

Cold Careers and Occupational Hazards:
The Occupational Preferences of Canadian Serial Killers

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A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of

GRAND VALLEY STATE UNIVERSITY

In

Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

Master of Science in Criminal Justice

School of Criminal Justice

April 2018

Acknowledgements

This thesis has been a challenging, rewarding, and infinitely worthwhile experience that could not have been undertaken alone. I do not think words can fully express my gratitude. Nevertheless, I wish to recognize those individuals and attempt to convey the highest admiration and appreciation that I have for them.

My utmost thanks to my exceedingly expert, passionate, and dedicated committee. Dr. Jaclyn Cwick's mastery of scholarly writing and firm guidance on the value of "tempering" has tremendously improved and strengthened my capabilities and credibility as an academic. Dr. Carrie Buist's ever-present support and assurance has counseled me through every panic and instance of self-doubt. And Dr. Christopher Kierkus's unwavering belief in my potential has encouraged and motivated me to no end. Their mentorship has been outstanding. In working with Dr. Cwick, Dr. Buist, and Dr. Kierkus, I have found that it is not only their knowledge, but their character that has inspired me both as a scholar and person.

Of course, my eternal and exuberant thanks to my peers and family. To my fellow graduate students, misery truly loves company! I will always treasure their overwhelming friendship, care, and support. To my mom, dad, Josh, and Jenny, I am forever thankful for their love, encouragement, and willingness to listen through every breakdown and breakthrough. With my family behind me, I can do anything.

This thesis will be an unforgettable part of my life because of these unforgettable people. For that, I will always be grateful.

Abstract

Serial killing is a dark and complex phenomenon. As researchers have begun to recognize that serial killing exists and interacts within a broad modern context, how these factors affect its occurrence has received more attention. This includes serial killers' occupational preferences and the influence that occupations have on their offending. However, studies on serial killers' occupational preferences have been limited to the United States and the United Kingdom. This thesis sought to classify the occupational preferences of 36 Canadian serial killers and subsequently analyze how these occupations may have influenced their offending, both instrumentally and psychologically. According to Canada's 2016 National Occupational Classification, Canadian serial killers preferred occupations in "Management occupations," "Sales and services occupations," and "Trades, transports and equipment operators and related occupations." Using content analysis on biographical cases of Canadian serial killers, it was proposed that these work environments were the most preferred since they contained occupational elements advantageous for their offending. Specifically, the freedom of movements—typically through a vehicle—the lack of supervision, and the provision of solitude. Hence, Canadian serial killers' offending was shown to be influenced by a lesser-known contemporary lifestyle factor: occupation. This thesis adds to the greatly under-developed literature on serial killers' occupational preferences and encourages further exploration for both research and application.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The fascination with serial killing is pervasive. Certainly, such extreme actions demand our attention. Even more, the intense awareness that there exists those capable of these actions naturally creates a fear of the unknown: since serial killers, like other criminals, are naturally still at large, it is uncertain how many exist. Estimates on the number of active serial killers in the United States at large can vary from 25 to 2,000 (Moss, 2015, n.p.; Wilkinson, 2017, n.p.). Since victims cannot speak, serial killers can escape capture, it cannot be known absolutely. Even definitions may have an influence on this uncertainty. Nevertheless, the FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation) designates serial murderers as “those who, either alone or with an accomplice, kill at least three people over a period of time, with ‘cooling-off’ periods between the murders, indicating premeditation of each killing” (Miller, 2014, p. 4). Much like it cannot be revealed how often serial killing truly occurs, this definition hardly reveals the true complexity and brutality of this crime.

Serial murders inspire much greater fear and enthrallment than a single murder. Although it is violent and criminal, a single murder can be understood. A person’s choice to kill once can be generally explained by common motivations such as jealousy, rage, revenge, or greed. These are basic, universal human drives. In contrast, serial murders are enigmatic. The motivations behind a person’s continual choice to kill cannot be explained so straightforwardly. In essence, serial murder is an entirely different offense.

Theorizing on serial killing has always been an arduous task. Despite the obsession, it is an extremely difficult phenomenon to dissect. Considering new avenues of examination may therefore foster a better understanding of serial killing. For instance,

rather than relying on traditional approaches to serial killing, such as the biographical and the aetiology of individual killers, researchers are pushing for a broader framework. This will enable an explanation of serial killing that accommodates the modern social, economic, and cultural factors that affect serial killers' offending (Lynes and Wilson, 2015b, p. 268). Recognizing that serial killing interacts within its contemporary context may lead to a more holistic understanding of the phenomenon.

Therefore, examining how lesser-known factors within these contextual components may play a role in serial killing is of increasing relevance. Since serial killers exist and interact within a broad, influential contemporary context, there may be certain lifestyle factors that affect their offending. It has been suggested that occupational preferences may be an additional modern influence on serial killers' offending worth studying. Considering that occupations can reveal much about a person, exploring the occupational preferences of serial killers is an emerging area of interest for understanding both the offender and offense.

Occupations are a valuable factor to consider for understanding people, including serial killers, since they can be a central representation of one's identity. In fact, a survey conducted by the Pew Research Center revealed that 51% of employed Americans expressed that they obtain a sense of identity from their job; this belief can be further influenced by increases in education and/or income, and also by the industry type of one's involvement (Pew Research Center, 2016). Occupational choice is a clear indicator of an individual's likes, skills, and values. People choose the occupations that best fits their personal attitudes (John & Thomsen, 2013, p. 577). Hence, one's occupation can reveal much about one's personality.

Given the significance that people place in their occupations as extensions of their identities, researchers have explored the reasons why people are drawn to specific occupations. It has been widely accepted that personality has a large vocational influence, and John Holland's prominent work examining occupational selection as an expression of personality has been highly insightful and prolific in explaining why people choose particular careers (Holland, 1959, p. 35). He construed that there is an interaction between people's personalities and their work settings: essentially, certain personalities prefer certain professions. People tend to gravitate and find the most satisfaction in occupational environments that best utilize their skills, comprises their interests, and emulates the traits they possess and value (Gottfredson & Johnstun, 2009, p. 103). In this effect, occupational choice can be telling about one's abilities and idiosyncrasies.

Serial killers are social deviants: they are those who break the moral and social code by killing other human beings. Regardless, like all citizens, serial killers must still adhere to certain basic conventions in order to live. If they are to survive and subsequently offend, then serial killers must be able to afford both basic necessities and other resources. Fundamentally, serial killers need to be employed. They need occupations. Thus, even serial killers have occupational preferences whereby they choose careers that best utilize their talents, bring them personal fulfillment, and reflect their personality. Examining serial killers' occupations has the potential to give a greater insight into these offenders' personalities and subsequently their offending.

Studying serial killers' occupational preferences has a variety of potential findings. There may be trends concerning the types of occupations they typically prefer. Similar occupational preferences could indicate that serial killers share central personality

traits or skills. Furthermore, examining serial killers' occupations may also reveal that they prefer careers that can support their offending in a variety of ways. Serial killers may need their occupations as a way to finance their offending, plan their offending, provide the resources for their offending, and even gain access to their victims. Moreover, serial killers' personal preferences may influence their occupational choices, but in turn, their occupational choices may also have an influence by the way in which they interact with their victims and carry out their offending. It may be possible to observe a bi-directional influence with serial killers and their occupations as one may affect the other. Studying different aspects of serial killing is crucial for gaining a better comprehension of these offenders. Incorporating occupations as an area of serial killer research may be a valuable endeavor.

To exemplify the connection between serial killers and their occupations, Dennis Rader, better known as the BTK killer (Bind, Torture, Kill), used his profession as a means of offending. In Lynes and Wilson's case study on Rader, they explained how his occupation involving transitory driving influenced his offending both instrumentally and psychologically (Lynes & Wilson, 2015b, p. 269-270). Their examination of Rader emphasizes the need to explore how lifestyle factors, such as occupation, can affect a serial killer's offending.

Rader's transitory work as an alarm installer and compliance officer instrumentally influenced his offending. Having to drive and travel gave Rader access to a much wider geographical space in which to "troll" for victims (Lynes & Wilson, 2015b, p. 274). Therefore, Rader's work vehicle was advantageous for locating suitable victims. Without the access of a vehicle needed for wider prowling, his offending would have

been constrained by a limited amount of victims who would have been under the threshold of suspicion. Truly, “this ability to either travel over an extended geographical space in pursuit of potential victims or, when necessary, transport their bodies to generate space that was initially lacking begins to highlight how Rader’s use of transport made him more efficient in his commission of murder” (Lynes & Wilson, 2015b, p. 274). In addition, work-related duties helped influence Rader’s offending by which he gained practical skills and knowledge, and situational awareness. For instance, as an alarm installer, Rader was allowed access into people’s homes which provided direct contact with victims as well as an opportunity to learn the layout and activity of the neighborhood (Lynes & Wilson, 2015b, p. 277). Thus, Rader preferred occupations that gave him the tools and pretexts necessary to be an effective serial killer.

Rader’s occupation involving a vehicle was also significant to his offending psychologically, which can be explained by Wilson and Jones’ offending space model. The offending space model suggests that there is a relationship between the offender’s thinking and doing by which this relationship consists of three factors: the fantasy space, the physical space, and the pseudo-reality space. The fantasy space is the offender’s psychological motivation to commit the offense; the physical space is the real world environment in which the offender resides; and the pseudo-reality space is a hybrid where elements of fantasy are blended with reality to create images, videos, and sounds reflective of the fantasy and physical space (Wilson & Jones, 2008, p. 109). Rader’s transitory occupation requiring a vehicle provided these factors.

The isolation in a vehicle that Rader’s occupation required allowed him the solitude to fantasize on his future offending; his truck became his pseudo-reality space.

His vehicle allowing for the fusion of fantasy and reality created “a space where values and societal norms are not imposed” by which he could fantasize about killing without interruption or judgement (Lynes & Wilson, 2015b, p. 278). Given a legitimate place and opportunity to visualize and plan, Rader was then able to foster those fantasies into reality. It is clear to see that Rader’s occupation involving transitory work had an effect on his offending both instrumentally and psychologically. Hence, this case shows that incorporating occupational choice as a factor in studying serial killers may be a worthwhile undertaking.

It is important to note that this is a case study of an American serial killer. In addition, other case studies focusing on the occupations of serial killers have been centralized to the United Kingdom. Thus, there is a geographical limitation in understanding what occupations serial killers are generally drawn towards, and how these occupations subsequently affect their offending. In order to see if this information is generalizable and to further contribute to the overall understanding of serial killing, it is essential to study this phenomenon in other regions of the world.

The United States and the United Kingdom are similar in a variety of ways, even in regards to the occupational choices that serial killers prefer. It has been found that in both the United States and the United Kingdom, occupations involving vehicles were the most preferred for serial killers (Lynes & Wilson, 2015b, p. 280; Lynes & Wilson, 2015a, p. 417). Therefore, a significant starting point in the research literature concerning serial killers’ occupational preferences and their occupations’ influences on their offending should continue to examine countries that are similar to the United States and the United Kingdom. This will establish if there is a vocational trend that is consistent with these

types of cultures. For this reason, studying Canada's serial killers and their occupational preferences appears valuable.

Like the United States and United Kingdom, Canada is an industrialized first world country; is a part of western society; and has similar occupational trends. For instance, in the United States, the greatest employment gains have been in professional and business services, leisure and hospitality, education, and health care. In the United Kingdom, the greatest employment gains have been in service sector including banks, hotels, and transportation. In Canada, the greatest employment gains have been in small businesses particularly specializing in construction, real estate, accommodation and food services, and also professional service sectors (Schoen, 2017, n.p.; Clegg, 2017, n.p.; Racco, 2016, n.p.). The most notable connection is that all countries' economies have an emphasis in the service industry. This implies that people in these countries prefer these types of occupations and furthermore, that these countries can sustain this occupational option. Of course, Canada is still unique compared to both countries in a variety of ways, historically, geographically, and culturally. Even so, Canadian serial killers generally share an environment of similar values, customs, and occupations as those of American and British serial killers. These shared factors of the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada suggest that serial killers' occupational preferences may be distinct to these types of countries.

The Purpose

The objective of this thesis is to classify the occupational preferences of Canadian serial killers to determine if inclinations towards particular work environments exist and to subsequently explore how these occupations may have influenced their offending, both

instrumentally and psychologically. Given the diversity among occupations, personality styles, and serial killer typologies, it will be significant to determine if there are patterns of occupational preferences. This thesis hopes to contribute to the emerging literature on the lesser known influences on serial killers' offending.

The Significance

It is vital to continuously seek to increase the knowledgebase of criminological study, and certain areas of serial killing such as their occupational preferences are still under-researched. Accordingly, increasing our knowledge in this under-investigated area of the criminal justice literature is an important return to theory building. Despite the substantial amount of research produced, for decades it has been criticized by prominent criminologists such as John Hagan, Thomas Bernard, and Robin Engel, that researchers need to be more willing to construct theory rather than focusing solely on application. For not only is theory building the first step in moving towards application, but theory building is also essential for advancing the field of criminal justice as an academic and scientific discipline (Hagen, 1989, p.117; Bernard & Engel, 2001, p.2). So, understanding why serial killers prefer some occupations over others, and how this may influence their offending, could contribute to constructing better theories explaining serial killing in a scientifically legitimate context. In first researching and theorizing on serial killers' occupational preferences and its influences, we can then better apply this knowledge during the active pursuit of a serial killer.

Understanding serial killers is the first step in catching serial killers. It is possible that by understanding the occupational preferences of serial killers, this seemingly mundane factor could contribute to law enforcement's ability to apprehend them. For

instance, knowing serial killers' occupational preferences may be useful for creating psychological profiles during the investigation. Suspects could be narrowed down if certain elements of the crime reflected particular instrumental or psychological occupational influences. Utilizing an additional factor such as occupation may not only help create a more complete psychological profile, but it may also develop profiling's effectiveness as an investigative tool. Consequently, investigators will be better equipped to find serial killers.

Importantly, if it was found that serial killers prefer certain occupational environments due to the instrumental and psychological support these occupations provide their offending, then this should encourage the administrators and leaders of those occupational fields towards reform. New policies and guidelines should be enacted in order to ensure that employees do not manipulate the system for harmful intent by abusing their power or misusing equipment. These changes could even improve the workplace environment as a whole by ensuring that dishonestly and exploitation will not be tolerated. So, understanding the occupational preferences of serial killers could have overall positive effects on workplace environments and cultures if these career sectors reinforced the safety of their employees and clients. Then these occupations could truly achieve their objectives.

Ultimately, the significance of understanding serial killers, even their occupational preferences, is that it helps us understand ourselves. We are averse to compare ourselves to serial killers. However, like all other nonviolent ordinary citizens, serial killers have occupations. This lifestyle factor reminds us that serial killers are fully and equally human. Though they represent that darkest and twisted part of humanity.

They are able to kill—the most serious crime—again and again and again. Researching serial killers arises from the desire to help and protect people from the most dangerous of criminals. Researching serial killers also arises from the desire to peer into the pit of human horror. To understand serial killers is to understand what we humans are capable of doing: what we humans are capable of doing to each other.

Chapter 2: Review of Literature

Serial killing is enigmatic. Yet it is “a practice that is ‘at least as old as the human species’” (Haggerty, 2009, p.168-9). Even though serial killing is ingrained in human history, it is nonetheless an immensely complicated phenomenon; it is difficult to understand what would drive one to kill multiple times for what would seem as no other reason than the act of killing itself. Since it is such a concerning and complex offense, serial killing needs—and deserves—systematic investigation. Although certain areas have been greatly examined and much has been discovered about the nature of serial killing, there are still some essential gaps in the literature.

Lynes and Wilson contest that explanations of serial killing need to consider the broader context, thereby including the biopsychosocial, economic, and cultural factors that influence serial killers. Unfortunately, this view has been somewhat neglected (Lynes & Wilson, 2015a, p. 414). Despite the oversight, these elements still influence serial killers, and thus it is necessary to further develop this contextual framework. This may be done by studying factors relating to serial killers’ lifestyles. Factors relating to their lifestyles need to be examined since serial killers exist and interact within this broad, influential context. Hence, the way in which they live may affect their offending. Analyzing serial killers’ occupational preferences, and the influences that these careers have on their offending both psychologically and instrumentally, is crucial for both understanding individual offending, and the phenomenon as a whole. Since previous research on serial killers and their occupations has focused on British and American serial killers, the occupations of serial killers in other Nations, including Canada, should be explored as well.

This thesis sets to classify Canadian serial killers' occupational preferences and analyze the influence of those occupations on their offending. For this reason, it is essential to introduce the previous literature for both serial killing and occupations. In this chapter, findings about both subjects will be reviewed. First, the difficulties of defining serial killing will be highlighted. Then, the demographics of serial killers will be clarified, followed by a presentation of well-known typologies and categories of serial killers. Accordingly, the method of psychological profiling for tracking serial killers will be mentioned. Subsequently, serial killers' patterns of offending will be displayed. In observing troubling characteristics, the concept of the "psychopathic" serial killer will be discussed. Since context is key, serial killing as a contemporary phenomenon also will be described.

In recognizing that serial killers exist within a contemporary society—and thus they need modern employment—it is appropriate to shift towards the research regarding occupations. Important theories that explain the role of personality in occupational choice, as well as the certain personality types, including some lesser-known traits, that are drawn to certain occupations will be described. In significance, the known occupational preferences of serial killers will be established. In tandem, how those occupations specifically influence their offending will be described. The reasoning behind the influence of lifestyle factors, especially occupation, on serial killers' offending will also be given. Finally, the possible implications and hopes of this study will be presented.

Defining Serial Killing

In order to understand the association between serial killing and occupational preferences, one must first understand the phenomenon itself. However, this highlights an important issue: what is considered serial murder. The term “serial murderer” was first developed by FBI Special Agent Robert Ressler in the 1970s as a means to describe Ted Bundy and his continuous killing (Simons, 2001, p. 346). In doing so, Ressler paradoxically christened and popularized an entirely new, yet preexisting offense. Serial killing had been occurring throughout history. Now it had a name.

Although the label has existed long enough for there to be a general understanding of its meaning by both researchers and the public, serial murder is still considered one of the least understood terms in criminology. In fact, there is yet to be a consensus on the definition (Adjorlolo & Chan, 2014, p. 486). The inability to reach an agreed upon definition of serial murder is due to the diversity in how the term has been progressively perceived and interpreted.

The term is constantly evolving. In their 1992 Crime Classification Manual, Douglas, Burgess, Burgess, and Ressler described serial homicide as “three or more separate events in three or more separate locations with an emotional cooling-off period in between homicides” whereby the primary motive for the killings was sexual (Adjorlolo & Chan, 2014, p. 486). By 1997, Hickey attempted to broaden the definition, and described serial killers as “all offenders who through premeditation killed three or more victims over a period of days, weeks, months or years” (Adjorlolo & Chan, 2014, p. 487). Egger further expanded the definition by added criteria such as the number of murders, the offender’s gender, the offender’s lack of previous relationship with the victim, the

locations of the murders, and the motive of power or dominance over the victim.

Recently, Hormant and Kennedy described serial murderers as “the same person (or persons) commits three or more murders with a cooling off period” (Adjorlolo & Chan, 2014, p. 487). Clearly, conceptualizing serial murder is an ever-changing development.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Serial Killer

The primary organization that can speak most authoritatively about conceptualizing the term, however, is The United States Federal Bureau of Investigation. After all, it was an FBI agent who developed the vocabulary of serial killing. The FBI has had a major role in shaping what is understood about serial murderers as well as how to catch them, and therefore comprises a variety of programs that generally function to understand serial killers and their crimes, including the National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime, and the well-known Behavioral Analysis Unit (Morton, 2005, p. viii). As a result, the FBI is recognized as the most prominent source of expertise in the field of serial killing.

The FBI’s Behavioral Science Unit has largely been in charge of defining and refining the term serial murder. Though the FBI recognizes the fundamental developmental and psychological facets driving serial killing, these do not factor into their definition. Thus the FBI describes serial murderer as “a single offender who killed at least two victims in separate events at different times” (Morton, 2012, p. 10). The strength of this definition is that it establishes simple and straightforward criteria for which the FBI to use as legal authorization for aiding local law enforcement agencies during serial murder investigations (Adjorlolo & Chan, 2014, p. 488). Notwithstanding, this definition can still be utilized to address common research issues and concerns. Since

a true consensus has not yet been reached, the FBI has provided researchers and criminal justice officials a sufficient and effective description as to what constitutes a serial killer.

Towards a Refined Definition

As stated, the FBI's definition was designed for confirming legal jurisdiction and not for scholarly purposes. Nor does it give attention to both the psychological and offending patterns of serial killers. Since these characteristics are now thoroughly recognized as essential for understanding serial killing, it has therefore been argued that a more exact and refined definition of serial killing should be developed. For this reason, Adjorlolo and Chan (2014) introduce a refined definition of serial murder to include three central elements, that in addition to traditional scholarly definitions, utilize psychology and both legal and scientific requirements. They refine serial murder to be: "two or more forensic linked murders with or without a revealed intention of committing additional murder, the murders are committed as discrete event(s) by the same person(s) over a period of time, and where the primary motive is personal gratification" (Adjorlolo & Chan, 2014, p. 490). By including investigative science and psychological drives, this definition certainly encompasses a more comprehensive view of serial murder. It is valuable to have a clear and current definition of any phenomenon, especially serial killing, since the implications of one's research findings—as dependent on the definition used—may be far-reaching.

