - M. Lévy - L. Podoletz (eds.): *A büntető hatalom korlátainak megtartása: a büntetés mint végső eszköz - Tanulmányok Gönczöl Katalin tiszteletére*, ELTE Eötvös Kiadó, Budapest 2014, pp. 339-348.

with the fact these convicts have already been given the most severe punishment leaves them with nothing to lose. These attributes raise the question of what reactions and perceived changes in the behavior of convicts can be expected. According to the author, the most likely outcome is increased aggression, especially so because these people are already familiar with it due to the violent acts for which they were convicted. Out of recognition to this fact, it can even be assumed that these convicts will try to take hostages (staff members of fellow prisoners) in the unforeseeable future⁷⁷. During establishing the conditions for accommodation, József Csapó, the former governor of the Szeged Strict and Medium Regime Prison – the first institution to be designated to admit prisoner sentenced to life without parole – focused on the likely dangers emanating from the introduction of the new legal institution. In his opinion, the greatest, detention-related security risk is the fact that these people tend to feel like they do not have anything else left to lose. Though their behavior might still have an effect on certain allowances within the prison, criminal law lacks any further sanctions (...) We are unable to predict future events: we do not know what may occur three, five or ten years later, when the due to the changes in the convicts' personality they end up becoming aware of the futility of their situation⁷⁸.

Current experiences and relevant scientific results

Taking into account the hypotheses set by academic literature following the introduction of life without parole – according to which the frequency of events that threaten the order and/or security of detention will grow – we can conclude that fortunately, this prognosis has not been proven as of yet. What has been proven though, is the presumption that those sentenced to life without parole would perform self-harming acts and attempt suicides more often⁷⁹.

⁷⁷ L. Garami, *Élő halottak? A tényleges életfogytiglani szabadságvesztés végrehajtásának fő problémái*, cit.

⁷⁸ L. B. Papp, *Mindörökké rács mögött. Szükség van-e a tényleges életfogytiglani szabadságvesztésre?*, De Jure, 2007/2, p. 25.

⁷⁹ P. Kiszely - I. Nagy, *Az idő rabságában. A hosszú időre ítélték büntetés-végrehajtásának helyzete a*

This result corresponds to those of international research which emphasize the mentally destructive nature of the feeling of permanent insecurity. “Life” prisoners consider the authority who decided about their fate isolated, and although they are well aware of the control that limits them, the actual expectations regarding their behavior is perceived and interpreted in a confusing, leading to anxiety and aggression as primary consequences⁸⁰. Pál Kiszely and István Nagy analyze the behavior of prisoners who serve long sentences and state that “besides a generally balanced behavior during serving a sentence, the most notable emotions from the prisoners are hopelessness and perplexity⁸¹”.

For decades, the international academic literature has been providing systemic reports about long-term (and life) sentences, and the scientific studies that analyze the behavior of prisoners sentenced to death.

In 2003, Sorensen and Cunningham compared the behavior of 5010 persons convicted for homicide housed in the state persecution system of Florida with the behavior of 45000 convicts sentenced to prison for different crimes. After the results had been processed, they came to the conclusion that «convicted murderers exhibited lower prevalence rates of disciplinary infractions and potentially violent misconduct, when compared to other inmates»⁸². Marquart, Ekland-Olson, and Sorensen⁸³ retrospectively reviewed (1974-1988) the prison disciplinary records of 107 convicted capital offenders in Texas who had been sentenced to life terms after their sentencing juries had rejected a “special issue” in the Texas capital-

Szegedi Fegyház és Börtönben, cit., p. 11.

⁸⁰ C. Matovics, *A Szegedi Fegyház és Börtön hosszúidős speciális rezsimű (HSR) körletének működési tapasztalatai*, Börtönügyi Szemle, 2009/2, pp. 99-108.

⁸¹ P. Kiszely - I. Nagy, *Az idő rabságában. A hosszú időre ítélték büntetés-végrehajtásának helyzete a Szegedi Fegyház és Börtönben*, cit., pp. 11-12.

⁸² J. R. Sorensen – M. D. Cunningham, *Once a killer, always a killer? Prison misconduct of former death-sentenced inmates in Arizona*, The Journal of Psychiatry & Law, 37/Summer-Fall 2009, p. 239.