Demographics

It is commonly stated that the majority of serial killers are white males. Although white males can of course be serial killers, this is an incomplete assumption. Serial killing is not a demographically exclusive phenomenon. Including the different demographic

groups better distinguishes serial killers between their different motivations, patterns of offending, and victim selection. In addition, different demographics may have different occupational preferences. Exploring the different genders and races of serial killers may show that these populations differ in occupation preference due to specific factors. For instance, males and females may prefer different occupational fields due to gender norms and sex differences inherent to their personalities; or some races may be limited in their occupational “preferences” due to social structures narrowing their choices.

Understanding the particularities of serial killer demographics may indicate which occupations each group prefers and how those may influence their unique methods of offending. There are two key demographics that have been generally overlooked: black and female serial killers.

Black Serial Killers

As a result of early FBI descriptions of serial killers, a lack of research, inaccurate media portrayal, and public ignorance, there is an under-representation of black male serial killers in the public record. There have been numerous black serial killers, yet it is hardly known that from 1915 to 2010 there have been 153 identified cases (Branson, 2012, p. 14). In reality, black serial killers may be just as active as white serial killers, but because the scholarly and professional community continues to ignore this demographic, law enforcement’s ability to identify and apprehend suspects is hindered. Although crime is typically an intra-racial event, this does not mean that crime cannot be interracial, nor should investigators be too quick to rule out possibilities. Acknowledging that there are serial killers who are not white may encourage new directions in research and may remind investigators to consider all potential leads.

Female Serial Killers

Even though a large percentage of known serial killers are male, serial killing is not gender exclusive. Females are also capable of engaging in this behavior. In fact, 1 in 6 serial killers are female, and due to biased gender conceptions, they are often able to avoid detection much longer (Harrison et al., 2015, p. 384). In addition, female serial killers typically do not fall into traditional serial killer typologies since these categories were formulated based on male serial killers. Albeit they generally can be placed in a subset of Holmes and DeBurger's typology as an example of the comfort-oriented hedonistic killer: killers motivated by profit where murder results in economic gain through the inheritance of money, property, business, or other rewards (Simons, 2001, p. 350). Yet this is not always the case. For instance, American Aileen Wuornos was considered the first "predatory female serial killer." Instead of engaging in behavior typical to this typology, "she engaged in preemptive predatory aggression, eventually killing seven men in a purposeful way, to restore her sense of well-being, to experience control, and to ensure financial gain... [she] took the offensive against the object [men] she hated" (Arrigo & Griffin, 2004, p. 383; p. 389). Hence serial killer typologies are incomplete and gender biased in that they do not recognize that female serial killers may offend for reasons other than those previously assumed. It may be vital that researchers give more attention to female serial killers if traditional male based typologies do not adequately explain this demographic.

Though some female serial killers do not work alone. They may also choose to commit their crimes with a partner or in teams; Kelleher and Kelleher approximated nearly one-third of female serial killers offend with others (Harrison et al., 2015, p. 401).

When females commit serial murder with male partners, the relationship is often built on an unequal power dynamic. Typically, “the male is often the ‘leader’ and exerts some sort of psychological control over his partner” (“Serial Killing,” n.d.). Furthermore, the way in which the victim is treated is also different when female serial killers work with males. A common theme is extreme sexual domination over their victims (“Serial Killing,” n.d.). This was true for Canadian female serial killer Karla Homolka. She assisted her husband Paul Bernardo—the Scarborough Rapist—in killing and raping three girls. Yet she was also severely beaten by him at one point and was even diagnosed with the psychological condition “compliant victim of a sexual sadist” (Mellor, 2012, p. 325; p. 423). When overshadowed by the infamy of serial killing couples, it is understandable why individual female serial killers have not received as much focus.

There are important distinctions between female and male serial killers. Overall, most findings were consistent with the previous literature whereby most females’ motives were for money, power, revenge, notoriety, and excitement; and that they killed using both passive and active methods, with poisoning being the most common practice. In sum, the typical female serial killer is most likely white; in her 20s or 30s with a history of abuse or mental illness; is married, or has had multiple marriages; is both attractive and intelligent; holds a stereotypical feminine caring job; chooses victims that are helpless (including children or people she knows); and typically murders by poisoning or asphyxiation—which mimics natural death—for motives such as money or power (Harrison et al., 2015, p. 400). So, not only are females’ offending styles and motives different, but it seems that their occupational preferences are different as well. This may

be true for all different demographics of serial killers: white, black, and female serial killers may all have different preferences.

Typologies of Serial Killers

Since they commit the most extreme kind of violent crime, serial killers are significantly different from other criminals. They are therefore easy to distinguish from other kinds of offenders. On the other hand, it is more difficult to distinguish between the different types of serial killers. This is because serial killers may differ in motives, victim-offender relationships, and possible etiologies (Canter & Wentink, 2004, p. 489). The ability to separate diverse types of serial killers is necessary for recognizing the unique aspects affecting each type's behaviors, including both psychological and lifestyle factors. Serial killer typologies are useful for organizing a diverse group of traits and offenders in a meaningful manner.

Typologies may be valuable for serial killer investigations since they have the potential to show law enforcement the relationship between offenders' action and their characteristics. It is thought that by observing the serial killer's patterns and studying the crime scene, one can identify the probable behaviors of most serial killers and place them in a specific type. By knowing which category serial killer fits into, investigators can better predict their next move, which may lead to their apprehension before they can kill again (Simons, 2001, p. 438). Striving to develop an accurate and detailed classification scheme of serial killers therefore has important real-world applications.

Thus, studying the occupational preferences of serial killers may help typologies become more precise and therefore more functional for practical use. Serial killer typologies reflect the aspects of the offender's personality and consequent behavior,

which are manifested at their crime scenes. Occupational preferences reflect aspects of one's personality by indicating their likes and skills. Along with the crime scene evidence, this element may further provide a clearer understanding of the perpetrator's personality and behavior. Adding occupational preferences to typologies may help better distinguish serial killers and subsequently aid law enforcement.

The Organized/Disorganized Typology

An exceptionally well-known typology is the organized/disorganized dichotomy. This categorization divides serial killers into two distinct groups based on their individual characteristics, and the way in which they interact with both their victims and the crime scenes. These two types of killers greatly juxtapose with one another.

Organized killers are generally considered to be the more controlled and "put together" offenders. They are typically single white males, have unemployment difficulties, unstable family histories, and in most cases they were abandoned by their fathers and raised by their mothers. They have histories of abuse or mental disorders, criminal records or substance abuse problems, a history of suicide attempts, are interested in voyeurism, fetishism and sadomasochistic pornography, have a history of inappropriate bed wetting; are fascinated with fires; and engage in sadistic torture of small animals (Simon, 2015, p. 35). Furthermore, organized killers are generally of average or above average intelligence. Consequently, their offending is methodological, and they are able to lure victims by pretext and inspiring confidence. They are also capable at avoiding detection by effectively misleading the authorities, or incriminating others. Moreover, since organized killers are socially adept and can react appropriately in common social situations, they may even have a family that helps them blend into society

(Simon, 2015, p. 35). Importantly, organized killers maintain control of the crime scene, dispose of evidence, and improve their method of offending. Egotistically, they follow their crimes in the media, and many keep trophies from their victims (Simon, 2015, p. 36). Essentially, it seems that organized killers tend to have difficult early life histories, yet are able to function well in both society and as killers. For these reasons, organized killers are convinced that they cannot be caught.

In contrast, disorganized killers are considered to be much less controlled and “put together” offenders. Unlike the organized killer, they are typically of less than average intelligence and are sexually perverted. Disorganized killers are impulsive, lack premeditation and thus murder opportunistically, not specific to any victim type. Moreover, they rarely dispose of the body away from the crime scene. So, in comparison, disorganized killers tend to make mistakes and feel more anxiety during their offending. In some cases, they may not even understand the consequences of their actions (Simon, 2015, p. 36). In addition, disorganized killers often perform rituals after the victim’s death. This includes maiming, cannibalism, or necrophilia, and they often mutilate the corpse (Simon, 2015, p. 36). Unlike organized killers, who are able to adapt to normal society, many acquaintances perceive the disorganized offender as “weird or odd.” Despite their tendency to make mistakes and their bizarreness, what keeps disorganized killers from being murder suspects is that through constant motion, they are able to avoid capture (Simon, 2015, p. 36). In comparison to organized killers, it seems that disorganized serial killers are much more erratic and amateurish. Some serial killers whose actions are primarily categorized as organized may become disorganized as their killings increase. In this event, it is likely that they may have been cautious during their

first murders, yet as time progressed, and they went unnoticed, these killers begin to display disorganized characteristics by becoming careless and impulsive (Simon, 2015, p. 36). Conversely, some serial killers that initially displayed disorganized characteristics may become organized as their killings increase. As they gain experience they “learn from their near-miss mistakes, becoming increasingly efficient in their killings and evasion of capture” (Miller, 2013, p. 13). This bi-directional phenomenon indicates that serial killers are not limited or “stuck” in one category, nor that these categories are mutually exclusive. It is important, then, to understand that classifying a serial killer does not guarantee that he or she will consistently act according to that classification.

The Holmes and DeBurger Typology and the Holmes and Holmes Typology

Holmes and DeBurger developed a highly significant typology for classifying serial killers. They distinguished serial killer types based on how different motives function to provide certain serial killers personal justifications for their crimes (Homes & DeBurger, 1985, p. 31). They identified four main serial killer types. The visionary serial killer is compelled to murder because they hear voices or see visions which command them to kill a certain person or category of persons. These auditory and/or visionary hallucinations are often attributed to demons or God. These killers may be considered psychotic (Homes & DeBurger, 1985, p. 31-2). The mission-oriented serial killer murders to fulfil a conscious goal of eliminating the world of groups of people that they consider undesirable or unworthy. The missionary type does not kill certain people because they are controlled by voices or visions, they personal undertake a “self-imposed duty” to rid the world of these groups (Homes & DeBurger, 1985, p. 32). The hedonistic type is driven by a perverted sense of thrill seeking. Typical of the hedonistic serial killer is to

murder for the “pure” enjoyment of it, as “they kill because the thrill becomes an end in itself” (Homes & DeBurger, 1985, p. 32). In addition, the lust serial killer is considered a subgroup of the hedonistic type since they derive sexual enjoyment from the killing. In addition, these killers are often intelligent or street smart (Homes & DeBurger, 1985, p. 32). The power/control-oriented type is driven by the gratification they obtain from the complete control of the victim. They derive pleasure and excitement from their belief that they have the power to do whatever they want to another person who is “completely helpless and within (their) total control” (Homes & DeBurger, 1985, p. 32). The power/control-oriented serial killer possesses a self-inflated sense of importance and power and are likely to fit a psychopathic or sociopathic personality type (Homes & DeBurger, 1985, p. 33). The Holmes and DeBurger’s typology was prolific as it created a solid foundation for identifying serial killers.

Indeed, the Holmes and Holmes’ typology further expanded Holmes and DeBurger’s classification scheme. They added that serial killers could also be distinguished by the way in which they committed their crimes. That is, whether their killings are act focused or process focused. Visionary and missionary serial killers are act focused, as their crimes are characterized by a quick kill. Hedonistic and power/control oriented serial killers are process focused, in which their crimes generally take more time to complete since they receive pleasure from killing (Holmes & Holmes, 2009, p. 121; p. 123). Holmes and Holmes also included the comfort-oriented serial killer as a subtype of the Hedonistic serial killer type. Instead of killing for sexual gratification or as a means of thrill seeking, the comfort-oriented serial killer kills for personal gain or profit such as money or property. This can include professional assassins, but usually comfort-oriented

serial killers are females as aforementioned (Holmes & Holmes, 2009, p. 121). Of course, both the Holmes and Holmes and Holmes and DeBurger typologies are not perfect; there are weaknesses. For instance, one weakness that Holmes and Holmes did not address was that they set no criteria for determining how to place an offender into a particularly category when they manifest overlapping traits (Canter & Wentick, 2004, p. 491).

Typologies are useful as parameters, and they are valuable, however they should not be accepted as concrete axioms. Knowing the occupational preferences of serial killers may further advance the certainty that can be placed in typologies by making them more exact and distinguishable.

The Sexual Sadistic Type

The sexually sadistic serial murderer is considered to be the most violent and cruel type of serial offender: they inflict the most gruesome torture on their helpless victims for their pleasure and sexual release. These killers engage in extensive planning of their crimes, keep their victims in captivity, and subject them to bondage, torture, and various painful sexual acts. They ultimately kill their victims by strangulation, gunshot, blunt force, or stabbing; some may even torture their victims to the point of death (Knoll & Hazelwood, 2009, p. 107). Thus, sexually sadistic serial murderers are both calculating and exceedingly vicious. It is thought that this serial killer's motivation and sexual gratification comes from the "unlimited mastery" and "complete domination" they have over their victim (Knoll & Hazelwood, 2009, p. 107). For these reasons, sexually sadistic serial killers may be typified as Holmes and DeBurger's power/control oriented serial killer. The characteristics of their crimes reflect their pleasure in having the power to do whatever they want to someone under their complete control (Holmes & DeBurger, 1985,

p. 33). Moreover, the extensive length of time they spend torturing their victim also indicates that they are process-focused, as explained by Holmes and Holmes (2009, p. 121). Clearly, the sexually motivated serial killer is a particularly troubling type of offender.

Examining the serial killers that are specifically sexually motivated is especially informative since these offenders emphasize a sexual component, which is not always the driving motivation behind serial killing. Therefore, Knight advocated for a refined definition of serial killer particular for sexually motivated serial murder. She advised that this definition express “the sexual nature of the crime, which may—or may not—be explicit, is perverse and sadistic and reflects an aggression that is particularly destructive, pathological, and rooted in violent fantasies that are acted out on the victim” (2006, p. 1193). Providing a specific definition of sexually motivated serial killers advances the typifying of serial killing by making the distinctions between different serial killer types more pronounced.

Finding sexually sadistic serial killers’ occupational preferences may also make the distinctions more pronounced, for their traits of cruelty may make them attracted to and successful at certain occupations. So, these characteristics and behaviors may possibly indicate that they choose careers that allow them to exert control or authority over others. These occupational findings can then be added to their classification, which will further develop the precision of typologies.

Tracking Serial Killers Through Criminal Profiling

In association with typologies, criminal profiling has become a popular method utilized for probing the crime scene to uncover the complex psychological aspects of the

offender. Criminal profilers aim to decipher the mind of the serial killer in order to identify him. Indeed, Holmes and Holmes (2009) attested, “From the minds and emotions of serial killers comes the ‘truth’ about serial murder” (p. 124). Knowing serial killers’ occupational preferences has important implications for profiling’s effectiveness and reliability for actual investigations, which is regularly disputed. In developing a potential profile of the offender, profilers use elements of the crime scene to deduce certain characteristics. This can include race, sex, residence, and employment status (Holmes & Holmes, 2009, p. 79). Determining the occupational preferences of serial killers may provide an additional element to be used for developing a better profile. A more comprehensive depiction of the offender can then be given to law enforcement officials, which can help narrow down suspects. Perhaps knowing the occupational preferences of serial killers may make it easier to find them when only limited information is left at the crime scene.

Criminal Profiling Explained

Criminal profiling is not as powerful nor as easy to conduct as portrayed by popular culture. Fundamentally, profiling is an assessment: it is “an *educated* attempt to provide investigative agencies with specific information as to the type of individual who committed a certain crime” (Holmes & Holmes, 2009, p. 4). Regarding cases of suspected serial killings, serial killer typologies are therefore valuable for determining the specific characteristics of unknown offenders. Hence, profiling is best utilized in cases in which an unknown offender shows indications of psychopathology, and when the crime scene evidence exhibits distinct patterns that are able to be deciphered, or where the fantasy/motive of the offender is readily perceptible (Holmes & Holmes, 2009, p.4).

Since this seems take into account factors including both serial killers' pathologies and offending patterns, profiling, along with typologies can be quite useful; not only for finding serial killers, but also for further distinguishing between them.

Although criminal profiling is aimed at deciphering the psychological aspects of the crime scene, the physical evidence is integral. This is because profiling focuses on what the tangible evidence reveals about the intangible evidence: the serial killer's personality and psychological drives. In congruence, Holmes and Holmes attested criminal profiling to be "an interrelationship between physical evidence and psychological evidence left at crime scenes" (White et al., 2011, p. 161). Thus, profiling takes a divergent path in analyzing the same evidence left at a serial killer's crime scene relative to the traditional physical approach.

Creating the Profile

It is crucial that profilers create a description of the offender just as methodically and carefully as the way investigators collect and analyze physical evidence. In this attempt, FBI special agents Douglas and Ressler prolifically developed the Criminal Profile Generating Process. Known as the FBI method, this creates profiles through a five step process. There is assimilation: the collection of evidence; classification: the integration of the evidence and the classifying of the offender; reconstruction: reconstructing the behavioral sequence involved in the crime; looking for signatures: finding the idiosyncrasies of the offender; and lastly, constructing the actual profile (White et al., 2011, p. 162). The desired result is to construct an accurate picture of the offender's personality traits, characteristic patterns and behaviors, and motivations. Though Douglas and Ressler's process appears methodical and logical, profiling's

usefulness and validity is still held in uncertainty. In fact, there is a great divide on profiling's legitimacy: for some, it is no better than astrology; for others, it is a highly skilled art or it should strive to be a replicable, scientific procedure (Miller, 2013, p. 19). Perhaps understanding and including additional elements that could affect a serial killer's offending and crime scene behavior—such as the offender's possible occupation—would improve profiling's legitimacy, validity and its ability to aid investigators narrow down suspects.

How Serial Killers Offend

As indicated by the development of typologies and the use of profiling, serial killers possess and display fundamental elements that are central to their offending process, and it may be crucial to recognize these elements since they may be affected by serial killers' occupational preferences. That is, the skills they acquire from their occupations, the tools they take from their work environment, or the time they have to plan or imagine their offending, may facilitate serial killing. Case in point, Dennis Rader, The BTK killer, admitted that the fantasy process of offending was closely linked to his transient occupation. During long work drives, he transformed his work vehicle into a moving fantasy world in which he could fantasize—psychologically plan—his killing (Lynes & Wilson, 2015b, p. 280). His “modus operandi” mark of offending was additionally influenced by his vehicle, as in a sense, it was his way of operating/offending. That is to say, Rader's modus operandi—his procedure of offending—was to use his work vehicle as a means of increasing his geographical hunting grounds, inconspicuously stalking victims, and as a way of escaping and transporting victims' bodies (Lynes & Wilson, 2015b, p.273). Hence, examining aspects

of serial killers' offending such as these critical for understanding how occupations could both instrumentally and psychologically influence their offending.

The Power of Fantasy

Above all, the fundamental driving force behind serial killers' actual offending is the use of fantasy. This is because serial killers' intense, internal violent and sexual fantasies initially serve as mental rehearsals until they decide to physically carry out these formerly imagined behaviors. Fantasies are then subsequently used to relive and reinforce their patterns of killing (Miller, 2013, p. 16). Thus, fantasies play a role in both pre and post offending. Moreover, these violent, compulsive fantasies to kill others do not occur suddenly, but actually arise during an important developmental stage. It is during adolescence that serial killers begin to indulge their fantasies in which they begin to turn inward and nurture sexually sadistic fantasies (Miller, 2013, p. 13). These fantasies continue to develop throughout their lifespan, becoming increasingly more sadistic, murderous, and realistic. An almost unbearable inner tension to act out these fantasies increases as well (Miller, 2013, p. 16). To receive relief, the fantasy must become reality. Once they have acted out their fantasy and evaded suspicion, usually in their early-twenties to mid-thirties, they feel empowered, invulnerable, and inspired to kill again (Miller, 2013, p. 13). Through this lifelong development, serial killers foster their fantasies into the realm of reality.

The importance of fantasy cannot be underscored, for this is what truly makes the serial killer. That is, in the effort to reproduce their fantasy in the real world, serial killers must engage in a succession of progressively more precise "trial runs." However, like any fantasy, it is impossible to perfectly transfer their ideal into reality. As a result, the need

for new victims is continuous (Chan et al., 2014, p. 75-6). Hence, the reason they are *serial* killers: they must kill again and again in the attempt to bring the full fantasy completely to life. Ressler affirmed this notion when he proclaimed that “[serial killers] are obsessed with a fantasy, and they have what we must call non fulfilled experiences that become part of the fantasy and push them on toward the next killing. That’s the real meaning behind the term serial killer” (1992, p. 33). Clearly, fantasizing is both essential and valuable for serial killers, and they will do or use whatever they can to develop and eventually carry out the fantasy.

The Marks of Serial Killers’ Offending

Since serial killing is an attempt to bring an inner fantasy to life, the personal psychological markings of the serial killer are inherently found in their offending styles and also at their crime scenes. These psychological aspects may be valuable, as they are expressions of the killer’s ego, ideas, and unique desires (Viorel, 2011, p. 800). Moreover, it may be possible that they could be influenced by, or influence, external factors of the serial killer’s life. A serial killer’s signature and modus operandi are particularly significant elements.

Signatures

A serial killer’s signature or “calling card” is psychologically revealing as it is fueled by their fantasies and subsequent need to receive gratification. FBI profiler John Douglas described the signature as “the achievement of a violent criminal’s fantasies” (Viorel, 2011, p. 799). So, signing refers to what the serial killer must do to their victim in order to fulfill their fantasy. Specifically, a signature is “the unique, personal expression or ritual demonstrated by the offender while he is committing the offense,”

and can be expressed as what was done to the victim that was unnecessary for the killing, such as torture, mutilation, or rape. (Labrode, 2007, p. 156; Viorel, 2011, p. 779).

Signatures are related to the serial killer's personality structure since they are unessential yet particular and special to the individual. Moreover, since these elements of signatures are constant, repetitive, and durative, this is how one knows they have found the crime scene of a serial killer (Lubaszka & Shon, 2013, p. 67). Although they satisfy the serial killer's fantasy, signatures may also lead to their capture.

The Modus Operandi

The signature and "modus operandi" of a serial killer are often confused or used interchangeably. Fortunately, Douglas distinguished, "the modus operandi is that which is necessary to commit a crime, whereas the signature is that which is not necessary for committing a crime, but is psychologically important to the criminal" (Viorel, 2011, p. 800). Thus, the modus operandi is how the killer operates—it is the procedure. For instance, a killer may only be active during the night, or use a vehicle to stalk their victims, or break into the victim's house (Viorel, 2011, p. 800). The modus operandi also includes the type of victims, such as prostitutes or children; it is also dependent on the time and place that the crime is committed, such as in a car or home. The killer's modus operandi also includes the tools or equipment they use, such as rope or knives, and the method in which they approach their victims (Viorel, 2011, p. 800). Unlike the signature, the modus operandi is a learned behavior that is developed and used over time since it has proven effective for the killer. It can be modified or evolved as a result of experiences with previous victims (Labrode, 2007, p. 156). The signature stays constant. The modus

operandi may change. In this way, serial killers may alter their behaviors if they find resources or develop skills that better their offending.

The “Crazy” Serial Killer

Given the extremity of both the physical and psychological evidence discernable at their crime scenes, there is a great temptation to label serial killers as “crazy.”

Continuously killing certainly seems crazy. Yet labeling a serial killer as “crazy” is simply an attempt to unravel why one would engage in behavior that ordinary people cannot even imagine. Understanding the serial killer who truly has a psychological disorder, such as psychopathy or antisocial personality disorder, is much more complex.

However, being psychopathological does not mean that one is necessarily maladaptive: it is still possible to hold an occupation. Serial killers with psychopathologies may have different occupational preferences than those who do not, or may be limited in the type of occupations they can hold. Therefore, understanding serial killers with psychological disorders is necessary to find this possible distinction. Psychopathy and antisocial personality disorder are particularly important.

The Psychopathic Serial Killer

Considering how often the word “psychopath” is indiscriminately used, it is crucial to understand the genuine facts concerning the psychopathic serial killer. Foremost, “the key to understanding the psychopath is his behavioral deviation from the norm” (Federman et al., 2009, p. 40). Violent crime is behavior that definitely deviates from the norm, and psychopathic criminals even deviate from the behavioral norm of “ordinary criminals.” In comparison, the psychopath’s motives are more uncertain, and their crimes are generally more violent, their response may be more cold and chilling, and

their victims may be underserving, including those such as children (Federman et al., 2009, p. 40). Psychopaths additionally take risks far greater than those of ordinary criminals. They choose to behave dangerously, knowingly exploit other's weaknesses, and most troubling, they are not deterred by the threat of punishment (Federman et al., 2009, p. 40). Unquestionably, the psychopath's behavioral deviation from the norm can have serious consequences for those who cross their path.

Of course, not all psychopaths are killers. Though their behaviors still deviate from the norm, most people with psychopathic propensities may instead use their traits of exploitation and risk taking to be successful in other areas. For instance, some psychopaths actually prefer and thrive in the business field—they may utilize these “skills” in order to embezzle money rather than killing (Labrode, 2007, p. 154). Hence, it may be that the general occupational preference of psychopaths involves risk and victimizing. Of course, there is a subset of psychopaths that are killers. Infamous serial killers like Ted Bundy, John Wayne Gacy, and Jeffery Dahmer, can be accurately described as psychopaths (Labrode, 2007, p.154). Psychopathy does not make one a serial killer, but it may provide the needed traits that facilitate its occurrence.

Thus, the traits of psychopathy are more related to ethical behavior. Perhaps psychopathy can be considered a moral disorder more so than a mental disorder. Robert Hare, a prominent figure in examining psychopathy, and developer of the Hare Psychopathy Checklist, classified psychopathic traits and behaviors to include “glib and superficial charm; ego centrality; selfishness; lack of empathy, guilt, and remorse; deceitfulness and manipulateness; lack of enduring attachments to people, principles or goals; impulsive and irresponsible behavior; and a tendency to violate explicit social

norms” (Federman et al., 2009, p. 49). These characteristics are certainly instrumental for the phenomenon of serial killing. Case in point, traits of deceit and charm may provide the serial killer access to a victim; selfishness and remorse relate to their sole intent of personal gratification; and repeated killing thoroughly breaks explicit social norms. In fact, Hare (1996) further stated that psychopaths are more correctly described as “remorseless predators who use charm, intimidation, and if necessary, impulsive and cold-blooded violence to attain their ends” (p. 39). This is the description of the psychopathic serial killer.

These attributes reveal that the psychopathic serial killer is not ruled by madness, but that their actions are consciously driven by self-gain and immediate gratification. So, the danger this offender poses does not stem from mental insanity. Psychopathy does not arise from “a deranged mind but from a cold, calculating rationality combined with a chilling inability to treat others as thinking, feeling human beings” (Federman et al., 2009, p. 51). Psychopathic serial killers are fully intentional, and in control of their actions, and they use their traits to their advantage.

Antisocial Personality Disorder and Serial Killing

Since psychopathy does not have an effect on an individual’s sanity per se, antisocial personality disorder has replaced it as an explanation for serial killing. Therefore, antisocial personality disorder and psychopathy are not the same disorder, and what the construct actually represents is often misunderstood and misused. According to the fifth edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, antisocial personality disorder is characterized by impairments in both personality (self and interpersonal) functioning. Antisocial personality disorder is also characterized by ego-

centrism, failure to conform to social norms, a lack of empathy or remorse, an incapacity to form intimate relationships by being exploitative using deceit and manipulation. Those with antisocial personality disorder also possess pathological traits in the domain of antagonism such as hostility, callousness, manipulation, and deceitfulness, or in the domain of disinhibition like irresponsibility, impulsivity, and risk taking (American Psychiatric Association, 2012). It seems that those with antisocial personality disorder have all the psychopathic traits of hostility without the traits of charm and glib.

Hence, psychopaths are not completely identical to those with antisocial personality disorder. Antisocial personality disorder refers to those “who are basically unsocialized and whose behavior pattern brings them repeatedly into conflict with society,” whereas psychopathy refers to those who possess “a cluster of both personality traits and socially deviant behaviors” (Federman et al., 2009, p. 49). It seems the major distinction is that antisocial personality disorder stresses the behavioral aspects more so than psychopathy, which rather stresses the personality aspects. Of course, while some serial killers may be affected by antisocial personality disorder, this does not mean that everyone with antisocial personality disorder is, or will be, a serial killer. However, like psychopathy, antisocial personality disorder may provide the traits that facilitate its occurrence.

Serial Killing as a Contemporary Phenomenon

Societies inevitably evolve and shift in both physical structure and social norms simply due to of new ways of thinking, innovation, and the passing of time itself. Accordingly, the way in which crime is committed has also evolved and shifted. For example, theft is no longer limited to personal interaction; owing to technology, it can

also be accomplished online. The means of theft are different, but the results are the same. It is likely that the phenomenon of serial killing can be seen the same way. If a current understanding of serial killing is desired, then serial killing must be known within its current—contemporary—context.

As for any social phenomenon, context matters, and in order to understand how factors relating to serial killers' lifestyles influence their offending, namely their occupational preferences, it would be incomplete to leave out the context in which they live. Nonetheless, previous literature on serial killing has failed to see the broader social and cultural context in which it occurs (Haggerty, 2009, p. 169). Disregarding the influence of the social environment on the individual's actions is contradictory since individuals live and interact in a social environment with other social individuals. This holds true for serial killers. For it appears that serial killing is not merely an individual-level phenomenon driven by unobservable motives, it is also a phenomenon affected by macro-level influences (Lubaskza & Shon, 2013, p. 67). Serial killing therefore must be comprehended within a broad, contemporary framework.

Recognizing The Contemporary Occurrence of Serial Killing

Due to the sensationalism and attention that serial killing receives, it is presumable that the occurrence of serial killing today is quite prevalent. It would seem that serial killers are everywhere. There is intense variation regarding how many active serial killers are currently at large within the United States particularly due to conceptual and definitional ambiguity. For instance, based on his experience as former chief of the FBI's Elite Serial Crime Unit John Douglas attested that there are only 25 to 50 active serial killers in the United States at any given moment (Moss, 2015, n.p.). In contrast,

Thomas Hargrove, archivist and researcher for the Murder Accountability Project (Map), attested that there are approximately currently 2,000 active serial killers at large in the United States; he had developed a statistical algorithm to take in a variety of crime data to determine which homicides are likely serial killings (Wilkinson, 2017, n.p.). Thus there is a great discrepancy, for different yet valid reasons. Most statistics tend to affirm that serial killing is a rare phenomenon. According to the Radford/ FGCU Serial Killer Database Project—which is purposed to gather data so that accurate information on serial killers will be available for teachers and researchers, and is continually updated, including summary reports made available on an annual basis—it was estimated that the number of separate serial killers operating in the United States for the most recent updated year 2015 was between 15 and 30, based on 3 murders or 2 murders respectively (Aamodt, 2016, p.1; 5). It is unlikely that this low range of offenders are responsible for the thousands of victims that are credited to them or that people unknowingly pass by serial killers every day. Hence, there is a contemporary discrepancy: conceptions and reality do not agree. Although the serial killer certainly exists, and certainly offends in a contemporary context, it should at least be understood to what extent.

Serial Killers in Modernity

Serial killing is influenced by aspects of modernity, and it is this process that creates certain preconditions that channel the practice of serial killing. Modernity refers to “a long-term historical process that is typified by characteristic – but not uniform – developments” (Haggerty, 2009, p. 170). Society naturally changes over time. Consequently, broad and external modern developments influence how individuals now interact within this context. Or, specifically, how individuals—serial killers—offend in

contemporary society. In fact, it has been stated that modernity “provides a number of elective affinities between serial murder and contemporary civilization” (Haggerty, 2009, p. 170). This view suggests that serial killing occurs in a contemporary context in which there is an interaction between the individual and modern phenomena in the environment that both influences its occurrence and the way it is done. Serial killers are using broad, modern features to their advantage. Indeed, Haggerty listed various modern phenomena that provide “the key institutional frameworks, motivations, and opportunity structures characteristic of contemporary forms of serial killings” (Haggerty, 2009, p. 170). Perhaps components of the economic structure such as the job market should be included as an aspect of modernity influencing serial killing. Modern occupations could be setting certain preconditions that make contemporary serial killer offending possible, such as providing psychological or instrumental assistance.

Linking Serial Killing and Occupational Preferences

Clearly, there are many factors to consider in relation to serial killing. Psychological, behavioral, and contextual factors have been recognized as crucial for gaining a more complete representation of the phenomenon. Moreover, these factors need to be understood as they may affect, or be effected, by serial killers’ occupations. Serial killers’ occupational preferences may have a distinct influence on the different types of serial killers, how they offend, and where they offend— there may an association between these psychological, behavioral, and contextual factors. Therefore, including how occupational preferences may instrumentally or psychologically influence serial killing may further advance the understanding of the phenomenon.

Personality and Occupational Preferences

Since personality affects how people—including serial killers—behave, it is meaningful to realize how personality influences decisions: both every day and criminal decisions. Clearly much attention has been given towards understanding how serial killers' personalities influence their offending, as shown by the development of typologies, the use of profiling, exploring psychopathologies, and the interpreting of serial killers' offending marks left at their crime scenes. Accordingly, to obtain a greater understanding of serial killers' offending, it would be valuable to understand the influence of their personalities on other aspects of their life: such as how personality affects one's occupational preference. In order to understand the influence of occupational preferences on serial killers' offending, which is directly related to their personalities, then how personality in general affects career choices must first be explored.

Personality Defined

Personality naturally shapes people's unique preferences, choices, and actions. Personality typically refers to the "set of characteristics within an individual influencing his cognitions and behaviors in different contexts" (Hussain et al., 2012, p. 2255). So, how people consistently act and think is influenced by internal and personal traits that establish "who they are:" their personality. In the effort to interpret personality's influence on an individual's thoughts and actions in certain contexts, distinct theories of personality are valuable to explore.

Holland's Theory of Vocational Personalities and Work Environments

Since personality affects all aspects of people's lives, personality theories can be applied to a variety of these life factors. For instance, it has been shown that there is a significant connection between personality type and career choice. Who we are appears to influence what we do for a living—a considerable lifelong decision for most. Social scientist John Holland prolifically contributed to this concept, as he developed a theory that emphasized the interaction between people and their workplaces. Specifically, he established that there is a relationship between people's personalities and their work environments. Holland developed an inventory of vocational personalities by recognizing the potential parallel taxonomies of people and work environments. It was a "taxonomy of occupations that corresponded with a taxonomy of persons" (Gottfredson & Johnstun, 2009, p. 101). Thus, it is clear that personality has influence in a variety of areas in people's lives.

Holland's Theory of Vocational Personalities and Work Environments was groundbreaking for understanding the psychology of career choices. Fundamentally, his theory intended to "describe, understand, and predict the vocational choices people make, including fields of study, occupations and successive jobs, and other choices involving environments... [and also] to account for the differential attraction of environments for certain kinds of people" (Gottfredson & Johnstun, 2009, p. 102). Holland sought to organize personality by determining which particular classes of people are drawn to which occupational environments.

Thus, his theory centralizes around people's reactions to certain work settings, and how to link the "right" person with the "right" environment. The main tenants are that work and other environments differ and can be characterized in terms of a typology

of environments; that individual differences among people can be characterized in terms of a typology of persons; and that some environments are better matched to some individuals and some individuals are better matched to some environments (Gottfredson & Johnstun, 2009, p. 103). The interaction between personality and the environment is represented through the intertwining of two typologies which together create an understanding of one's attraction to a certain occupational setting.

Regarding the work typology, vocational and other environments can be characterized in terms of their likeness to Holland's six model environmental types: realistic, investigative, artistic, social, enterprising, and conventional. The actual work environments that people interact with may vary in resemblance to these ideals. Persons are similarly typified by their likeness to Holland's six personality types: realistic, investigative, artistic, social, enterprising, and conventional. Each personality type exhibits particular competencies, preferences, values, and self-evaluations (Gottfredson & Johnstun, 2009, p. 103). Hence, the connection between similar environmental and personality characteristics may signify in which work environment a person is best matched.

In combining these typologies, Holland established the telling dimension of the person-environment interaction—the "P-E interaction." An individual tends to show the characteristics and pursue the values of the personality type that they are most resemble in Holland's typology. Likewise, an environment tends to make the demands, reward the competencies, and encourage the values typical of the environment that it most resembles (Gottfredson & Johnstun, 2009, p. 103). Placing a certain type of individual in a certain type of work environment creates an interaction between these personal dispositions and

environmental demands and rewards. This interaction leads to degrees of congruence or incongruence of that person and their occupational environment. Essentially, it is an interaction of best fit, as it is supposed that environments attract congruent persons, and people prefer congruent environments (Gottfredson & Johnstun 2009, p. 103). Holland's theory is intrinsically commonsense. People are naturally drawn to the type of work settings that demand and reward the skills and values that are most aligned with their own.

Holland's Vocational Theory and Serial Killers

Serial killers, as people with unique personalities and inherent interests as to what they would like to do with their lives, fit into Holland's vocational theory. Accordingly, the type of personality ideal they best resemble will predict which of Holland's work environment ideal will be the most appealing and rewarding for them. For instance, though Paul Bernardo and Karla Homolka worked together during the same killings, they had very different occupations. Bernardo was an accountant and Homolka was a veterinarian's assistant (Mellor, 2012, p. 331). While both committed the same crimes, they nonetheless had diverse vocational personalities, interests, and skills. Thus they both choose work environments that were of their own best fit. Neither would have been content or successful in the other's occupation. Thus Holland's "P-E Interaction" even applies to serial killers.

Specific Personalities and Specific Careers

There are both explicit motivations—money, prestige—and implicit motivations—personal satisfaction, a sense of purpose—that explain why people are attracted to certain careers. Both motivations influence a person's occupational decision.

Regardless of one's reasons, vocational success, and the achievement of those motivations, is contingent on the employee possessing traits that are related to aspects of the job's demands. Career success depends on the compatibility between an individual's personality and the job trait requirements (Hussain et al., 2012, p. 2255). In fact, there is a great interaction between personality, career goals, success, and satisfaction wherein certain personality types best excel and find pleasure in certain career environments. People naturally endeavor to find occupations in which they will succeed; thereby obtaining gratification in both their careers and daily lives. Therefore, it is valuable to highlight the particular personalities that prefer particular occupations. By recognizing the central traits that people in certain occupations possess, it may be possible to generalize these fields in order to identify and predict the types of people who prefer those occupations.

For identifying and predicting the types of people who prefer and excel at certain occupations, research has found a general consensus on the personality types that are best suited for particular work environments. While there are a variety of personality assessments, Goldberg's Big Five Model is the most commonly used. This model determines personality structure based on constructs such as openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism (Hussain et al., 2012, p. 2255). A personality profile is developed by analyzing one's place on each of the continuums of these multiple dimensions. Openness to experience refers to the tendency to be imaginative, independent, and interested in variety; conscientiousness is the inclination to be prepared, chary, and disciplined; extraversion is the propensity to be gregarious, fun-loving, and warm; agreeableness refers to the affinity to be sympathetic,

trusting, and supportive; and neuroticism is the proclivity to be anxious, emotionally detestable, and self-blaming (Hussain et al., 2012, p. 2255). These traits of openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism can have a great influence on one's career preferences since these qualities may be a best fit for some work environments.

Using Goldberg's model to examine personality and career matches, careers in management call for strong social interaction skills, socially dominant behavior in order to adapt to changes, and a strong ability to control stress and work under pressure. People with personality types that rank high on conscientiousness and agreeableness, rank average on openness to experience and extraversion, and rank low on neuroticism are best suited for managerial or executive vocations (Hussain et al., 2012, p. 2257).

Vocations in entrepreneurship requires personal efficacy in taking initiatives and risks, openness to experience, great societal interactions and a tendency to be dominant in decision-making, and a need to be watchful and creative in actions and transactions. Those with personality types that rank high on openness to experience, conscientiousness, and neuroticism are more likely to be successful in entrepreneur positions (Hussain et al., 2012, p. 2258). Occupations that are social/non-profit oriented involves a strong desire to empathize with and help others at one's own expense, a strong propensity to trust and interact with others, and emotional openness. Those who rank high on agreeableness and extraversion, and rank average on neuroticism are best suited for non-profit making and helping careers (Hussain et al., 2012, p. 2258). Professions in the public sector necessitates self-discipline, self-control, management and contentiousness, the inclination to be punctual and practical, and sound emotional

capabilities. People who rank high on conscientiousness, and rank low on neuroticism are better able to excel in non-profit public sector vocations (Hussain et al., 2012, p. 2259). Careers in science, engineering, and research ask for a high level of experience, sensitivity, the ability to learn and perceive new things as well as deduce newness from older, rigid paradigms. Those who rank high on openness to experience and rank low in extraversion are better suited to succeed in research, science, and engineering careers (Hussain et al., 2012, p. 2259). Personality traits have a great influence on one's ability to do well and consequently enjoy one's vocation. Recognizing that people possess particular set of traits is therefore useful for not only assisting people find the occupations they will most likely prefer, but also for predicting the occupations that certain people will most likely select.

“Dark Triad” Personality Traits

As shown, it is typically Holland's Theory of Vocational Personalities and Work Environments and the Goldberg's Big Five Model that are used to examine the interaction of personality traits and occupational interests. Thus, much is known about how these traits relate to people and their vocations. However, some people possess different traits in which these lesser-known traits have a greater influence on their occupational preferences than those previously studied. An under-developed area of personality and career research concerns “Dark Triad” personality traits. Although the Dark Triad significantly differs in nature from both Goldberg and Holland's theories, there still has been little examination of the effects of “dark” personality traits on both occupational fitness and preference (Kowalski et al., 2017, p. 43). The three Dark Triad traits are Machiavellianism—personalities that are manipulative, controlling, deceitful,

and cold; psychopathy—personalities that lack of empathy, callousness, and anti-social and risk-taking behaviors; and narcissism—personalities that are egotistical, self-enhancing, entitlement, and declare superiority. Hence, these traits are regard as “dark” since they are associated with a callous-manipulative interpersonal style (Schneider et al., 2015, p. 340). Dark Triad traits certainly have negative societal and moral connotations. So, it easily could be assumed that possessing these traits would be disadvantageous, especially in one’s work environment.

Yet these dark traits have just as much as an influence on vocational interests as those of the Five Factor Model or Holland’s Theory. Although “dark” has a negative connotation, there is a prospect that these traits may actually be helpful for one’s career success. In order to be successful in some occupational fields, Machiavellian, psychopathic, and narcissistic traits may be more advantageous to possess than more altruistic types. Indeed, success and personal gratification in certain vocations actively demand the attributes that these dark personalities hold. Possessing dark traits may in this way significantly influence one’s occupational preferences.