⁸³ J. W. Marquart - S. Ekland-Olson - J. R. Sorensen, *Gazing into the crystal ball: Can jurors accurately predict dangerousness in capital cases?*, Law & Society Review, 23 (1989), 449-468.

sentencing scheme (i.e., whether there is a probability that the defendant would commit criminal acts of violence that would constitute a continuing threat to society). These offenders, who had averaged serving 7.2 years on their life sentences, exhibited annual frequency rates of assault on an inmate with a weapon of 0.009—similar to the rate exhibited by inmates in the Texas prison population as a whole in 1986.

Cunningham and Sorensen discovered largely identical results in 2007 when – also in Texas – they analyzed the behavior of 136 inmates serving life for homicide. Their results further enforce the aspect that the frequency of violent misconducts, attacks (14 %) and acts of aggression (5%) is similar to the number of misconducts perpetrated by other prisoners⁸⁴.

In the United States, the results of scientific inquiries performed in the correctional services of various states seem to completely agree with the results received from federal prisons. Cunningham, Reidy and Sorensen depicted in 2008 – during a comparative analysis of federal prisoners – that 9% of prisoners convicted for homicide resorted to violent attacks, 1% of them ending with major injury. This is similar to the number and frequency of misconducts performed by other members of the prison populace⁸⁵.

Even the somewhat conforming behavior of the prisoners convicted for homicide is overshadowed by the integration of those once sentenced to death and their successful avoidance of open conflict within the prison regime. The much-quoted scientific results of Sorensen and Cunningham put down convincing evidence for the fact that former death-penalty convicts, the “worst of the worst” are not as far as threatening to the staff and the prisons in general as presumptions might have suggested. As a matter of fact, those prisoners who belong to the maximum security category attack members of the staff three times as often

than those who had been sentenced to death earlier. Statistical analysis shows that out of 1000 prisoners, 12,4, formerly death-sentenced inmates exhibited violence against staff members, this number is 37,6 in the case of maximum-security prisoners⁸⁶.

On the basis of their own inquiries and other comparative studies the authors find it proven that «convicted murderers are neither likely, nor disproportionately likely, to be involved in assaultive misconduct in prison»⁸⁷.

The academic literature on the topic contains a research which goes even further by analyzing a new method introduced 1991 within the Potosí Correctional Center, located in Missouri state. In this maximum-security prison, death-sentenced inmates are not isolated from the general prison population within death rows, but instead housed in the same cells with nondeath inmates and also able to interact on the yard and take part in other activities together with the general population (school, sport, employment). Cunningham, Reidy and Sorensen compared the disciplinary records of the institution (ranging from 1991 to 2002) and discovered intriguing results: (1) Inmates sentenced to death and convicts sentenced to life without parole exhibited similar prevalence of violent misconduct; and (2) their rates were half of those of the parole-eligible inmates with whom they were side by side in the same facility during the same timeframe.

In the inquiry, however we were unable to find explanations to the surprising statistical results, therefore we solely consider them as curiosities out of which scientific deductions cannot be drawn as of yet. Based on the numerous international results, Sorensen and Cunningham concluded that «most of these offenders have not engaged in serious prison violence and are not a disproportionate source of this type of misconduct that is of greatest concern to correctional staff»⁸⁸.

Results of scientific inquiries conducted in Europe seem to agree with those of the United States. The CPT – based on their analyses of 2015 – emphasizes that «that the experience in

⁸⁴ M. D. Cunningham - J. R. Sorensen, *Capital offenders in Texas prisons: Rates, correlates, and an actuarial analysis of violent misconduct*, Law and Human Behavior, 31, (2007), pp. 553-571.

⁸⁵ M. D. Cunningham - T. J. Reidy - J. R. Sorensen, *Is death row obsolete? A decade of mainstreaming death-sentenced inmates in Missouri*, Behavioral Sciences & the Law, 23 (2005), pp. 307-320

⁸⁶ J. R. Sorensen – M. D. Cunningham, *Once a killer, always a killer? Prison misconduct of former death-sentenced inmates in Arizona*, cit., p. 262.

⁸⁷ *Ibi*, p. 243.

⁸⁸ *Ibi*, p. 240.

various European countries has shown that life-sentenced prisoners are not necessarily more dangerous than other prisoners»⁸⁹.

This conclusion may serve as grounds for a more optimistic approach and may also provide a theoretical background for a more lenient system and a corresponding practice dedicated to those prisoners who are responsible for the most severe crimes perpetrated in Hungary. The situation in Hungary – as we have already depicted it in the previous issue – is vastly different. It is of utmost importance to emphasize that following analyzing the behavior of serial murderers within Hungarian prisons, the overall results are a lot different and not nearly as favorable.

Employment and activities

The treatment of prisoners serving a long sentence – with serial killers obviously included without exception – is a difficult and highly important task for the prison service as the life of these convicts has to be organized within the framework of the most severe regime category⁹⁰. Experts recognized this problem during the drafting phase of the legislation on the sentence of life without parole. Csóti already emphasized on multiple forums ten years ago that during

organizing everyday activities, we do not wish to exclude those who had been sentenced to life without parole from activities such as education, vocational and other forms of trainings and therapeutic activities, because we consider these devices indispensable. In our opinion, such activities engage the convicts, help them reduce their stress and facilitate the maintenance of their mental and physical health⁹¹.

Theoretical assumptions have only exerted a slight influence on the actual matters of everyday life since the greatest factor that influences this life is security. During analyzing the experiences resulting from the first decade

of the life without parole Kiszely and Nagy add that maintaining these security considerations is reasonable. Furthermore, «upgrading the security conditions will even be more indispensable in the long run. We have to accept the fact that convicts sentenced to life will continue to “play chess” with the security system of the prison, and their attempts at getting to know it better are constant. Static security elements will have to be swapped for more advanced ones...»⁹².

Apparently, reducing the security risk to minimal levels has become the principal task. Kabódi states that «the necessity of organizing activities that help preserve the dignity of prisoners while providing a useful way to spend time is constantly conflicting with the requirements of the prison system which is aware of the increased security risks»⁹³.

Practice serves as evidence to his statement: out of the 15 incarcerated serial killers, currently only one is studying (№1) and another (№3) has managed to obtain a vocational qualification. The others – and among them all those who had been convicted to life without parole – have never participated in any form of education, training or vocational training whatsoever.

Internal movement from the “Long-term Special Section” (HSR)

When it comes to accommodating serial murderers, the most frequent location of placement is the HSR (Long-term Special Regime). In our opinion, their personality, length of incarceration and overall attitude towards the prison system justifies this – primarily security-related – decision. The relevant legislative background recognizes this fact by declaring that “those convicts who are serving a life sentence or a pre-determinate sentence of at least 15 years and whose behavior, attitude towards the security and operation of the institution and individual risk assessment results require special treatment and placement may be housed within the HSR

⁸⁹ Council of Europe, *25th General Report of the CPT*, p. 36.

⁹⁰ L. Garami, *Élő halottak? A tényleges életfogytiglani szabadságvesztés végrehajtásának fő problémái*, cit.

⁹¹ A. Csóti, *A magyar börtönügy új kihívása: a tényleges életfogytig tartó szabadságvesztés*, Börtönügyi Szemle, 2005/2. P. 28.

⁹² P. Kiszely - I. Nagy, *Az idő rabságában. A hosszú időre ítélték büntetés-végrehajtásának helyzete a Szegedi Fegyház és Börtönben*, cit., p. 13.

⁹³ C. Kabódi, *A szabadságvesztés határmezsgyéin*, in A. Borbíró - E. Inzelt - K. Kerecsi - M. Lévy - L. Podoletz (szerk.): *A büntető hatalom korlátainak megtartása: a büntetés mint végső eszköz - Tanulmányok Gönczöl Katalin tiszteletére*, cit., p. 219.

section” in order to facilitate their successful re-insertion into the community⁹⁴.

Out of the 15 serial murderers, all of those sentenced to life without parole (10 convicts) are being housed within the HSR section. During the establishment of this special section, the continuous safety of life and material goods was the principal condition. Under the professional leadership of András Csóti, the aim was to create a security system that completely satisfies these requirements. The best solution was considered to be accommodation within an individual and separate section where ample living space would ensure the successful execution of special programs and at the same time reduce stress while guaranteeing security⁹⁵. Based on practical experiences, Kiszely and Nagy point out that

by being situated within an enclosed and isolated place, the prisoners’ desire for living a purposeful life eventually fades, giving way to the strengthening of their instinctiveness and social decay. The HSR section does not provide sufficient means for personal development and is isolated from the life lived by the members of the general prison population. As time goes by, this fact makes it even more difficult to relocate life-sentenced prisoners into more open regimes⁹⁶.