Dark Triad Personality Traits and Occupational Preferences

If the interaction between personality and work environments is to be fully understood, then examining how dark personality traits affect occupational preferences must also be included in research. For this reason, Kowalski et al. specifically explored how Dark Triad traits correlate with vocational interests (2017, p. 43). Similar to Big Five personality traits’ interactions with work environments, certain career preferences emerged for Dark Triad traits as well. It was found that narcissism was positively correlated with artistic interests; both Machiavellianism and psychotic traits were not

affiliated with these interests. Narcissism also positively correlated with vocational interests in social careers, positions with adventures, and business fields (Kowalski et al., 2017, p.45). Machiavellianism was negatively correlated to social careers, applied jobs, and work styles involving stamina, accountability, academic achievement, and interpersonal confidence. It is thought that Machiavellians avoid these careers emphasizing social interactions since they are deficient in expressing or processing emotional information (Kowalski et al., 2017, p. 45). Psychoticism had negative correlations with social interests, namely teaching, social services, elementary education, family, office work, and work styles involving stamina, accountability, academic achievement, playfulness, and interpersonal confidence. Thus, those with psychotic traits also avoided careers stressing social interactions. Psychoticism did however positively correlate with factors related to business (Kowalski et al., 2017, p. 45). Obviously, recognizing the elements of the dark traits is important for better identifying and predicting the occupational preferences of those with these more callous and manipulative tendencies.

There were also sex differences for Dark Triad trait interactions with career interests. Men correlated significantly higher in Machiavellianism, psychopathy, interest in science, mathematics, physical science, engineering, adventure, dominant leadership, and finance. In contrast, women correlated significantly higher in creative arts, the social interest factor, personal service, social service, elementary education, the applied interest factor, family activity, office work, and, accountability (Kowalski et al., 2017, p.45). These vocational inclinations further emphasize the differences between men and women's personalities and preferences. Therefore, sex may be another imperative factor

to consider in identifying and predicting people's occupational preferences. Even for the occupational preferences of serial killers. It was aforementioned that Homolka and Bernardo had very different occupational preferences as a veterinarian's assistant and an accountant (Lee, 2012, p. 331). Perhaps this diversity in occupational preference was further due to their difference in sex. Thus, sex is worth taking into account in relation to Dark Triad traits. Furthermore, the interaction between sex and Dark Triad traits may also be worth taking into account in influencing serial killers' occupational preferences.

Dark Triad personality traits have just as many meaningful relations with career interest variables as those of the Big Five or Holland's personality types. Understanding Dark Triad traits' influence on occupational preference produces additional valuable information for personality and career research. Embracing the less attractive traits that people possess promotes a more complete, inclusive, and realistic representation of people's occupational preferences. Significantly, it fosters a holistic approach in examining personality's interactions with the most meaningful aspects of people's lives.

Personality, Dark Triad Traits, Occupational Preferences, and Serial Killers

It cannot be understated that theories of personality as well as personality's influence on occupational preferences apply to serial killers just as much as they do to non-offenders. As people, serial killers have specific personality traits that influence their preference towards specific careers. The Dark Triad traits of Machiavellian, psychopathy, and narcissism seem characteristic of many serial killers. Though this cannot be assumed simply because these traits have a negative implication. However, if similarities in the possession of Dark Triad traits among serial killers were found, it may be possible to better understand and even predict their occupational preferences. Understanding how

Dark Triad traits influence occupational preference may therefore be beneficial for further understanding serial killers' occupational preferences.

Previous Findings On the Occupational Preferences of Serial Killers

As indicated, occupational preferences can be quite revealing with respect to people's personalities—their likes, their skills, their values. Accordingly, understanding the occupational preferences of serial killers has the potential to provide greater insight into their personality. Understanding serial killers' occupational preferences may also explain certain aspects of their crimes as they may prefer occupations that are useful for their offending both psychologically and instrumentally. Having a better understanding of serial killers' personalities and how they offend may have significant implications both for researchers and investigators. Thus, the effects of serial killers' occupational preferences must be considered. Although this area is relatively unexplored, it has been found that there are indeed some occupations that are particularly attractive and advantageous for serial killing.

Healthcare Serial Killers

Perhaps it is unsurprising that a work environment inherently characterized by the balance between life and death has been shown to draw violent offenders. Namely, the healthcare industry has had its fill of serial killers. In fact, Charles Cullen, who worked as a nurse, is arguably America's most prolific serial killer. Cullen confessed to killing between 30 and 40 patients over the course of 16 years at New Jersey and Pennsylvania hospitals, and it is suspected that there were possibly hundreds of victims that he did not report (Dean, 2015, p.20). The ability to offend in this occupational environment suggests that the number of victims of traditional serial killers' pales in comparison to those in this

context. It even has been alleged that as a collective whole, healthcare professionals produce more serial killers than any other occupation, and since the 1970s, the numbers of arrests and convictions of healthcare workers murdering or attempting to murder patients has visibly increased (Lubaszka & Shon, 2013, p. 66; Yardley & Wilson 2014, p. 40). These accounts suggest that serial killing in the healthcare environment should be seen as a significant and possibly pervasive phenomenon.

Given the unique environmental tools and conditions available to them, it is crucial that serial killers occupying this field be studied more deeply as it appears to be highly associated with their offending patterns. It may be that healthcare occupations are attractive to serial killers because this career field contains certain attributes, resources, and security that serial killers need and desire in order to successfully offend. Therefore, understanding the specific occupational factors that create this “offender-friendly” work environment is essential. It has been professed that once a healthcare professional begins killing their patients, they will not stop until they are apprehended (Dean, 2015, p.20). Discovering why serial killers prefer these occupations may be useful for understanding the various ways occupations can influence thoughts and behaviors.

The Difference of Healthcare Serial Killers

Although they share similarities, healthcare serial killers should be recognized as a unique group of offenders within this phenomenon due to the particular context in which they carry out their offending. Specifically, these killers are “any type of employee in the healthcare system who use their position to murder at least two patients in two separate incidents, with the psychological capacity for more killing” (Yardley & Wilson, 2014, p. 39-40). Moreover, they kill for reasons unrelated to mercy, euthanasia, or

physician-assisted suicide (Lubaszka & Shon, 2013, p. 65). Thus, the healthcare serial killer differs from other serial killers—such as in the number of victims, the absence of a specific cool-down period, their offending zone, and their victim types—due to their special context and place within it. However, it is interesting to note that the emphasis on intent remains central for the definition of the healthcare serial killer. Clearly, the essence of all serial killing is psychologically driven.

There are fundamental themes that are vital for understanding the nature of healthcare serial killing. These include the characteristics of the offenses, the offenders, and the victims. These qualities relate to the ability of the healthcare serial killer to successfully offend within their occupational space, as they must find the most suitable victims, be in a position to be near those victims, and kill them in a way that would mimic the causes typical to the healthcare environment (Lubaszka & Shon, 2013, p.68). These serial killers must therefore be able to recognize and take advantage of opportunities to offend.

The traits of healthcare serial killers' offending methods are tailored to their environment. For instance, healthcare serial killers will target those under their care who are the most vulnerable, such as children; although it is also common for them to target a combination of adults and the elderly. Essentially, they target the people who are least able to protect themselves (Yardley & Wilson, 2014, p. 51). Even though their workplace is advantageous to their offending, healthcare serial killers must still be particularly careful in their method of killing. Hence, the preferred method of killing for healthcare serial killers is drug administration. They poison their victims, since this cause of death can be conveniently attributed to other sensible causes common to those confined to this

setting (Lubaszka & Shon 2013, p. 68; Yardley & Wilson, 2014, p. 51). So, healthcare serial killers differ from other serial killers due to what their specific environment provides, or requires for their successful offending.

There is, however, one intriguing point of convergence between healthcare serial killers and serial killers overall: the theme of power. It has been professed that for healthcare serial killers “the murder of patients is about ultimate power—the power of life over death” (Lubaszka & Shon, 2013, p. 68). Not only do these killers have “God-like” power, but god-like status as well. The fact that healthcare professionals, especially doctors, are held in such high esteem, makes it easier for them to offend since they have the implicit trust and admiration of those around them, including the victim’s friends and family (Lubaszka & Shon, 2013, p. 74). Healthcare serial killers literally have their victims’ lives in their hands and undeserved admiration from others. In this sense, healthcare serial killers are actually comparable to Holmes and DeBurger’s general typology of serial killers. That is, they are largely similar to the power/control serial killer type, as they derive pleasure and excitement from their belief that they have to power to do whatever they want to a vulnerable person within their total control, and they possess a self-inflated sense of importance and power (Holmes & DeBurger, 1985, p. 32). It is not surprising that healthcare serial killers share some similarities with other serial killers in general; they are still serial killers driven by the same essential motivations. Nevertheless, healthcare serial killers should be regarded as largely distinct due to the influence of their occupational environment on key aspects of their offending. As the contemporary context affects general serial killing, the healthcare context affects healthcare serial killing.

Victim Access for Healthcare Serial Killers

The occupational appeal of healthcare for serial killers is because their access to victims is largely unlimited in this environment. This necessary factor for serial killers' offending can be achieved much more easily in this setting than for those outside it. For instance, serial killers are traditionally geographically mobile in that they stalk and kill their victims outside their "comfort zone" (Lubaszka & Shon, 2013, p. 70). They hunt and offend outside the area that would raise suspicion towards themselves as the offender if they killed there. In having to be geographically mobile, serial killers must invest a great amount of time and energy in obtaining victims. They have to travel far enough outside their comfort zone and simultaneously be fortunate enough to find suitable victims. They then must devote time to travel back and stalk these victims long enough in order to learn their routines (Lubaszka & Shon, 2013, p. 70). Healthcare serial killers, in contrast, do not need to engage in these extensive and time consuming victim rituals. Their victims are readily available. In the healthcare context, victims and offenders are not separated by time, distance, and the occasion of convergence (Lubaszka & Shon, 2013, p. 70). So, the probability that offending will occur is higher in the healthcare profession since the elements needed to carry out the crimes are already present: motivation, victims, and opportunity.

This opportunistic environment represents Cohen and Felson's routine activities theory, in which a convergence in time and space brings victims and offenders into contact. When a motivated offender comes into contact with a suitable target, along with the absence of a capable guardian to protect them, it is most likely a crime will occur in this context (Cohen & Felson, 1979, p. 589). Motivated serial killers are able to commit

their crimes in this healthcare context since hospital patients are suitable targets that lack capable guardianship because it is assumed that healthcare workers are the capable guardians, not the offenders. As a result, offenders do not need to travel outside their comfort zone, or create a reason for their presence and relationship with the victim.

Indeed, healthcare serial killers have an advantage to victim access through the nature of their occupation itself. That is, to be successful in the healthcare field, employees must spend time with those under their care. Healthcare serial killers use this obligation as a means to provide both access and pretext; their occupational presence gives them both access to compliant, unsuspecting victims and alibi (Lubaszka & Shon, 2013, p. 70). To this end, healthcare serial killers go as far as interacting with the victim and their family in a kind and pleasant manner in order to appear capable and trustworthy; they take the time to both familiarize with their potential victims and cultivate a relationship with victims' loved ones. Consequently, many family members of the victim are astonished when they discover that the person who they considered to be a friend and guardian was actually their loved one's killer (Lubaszka et al., 2013, p. 13). Thus, healthcare serial killers are successful at conning people into believing that they are caring and dedicated workers.

In sum, healthcare serial killers are similar to the organized serial killer typology for these reasons. They are socially adequate, inspire confidence, react appropriately, and dispose of incriminating evidence (Simon, 2015, p. 36). Essentially, healthcare serial killers are shrewd enough to take advantage of a situation when they are able. As a result, healthcare serial killers have easy and continuous access to victims, a valuable asset for offending.

Healthcare Structural Factors That Aid Offending

Not only does it provide easy victim access, but structural factors within the healthcare environment facilitates serial killers' offending as well. Lubaszka, Shon, and Hinch (2013) even shared that there are those who believe that the structural factors of the healthcare field actually facilitate the production of serial killers—this may be a stretch, but worth mentioning if structural factors are found to be highly influential for pre-offenders (p. 4). Structural factors may facilitate serial killing because most healthcare occupations, especially within hospitals, are not intended to disclose much information.

Case in point, hospitals hardly reveal trends in the way their patients actually die. Consequently, administrators may have no idea that a persistent pattern of offending being carried out by a healthcare serial killer (Lubaszka et al., 2013, p. 4). In addition, hospitals also do not communicate with one another about problematic employees who have a history of violence. Those in charge of hiring will therefore have no knowledge of a potential employee's escalating behavior, or previous offending. They may inadvertently hire a transferring healthcare serial killer. Thus, with no centralized database to keep track of problematic employees, they are free to move on to another location once they leave or are terminated (Lubaszka et al., 2013, p.4). Not only are they re-allowed entry into their offending grounds, but healthcare serial killers also receive a clean slate. In other words, the culture of silence that exists in hospitals protects healthcare professionals—including healthcare serial killers—from being held accountable (Lubaszka et al., 2013, p. 4). As an environment where malpractice and mistakes are common, coworkers may be obligated to look out for one another and may

be hesitant to express their suspicions about a fellow employee's behaviors to their superiors. Hence, healthcare occupations are attractive for serial killers since these workplaces are "ignorant by design." These structural factors give healthcare serial killers a greater opportunity to offend for a longer period than those offenders outside the system.

The Misconception of "Angels of Death"

On the whole, healthcare serial killing largely assumes that the killer is female: "angels of death." In fact, Kelleher and Kelleher's depiction of an angel of death specifically defines the killer as "a *woman* [emphasis added] who systematically murders individuals who are in her care and rely on her for some form of medical attention or similar support" (Yardley & Wilson, 2014, p. 40). Since "angels of death" is generally used when discussing healthcare serial killers this is an overgeneralization. It is not always the case that the offender is a woman. In actuality, the gender ratio of healthcare serial killers is almost equal. In Hickey's study, 54 percent were women, and 46 percent were men; Yorker et al. found that 55 percent of prosecuted healthcare workers were female, and that 44 percent were male nurses (Lubaszka & Shon, 2013, p. 68). This balanced ratio is meaningful as most of the serial killers outside the healthcare field are male. Thus, the term "angels of death" has recently begun to be applied to male medical murderers, including the aforementioned Charles Cullen (Yardley & Wilson, 2014, p. 40). Furthermore, although males are becoming more acknowledged as healthcare serial killers, these males do not seem to exhibit the typical sexually sadistic abuses that many male serial killers outside the healthcare context show. The relevancy and applicability of typical serial killer motivations of sexual excitement and access to healthcare serial

killers remains “tenuous at best” (Lubaszka et al., 2013, p. 3). It is more likely that the motivation of power and God-like control remains central for healthcare serial killers.

“Angels of Death” and “Dr. Death”

The use of “angel of death” may limit one’s view that healthcare serial killers are exclusively nurses when this is not always true. Similar to “angel of death,” “Dr. Death” refers to a male physician who kills his patients (Lubaszka, & Shon, 2013, p. 69). Again, this highlights the gender role assumption that females are nurses and males are doctors. It is curious why nurses and especially doctors become healthcare serial killers. That is, “doctors and nurses already exercise god-like control over the lives of their patients; it remains unclear how much more power they could wield in relation to their victims” (Lubaskza et al., 2014, p. 3). Since physicians hold the most power and respect, it would seem that healthcare serial killing would be committed by those with lesser amounts, like nurses. Yet Dr. Harold Shipman was a healthcare serial killer who murdered 15 of his patients between 1974 and 2001 (Lubaskza et al., 2013, p. 8). Healthcare serial killers are particularly interesting since they occupy positions of power yet crave more. Though this power can only be achieved through killing.

It is crucial to realize that specific aspects of the healthcare field, including those inherent to its structure, make it more possible for serial killers to exist and flourish in this occupational space. Healthcare occupations provide serial killers a “sound alibi that other serial killers cannot claim” (Lubaszka et al., 2013, p. 14). Hence, health care serial killers occupy a unique and advantageous context in which their occupations assist their offending in numerous ways.

Vehicular and Transitory Occupational Preferences of Serial Killers

While it is certainly an advantageous career field for many serial killers, the healthcare industry is not the only occupational sphere that serial killers prefer. Occupations that involve vehicles and transient work are also quite popular among serial killers. This trend may be a consequence of the increased availability of vehicles to the general public since the mid-1970s. This phenomenon boosted car ownership, which in turn expanded road networks, thereby making long-distanced locations more accessible and easier to reach (Lynes & Wilson, 2015a, p. 418). Undoubtedly, the rise of cars vastly transformed society, and in turn, it transformed serial murder as well.

Driving and Transitory Occupational Case Studies Explaining Preference

Peter Sutcliffe: “The Yorkshire Ripper”

It has been shown that many serial killers prefer occupations that involve vehicles and traveling. In fact, for known British serial killers, it was found that the primary occupational field preference for serial killers was “driving and transitory dependent work;” occupations in this field include those such as lorry drivers, delivery van drivers, and odd-job laborers who constantly travel location to location in search of work (Lynes & Wilson, 2015a, p. 417). To determine why transitory and vehicular occupations are particularly attractive for serial killers, Lynes and Wilson focused intensely on one specific case: Peter Sutcliffe—the notorious “Yorkshire Ripper” who killed thirteen women and attacked several more (Lynes & Wilson, 2015a, p.414). They examined the key aspects of Sutcliffe’s occupations involving driving that influenced his offending.

Sutcliffe’s occupation truly gave him numerous advantages for his offending, both instrumentally and psychologically. Crucially, possessing a vehicle instrumentally

enabled Sutcliffe to easily and rapidly flee the crime scene. In having a “getaway car” not only was he able to distance himself from the crime scene itself, but Sutcliffe could also drive to a safe place, like his home, and dispose of any evidence before the body was discovered or investigated (Lynes & Wilson, 2015a, p. 423). Thus, having access to a vehicle through his occupation allowed Sutcliffe to evade suspicion more efficiently. Furthermore, Sutcliffe’s driving and transitory jobs gave him a better way in which to find victims since a vehicle allowed him to cover a wider geographical space. This also helped him create “linkage-blindness” for investigators by sporadically choosing locations that were far away from his comfort zone; which additionally helped him avoid suspicion (Lynes & Wilson, 2015a, p. 423-4).

Sutcliffe’s occupation also assisted his offending psychologically. The required solitude of driving a vehicle provided Sutcliffe a psychological refuge wherein he could plan and fantasize about future offending. So, working in transitory occupations created “a work environment that allowed him to be alone and away from outside interference and managerial oversight” (Lynes & Wilson, 2015a, p. 427). In this way, he could concentrate on offending undisturbed. For these reasons, Sutcliffe’s occupational preference towards work involving vehicles certainly assisted his offending. In highlighting this case, Lynes and Wilson demonstrated that transitory occupations that require long work periods of isolation are an appealing career choice for serial killers.

John Wayne Gacy

Ressler similarly affirmed these driving and transitory occupations’ advantages and appeal for serial killers for American serial killers. To describe how these occupations influence serial killing, he also concentrated on one case: John Wayne

Gacy—one of America’s most notorious serial killers. Gacy had an excessive amount of young male victims and Ressler attributed this quantity to a career that required that he frequently travel. Ressler professed, “The sheer numbers of murders...if anything, he had more opportunity to commit equivalent crimes while he was on the road. Traveling salesmen and other perfectly normal men haunt bars and hangouts while on the road, eyeing available females (and sometimes available males) for temporary company. Gacy is more than likely to have done the same” (Ressler, 1998 p. 70.). Hence, the transitory nature of Gacy’s occupation enabled him a greater opportunity to offend than he would have without a vehicle. Similar to Sutcliffe, Gacy benefitted from his transitory occupation not only because he had more access to victims, but he too was able to create linkage-blindness (Lynes & Wilson, 2015a, p. 419). Therefore, many serial killers may be especially attracted to these occupations since it allows them a greater opportunity to offend more frequently and successfully.

The Long-Haul Truck Driving Serial Killer

Since a connection between driving and transitory occupations and serial killing has been observed, the FBI’s Highway Serial Killings Initiative was established in 2004 and made public in 2009. The program’s function is to investigate and track murder by analyzing body-dumping patterns along various U.S highways. Based on their findings, the FBI has proposed that the “ideal profession” for a serial killer is to be a long-haul trucker (Kahaner, 2016, n.p.). This assertion was made as the FBI discerned that there was a strong link between found bodies and suspects. In significance, the Initiative has revealed that nearly 750 murder victims have been found along or near highways, and that the majority of the suspects have been truck drivers (2016, n.p.). Of course, not every

truck driver is a serial killer. However, long-haul trucking offers many advantages serial killers' offending, thereby becoming an attractive occupational option.

Victim Access for Long-Haul Truckers

One particular advantage of long-haul trucking for serial killers is that the vehicle readily offers the mobility needed to find easily accessible victims. It has been found that some types of offenders, such as pedophiles, actively seek jobs that get them closer to their victims; this may be the case with serial killers and truck driving (Kahaner, 2016, n.p.). For instance, the FBI noted that many of the victims they found were women who lived high-risk transient lifestyles, such as prostitutes suffering from substance abuse, and these women are often picked up at truck stops or service stations. These women, therefore, may be more vulnerable, reckless, and possibly disregarded relative to women outside this context. As a consequence, they are easily accessible prey to serial killers working as long-haul truckers.