Matovics also warns that in the case of prisoners sentenced to life without parole, the «personal perception of time is demolished, inevitably causing damage in other functions. The monotony of life and time is an enormous issue which cannot be avoided in the case of those sentences that remain in effect until the death of the convict»⁹⁷.

As time goes by, providing the possibility for a more dynamical movement within the HSR and the “general” strict regime or other regimes will

⁹⁴ Prison Code (2013. évi CCXL. Law), 105.§ (1).

⁹⁵ A. Csóti, *A magyar börtönügy új kihívása: a tényleges életfogytig tartó szabadságvesztés*, cit.

⁹⁶ P. Kiszely - I. Nagy, *Az idő rabságában. A hosszú időre ítélték büntetés-végrehajtásának helyzete a Szegedi Fegyház és Börtönben*, cit., p. 12.

⁹⁷ C. Matovics, *A Szegedi Fegyház és Börtön hosszuidős speciális rezsimű (HSR) körletének működési tapasztalatai*, Börtönügyi Szemle, 2009/2, p. 101.

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continuously gain importance. The fact that life without parole prisoners located within HSR sections are without exception the subjects of acts of self-harm, attempted suicides and perpetrators of misconducts such as “preparation for act of terrorism, escape attempts and preparations» can be considered a warning sign. These people become increasingly stressed and consider their situation hopeless. The issue set forth by Pál Kiszely and István Nagy shows a vivid picture: first of all, «providing the means for maximum security during the life without parole prisoners’ – who therefore have nothing to lose – accommodation and supervision is by no means futile”, and secondly «it cannot be proven whether some convicts would actually not be suitable for placement within »regular« sections»⁹⁸. So far, we do not have practical experience that would support this claim as no serial murderer sentenced to life without parole has ever been moved out of the HSR.

International practices regarding the accommodation of prisoners sentenced to life seem to disagree. In 2015, the CPT visited the prisons of a variety of European countries where prisoners sentenced to life are being housed. Their experience was that the general practice is to place these convicts together with other prisoners and their regime rules (their rights regarding employment, education, training and leisure activities) and the ways maintaining connection to the outside world are the same as of the “general” populace. In the Czech Republic, Lithuania and Slovakia life prisoners tend to spend the first 10 and 15 years in an isolated and specially designated cell. After serving these years, they are moved into “general regimes” where are able to live together with other prisoners.

Certain countries including Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Latvia, Moldova, Romania, the Russian Federation, Turkey and Ukraine employ a different practice as they tend to keep these convicts separated and among very severe conditions.

We find it thought-provoking that all those countries – excluding Turkey – who employ

⁹⁸ *Ibi*, pp. 10-11.

either “severe” or “mixed” way of isolation were members of the Eastern Bloc. Four decades of the Soviet ideological suppression, special moral approach toward sin and sinners and its dismissive and punitive practice probably still have an effect today.

Thought experiment: Providing the option for release on parole for convicts sentenced to life excluding it

Expert opinions on the introduction of the release on parole for prisoners sentenced to life without it seem to greatly differ.

A supporter, Mihály Tóth provides a very concise opinion about the punishment:

the isolation, the permanent and complete exclusion from society, the discrimination, the reduction of existence into its most basic, vegetative form – and foremost the conservation of this state without any hope for further change – cannot even be justified with the goals and role of criminal law and when viewed from the aspect of the legal systems of the third millennia, the whole context in general seems an inhuman, unjustifiable and thus unreasonable punishment⁹⁹.

We completely agree with the professional opinion of Ferenc Nagy, who besides presenting his approach also offers a solution to the issue: «it should be made possible that the judges responsible for the execution of prison sentences are given the chance to investigate the question and – after a multi-step procedure – may decide to grant or decline releases on parole»¹⁰⁰.

Our approach is that the possibility of investigating the matter of granting release on parole after 40 – 45 served years does not of course mean that certain subjects would not be kept behind bars for the remainder of their lives. The sole aim of this suggested measure is to

enable the courts to investigate whether or not the goals of imprisonment have been met and proceed accordingly. Tóth Mihály takes a similar approach. He believes that it would be beneficial to introduce a system based on differentiation and proportionality that would provide basis for multi-disciplinary periodic investigations where the convicts may at least recognize the fact that «instead of being buried alive for a lifetime, his fate would eventually be decided responsibly»¹⁰¹.