Lack of Supervision for Long-Haul Truckers

Not only does mobility's influence on victim access make trucking an ideal profession for serial killers, but it is mobility along with the lack of supervision that truly makes this occupation advantageous. Without direct supervision, serial killers can use their trucks as both a means of transportation, and as a space to carry out their offending. For example, after driving to find victims and picking them up in their trucks, these serial killers then have a space right in their vehicle in which they can carry out their offending. Afterwards, the offender can simply drive to another location, dump the body, and escape (Kahaner, 2016, n.p.). Without supervision, the body can be hidden in the truck until it can be successfully and secretly discarded, thereby assisting the transitory serial killers'

continued offending. In addition, the serial killer could be miles—states—away before the body is even found by the authorities. This may be the reason why it is particularly difficult to find these transitory serial killers: there is ambiguity in attributing numerous killings to a single offender when the victims are so geographically spread out.

The Department of Transportation has predicted that in the next 20 years, the number of truck drivers on the road will grow exponentially (Kahaner, 2016, n.p.). Accordingly, the opportunity for serial killers to choose trucking—and transitory work—as a profession and as means of offending, will grow as well. Although occupation may seem to be an irrelevant lifestyle factor with respect to serial killing, it is nonetheless a valuable element for these offenders as accessibility and concealment are central for successful offending. Occupations that offer both are greatly preferred.

The Importance of Lifestyle's Influence on Serial Killing

Serial killers are not offending non-stop. They have other things to do in their lives besides killing. In recognizing the significance of the broad social context in which serial killers exist, lifestyle factors should be considered as possible influencers for their offending. It is highly likely that a lifestyle factor such as occupation affects serial killers' offending since lifestyle in general influences behaviors. In fact, "lifestyle strongly affect[s] behavior for the outstanding obvious reason that [it is] behavior. One's lifestyle is a collection of behaviors and habits that one perpetuates" ("How Much Does Culture and Lifestyle Affect Behavior," 2013). Simply put, one's lifestyle is composed of the behaviors that drive one's routine way of living. One's occupations is certainly a major part of one's routine. Specifically for serial killers, an additionally important part of their lifestyle routine includes their offending. Since both offending and occupation can be

considered lifestyle factors, and thus may interact with each other, occupation may have a lesser recognized, yet nonetheless valuable, effect on serial killers' offending.

The Lifestyle Factor of Occupation and Its Influence on Serial Killing

It is significant that one's occupation can influence one's lifestyle. For even though occupational preference is one's "chosen course of pursuit through life; your lifestyle reflects your attitudes and values...the same values that relate specifically to your work permeate all other aspects of your life" ("How Your Career Can Affect Your Lifestyle," 2013, n.p.). Hence, serial killers prefer occupations that reflect their "values:" they choose occupations that will help their offending both psychologically and instrumentally. They value offending very much, and therefore may prefer occupations that will help facilitate this "value system." This is apparent in serial killers' preferences for transitory and healthcare careers since these occupations provide many facilitators for their offending.

Conclusion

Both serial killing and occupational preferences are intriguing and complex areas to explore in regards to human behavior. Although serial killing continues to be perplexing, much has been expounded, including different typologies; offending patterns; crime scene behavior; psychological characteristics; and other various aspects. Occupational research has also been highly insightful. Occupations strongly reflect personality, and thus much can be revealed about a person in recognizing their occupational preferences. Not only do occupations reflect personality, but they also influence thoughts and behaviors. For these reasons, the influence of occupations on serial killers' offending, both psychologically and instrumentally, must be investigated.

In order to fully understand serial killing, it is crucial to examine even the most seemingly peripheral factors of their lives. Previous research exploring serial killers' occupational preferences and its influences on their offending has only been localized in the United Kingdom and the United States (Lynes & Wilson, 2015a, Lynes & Wilson, 2015b). Canada is similar to the United States and the United Kingdom in important cultural and occupational ways. They are all industrialized first world countries, that reflect western societal values, in which all their job economies' have an emphasis in the service industry (Schoen, 2017, n.p.; Clegg, 2017, n.p.; Racco, 2016, n.p.). Utilizing a content analysis approach to examine the occupational preferences of Canadian serial killers will further contribute valuable information to this lesser-known area in the field of criminal justice.

That is, inspecting the occupational preferences of Canadian serial killers, perhaps similarities will be found in comparison to the United States and the United Kingdom. If so, this may help increase the understanding of serial killers within a western contemporary context and how these factors affect and are effected by the phenomenon. If differences are found, perhaps this will indicate that definitions of serial killers need to be context specific—like the definition of healthcare serial killers. Meaning, serial killing and how offending takes place, as well as occupations' influence on offending, may be geographically and culturally specific. Examining Canadian serial killers' occupational preferences may be an important first step in discovering more universals or distinctions within the phenomenon.

Observing the occupational preferences of serial killers has great implications for understanding, identifying, and apprehending serial killers in general. This is because

occupations are intrinsically linked with one's lifestyle and personality. As mentioned, one's lifestyle is significantly related to one's behaviors. Therefore, serial killers' offending is indicative of their lifestyle, which includes their occupation. Occupation in turn influences their behavior—their killing. Hence, to understand serial killers' offending, it seems that understanding their occupations' influences on their offending, both psychologically and instrumentally, is necessary as well. This is because aspects of serial killers' crime scenes and methods can point to these occupational influences. Ways that they find their victims, offend against their victims, and kill their victims may be influenced by the skills, resources, lack of supervision, ability to hide in plain sight, and free time to think, that their occupations allow. Through the use of forensics and profiling, investigators can trace both physical and psychological clues relating to occupations that may help narrow down suspects. Moreover, profilers may be able to add the occupational preferences of certain typologies of serial killers as occupations are intertwined with personality. The importance of discovering occupational preferences of serial killers may be central for both expanding the understanding of serial killing and narrowing down and identify suspects, which may lead to their apprehension. Examining the occupational preferences of Canadian serial killers will be worthwhile for decreasing the occurrence and increasing the knowledgebase of a dark, human phenomenon.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The goal of this thesis is two-fold: 1) to classify the occupational preferences of Canadian serial killers and 2) to analyze how these occupations may have enabled their offending both instrumentally and psychologically. For this objective, content analysis was applied. The utilization of this approach was determined following the example of Lynes and Wilson's (2015) study on the occupational preferences of British serial killers as well as the nature of the research question itself.

Research Method

A fundamental comprehension of content analysis is needed to understand how it pertains to this study. Content analysis is “a summarizing, quantitative analysis of messages that relies on the scientific method (including attention to objectivity-intersubjectivity, a priori design, reliability, validity, generalizability, replicability, and hypothesis testing) and is not limited as to the types of variables that may be measured or the context in which the messages are created or presented” (Neuendorf, 2002, p.10). Thus, content analysis is a systematic study of contextual rather than numerical data. It is a largely qualitative, not quantitative, research method. Indeed, “text is always qualitative to begin with” (Krippendorff, 2013, p. 88). Though content analysis is a research method that strays from that of typical statistical analyses, it is no less scientifically valid and valuable.

The purpose of content analysis is to form deductions from texts and other similar sources. After all, content analysis is simply “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use” (Krippendorff, 2013, p. 382). Content analysis therefore aims to derive meaning from

pre-existing textual sources; by analyzing texts while being guided by a specific research purpose, social scientists are able to develop new insights. In essence, content analysis' ability to extrapolate meaning from previous information allows for the development of new information, which may lead to a variety of significant implications.

For these reasons, a content analysis of biographical accounts of known Canadian serial killers was appropriate for the examination of their occupational preferences. The use of pre-existing contextual sources provided information that revealed these serial killers' lives, offending, and occupations. Moreover, the inferences on how Canadian serial killers' occupations may have influenced their offending could be derived from these sources.

Research Parameters

With the research methodology established, the proper parameters for the examination were set. It was foremost necessary to conceptualize what was meant by "serial killer." For the purpose of this study, the FBI's (Federal Bureau of Investigation) definition of serial murder was utilized. Thus, the criterion for a Canadian serial murderer as a viable subject will be "The unlawful killing of two or more victims by the same offender(s), in separate events" (Morton & Hilts, 2005, p. 9). This definition was the most effective as it allowed for a larger population of serial killers to be included in the study. However, since most of the sample members were found in Lee Mellor's *Cold North Killers: Canadian Serial Murder*, it should be mentioned that this study's definition differs from his. Mellor relied on a definition that included substantial psychological components (Mellor, 2012, p. 14). This would have greatly limited the sample size.

It was likewise essential to set a proper time frame from which the sample of serial killers would be selected. Principally, in *Cold North Killers: Canadian Serial Murder*, Mellor formulated four “cultural ages” in which Canadian serial killers were actively offending: Victorian/Pre-War (1843-1914); Interwar (1914-1945); Postwar (1946-1978); and Modern (1979-Present) (2012, p. 25). Utilizing Mellor’s cultural ages as a guide made it easier to determine the most effective time period.

The time in which serial killing came into widespread awareness was also taken into consideration in determining a suitable time frame: specifically, the concept of the “serial murderer,” as developed by FBI Special Agent Robert Ressler, and the increased attention given to the phenomenon occurred during the 1970s (Simons, 2001, p. 346). The serial killers chosen, then, were those active starting from 1970. Consequently, utilizing Mellor’s cultural “modern” age of 1979 to the present would be appropriate, as well as the cultural age “postwar” from 1944 to 1978, if some of those serial killers were also active during the 1970s.

Moreover, choosing active serial killers starting from the 1970s was an additionally applicable time frame as it also marked an important occupational starting point: occupations involving vehicles. In their study examining the occupational trends of British serial killers, Lynes and Wilson (2015) observed that “driving and transitory and dependent work” came into prominence during the mid-1970s. This was attributable to the fact that vehicles became much more available to the general public. In addition, road networks expanded in order to meet the demands of increased car ownership, and thus locations that were once difficult to reach became increasingly more accessible (Lynes & Wilson, 2015a, p. 418). This had important implications, not only for changes in

occupational trends, but for serial killers' offending as well. It was previously found that both British and American serial killers prefer transitory work involving vehicles, in which it was also found to help their offending both psychologically and instrumentally (Lynes & Wilson, 2015a, p. 417; Lynes & Wilson, 2015b, p. 280). Since American and British serial killers seemed to prefer this occupation, it was possible that Canadian serial killers did as well. In order to see if this was a significant trend, it was important that transitory occupations be included.

Occupational Classification

It would be ineffective and confusing to simply list each Canadian serial killers' occupation as a means of determining significance between such diverse, singular units. Thus, developing categorical distinctions were necessary in order to have definitive occupational groupings by which meaning could be derived. This is because categorical distinctions are able to "define units by their membership in a class or category—by their having something in common" (Krippendorff, 2013, p. 106). For instance, though one may not have the same occupation as another, they may certainly share the same occupational field. A nurse and a doctor have different occupations, yet they both fall under the same group of Healthcare Practitioners and Technical Occupations.

Categorizing similar occupations helped create meaningful boundaries for the study.

In order to designate the occupational categories, the 2016 Edition of Canada's National Occupational Classification (NOC) scheme was consulted. This was the most current occupational classification system found on the Government of Canada's website (Government of Canada, 2015). Although this study's methodology was modeled on Lynes and Wilson's examination of British serial killers' occupational preferences, they

used the 2010 Standard Occupational Classification System as a means of grouping professions in which to place serial killers (Lynes & Wilson, 2015a, p. 415). However, the NOC was chosen for this study instead as it was more pertinent and conducive towards examining the relationship between Canadian serial killers and their occupations. Thus, this occupational classification was most appropriate for the present study.

The NOC is divided into 10 major groups. The major occupational groups used, therefore, were: “Management occupations;” “Business, finance, and administration occupations;” “Natural and applied sciences and related occupations;” “Health occupations;” “Occupations in education, law and social, community and government services;” “Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport;” “Sales and service occupations;” “Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations;” “Natural resources, agriculture and related production occupations;” and “Occupations in manufacturing and utilities.” An additional category of unemployed/unknown that is not a part of the NOC was also added in order to include jobless serial killers, those who had unclassified odd jobs, or those who worked sporadically. Hence there were 11 occupational classifications used in total. A table was made to organize the serial killers into the appropriate NOC classification as was listed in an appendix.

Sample Group

Relevance sampling, or purposive sampling, was used in this study since the selection of the Canadian serial killers was based on their relevancy to the study’s objective and adherence to the criteria. Relevance sampling “aims at selecting all textual units that contribute to answering a given research questions” (Krippendorff, 2013, p.

120). The Canadian serial killers that were chosen for the study included those from both textual and internet sources.

Sample Group Sources

The main sources used to find both known serial killers and their occupations were Lee Mellor's 2012 book *Cold North Killers: Canadian Serial Murder* and the website Murderpedia.org. *Cold North Killers: Canadian Serial Murder* provided concise accounts of the lives and crimes of over 60 serial killers in Canada's history, containing biographies and occupations of these serial killers as well as descriptions of their crimes. Some descriptions were more in-depths than others. Murderpedia.com was an online encyclopedic dictionary and database that provided information on murderers, serial killers, and mass murderers around the world. Beyond those central sources, serial killers John Martin Crawford, Elizabeth Wettlaufer, and Bruce McArthur's occupations were found on the websites Radford.edu, BBC.com, and npr.org. Radford.edu provided the biography and chronology of serial killer John Martin Crawford as presented at Radford University for a Psychology Department. BBC.com provided information updating the case against Wettlaufer for her healthcare serial killing; the article detailed her crime and punishment of life incarceration. Npr.org provided information on recently caught serial killer McArthur, particularly on his method of burying his victims' remains in planters on his clients' properties; he was a landscaper. While websites are not typically the most scholarly or acceptable sources for research, these sites were considered valid since they were from well-known, reputable and credible sources that could be easily fact-checked. Moreover, these sources were also chosen because they likewise provided details about

the selected individuals' lifestyles and offenses, which helped determine how their occupations assisted their offending.

The sample criteria were then applied to these sources. Aforementioned, only serial killers active beginning from the 1970s to the present were included. Since the previous studies concerning the occupational preferences of British and America serial killers only included those that offended within their own country, serial killers that were Canadian born, but offended or partially offended in the United States, were excluded. The sample criteria were applied to these sources and a final sample size of 36 Canadian serial killers was created.

The Context

There may be occupations that have a greater frequency or are unique to Canada due to its geography, climate, and borders. In addition, since this thesis focused on Canadian serial killers, a basic understanding of the region from which the sample members were taken should be understood. Foremost, Canada was founded on July 1st, 1867 with the signing of the British North American Act—also called the Constitution Act, 1867 (“11 basic facts about Canada,” 2015, n.p.). Like the United States, Canada was also occupied by the British before its independence. These three countries are historically linked and are still connected. However, Canada has a greater French influence than these countries (“11 basic facts about Canada,” 2015, n.p.). The government of Canada is a Parliamentary Democracy. It is headed by a Prime Minister, yet it is also a constitutional monarchy. Thus, while the Prime Minister is the head of government executive authority is vested in the Queen, as she is the head of state (“11

basic facts about Canada,” 2015, n.p.). The United Kingdom has a similar system while the United States diverges as a democratic republic headed by a President.

Geographically, Canada is vast. It is the second largest country in the world by land mass with a total area of 9.9 million square kilometers. Since Canada touches the Pacific, the Arctic, and the Atlantic oceans, it is also the country with the longest coastline (“11 basic facts about Canada,” 2015, n.p.). Though this size is not overwhelming compared to the United States, it certainly dwarfs the United Kingdom. Residentially, Canada had a population of 36,885,049 people in 2017 (Government of Canada Statistics, 2017, n.p.). In 2017, The United States had a population of 326,392,644 and the United Kingdom had a population of 65,648,054 (“U.S. and world population clock”, n.d., n.p.; “Freedom of information,” n.d., n.p.). The population of Canada is also diverse and has adopted a policy of multiculturalism. Canada is home to over 200 ethnic origins; 4.3% of Canadians reported an Aboriginal identity and 19.1% belong to a visible minority (Government of Canada Statistics, 2017, n.p.). Canada’s distinction as the framework is imperative to consider, as the influences within the specific context may affect the occupational preferences of Canadian serial killers.

Members

The Canadian serial killers chosen included: James Greenidge; Gerald Archer; Ron West; Wayne Boden; Henry Williams; Christian Magee; Russel Maurice Johnson; Paul Cecil Gillis; David Theinen; Allen James Sweeney; Melvin Stanton; Allen MacDonald; Gilbert Paul Jordan; Daniel Wood; Clifford Olsen Jr.; Bruce Hamill; Michael McGray; Allen Legere; Serge Archambault; Paul Bernardo; Karla Homolka; Sam Pirrera; David Snow; John Martin Crawford; William Fyfe; Angelo Colalillo;

Suhkwinder Dhillon; Michael Hector; Robert Pickton; Carl Hall; Doug Moore; Charles Kembo; Colonel Russel Williams; Elizabeth Wettlaufer; Cody Legebokoff; and Bruce McArthur (Sweeney et al., n.d.; Mellor, 2012; “Canada nurse,” 2017; Blanco, 2017; Nueman, 2018). It should be disclosed that although Bernardo and Homolka were serial killer partners, both were included as separate sample units since they were both culpable as the same offender(s) in unlawful killings according to the FBI’s definition, and they also had important distinctions between sex and occupation.

There are two notable demographic considerations that should be mentioned. First, the sample only included two female serial killers: Elizabeth Wettlaufer and Karla Homolka. Likewise, only two serial killers were black: Charles Kembo and James Greenidge. The rest of the serial killers were white males.

This information concerning each serial killer was organized in a table. Each serial killer’s name, race, sex, age, years of active offending, number of victims, occupation, and the source was listed. This information was also given in an appendix.

Methodology Exemplified

To exemplify how a sample member was chosen, occupationally classified, and analyzed, Robert Pickton—an offender whose occupation was central to his offending as the “Pig Man”—may be used as an illustrative case. Firstly, Pickton was a Canadian who killed more than two people in separate events at different times. He therefore qualified as a Canadian serial killer. In consulting the text *Cold North Killers: Canadian Serial Murder*, it was found that Pickton’s occupation was a pig farmer—hence, “Pig Man” (Mellor, 2012, p. 373). The 2016 NOC was then consulted in order to determine his occupational classification. Conveniently, the 2016 NOC offers a “Quick Search” bar in

which the specific job title or 4-digit NOC code—how occupations are labeled—can be used to directly find the occupation’s classification. However, “pig farmer” produced no search results nor was it explicitly tilted as such. Thus, the instructions for coding to the NOC classification structure were followed.

The NOC coding method suggested using the hierarchical nature of the classification system in order to discover the appropriate grouping for an occupation. Firstly, the broad category, or skill type, which seems most likely to contain the preferred occupation should be identified. Then, the most fitting major group should be selected, along with its subsequent minor group. The most appropriate unit group—which contained the occupation—would be found through this process. Constructively, the unit group provided definitions as well as example titles for that occupational group (Government of Canada, 2015). In this way, Canadian serial killer Robert Pickton’s occupation was able to be assigned under the 2016 NOC’s occupational classification: “Natural resources, agriculture and related production occupations.”

In determining this conclusion, it was first hypothesized that this category of “Natural resources, agriculture and related production occupations” would be most relevant to Pickton’s work skills as a pig farmer. Then, the major group “Contractors and supervisors, agriculture, horticulture and related operations and services” was chosen, since its minor group “Agricultural service contractors, farm supervisors and specialized livestock workers” appeared the most precise to “pig farmer.” Indeed, in exploring the leading statement, main duties, and titles of the unit group under the minor grouping, equivalent job titles for his occupation as a “pig farmer” were found, such as “hog farm supervisor;” “animal farm foreman/woman;” “swine herdsman;” and “pork production

technician” (Government of Canada, 2015). Pickton’s occupational classification under “Natural resources, agriculture and related production occupations” was therefore justified. Subsequently, his biographical account in *Cold North Killers* was analyzed, by which inferences were then made about how this occupation assisted his offending as a serial killer. These inferences considered the instrumental and psychological facets provided by the occupation that were particularly beneficial for offending.

The process of categorizing occupations according to the NOC was done for every Canadian serial killer. However, analyzing biographical cases as to how one’s occupation may have affected their offending became reserved for those within the most preferred occupational classifications. This was done to determine specifically how occupational preferences likely influenced Canadian serial killers’ offending both instrumentally and psychologically. The applicable cases presented in the following chapter may be particularly revealing for this endeavor.

Chapter 4: Results

This thesis sought to classify Canadian serial killers' occupational preferences and to analyze the affects their occupations have on their offending both instrumentally and psychologically. In performing a content analysis on the biographical accounts of known Canadian serial killers, these offenders' occupational preferences, and subsequently how their occupations may have influenced their offending, were examined. The biographical sources were used to record each Canadian serial killers' specific occupation; serial killers who were unemployed, inconsistently employed, or paroled were also included. Demographics and other descriptors related to their offending, like the number of victims and years of offending, were provided as well (see Appendix A). Next, serial killers and their occupations were placed into the appropriate National Occupation Classification (NOC) occupational group as specified by Canada's 2016 NOC's coding instructions (Government of Canada, 2015, n.p.). If a sample member did not fit into any of the NOC's classifications, then they were placed into the independently created category of Unemployed/Unknown. After each serial killer was classified, the total number of serial killers within each group was then tallied (see Appendix B). Work environments containing the most serial killers were considered the leading occupational choices.

Top Occupational Preferences

It was found that Canadian serial killers' preferred three occupational areas in particular. Two of these areas were equally preferred. Excluding the predominant Unemployed/Unknown group, it was shown that Canadian serial killers preferred occupations classified under the NOC's "Management occupations;" "Sales and services occupations;" and "Trades, transports and equipment operators and related occupations."