Renáta Uitz uses different wording but arrives at the same conclusion: she emphasizes that providing the chance for revisions that are based on fixed and consistent rules would be nothing more than a symbol for a national criminal policy that treats the victim and the perpetrator as human beings alike. (Uitz, 2014) Szilvia Antal, László Nagy and Ágnes Solt aim serious criticism towards life imprisonment based on their research on the topic:

we consider the current legal background regulating life without parole unacceptable, as it can actually be considered a “lite edition” of death sentences since it completely disagrees with constitutional principles and the civilized criminal justice of modern Europe. It can never be assumed during sentencing that the suspects and convicts in question would commit another crime in the future. It is highly doubtful to allow the court to completely and irrevocably set a bar against possible changes in personality¹⁰².

In the international outlook of his study analyzing life without parole from the aspect of human rights, Gönczi adds that English and American professional literature considers the permanent of freedom a slower and actually more disadvantageous form of death sentences and equal to torture. He provides evidence to this claim by reviewing a startling occurrence: in Belgium, a court sentence from 15 September 2014 gave permission to a person – who was psychopathic but self-aware enough to be

⁹⁹ M. Tóth, *Az életfogytig tartó szabadságvesztés és a remény joga újabb emberi jogi döntésekben*, Jogtudományi Közlöny LXVII. évf. 2012/6, p. 271.

¹⁰⁰ F. Nagy – szóbeli közlés. Idézi, K. Hagymási, *Végtelen idő a rácsok mögött – avagy mennyiben van ma létjogosultsága Magyarországon a tényleges életfogytig tartó szabadságvesztésnek*, Börtönügyi Szemle, 2009/2, p. 71.

¹⁰¹ M. Tóth, *Az életfogytig tartó szabadságvesztés és a remény joga újabb emberi jogi döntésekben*, cit., p. 272.

¹⁰² S. Antal - L. T. Nagy - A. Solt, *Az életfogytig tartó szabadságvesztés empirikus vizsgálata – kutatási zárójelentés*. Országos Kriminológiai Intézet, Budapest 2008, p. 62.

condemned – sentenced to life without parole for “euthanasia” with medical help, which is basically suicide with assistance. The convict chose death rather than the hopeless deprivation from freedom for the rest of his life¹⁰³.

The suggestion of György Magyar contains strictness and humanity alike. In his opinion, it has to be made possible that

the law treats bestial and completely depraved people with the highest possible severity by subjecting them to the second most severe sanction after death penalty but also employing rules of humanity during incarceration and at the same time. It should also set period of 20 or 25 years after which the convict is heard by a court of three members who after gaining the opinions of the governor, experts and psychologists and analyzing the subject’s behaviour declare whether or not any hopes of further re-examinations and possible release should be kept alive. This procedure does not have to become general practice, but the possibility should be left open. In regulate this by allowing the convicts to be heard by a commission each year after 20 or 25 years, thus allowing them to become aware that if their way of life within prison is acceptable, with no violent misconducts against staff members or fellow inmates, then there is a spark of hope remaining¹⁰⁴.

In their most up-to-date approach, the CPT seems highly supportive of the possibility of parole of convicts sentenced to life without it. The document emphasizes that

Prisons must be safe, secure and ordered, for the sake of all who become involved with them. Since being locked up, especially for an unknown period, is inherently damaging for almost all human beings, steps must be taken to minimise the damage. One important method of achieving this for lifesentenced prisoners is to give them a definite date for the first review for possible release, and a tailored individual programme

¹⁰³ G. Gönczi, *A tényleges életfogytig tartó szabadságvesztés emberi jogi megítélése – érvek, ellenérvek*, 2014, Mailáth György Tudományos Pályázat <http://birosag.hu/media/aktualis/elismeres-mailath-gyorgy-tudomanyos-palyazat-nyerteseinek>

¹⁰⁴ L. Arató – Z. Bátyi, *Életfogytiglan – Az apró kortyokban fogyasztott halál*. Quintus, Szeged 2009, p. 130.

which provides a realistic series of interventions for each prisoner leading towards that date¹⁰⁵.