“Management occupations” and “Sales and services occupations” shared the same number of serial killers. In fact, all three groups were nearly similar in the number of serial killers belonging in each (see Appendix B). The accounts of Canadian serial killers within these work areas were analyzed so as to study how these occupation types most directly assisted their offending. In doing so, there appeared to be common occupational influences on their offending. The content analysis indicated that Canadian serial killers preferred these areas due to certain qualities that these occupations provided for their offending.

Possible Reasons for These Occupational Preferences

The freedom of movements—typically through a vehicle—the lack of supervision, and the provision of solitude within one’s occupation were thought to be especially important for Canadian serial killers’ offending. These occupational elements were valued since they provided the best victim access and availability, the best resources for offending, and a private space in which to fantasize about their offending. As a result, distinct instrumental and psychological occupational advantages emerged as noteworthy.

The most preferred occupations were instrumentally advantageous to serial killers’ offending for certain features. They provided serial killers with useful skillsets, resources and tools that assisted their methods of offending, means to increase their range of offending, encounters with victims, a means of victim transport and disposal, and a way of escape. In tandem, the most preferred occupations were psychologically advantageous to serial killers’ offending for certain features. They offered serial killers’ opportunities to better envision and rehearse their fantasies and subsequently offend more effectively. Work spaces could become “psychological refuges” for which they could

fantasize about their offending “without fear of constraint from normality or reprimand from the real world” (Lynes & Wilson, 2015a, p. 427). Work spaces could also produce the necessary elements of Wilson and Jones’ offending space model: the psychological representation of the relationship between the offender’s thinking and doing (Lynes & Wilson, 2015b, p. 270). In essence, both concepts explained that these occupations were most preferred since they could potentially encourage serial killers’ fantasy development—their motivational drive—into real world acts even at work. These instrumental and psychological attributes were present in the preferred occupations of Canadian serial killers.

“Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations”

The “Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations” was barely the least preferred of the three most prevalent occupational classifications; it only had one less offender than the other groups (see Appendix B). The NOC emphasized the broadness of this classification, as it spans a range of industrial sectors. Though construction and transportation industries are predominant. The skill types within this category are those involved in construction and mechanical trades, trade supervisors and contractors, and operators of transportation and heavy equipment. A college education or other similar programs along with on the job training is usually needed. With experience, it may be possible to reach a position of supervisor or self-employed contractor. However, the NOC distinguishes these positions as separate from “Management occupations.” In addition, these occupations may have limited mobility or transferability with each other due to specific apprenticeship, training, and licensing requirements (Government of Canada, 2015, n.p.). It is likely that people within “Trade, transport and

equipment operators and related occupations” have strength and dexterity, are resourceful, and/or do not mind working alone. There were two distinct instances of Canadian serial killers who used these occupation types to assist their offending: the cases of Christian Magee and David Threinen.

Christian Magee

Though influential to his offending, Magee, the Mad Slasher, had a more unusual and less desired “Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupation.” Magee was employed at a local company that provided dead animal removal services. His main responsibility involved driving around Strathroy, Ontario in his 1975 Ford truck picking up dead animals (Mellor, 2012, p. 237). Thus, as necessary for his occupation, Magee had access to a vehicle and a legitimate reason to be driving to a variety of places at different times. Magee misused his work vehicle as a part of his offending. Specifically, his vehicle was a part of his modus operandi—his procedure of offending. Due to the lack of supervision that his occupation provided, Magee, when not removing dead animals, would instead use his vehicle to offer rides to young female hitchhikers. Once they were in his vehicle, Magee drove them to isolated areas and then brutally raped, murdered, dumped them on the roadside and sped away (2012, p. 327). Having a vehicle allowed Magee a wide geographical range in which to troll for victims, a way in which to transport them to isolated areas in order to offend and dispose of them, as well as being a means of escape. Magee’s necessary work vehicle was comprehensively convenient for his offending.

The lack of supervision and solitude that Magee’s occupation allowed him as he drove around town by himself for extended periods was also influential for his offending

psychologically. It offered him the opportunity to foster fantasies classic to sexual sadism; thus nurturing the motivational force behind his real world actions. Meaning, Magee's occupation may have assisted in fulfilling the essential preceding fantasy component of serial killing's actual occurrence. In the isolated silence of the vehicle, free of interruptions from co-workers or managers, Magee was potentially given a chance to use this lack of supervision and solitude to transform his work vehicle into a "psychological refuge" wherein he could safely think and fantasize on his deviant and hidden desires (Lynes & Wilson, 2015a, p. 427). In having his work vehicle as a place to envision and plan his offending without disruptions typical of other occupational environments, Magee could more easily carry out these fantasies into reality. Especially when trolling.

This combination of motivation and trolling emphasizes Cohen and Felson's routine activities theory. They explained crime as an opportunistic event in which there is a convergence in time and space that brings victims and offenders into contact. When a motivated offender comes into contact with a suitable target, and there is an absence capable guardianship to deter them, it is most likely a crime will occur in this setting (Cohen & Felson, 1979, p. 589). Magee was a motivated offender in which he drove his work vehicle looking for suitable targets to assault. When he came across vulnerable hitchhikers, he took the opportunity to strike.

It is also interesting to note that at one point Magee's occupation even provided him a murder weapon. As "The Mad Slasher," Magee naturally used knives as his method of killing and mutilating. For his last victim, he used his work company's filleting knife (Mellor, 2012, p. 237). Largely, Magee's Trade transport and equipment

operators and related occupation was beneficial for his offending since it increased his victim access and fostered the essential physiological element of fantasizing by providing him a space in which to do so.

David Threinen

Threinen's "Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupation" was fundamentally transitory. He was employed as a truck driver which required—and provided—a vehicle (Mellor, 2012, p. 171). Threinen targeted children and likely used his truck to troll the city of Saskatoon for vulnerable, suitable victims. Like Magee, this also highlights Cohen and Felson's routine activities theory (1979, p. 589). With his massive work vehicle, Threinen was easily able to lure or snatch children, transport them to remote areas, rape and murder them in the large isolated space of the vehicle, keep their bodies hidden, drive to secluded areas to dispose of their bodies, and drive away without suspicion— as trucks are always on the roads. In this way, it appeared that children simply vanished off the street. Threinen's work vehicle provided a highly efficient means of moving victims.

In fact, Threinen's occupation was most beneficial in the transportation of victims' bodies for disposal. It was not until Threinen ultimately confessed to the murders that the victim dump sites were found in the distant surroundings outside the city; he had to lead investigators to the bodies. Indeed, "...secreted in remote fields outside the city...the bodies were so well-hidden that they would have never found them without Threinen's co-operation" (Mellor, 2012, p. 171). Having an occupation that required traveling, along with a vehicle so commonly seen on the road at various times and places, gave Threinen an extensive space in which to effectively dispose and hide his victims'

bodies. Since investigators could not create a geographical profile without the bodies, this lessened the connection to him, and helped him avoid suspicion—at least for a time. Moreover, Threinen’s method of offending was made possible in that he was alone. Without supervision, it was impossible to keep Threinen from misusing his work vehicle and offending “on the job.” These elements of this transitory occupation could be beneficially utilized for Threinen’s offending unobstructed.

Threinen’s occupation was also influential for his offending psychologically. As a “fixated pedophile with homicidal tendencies,” fantasizing was critical for his offending (Mellor, 2012, p. 171). Threinen was obsessive and compulsive. Similar to Magee’s case, having an occupation that subjected him to long isolated periods of driving potentially provided him a “psychological refuge” in his work vehicle (Lynes & Wilson, 2015a, p. 427). Threinen was therefore able to indulge and rationalize these fantasies, and then act on these impulses when opportunities arose. In proof, these fantasies became so powerful that he even admitted his inability to control his impulses (Mellor, 2012, p. 171). Thus Threinen’s occupation was psychological influential as it strengthened his motivational drive to offend.

It was the required work vehicle, the main feature of this “Trade, transport and equipment operators and related occupation,” that greatly assisted Threinen’s offending. In fact, having a vehicle was so dangerous under his control that “the judge recommended that [Threinen] never again be allowed on Canada’s streets and roadways” (Mellor, 2012, p. 171). In essence, his occupation was influential for his offending in various ways relating to his interaction with victims, evasion, and his relationship between fantasy and reality.

“Sales and Services Occupations”

The “Sales and services occupations” was tied as the most preferred vocational group for Canadian serial killers; six serial killers’ occupations fell into this category (see Appendix B). This NOC group comprises of sales occupations, personal and protective service occupations, as well as occupations related to hospitality and tourism industries (Government of Canada, 2015, n.p.). This category’s label is largely self-explanatory: people in this classification provide goods or functions. Abilities include social skills as they must convince others that they have a need and that they can best satisfy those needs. Three serial killers in particular revealed how their “Sales and services occupations” were advantageous for their offending. This was Karla Homolka, Serge Archambault, and William Fyfe.

Karla Homolka

Though Homolka partnered with her husband Paul Bernardo, it was her “Sales and service occupation” that was crucial for their team offending. Homolka was employed as a veterinarian’s assistant (Mellor, 2012, p. 311). Different from most in her occupational group, Homolka was providing a service to a more unique clientele: pet owners and animals. Working at animal care facilities was valuable for Homolka’s offending since it gave her the means to control their victims. Homolka stole drugs from her work place, including anesthetics like Halothane and Halcion, that were used to subdue their victims (Mellor, 2012, p. 412). This method of using these stolen drugs to pacify victims was shockingly first used on Homolka’s younger sister, Tammy. After rendering her unconscious with Halcion and alcohol, Homolka kept her under by pouring Halothane on a rag and holding it to her face. As the drugs kept Tammy unconscious and

compliant, Bernardo was able to rape Tammy. However, Tammy had a bad reaction to the drugs and alcohol and died (Mellor, 2012, p. 413; 415). Nevertheless, this became Homolka's modus operandi when she and Bernardo subdued and raped their victims. Homolka would put them in a drug and alcohol induced haze to keep them manageable and unable to escape (Mellor, 2012, p. 316; 319). This was made possible by the availability of these deadly supplies at Homolka's workplace.

The accessibility to these drugs due to the lack of supervision that her "Sales and services occupation" allowed was likewise crucial for Homolka's offending. It would not have mattered if the necessary drugs for her offending were available if Homolka was unable to obtain them. However, since her occupation allowed her a fair amount of freedom without oversight, Homolka had the ability to access powerful drugs without suspicion, or the permission/assistance of a manager. In another position or occupational field, this may not have been possible. Bernardo and Homolka would not have been able to constrain their victims so easily; thus they likely would have been less efficient offenders.

Serge Archambault

Archambault, the Butcher of St. Eustache, actually had a resume of "Sales and service occupations" that were influential on his offending. At his last killing, Archambault was a traveling salesman (Mellor, 2012, p.110). This "Sales and services" position was greatly conducive for his offending as this transitory occupation naturally required that he own a vehicle. Firstly, Archambault used his work vehicle as a way in which to be constantly prepared to offend. While it is not uncommon for a traveling salesman to store his goods or supplies in his car—like a briefcase—Archambault also

stored his crime supplies in his car. He always carried a “murder-rape kit in his car consisting of knives, a gun, and various ligatures” (Mellor, 2012, p. 110). Thus, Archambault’s occupation allowed him to be an opportunistic, yet organized, offender by which he could both store and hide his crime tools in his work vehicle. When the need arose, and a victim was available, he had all he needed to offend. As with other transient offenders, this stresses elements of routine activities theory (Cohen & Felson, 1979, p. 589). He was ready when the chance arose.

Moreover, having an occupation that required traveling greatly expanded Archambault’s geographical space in which to offend—even when he was not intentionally trolling. He found one victim by chance while driving on a business trip (Mellor, 2012, p. 110). In this case, it could be argued that Archambault’s occupation directly contributed to his offending regarding victim availability. Most of the time, however, Archambault used his work vehicle to “trawl the streets” for prostitutes with the intention of picking them up and killing them (Mellor, 2012, p. 110). Either way, Archambault used his work vehicle to find victims both opportunistically and purposefully, thereby increasing his effectiveness as a serial killer.

Archambault’s admittance of having the intention to kill stresses the driving psychological component of serial killing: fantasizing. Wilson and Jones’ offending space model can explain how Archambault’s occupation as a traveling salesman influenced his offending; his required work vehicle may have produced the three factors that initiated his thoughts into actual behavior. Recall that these are the fantasy space, the physical space, and the pseudo-reality space. The fantasy space is the offender’s psychological motivation to commit the offense; the physical space is the real world

environment in which the offender resides; and the pseudo-reality space is a hybrid where elements of fantasy are blended with reality to create images, videos, and sounds reflective of the fantasy and physical space (Wilson & Jones, 2008, p. 109). Driving in his work vehicle for long uninterrupted periods possibly provided Archambault the opportunity to fantasize. This helped his fantasies become more realistic by which he was then able to mentally rehearse and ritualize. Ultimately, this solid rumination and planning encouraged his real world offending.

Archambault's moniker actually points to his most influential "Sales and service occupation," the reason he was known as "the Butcher of St. Eustache:" he had been an actual butcher (Mellor, 2012, p. 110). Disturbingly, being a butcher also taught Archambault how to best dismember and dispose of victims' bodies. In fact, using these, the occupational flaying techniques learned on the job, he successfully got away with murder until he himself confessed to it years later. Archambault had been so efficient in dismembering and disposing of victim remains, investigators often did not even know that a murder had occurred. Evidently, "Archambault's time as a butcher payed off" (Mellor, 2012, p. 107; p. 110-111). Overall, this offender's occupation was highly influential for his offending in instrumental and psychological ways.

William Fyfe

Fyfe's "Sales and services occupation" as a traveling handyman—or "Killer Handyman"—was also quite influential (Mellor, 2012, p. 96). His occupation was ingrained in his offending, both as his pretext and his modus operandi. Fyfe would simply knock on the victim's door to offer his services; occasionally he would claim to be sent by their landlord. His occupation was an effective pretext as it gave him direct contact

with his victims. People expect handymen to come to into their homes and trust them to act professionally and on task once inside. Thus, Fyfe directly used his occupation for his offending since it was “a ruse that worked particularly well because it made women feel obligated to let him in. However, once he crossed the threshold, [he] flew into a bestial rage...raping and stabbing them repeatedly with a butcher knife” (Mellor, 2012, p. 96). He took a believable job request and used it for his offending benefit.

This threshold accessibility was also convenient for Fyfe’s unrestrained violence, “clean-up,” and escape. As a handyman, he needed to enter the privacy of people’s homes. Neighbors, or witnesses, would not find it odd to see this type of “stranger” go into another person’s home. Fyfe therefore had access a place where he could easily and messily offend—the privacy of the victim’s own home. He did not have to plan for victim transport, disposal, or getaway. Fyfe could walk out as simply as he came. It would just appear that the handyman had finished his services.

This points to Fyfe’s other offending advantage as a freelance handyman: the lack of supervision. Thus similar to Homolka’s case, no one knew he was abusing his position to offend. In addition, a supervisor would have probably realized that many clients had suddenly died after Fyfe had seen them. Fyfe would have been under extreme pressure, and would have needed to be extremely cautious if he wanted to try to offend using his occupational resources.

For a handyman to travel and offer his services, a vehicle is necessary. Fyfe accordingly owned a pickup truck (Mellor, 2012, p. 99). The long distances he travelled in his vehicle was especially advantageous for avoiding suspicion. Fyfe typically trolled and offended in the Montreal area, yet lived in Barrie, Ontario: 650 kilometers southwest

of the city in which he killed (Mellor, 2012, p. 99). Fyfe used his work vehicle to ensure that his zone of offending would not be connected to his residency, and consequently himself. Eventually, it took a cooperative investigation between Montreal detectives and Ontario police to capture this serial killer. DNA evidence and the help of Fyfe's ex-girlfriend was also necessary (Mellor, 2012, p. 99). His ability to travel long distances lessened his chances of being recognized by someone he knew—and thus minimized his chances of being apprehended. Witnesses could only tell authorities about “a strange handyman who had come to their door offering his services” (Mellor, 2012, p. 99). Fyfe's work vehicle provided anonymity, thereby extending his time as a serial killer.

The necessary work vehicle also influenced Fyfe's offending psychologically. The long drive between his home and work/offending locations potentially offered Fyfe a great amount of time and solitude to nurture the essential fantasy element of serial killing's reality. As was explained earlier, Wilson and Jones' offending space model can describe how Fyfe's sadistic fantasies developed into reality. Alone in his work vehicle, the fantasy space, the physical space, and the pseudo-reality space necessary for bringing Fyfe's fantasies into reality were produced (Wilson & Jones, 2008, p. 109). As Fyfe took the long drive from Ontario to Montreal, he had the time and solitude to envision his offending—and he fully intended to bring these fantasies into the real world environment when he arrived. Had Fyfe been in another work environment, such as a crowded office surrounded by co-workers and ringing phones, this may not have been possible. Therefore, his “Sales and services occupation” as a handyman was highly favorable for his offending.

“Management Occupations”

It was “Management occupations” that was tied with “Sales and services” as the most preferred vocational group for serial killers (see Appendix B). The NOC specified that these positions are those regarded as the head of an organizational hierarchy of workplaces or businesses. In addition, people who occupy “Management occupations” have the decision-making authority that affects departments within the organization or the organization in its entirety. These positions are naturally characterized by high levels of responsibility, accountability, and subject matter expertise; expertise is obtained through either formal education or substantial occupational experience (Government of Canada, 2015, n.p.). Some Canadian serial killers within “Management occupations” used their positions to their advantage. Charles Kembo, David Snow, Gilbert Paul Jordan, Clifford Olsen Jr., and Colonel Russel Williams were notable examples.

Charles Kembo

Kembo was the essence of the management classification: he had high amounts of responsibility and was a business expert. Kembo utilized his skills to open and head both a successful financial project management company and convenience store (Mellor, 2012, p. 208). His occupation influenced his offending through the availability of victims. It gave him direct contact with his victims. Kembo was thoroughly motivated by greed, and his occupation favorably presented him with victims from which he could profit. Subsequently, he would use his management position to get those who both worked for him, and with him, to trust him.

For instance, one of Kembo’s victims was his wife. She had once been an employee in his shop. After she became his wife, however, he applied for credit cards

under her name shortly before she disappeared (Mellor, 2012, p. 208-9). Had she not worked for him, Kembo would not have chosen her as a target. He would not have been in a position to achieve monetary gain from her death. In the same way, Kembo also murdered his business partner and college friend, but not before taking out an \$800,000 insurance plan out on this victim (Mellor, 2012, p. 209). Like Kembo's wife, had this man not befriended and worked with Kembo he would not have become a target.

Kembo's success within his management occupation was additionally beneficial for his offending in avoiding suspicion. He achieved an air of normalcy, respect, and prestige. Kembo opened both his flourishing businesses after he was released from prison for theft; and despite having a criminal record for engaging in welfare scams. Yet, by achieving business success, it was as if "Kembo seem[ed] to have gone straight" (Mellor, 2012, p. 208). He was able to create a new image of a reformed, hardworking man. In fact, Kembo was prominent enough to be interviewed by the *Vancouver Sun* after he murdered his business partner. Though he used to opportunity to further polish his image by ironically proclaiming that "[his business partner] received nothing but help from me" (Mellor, p. 209). Thus, Kembo's management skills not only affected his actual offending, but also helped him avoid suspicion.

David Snow

Snow was an extreme sexual sadist whose managing of an antiques dealership certainly would not suggest this inclination (Mellor, 2012, p. 250). Nevertheless, it was Snow's occupational dealings that likely influenced his lesser-known offenses. That is, though he was only formally convicted of 2 murders, Mellor (2012) asserted in *Cold North Killers: Canadian Serial Murder* that Snow was undoubtedly responsible for many

more deaths. Specifically, Mellor proposed that Snow's activities as an antiques dealer that brought him into contact with suspected victims.

For instance, abundant circumstantial evidence incriminated Snow as the perpetrator of one victim's death because of direct contact through the same occupational field. Mellor (2012, p. 262) states "it was more than likely that they had crossed paths at some point." Thus, it is highly plausible that Snow made direct contact with this victim through a work-related enterprise and then chose her as a victim. Another suspected victim death involving Snow related to dealings with a customer. After a man had allowed Snow to procure a piece of his furniture from his estate, he died mysteriously; Snow was then allowed to sell more of his valuables (Mellor, 2012, p. 262). These instances suggest that Snow's occupation was advantageous for victim availability, as it provided him direct contact with potential, suitable targets. As with previous cases, this is indicative of routine activities theory (Cohen & Felson, 1979, p. 589). He offended against those customers who were most attractive.

In his position, Snow was obviously not subjected to managerial oversight. Like other offenders lacking supervision, he therefore could do as he pleased without worry or consequence. He could leave when he wanted, and consequently offend when he wanted; he could even close his business for a period if he wanted. Thus Snow's occupation influenced his offending in the amount of freedom it allowed him.

This occupational freedom was also psychologically influential for his offending in that it potentially helped him more perfectly actualize his fantasies. Fantasizing was greatly significant for Snow as his offending behaviors "seemed to be highly ritualized as if he were reading from a script... [he had] idealized fantasies of ritual objectification"

(Mellor, 2012, p. 262). Snow used his workspace as a place to solidify his “script” so he could carry them out more effectively. As described earlier, he could transform his shop into a “psychological refuge” wherein he could imagine and rehearse his offending uninterrupted (Lynes & Wilson, 2015a, p. 427).