The arguments of the suggestion’s opposers is summarized by Mária Herczog: «Punishment is only one goal of detention, the other one being the fact that we are to let these people back into the community (...) From the aspect of the community, protecting fellow humans, potential victims, us all from people who are multiple recidivists or who premeditatedly murder multiple people (on more persons) is a reasonable goal»¹⁰⁶. András Polgár shares this view: «following the ban on death sentence, the only viable method of expulsing these people from society is this sanction»¹⁰⁷. András Szabó takes a theoretical in approach justifying its existence and its necessity: «The goal of the punishment is found within itself: public declaration of legal capacity, and retribution without regards to the goal». (23/1990 Constitutional Court’s decision)

The gap between professional – and in many cases emotional – opinions seems to be unbridgeable as of yet. We hope that by collecting arguments for and against the introduction of probation, we can alter this static situation.

Does the option for probation in the case of (serial) murderers sentenced to life without parole has a right to exist?

Currently, providing an answer based on Hungarian practice to the possible dangers of releasing a serial murderer back into society is beyond our limits as in the last century no such convicts have been released from a Hungarian facility. Despite – or actually because of – this fact, we have to contemplate on the question of what would happen when an “irreparable” serial

¹⁰⁵ Council of Europe, *25th General Report of the CPT*, cit., p. 38.

¹⁰⁶ M. Herczog, szóbeli közlés. Idézi: K. Hagymási, *Végtelen idő a rácsok mögött – avagy mennyiben van ma létjogosultsága Magyarországon a tényleges életfogytig tartó szabadságvesztésnek*, Börtönügyi Szemle, 2009/2, pp. 71.

¹⁰⁷ A. Polgár, *Egy szankció védelmében – A tényleges életfogytig tartó szabadságvesztésről*, in Bűnügyi Szemle, 2009/4, p. 39.

killer is unleashed once again back into society.

The proper way of analyzing this issue would involve incorporating the questions of “what harm could we cause?” and the “whose interest it is?”. A brief contemplation on who would benefit from the introduction of the possible amendments to the regulation on life without parole and who would it harm.

- (1) From the aspect of the state and its law and order: “We hold that the common goal of citizens and the State is to achieve the highest possible measure of well-being, safety, order, justice and liberty”. This unequivocally means that one of the principal tasks of the governmental administration is to uphold and increase public order and through this establish a sense of security within the citizens. The imprisonment of a large number of serial killers is without a doubt a great contribution to the increase of the subjective feeling of security. The criminal power of the state sets an example by permanently excluding from society those who commit a series of merciless and inhuman acts. What would the general populace’s opinion be about the general extension of the option for parole? Introducing such a measure without due preparation would certainly create its opposition. However, we believe that by listing the advantages and disadvantages of this amendment and by adding that the option itself would not be mandatory, a positive change could be achieved within the majority of the population. Moreover, even the governments would profit from this step as only the strong entities have the option to be permissive.

This issue is important from the aspect of our international renown. Ádám Békés points out that Strasbourg’s decision¹⁰⁸ in which Hungary was criticized does not demand a complete

ban on life sentences, it only doubts the way the version without the option for parole works – without any alternatives for judicial review. Békés also adds that the goal is not banishing life sentences, but to fine-tune the system of judicial review used during the execution of sentences regarding which we would like to note that a “successfully” served parole that would eventually lead to “release” is only an option and not a mandatorily prescribed “mitigation” for the benefit of the convict. The author also provides a suggestion for solving the issue:

the change seems pretty straightforward as the only thing that should be introduced is the option for release on parole”. The system of conditions and requirements could be made more severe, it could also be prolonged as long as it stays predictable and pre-determined. The authorities should check whether the convict has changed and whether they show any signs of development that may facilitate their release¹⁰⁹.

- (2) From the aspect of society, the suggestion and the whole notion itself may seem completely irrelevant. Events happened decades ago are entirely unknown for the majority of people as almost two generations have grown up since the perpetration. Contemporaries do not remember the names either as the details of the tragedy are slowly eroded by time. After so much time, society does not and – we have to accept this– does not wish to know anything about the perpetrators. This is what seems digestible and comfortable enough for them. The false perception of security resulting from the “If we do not talk about it then it does not exist” mentality is paired with utter contempt. Releasing the perpetrators – which would mean one person every 3-5 years – should not hit

¹⁰⁸ The European Council of Human Rights condemned Hungary because of the violation of Article 3 of the European Convention on Human Rights 373593/10, 20 May 2014

¹⁰⁹ A. Békés, *Életfogytig tartó vita? – tennivalók egy strasbourgi döntés kapcsán*, Iustum Aequum Salutare X, 2014/2, p. 7.

the “threshold” of society if the conditions are normal.

It is certain that those former lifesentenced (without parole) prisoners who may once get released on parole would pose no danger to society. Four or more decades behind bars causes such decay that physically prevents the ex-convicts from committing another violent crime or murder. It is very much likely that a 70-year-old offender who spent two-thirds of his or her life among increased security measures, performing simple manual labor within an enclosed and isolated environment is not even capable of sustaining him- or herself. Without a family that supports them, without accommodation, material goods and knowledge of the ways of modern communications, these people will be institutionalized, which cost-wise would be a lot lighter burden than their incarceration until the end of their lives.

- (3) For the Hungarian Prison Service, executing the sentences of life without parole is a mightily expensive undertaking due to the special sections, the constant supervision and training of the staff members. Maintaining this form of punishment is a “dead end” for the institutions. If current legislation remains the same, it is highly probable that new HSR-sections will have to be built and/or the current ones expanded significantly. Another expensive investment in the future will be the introduction of nursing care for the elderly convicts serving their life without parole. Introducing the possibility of parole for these persons would bring a significant change in the lives of staff members working in a HSR section since rewards, disciplinary measures would receive new meaning, greatly expanding their toolset.
- (4) In the case of the prisoners in question, the amendment of the current legislation would once again bestow a different meaning on the notion of time. For civilian people, the timespan of four or

more decades is largely beyond comprehension, but this is not the case with convicts. “Very far” is still a lot closer than “never”. There would be something to win and something to lose since the revision of parole would only mean the analysis of the time spent inside. This legal device would by no means be universally used! Even the mere existence of such an option would establish a real environment in which convicts can decide. Those who keep resisting – verbally or actively and dismissing the regime rules will of course not be favored. Out of the “bestie mensch¹¹⁰”, those who are able to shed some light on their human side would most likely be offered a chance to spend a few free years within a social or healthcare institution where would eventually die.

Conclusion

We believe that from a systematic approach, the methods used during the execution of serial killers’ prison sentences can be compared to a litmus paper. They show the state of the criminal justice system, its rigidity and flexibility, the constant search for answers to pressing issues and our perception of human beings.

Our study is only the introductory part of a pathfinding effort. We endeavour to introduce the typification attempts related to serial killers, collect their primary attributes in order to get to know them better. We tried to give a brief introduction to the the best-known international practices and approaches but at the same time point out difficulties and novelties. We wanted to contribute to the effort of making the serial killers more than just material for „tabloid journalism”, limiting viscerally emotional opinions when speaking about their punishment. We find it important to emphasize that based on their crimes, these prisoners well deserve to be called „bestial people”, but this is exactly why we consider this an issue. We speak about

¹¹⁰ Remark on the title of «Bestie Mensch», authored by Thomas Müller (2013).

“bestial people”, but they are still “people”. Not even in their case we are allowed to adopt a form of punishment that would basically be the epitome of the „we do not allow them to live, but we do not let them die”-mentality which limits their existence to simple vegetation.

The analysis of the prison sentences imposed upon serial killers is inseparable from the critical examination of the sentence of life without parole itself. We have to observe the fact that 67% of the current serial killers (10 persons) are currently serving life without parole, while the rest of them (33%; 5 persons) have received a determinate sentence from the court. This also proves that the legislators – and of course the judiciary – are not entirely against the notion of life convicts returning to society (after having served their years) This issue should be – in our opinion – analyzed from two aspects.

The first dimension would be the analysis of the legislative background. From the aspect of criminal pedagogy, we consider the termination of life without parole crucial. In our opinion, parole hearing should be reintroduced after 40 years have been served. „Time” as a dimension thus will once again receive significance and meaning, enabling the development of cooperation by creating the framework in which it is possible. We believe that this change would not limit the jurisdiction of the state, plus an elderly person who has already served 40 years poses no physical danger to society. We find it important to emphasize that the core of our suggestion is „merely” the introduction of the already widely used „mandatory parole procedure” for such convicts. The system would by no means be automatic: the subjects would have to provide certain and well established evidence that they are not potential treats anymore. (Of course, only the revision should be mandatory!) Among today’s prisoners we can easily find convicts who loudly exclaimate their murderous intent and malevolence: „I believe that not everybody has the right to live. (...) May God save you from having to face me outside! Human eyes are not meant for witnessing such a dirty mess what I would create!”.(№6) The doors of the prison will of course continue to stay shut for these convicts. Therefore, in our opinion, incarceration for life may be a reasonable, even necessary measure in

the case of people who are responsible for multiple deaths, openly defy society and endanger its foundations. However, it has to be recognized that this does not and cannot mean the automatic legal exclusion from being released on parole.