When a former business partner went to the storage unit that Snow used to keep some of his antiques, he also stumbled upon more disturbing findings. Along with antiques, there was a large amount of hardcore pornography (Mellor, 2012, p. 255). It was highly likely that Snow allowed himself the time to fantasize on these images; his management position gave him the freedom. The direct contact and ability to fantasize that Snow’s occupation allowed was therefore important for his offending.

Gilbert Paul Jordan

As “The Boozing Barber,” Jordan’s “Management occupation’s” influence on his offending was apparent to everyone after his capture (Mellor, 2012, p. 435-6).

Beforehand, however, in holding a head position as the owner of a barbershop, Jordan’s occupation helped him this elude capture—for a time. Like Kembo, Jordan was an ex-convict whose position had a protective effect for his offending: it gave him a false front of rehabilitation and ordinariness. Indeed, it was upon his release from prison, where he had learned hair-dressing skills, that Jordan “opened Slocan Barbershop...this façade of normalcy” (Mellor, 2012, p. 436). Jordan had an incredibly long and serious criminal history. He had previous arrests for theft, car theft, assault, and drug possession; and he had even been acquitted of abduction and accused of rape (Mellor, 2012, p. 436).

However, Jordan’s occupation gave him a guise of a newly law-abiding, hardworking citizen as he escalated to serial killing.

Not only did Jordan's occupation provide him cover, but it also gave him a stable source of income to buy both his murder weapon and victims. Jordan's weapon was alcohol: hence, the *Boozing* Barber. His method of offending was wholly unique—Jordan killed his victims by alcohol poisoning. He would compel his victims to drink until they passed out and would continue to pour alcohol down their throats until the toxicity killed them (Mellor, 2012, p. 437). Killing someone by alcohol poisoning, as well as being as alcoholic himself, is expensive. In fact, merely purchasing five drinks a week at \$6 each adds up to \$1,560 a year (“15 Facts About Alcoholism,” 2017, n.p.). Jordan's occupation was therefore imperative for providing the income to purchase his weapon of choice. Though it is true he could have still purchased alcohol by stealing or even performing other types of work, this legitimate and stable occupation was most likely the ideal financial source.

Jordan's occupation also allowed him to buy his victims: prostitutes. Since “sober people wouldn't go out with him” Jordan had an extensive history of sleeping with, and assaulting, prostitutes (Mellor, 2012, p. 436). It is unsurprisingly that he simply escalated his behavior towards serial prostitute killing. Having a steady income from his occupation allowed him to also have a steady, easily accessible flow of victims. Prostitutes are highly suitable victims: they are a marginalized group disregarded and ignored by society; thus, they are less likely to be reported missing.

In significance, Jordan used his business location for his actual place of offending. As the owner, Jordan could decide when the barbershop was opened or closed, who was in the building, and what activities occurred within the building. The benefit of offending in one's workplace was exemplified between the summers of 1982 and 1985 as “three

alcoholic prostitutes were found dead in the Slocan Barbershop. Amazingly, the police never linked Jordan to their deaths...he had reported them, it might have been a gruesome coincidence... [or they were] too lazy to radio in a criminal record check” (Mellor, 2012, p. 437). It could be inferred that Jordan bought their services, requested that they come to his barbershop, and killed them. Offending at his workplace was a risk, though it did have advantages. For instance, it saved him the trouble of having to find a meeting place for his victims, such as a motel—as is typical for prostitutes. This would have cost extra money, but more importantly, it would have increased the chances that he would be seen, recognized, and then reported to the police if those prostitutes were found dead. In the privacy of his own business, however, he had convenience and cover. Offending in his own workplace also saved Jordan the issue of body disposal. The police who responded to these incidents did not expect murders to have taken place in this type of location; especially when the owner himself called them over. Thus, they removed the bodies for the serial killer! Had the victims been found anywhere else, the police likely would have initiated an investigation. In essence, Jordan’s “Management occupation” was beneficial to his offending as it provided him with a positive front, the ability to afford his offending, and a place in which to offend.

Clifford Olsen Jr.

Clifford Olsen Jr.’s “Management occupation” highly influenced his offending as “The Beast of B.C.”—Vancouver’s first serial killer. Olsen was a construction contractor. He additionally claimed to own a construction firm, and bought expensive business cards, envelopes, and letter heads to indicate the impressiveness of his business organization (Blanco, 2017, n.p.). Perception was key for Olsen, as he used his occupation’s title and

power for victim access. Using his position as head contractor, Olsen would frequently lure victims into isolating situations by offering them jobs.

To exemplify, when Olsen spotted two teenage girls, he kindly informed them that he was a construction contractor looking for workers to help him clear a nearby work site. Eager for employment, the girls agreed to go with him in his Ford Pinto. After driving them around from “site” to “site” he decided there was only enough work for one and sent one girl home. He drove the other to another isolated “job site.” However, as they were nearing the location Olsen attempted to rape her in his car; though she struggled so much that he had let her go (Mellor, 2012, p. 83-4). Others were not so fortunate in falling for the same ruse. One boy “accepted a ride from an affable stranger who offered him a high-paying job...two weeks later [his] naked body was hauled out of a dike...he had been...bludgeoned to death with a hammer” (Mellor, 2012, p. 83).

Olsen also had the freedom to use his hiring authority as a ruse without repercussions. If Olsen instead had a manager, and it had been discovered that he was looking for independent workers, especially young teenagers, he would have been questioned about his purposes. This could have led to increased supervision, disciplinary action, or even his termination. In his top position, however, was free to misuse his authority.

As a head organizer, Olsen needed a work vehicle in order to oversee different construction projects at various locations. As with other transient offenders, he also used his work vehicle for trolling, transporting, and disposing of victims. The ability to drive to numerous areas increased his range and opportunity to find victims. Like other cases, Olsen’s hunting for suitable victims also reveals elements of routine activities theory

(Cohen & Felson, 1979, p. 586). For instance, Olsen by chance found the girls from the case described above outside an arcade by a mall when they were alone (Mellor, 2012, p. 83). Victims often believed Olsen was taking them to a job site—when in fact he was transporting them to an offending site, often in a different city. Olsen drove the girl who escaped from Coquitlam to Surrey before he tried to assault her (Mellor, 2012, p. 84). The vehicle was also highly effective for disposing victims' bodies. Many of Olsen's victims were found in a variety of remote, isolated locations: lakes, dikes, dumpsites, and road sides. Moreover, many of these bodies were not found without Olsen's co-operation (Mellor, 2012, p. 89). Like the case of Threinen, Olsen's use of his vehicle to transport and dispose of victim's bodies in areas where they were unlikely to be found made it appear that they simply vanished.

Olsen's work vehicle influenced his offending psychologically as well in much the same way as has been described in previous cases. This was due to the large amount of time he spent driving in his work vehicle. By providing him a space and time in which fantasize, it potentially facilitated his actual serial killing. Police even observed Olsen "driv(ing) around constantly, scouting for prey" (Mellor, 2012, p. 88).

Similar to Magee's case, Olsen's work environment also gave him his favorite murder weapon. Olsen commonly killed his victims by bludgeoning them with construction equipment, his "trusty hammer" (Mellor, 2012, p. 89). In fact, one victim was brutally beaten and had a nine-centimeter nail hammered into his head (Mellor, 2012, p. 88). In sum, Olsen's "Management occupation" assisted his offending through his hiring ability used as a ruse, his opportunity to fantasize, and tools used for offending.

Colonel Russel Williams

As a high ranking officer within the Canadian Armed Forces, Colonel Russel Williams' "Management occupation" placed him as the head of an organizational hierarchy. This powerful position was particularly influential for his offending. Most significantly, Williams' occupation greatly helped him avoid suspicion. More so than any other case, no one would expect someone of his stature to be a serial killer. In fact, "Williams's arrest was shocking...arguably the most prestigious multiple murderer in recent history. Not only was he a powerful Canadian military commander, he had actually flown the Prime Minister and the governor across the country...photographed with Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh" (Mellor, 2012, p. 22). Williams' position and distinctions made it seem wildly unlikely that he could be a serial killer.

Though one might think that Williams' obligations would keep him too preoccupied to offend, in truth it had a great influence on his serial killing. Williams was an opportunistic offender whereby his occupation brought him into chance encounters with suitable victims. This too shows criminal behavior as based on routine activities theory (Cohen & Felson, 1979, p. 586). In addition, Williams was able to abuse his power as a military officer to exploit those opportunities for his offending. Notably, he happened upon his first victim during a routine work voyage. She was a flight attendant, a Corporal. Thus, the victim-offender relationship arose merely from their shared occupational environment. Williams then misused his occupational authority on the Trenton air force base to acquire her home address. He then broke into her house, raped and killed her (Mellor, 2012, p. 292). Similar to former cases, had he not been in a command position, he could have been questioned (and reprimanded) by his superiors

about why he was seeking seemingly random, yet confidential information. This unquestionable access to any resources he wanted due to his head position was also beneficial as it suggested the best place to offend: the privacy of his victim's home. Previously explained, this saved Williams' the trouble of possible witnesses and victim transport/disposal.

His occupation as also related to his second offense, he was driving to work as usual in his Nissan Pathfinder and saw a woman through the window of her house as he drove by. In this instance, he did not even need to look up her personal information: he drove by her home every time he went to and from work. The next night, Williams came back, forced her into his vehicle, drove her to his cottage in Tweed, raped and killed her. He then used his vehicle to dispose of her body (Mellor, 2012, p. 291-3). Williams' occupation required that he routinely travel to the Trenton air force base which was a far distance from both his Ottawa home and cottage in Tweed. Not only did he use the vehicle to physically transport and dispose of his victim, as with the other serial killers described thus far, Williams also may have used his extensive drive to and from work as an opportunity to fantasize and plan his offending. The vehicle he used for his work commute therefore psychologically influenced his offending as well.

Unemployed/Unknown

In order to understand fully how occupations may influence offending, a contrast from the Unemployed/Unknown classification may be useful. That is, how unemployment may influence offending. Indeed, the majority of the Canadian serial killers in the sample were unemployed, were inconsistently employed, or were on parole (see Appendix B). Examining serial killers' effectiveness when they do not have

occupational influences on their offending may highlight which elements are truly valuable for employed Canadian serial killers' offending. It may also reveal if there are universal factors outside occupations that influence serial killers' ability to offend. Michael McGray, "The Homicidal Drifter," exemplifies how unemployment was actually beneficial for his serial killing.

Michael McGray: A Negative Case Example

McGray was a full-time serial killer. Forgoing the responsibility and accountability of an occupation, he instead "embraced the chaos and excitement of the highway," driving across Canada in his vehicle (Mellor, 2012, p. 245). With the intention to kill, McGray roamed the highways and bounced from city to city, drifting until he found easily accessible suitable victims; thus representing routine activities theory (Cohen & Felson, 1979, p. 589). In essence McGray's occupational title was "Homicidal Drifter" (Mellor, 2012, p. 245). This way of living—of offending—was his work.

Without an occupation, McGray's autonomy and movement was significantly greater than what was allowed to the employed serial killers previously described. For instance, he had the ability to offend whenever he wanted without the constraints of a work schedule. He did not have set hours by which there were periods that he could not offend—without taking time off, which could become suspicious. McGray was also never held accountable by an employer. There were no demands to be at certain locations at specific times to complete tedious tasks. Thus he could travel and offend whenever. Likewise, he was never under supervision. No one would question his behavior or activities, and he could freely kill without having to be overly cautious when offending "on the job." Furthermore, McGray was not restrained to a permanent work location, like

a store or factory. He could pick up and leave whenever he needed, whether in search of victims or to evade capture.

A vehicle was essential to McGray's drifting, as it influenced his effectiveness as a serial killer. Naturally, McGray's vehicle enabled him to greatly expand his territory in search of the easiest, most vulnerable prey. Drifting the highways and through cities, and abandoning the resident lifestyle most occupations require, he had all of Canada to explore as his zone of offending. Hence, McGray admitted of "wandering aimlessly from Vancouver to Halifax, sticking to gay districts or the seedier parts of town frequented by prostitutes or drug addicts. These easy targets comprised the bulk of his victims" (Mellor, 2012, p. 248). McGray sought easy targets along the highways as well; one of McGray's confirmed victims was a teenage girl he noticed hitching on the side of the road (Mellor, 2012, p. 247). Thus, his vehicle was vital for victim availability and accessibility. It allowed him to travel to areas in which he could access highly suitable victims—mainly populations that are marginalized and discounted by society, and those already living transient lifestyles themselves.

McGray's vehicle was crucial for his ability to avoid suspicion and evade capture. In fact, McGray was not prosecuted until the early 2000s, yet "he hinted at numerous other murders he had committed across Canada in the late eighties and early nineties (Mellor, p. 246). His ability to be a transient offender due to a vehicle made this length from offending to conviction possible. With a vehicle, McGray was able to create linkage blindness. He murdered both along highways and different cities, crossing various police boundaries, isolating each case and limiting communication between law enforcement agencies (Lynes & Wilson, 2015a, p. 419). The farther McGray drifted, the more these

killings would seem logically unconnected. Moreover, McGray could afford to be an impulsive, messy offender. That is, he did not concern himself with victim transport or disposal. He simply used his vehicle as a “getaway car” and distanced himself from the crime scene (Lynes & Wilson, 2015a, p. 419). By the time a victim’s body was found, McGray could be cities away. As long as he had a vehicle, this unemployed serial killer had instrumental offending advantages.

The freedom to drift across Canada’s entirety in the solitude of his vehicle for long periods of time allowed McGray the potential opportunity to nurture his psychological drives into reality: this phenomenon is similar to what was described in the case histories of employed serial killers who drove vehicles for their professions (Wilson & Jones, 2008, p. 109). McGray drove to undesirable locations with a set motivation: “the desire to spill blood” (Mellor, 2012, p. 245). His vehicle held the fantasy space while he simultaneously trolled the real world environment in search of these places. As he did, McGray fantasized that he would be “smelling the blood and savoring the screams of his victims” (Mellor, 2012, p. 245). In this way, his vehicle provided the central psychological component necessary for connecting thinking with doing for his serial killing.

However, it was unsure how McGray was able to afford his transient lifestyle. Perhaps he was able to enjoy his freedom as an unemployed offender from robbing his victims. Case in point, one of his victims was killed during the commission of a failed robbery (Mellor, 2012, p. 247). This could indicate that his drifting was partially financed from money stolen from victims. In addition, McGray sometimes killed victims in their own homes; a victim would unknowingly invite him home for the night after casually

meeting him at a bar (Mellor, 2012, p. 247). Perhaps McGray could have survived without the financial support of an occupation by rooming with them for a short period before killing them, and subsequently stealing their valuables. McGray would not need an occupation for financial support if his victims provided it for him. Of course, this a tentative and incomplete speculation for McGray's ability to afford a transient serial killing lifestyle.

McGray's case showed that it was possible to be an effective serial killer without an occupation. Indeed, he was implicated for 7 to 17 murders (Mellor, 2012, p. 245). However, it may be asked if McGray is an exception. In truth, some cases of Canadian serial killers within the unemployed/unknown group could be considered "ineffective." Some were already under surveillance as parolees, and some did not have many victims (see Appendix A). These features seem characteristic of disorganized offenders, whose traits of impulsiveness, lack of intelligence and premeditation would thus explain for their ineffectiveness (Simon, 2015, p. 36). To exemplify, Mellor defined Carl Hall as a disorganized offender (2012, p. 167). Like McGray, Hall was unemployed—though one could say his "occupation" was that of a thief since he constantly stole in order to support his drug obsession—yet unlike McGray, he only killed 3 victims and was caught much sooner (Mellor, 2012, p. 175; p. 178-9). While Hall was unemployed and therefore had the same advantages as McGray, these factors indicate that he was not capable of using them. Namely, Hall committed his murders during a drug-induced high by which he left substantial incriminating evidence (Mellor, 2012, p. 167). He was still an ineffective serial killer despite the freedom of occupational constraints. If other unemployed Canadian serial killers may have been more similar to Hall, than McGray is truly a

negative case as a highly effective, organized unemployed serial killer. He had the capacity to take advantage of his occupational freedom.

Discussion

This thesis intended to classify the occupational preferences of Canadian serial killers and how their occupations influenced their offending both psychologically and instrumentally. According to Canada's 2016 National Occupational Classification (NOC), it was found that they largely prefer occupations within "Management occupations;" "Sales and services occupations;" and "Trades, transports and equipment operators and related occupations." These classifications were almost exactly preferred among serial killers (see Appendix B). Content analysis was utilized in order to interpret the ways in which these occupational types affected Canadian serial killers' offending.

It was telling that these three classifications are so closely preferred, as it pointed to common features within these occupations that are advantageous to Canadian serial killers' offending. The most interesting findings indicated that Canadian serial killers preferred occupations that allowed for the freedom of movements—typically through a vehicle—a lack of supervision, and the provision of solitude. These occupational elements were valued since they provided the best victim access or availability, the best resources for offending—especially one's vehicle, and a private space in which to fantasize on their offending. Although it is easier to understand the instrumental advantages that an occupation provides for offending, the psychological advantage to fantasize that an occupation provides must not be discounted—for fantasies are the fundamental driving force behind serial killers' actual offending. Their deviant fantasies initially serve as mental rehearsals until they are physically carried out, and are then used

to relive the actual experience. Fantasies also reinforce their patterns of killing (Miller, 2013, p. 16). There is a continuous interaction between the imagined and reality. Hence, occupations that are most likely to be preferred will provide both instrumental and psychological elements.

These results have signified that the contemporary lifestyle factor of occupations has been influential on Canadian serial killers' offending, both instrumentally and psychologically. The significance of these findings will be addressed in the next chapter. The area of serial killers' occupational preferences is still greatly underdeveloped; it is possible that this understanding of Canadian offenders may contribute to the criminological knowledgebase on serial killing. In addition, due to the high number of Canadian serial killers in the Unemployed/Unknown classification, it would be remiss not to mention this finding. Limitations of this study will be acknowledged and future directions from these findings will also be suggested.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis was to classify the occupational preferences of Canadian serial killers and to subsequently analyze how these occupations may have influenced their offending both instrumentally and psychologically. In this aim, a content analysis of the biographical accounts of known Canadian serial killers was applied. By categorizing occupations according to Canada's 2016 National Occupation Classification (NOC), it was found that the most preferred occupational areas for Canadian serial killers were "Management occupations;" "Sales and services occupations;" and "Trades, transports and equipment operators and related occupations." "Management occupations" and "Sales and services occupations" were equally preferred. "Trades, transports and equipment operators and related occupations" was extremely close behind (see Appendix B). It was proposed that Canadian serial killers preferred these occupational areas since they possessed certain qualities that were particularly advantageous for their offending. Specifically, the freedom of movements—typically through a vehicle—the lack of supervision, and the provision of solitude. These occupational elements provided valuable instrumental and psychological benefits for offending such as victim access and availability, resources for offending, and a private space in which to fantasize and plan their offending. They were enabled to be more effective offenders within an already existing part of their lives. Thus, this thesis indicated that Canadian serial killers' offending was indeed influenced by a lesser-known lifestyle factor: occupation.

Unemployment as The Best Employment?

It would be remiss, however, not to discuss the high proportion of Canadian serial killers without occupations. As previously mentioned, the unemployed/unknown

classification was the largest group for Canadian serial killers' "occupational" preferences. It was only after this category was dismissed that the most preferred occupational areas became apparent. This large quantity may imply that Canadian serial killers prefer not to seek employment since joblessness has greater advantages for their offending. Perhaps unemployment is the best employment for serial killers in that it allows them to offend to their greatest extent. Unemployment enables them to be the best offenders—"employees"—they can be within their profession of serial killing. On the other hand, high rates of unemployment among Canadian serial killers may imply a simple inability to hold down an occupation. They cannot handle the responsibilities and social interaction that occupations demand. Thus, a high unemployment rate is a natural trend. This would especially hold true for disorganized serial killers as indicated by their core attributes. They typically have little interest in social interactions, are impulsive, have a low IQ, and are in constant motion (Simon, 2015, p. 36). These characteristics may greatly affect one's ability to successfully hold down and carry out the duties of an occupation. In addition, although organized serial killers are more intelligent and much better able to socially interact and adapt to social situations than disorganized offenders, it has been shown that they have employment difficulties (Simon, 2015, p. 35). Thus, even the ability to socially blend in and interact with others may not be enough for serial killers' ability to hold down and carry out the duties of an occupation. This ambiguity surrounding employment status should be explored if there is to be a more complete understanding of Canadian serial killers' occupational preferences and the subsequent influences their occupations have on their offending both instrumentally and

psychologically. Considering the factors influencing unemployed Canadian serial killers' offending may emphasize what elements are most essential for serial killing.

The absence of an occupation was shown at times to be advantageous for Canadian serial killers' offending both instrumentally and psychologically. This was exemplified in the case of drifter Michael McGray; and it may be possible to generalize his success to other similarly unemployed, or less consistently employed, serial killers. The reason is that unemployment may maximize the advantageous occupational elements of the freedom of movements, a lack of supervision, and provision of solitude. Without the occupation, these beneficial qualities are fully and continuously available at offenders' disposal. Even the most seemingly autonomous positions may not be so consistently freeing.