The other aspect of the current situation – on the grounds of the sentence’s existence – is filling the convicts „life within” with pedagogical content facilitating relocation between the regimes. It is in our best interest to find a harmony between security and the possibility of self-development but also be able to provide the framework that is required by this endeavour. Solving this problem cannot be postponed any longer. Based on their practical experiences, Pál Kiszely and István Nagy argue that

our pedagogical toolset will soon empty out, therefore creating education plans that structure time and provide short and long-term goals for convicts whose chances for release are practically nonexistent is becoming increasingly difficult. The fact that correctional pedagogy is a fundamental tool for personal development is something we cannot emphasize enough. It is not control and/or leadership, but a goal-oriented practice aimed at the creation of self-reliance. It is fairly difficult to conduct any goal-oriented activities where the goal itself is beyond the convicts’ reach¹¹¹.

According to Hickey, monitoring and scientifically analysing the behaviour of serial killers in prison will play a significant role in crime prevention, the importance of which we are unaware as of yet. He argues that the convicts should be offered more options for treatments aimed at rehabilitation and their behavior should analysed extensively. This way we can catch a glimpse of the minds of these perpetrators and gain insight on the inner workings of their psyche. In certain cases we may also receive information on how they have become murderers. This knowledge will facilitate finding grounds for prevention and treatment/intervention¹¹².

¹¹¹ P. Kiszely - I. Nagy, *Az idő rabságában. A hosszú időre ítélték büntetés-végrehajtásának helyzete a Szegedi Fegyház és Börtönben*, Börtönügyi Szemle, 2012/3, p. 12.

¹¹² E. W. Hickey, *Serial murderers and their victims*, 36

On the occasion of the birth of the new law regulating the work of the Hungarian Prison Service, Lőrincz has „high hopes” for the current attempts of professional modernization. In his opinion, «prisons are one of the chief requirements of the state’s criminal power and will continue to be as one of the institutions of justice. (...) This is the reason why the reformation and the changes in the foundations of the Hungarian Prison System receive great attention»¹¹³.

During planning the future of our profession we have to be aware of the current state of the international environment that surrounds us, and raise awareness towards today’s trends. We cannot overlook the fact that „the European criminal jurisprudence has advanced into a state where the sentence of life without parole has basically no right to exist. National presumptions agree that regarding the decisions on the termination of life without parole sentences, the occurring opinions and likely aversion of society cannot be taken into account”¹¹⁴. Although the actual solution to the problem is yet to come, professional debate and the collection of advantages and drawbacks been ongoing for years. We agree with Vókó’s forward-looking standpoint:

Recognizing practical questions will help the scientists, lawmakers and those who implement these laws achieve the best possible solution to professional questions. Progress is not to be sought after until science and practice had been harmonized. This is something we all endeavor to achieve. It is in our mutual interest to bridge the gap between the differing jurisprudential approaches and today’s trends of criminal justice theory and practice on which the criminal law of the future and prison services

Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, Belmont, CA 2002.

¹¹³ J. Lőrincz, *Száz év magány – a hazai börtönügy szakmatörténeti vázlat 1914–2014-ig*, in A. Borbíró - E. Inzelt - K. Kerecsi - M. Lévy - L. Podoletz (szerk.): *A büntető hatalom korlátainak megtartása: a büntetés mint végső eszköz - Tanulmányok Gönczöl Katalin tiszteletére*, ELTE Eötvös Kiadó, Budapest 2014, p. 348.

¹¹⁴ G. Vókó, *Bűnelkövetők jogkorlátozása jogállamban*. MTA Doktori Értekezés 2010.

can build upon¹¹⁵.

We believe that our suggestions, coupled with performing the analysis of the serial murderers’ situation behind the bars and suggesting answers to certain questions set by this paper while at the same creating an index number by which inmate cooperation can be measured will contribute to a process of renewal and the establishment of a new framework of regulations and a method of execution.

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¹¹⁵ *Ibi*, p. 737.

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