Occupations may be constraining for Canadian serial killers' movements for fundamental reasons by which this negatively affects the magnitude of their offending. Firstly, an occupation may limit serial killers' movements simply by holding them to a physical location; most people live in somewhat close proximity to their workplace for both convenience and reliability. A serial killer cannot offend far away from this area: constantly traveling puts their employment and cover at risk if they are often late or take too much time off. Likewise, having to be at this immovable workplace due to a set work schedule would also be restraining. This limited movement would therefore narrow their zone of offending and the amount of suitable victims that cannot be linked as having any relation to them. Importantly, having to live, work, and offend in the same area would increase their chances of being recognized and subsequently apprehended. Without an occupation limiting their movements, however, serial killers have an unlimited range

wherever and whenever they choose. They are free to troll, offend, and even flee across the country to evade suspicion and capture. Thus, the freedom of movement unemployment allows over employment is more beneficial for offending as it allows Canadian serial killers a wider range of offending and anonymity.

Furthermore, unemployed Canadian serial killers are completely free of any type of supervision. Even odd job laborers do not perform the kind of work that has oversight. Mentionable, although serial killers in high status, management positions also have a lack of supervision they do not have the same freedom to enjoy it entirely; because they actually must fulfill the tedious and constraining demand of supervising others. Unemployed serial killers totally lacking supervision have no responsibilities and are not held accountable for their actions. They are not obligated to be at certain places at certain times to fulfill certain demands. They are neither rebuked nor questioned when these tasks are not completed. In significance, without supervision, serial killers may plan their offending and behave deviantly without question, scrutiny, and consequence. They may even offend “on the job” and avoid arrest if no one witnesses the killing. This total lack of supervision due to unemployment is advantageous since it allows for suspicious behavior, and offending goes unnoticed.

Unemployed Canadian serial killers, especially drifters with vehicles, are also given the solitude that may assist in fostering the necessary psychological component of serial killing: fantasizing. Without the inherent intrusions, demands, and noise of an occupation, unemployed serial killers naturally have a private space in which to mentally envision and rehearse their offending. In this way, fantasies are strengthened and better actualized in reality, which is the serial killers’ intention. There is a powerful relationship

between their thinking into doing. Moreover, because they do not have co-workers or managers, unemployed serial killers do not have to worry about judgments or reprimand. Thus, they can maintain a psychological refuge for their deviant fantasizing. Clearly, unemployment or less steady work amplifies the instrumental and psychological advantages that are found within more traditional and stable work environments. This may be why unemployment is the most preferred “occupation” for Canadian serial killers.

Yet it was also suggested that high rates of unemployment among serial killers may have also occurred owing to a natural inability to hold down an occupation. As many were parolees and self-proclaimed career criminals, these serial killers presumably had violent impulsive tendencies, displayed anti-social behavior, and had a criminal record. These factors would certainly affect one’s employment status. Serial killers unwilling to interact or unable to control their hostility would not work well with others: they would simply be bad employees. In addition, the presence of a criminal record may prevent the employment of one who actually could hold down a legitimate occupation. Though unemployment may hold great advantages for serial killers’ offending both instrumentally and psychologically, it is doubtful that these offenders chose to be unemployed for these reasons. Other than those drifters like McGray, it is probable that Canadian serial killers were unemployed due to a simple inability to maintain the responsibility and proper social skills that an occupation requires. Hence, unemployment may be advantageous for offending, but that may not mean it is necessarily “preferred.” Again, this would likely apply to disorganized serial killers. Their disregard for social interactions as well as their central disorderly traits are indicative of this possibility

(Simon, 2015, p. 36). Thus, unemployment may be most “preferred” for Canadian serial killers since the majority tend to be disorganized offenders.

The Significance of Understanding Canadian Serial Killers’ Occupational Preferences

A More Complete Explanation of Serial Killing

As with all social phenomenon, explanations of serial killing are vulnerable to stagnation. Especially since the focus has generally remained the same. Significantly, there is a consistent tendency for serial killing explanations to revolve around individual etiology by which the phenomenon is regarded as a-historical and a-cultural. Meaning, no consideration is given to the serial killer’s broader and specific social context (Haggerty, 2009, p. 169). This may incompletely and inaccurately explain for the serial killer without acknowledging the basic that fact that all people—as social beings—are inherently influenced by the various factors within their social environment. Thus, serial killing involves more than individual factors. Consideration must be given to all those factors that act upon him/her and in turn, how he/she interacts with those factors. The serial killer must be understood in his/her entirety. Other areas of serial killers’ lives may seep into their offending. As a result, some scholars have advocated that serial killing be examined within a wider contextual framework that will allow for an explanation accommodating the modern social, economic, and cultural factors that influence serial killers’ offending (Lynes & Wilson, 2015b, p. 268).

Exploring serial killers’ occupational preferences, as well as their occupations’ influences on their offending, acknowledges that serial killers both exist and interact within their broader contemporary context. Occupational preference is influenced by

unique aspects of personality and behavior which in turn are influenced by actual occupations, a part of one's broad social context, the economic structure. This develops a more complete explanation of serial killing as it includes for more than just individual factors. It attends to the fact that serial killers may be differently influenced in their offending according to their specific contemporary environment. This is true for all individuals: context influences people's lifestyles differently place to place.

Specifically focusing on Canadian serial killers' occupational preferences and the influences their occupations had on their offending examined serial killing within a unique broader contemporary framework. Canadian serial killers were understood as individuals existing and interacting within a broad specific framework. This allowed an explanation of their offending that accommodated for the factors within it. Indeed, since previous research on serial killers' occupational preferences has been limited only to the United States and the United Kingdom, this thesis recognized that their findings may not generalize; though these countries are similar economically and vocationally, they still have important historical, geographical, and cultural differences. The specific findings on Canadian serial killers' occupational preferences and influences their occupations had on their offending both instrumentally and psychologically accented the importance of examining serial killing within its own contemporary context.

This was because Canada's most preferred occupations were not in absolute alignment with these countries' findings: "driving and transitory dependent work" and transient oriented-occupations (Lynes & Wilson, 2015a, p. 417; Lynes & Wilson, 2015b, p. 280). While Canadian serial killers highly preferred occupations that were also transient and involved vehicles, they could find this occupational attribute within other

work environments besides solely transient and vehicular dependent categories. Indeed, this included “Management occupations” and “Sales and services occupations” along with the more congruent “Trades, transport, and equipment operators and related occupations” (see Appendix B). In addition, some Canadian serial killers advantageously utilized these occupations for their offending without transitory support. This indicates that Canada’s unique context differently influenced serial killers use of their occupations for their offending. For this reason, an explanation for serial killing must take the broader contemporary framework into account, not just the individual.

Advancing The Lack of Scholarly Research and Criminological Knowledgebase

Since explanations of serial killing have neglected the broader contemporary framework in which it occurs, it follows that occupational preferences and their influences have been neglected as well. Lynes and Wilson (2015a) asserted that “there is an evident lack of scholarly research into how these offenders’ occupational backgrounds may have influenced their offending behavior” (p. 429). Their own studies on British and American serial killers sought to fill this void (Lynes & Wilson, 2015a; Lynes & Wilson, 2015b). Unfortunately, the literature is still greatly lacking. Examining Canadian serial killers’ occupational preferences further addressed this gap. This thesis affirmed that serial killers prefer occupations for certain reasons and that these occupations have an influence on their offending both psychologically and instrumentally. Adding to the scholarly research on serial killers’ occupational preferences by studying Canadian serial killers also advances the criminological knowledgebase. The sample now includes American, British, and Canadian serial killers. Thus, there is more knowledge regarding

the influences on serial killing. Although this area is still under-developed, the present project makes an important contribution.

A Return to Theory Building in Serial Killing Research

Since understanding serial killers' occupational preferences inherently calls for a broader framework, this thesis may offer a return to serial killer theory building. That is, an approach to serial killing that strays from traditional individual perspectives. For instance, Canadian serial killers' occupational preferences and their occupations influences on their offending may be used to explain why and when serial killing occurs. It was shown in many cases that offenders' occupations influenced their offending when they were provided direct encounters with suitable victims. This was represented by Cohen and Felson's routine activities theory: occupations created a convergence in time and space between these motivated offenders and victims (1979, p. 589). In this way, serial killing may be explained as a phenomenon of circumstance facilitated by one's occupation. Serial killers choose occupations that give them the best environment or opportunities to come into effortless contact with suitable victims. Furthermore, they prefer occupations that allow them to increase their motivational drive so that they are more effective—and gratified—offenders when this convergence occurs. Recognizing the influences of occupations on serial killers' offending therefore develops a contextual approach: it compels theories beyond the over-abundant focuses on etiology, biographies, and definitions. Significantly, it instead builds theories based on an opportunity structure characteristic of modern society—in this case, the job market—that makes contemporary forms of serial killing possible (Haggerty, 2009, p. 170). The process of serial killing changes within modernity; theories must also change with it. In truth, these theories

would be strengthened by those traditional approaches explaining for the individual serial killer. Exploring what initially makes people become serial killers—motivated offenders—together with this opportunity structure created by occupation would be further valuable for explaining serial killing’s occurrence within its contemporary context.

Significantly, this theory building is also imperative for advancing the entire criminal justice field as an academic and scientific discipline. The singular focus on application has dominated the field for decades: criminological theorizing at large has been neglected (Hagen, 1989, p.117; Bernard & Engel, 2001, p. 2). Thus, developing new theories about serial murder based on the killers’ occupational preferences progresses the entire criminal justice field as a legitimate scholarly study. It affirms both sides of the discipline’s purpose: research and application. Moreover, theory building is necessary for this application. Different theoretical approaches to serial killing, such as those that include occupational preferences, may lead to newer, more effective forms of real world application for capturing serial killers. Hence, the theoretical proposals that this thesis offers are worth considering.

Limitations

Sample Limitation

For validity and replication’s sake, the limitations of this thesis must be acknowledged. A primary limitation pertained to the sample group size: members were inherently limited to known Canadian serial killers. Consequently, serial killers included were only those who were apprehended. Mellor (2012) discloses in *Cold North Killers: Canadian Serial Murder* that there are approximately 60 known serial killers throughout Canada’s history (p. 17). Several serial killers were added to this figure after publication

(Blanco, 2017, n.p.; Canada nurse,” 2017, n.p.; Nueman, 2018, n.p.). However, it is likely that many more Canadian serial killers have gone undetected. A serial killer’s occupational preference cannot be known if the serial killer himself is not known. Since there are still unknown Canadian serial killers, the classification of their overall occupational preferences is incomplete.

Definition Difficulty

The definition of a Canadian serial killer may also have been a complication. Firstly, the definition of “serial killer” should be addressed as this difficulty afflicts all serial killing research. Though this thesis used the FBI’s definition in order to achieve the largest sample size possible, a majority of the sample members were taken from Mellor’s 2012 *Cold North Killers: Canadian Serial Murder*. Thus, many of the Canadian serial killers included fell under the definition used by Mellor. Significantly, he predominantly focused on psychological intent. Mellor utilized Ramsland’s definition which emphasized those psychological aspects such as “cooling-off periods between incidents, which might serve as a time of preparation for a later killing;” the dehumanization of their victims into objects needed for the satisfaction of their goals; and an addictive quality manifested in their behavior (Mellor, 2012, p. 14). This thesis’ sample of Canadian serial killers was therefore limited by Mellor’s evaluation of which serial killers fit these psychological intentions. Likewise, Mellor also chose what he decided to be a “Canadian” serial killer. He designated that any serial killer born in, or who committed their offending in, Canada fit the criteria (Mellor, 2012, p. 15). Conversely, this thesis defined “Canadian serial killer” as only those offenders who did their killing “in country.” This was not limiting per se, however it meant that several potential “Canadian” serial killers had to be

excluded including William Dean Christenson, Keith Jespersen, and Melissa Ann Friedrich, as they partially offended in the United States (Mellor, 2012, p. 27-8).

The Classification Occupations

Limitations also applied to the way in which occupations were classified. Previous research on serial killers' occupational preferences classified their occupations according to the US Bureau of Labor Statistics' 2010 Standard Occupational Classification system (Lynes & Wilson, 2015a, p. 16). Yet this thesis classified Canadian serial killers' occupations according to the 2016 edition of Canada's National Occupational Classification system (NOC) (Government of Canada, 2015, n.p.). This was done for the validity and applicability specifically pertaining to the relationship between Canadian serial killers and their occupational preferences. However, using a different classification scheme diminishes the ability of this thesis to truly claim replication and validation of previous research. Primarily, the NOC did not have a "driving and transitory dependent work" category, which Lynes and Wilson stressed as the fundamental occupational preference for British serial killers (2015a, p. 417). There was not an exact equivalent between the two classification systems. Though occupations that stressed driving were found to be influential on Canadian serial killers' offending, this thesis is nonetheless imperfect for direct comparison due to these differing schemes.

The differences in the large occupational categories as determined by the NOC should also be noted as a limitation. Due to its hierarchical structure, the NOC's groups are divided into broad categories. For this reason, unlikely occupations may be placed under the same skill type. This is why Colonel Russell Williams—an Air Force Commander—and Gilbert Paul Jordan—a barbershop owner—were both designated

under “Management occupations;” though in very different fields, their occupations ultimately required the same management skills. In truth, the incongruity of occupations and their corresponding NOC classifications made it very difficult to accurately categorize offenders. Placement could be ambiguous.

This may signify that there is an issue with the NOC’s validity regarding its operational definitions. Meaning, classifications may not be mutually exclusive: certain professions and situations may fit multiple groups. There are various ways in they can be interpreted and therefore classified. Placing a case in one classification, or placing it in the other, or in both would require changing the unit of analysis or re-operationalizing the measure. This would consequently change the thesis’ findings since occupational preferences would be classified and defined differently. Even without changing operational definitions, moving a single case based on classification placement may still affect the resulting analysis due to the small sample size (36 cases). Although this is typical of qualitative work, replication would be needed before confidence in serial killers’ occupational preferences could be fully achieved.

Moreover, grouping differing occupations under such large categories as purposed by the NOC may also have an influence on this thesis’ meaning. The NOC primarily classifies occupations “in terms of the work usually performed, this being determined by the tasks, duties, employment requirements and responsibilities of the occupation” (Government of Canada, 2015, n.p.). Occupations can be diverse yet essentially require the same work. For instance, a manager’s responsibilities are the same regardless of the work setting. For an employed serial killer, however, a particular work setting could be vital for their offending—more so than the work they are doing. Serial killers may

therefore prefer occupations based on factors other than work performed, as specified by the NOC. Thus, it should be noted that findings may not necessarily signify occupational preference, but rather the type of work that is most commonly performed by Canadian serial killers.

Another limitation regarding the classification of occupational preferences was when Canadian serial killers were unemployed, were on parole, or had unknown/temporary occupations. Foremost, Canadian serial killers' occupational preferences cannot be fully classified, nor can their occupations' influences on offending be determined if their employment is unknown or unstable. For instance, it is possible to be on parole and have an occupation. However, some cases did not mention if this happened for certain serial killers. Thus, there may have been missing information. In addition, unemployed/unknown was in actuality the largest group for Canadian serial killers' "occupational" preferences. Even Lynes and Wilson's (2015a) study on British serial killers' occupational preferences also showed that the classification of unemployment occurs most often (p. 416). The large amount of unemployed or inconsistently employed serial killers in both this thesis and in previous literature may indicate that only certain types of occupations—and subsequently their own capability to take advantage of their occupations—are useful for serial killers' offending. This makes uncertain the ability of this thesis to state that all the Canadian serial killers' occupations were fully instrumentally and psychologically advantageous for their offending.

Source Limitation

Regarding data collection, this thesis was limited to secondary sources. The information on Canadian serial killers' occupations and the descriptions of their

offending came from books and websites as told by others: *Cold North Killers*, Murderpedia.com, Radford.edu, BBC.com, and npr.org. Although these sources were shown to be reliable in describing the individual's occupations and offending, the limitation was due to the personal interpretation of these accounts. That is, how these occupations influenced their offending both instrumentally and psychologically had to be inferred. They were subjective conclusions made by this author, not the actual offenders. For this reason, it is not absolutely certain that Canadian serial killers' occupations affected them in the ways proposed. Only by personally interviewing these individuals, and asking them how exactly their occupations influenced their offending, would these questions truly be answered—at least to the extent that serial killers know themselves. This thesis therefore would have been strengthened through primary source data collection in its ability to claim occupational influences on serial killers' offending.

Future Directions

The lack of scholarly research concerning serial killers' occupational preferences is wholly evident. This thesis therefore sought to extend the literature. The findings are encouraging in this regard; however, much more needs to be done if this under-researched area is to continue developing. The connection between Canadian serial killers and their occupational preferences fortunately offers a variety of future research directions. It may inspire research ideas on both a micro and macro level.

Influences of Serial Killers' Personalities on Occupational Preferences

It was previously explained that there is a meaningful interaction between people's personalities and their work environments: specific people are drawn to specific occupations. Research on the influence of personality on occupational choice has been

used to both identify and predict the particular characteristics of the types of people who are drawn to and excel at certain careers (Holland, 1959; Hussain et al., 2012; John & Thomsen, 2013). This research should be applied to serial killers in order to identify and predict the characteristics typical of offenders drawn to certain occupations. Work environments similar to Canada's "Management occupations," "Sales and services occupations," and "Trades, transports and equipment operators and related occupations" are worthwhile starting points for personality assessments to examine for the influence of serial killers' personalities on their occupational preferences.

Effects of Big Five Traits on Serial Killers' Occupational Preferences

Future research on the particular traits influencing serial killers' occupational choice should utilize Goldberg's Big Five Model as this assessment is the most common in personality research. Recall that Goldberg's Model determines personality structure based on multiple constructs: openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism (Hussain et al., 2012, p. 2255). Since Canadian serial killers largely preferred vocations within "Management occupations," "Sales and services occupations," and "Trades, transports and equipment operators and related occupations," it should be explored if serial killers in general are drawn to and excel at these occupations because they have the Goldberg traits specific to these areas.

For instance, research using the Goldberg's Big Five Model finds that those who excel in management positions have strong interaction skills; an attitude willing to accept changes in the external environment; and an ability to control their activities and perform their tasks under stress and time pressures. People with managerial traits tend to be more social, warm, and moderately able to interact and negotiate with others, capable of

arguing and stressing their point; they have at least an average extroverted personality. They also rank high on conscientiousness and agreeableness (Hussain et al. 2012, p. 2257). It would at least be reasonable to assume that the Canadian serial killers classified under “Management occupations” possessed some of these characteristics. Thus, it would be valuable to further examine case studies of serial killers from different countries that were also within management-like positions. If common personality structures can be observed, then this may signify if these traits for serial killers who prefer these types of vocations are universal. It seems most likely that serial killers preferring these occupations would resemble organized offenders or power/control offenders. Organized serial killers may have both the intellect and social skills necessary for successfully holding these positions. In tandem, power/control-oriented serial killers may have the required ability to successfully supervise and control stressful situations and subordinates. Nevertheless, future research would need to confirm these suppositions.

This Goldberg approach may similarly be applied for the personality traits influencing serial killers’ inclinations towards sales and services. Due to the amount of communication and sociability typical of the demands accompanying services and sales careers, people preferring these occupations are more likely to be extroverted (John & Thomsen, 2013, p. 568). Like before, it can at least be presumed that Canadian serial killers preferring “Sales and service occupations” were more extroverted than others. Again, examining case studies of differently located serial killers within this occupational type would clarify if these extroverted traits are generalizable. Similarly, these social traits may imply that these occupations are additionally preferred by organized offenders.

Research between the influence of Big Five Traits on serial killers' occupational preference for work environments similar to the NOC's "Trades, transports and equipment operators and related occupations" is especially needed. Only certain occupations within this classification can be connected to certain Goldberg traits: construction and transportation. John and Thomsen (2013) utilized Goldberg's Big Five personality traits to describe the characteristics of those within the two; they found that these types of people are generally less open and extraverted, but more conscientious (p. 578). It is at least likely that Canadian serial killers in construction or transportation work may be more introverted than others. As before, research should aim to find if these traits apply to other cases of serial killers in different locations preferring these occupations.

Effects of Dark Triad Personality Traits on Serial Killers' Occupational Preferences

Future research on the influence of personality on serial killers' occupational preferences should also recognize the traits with which they are more naturally associated. That is, their more deviant qualities. A more fitting personality structure previously mentioned was Dark Triad personality traits, since it represents a callous-manipulative interpersonal style, and includes traits of Machiavellianism, psychopathy, and narcissism (Schneider et al., 2015, p. 340). The high likelihood that serial killers possess these traits would therefore make it valuable to recognize these particular traits' influence on serial killers' occupational preferences. Inferences on the influence of these traits on Canadian serial killers' occupational preferences could encourage further research to do the same.

By examining their cases, it can be reasonably inferred which Dark Triad traits influenced some Canadian serial killers' occupational preferences. Recall that

Machiavellianism was negatively associated with social careers, applied jobs, and work styles involving stamina, accountability, academic achievement, and interpersonal confidence (Kowalski et al., 2017, p. 45). Psychoticism had negative correlations with social interests such as teaching, social services, elementary education, family, office work, and work styles. Psychoticism was however positively correlated with an interest in physical science, engineering, adventurous jobs, and areas of business including dominant leadership, finance, sales, and law (Kowalski et al., 2017, p. 45). Neither dark traits of Machiavellianism nor psychoticism was significantly related to artistic interests (Kowalski et al., 2017, p. 45). Traits of narcissism had positive correlations with interests in social careers, including positions with adventure, and in business related areas (Kowalski et al., 2017, p. 45). These traits seemed to be apparent for those within the preferred occupations.

For instance, it is highly likely that Canadian serial killers who preferred work in “Management occupations” and “Sales and services occupations” possess psychotic traits since these characteristics are positively correlated with both sales and dominant leadership. Future research could observe the behaviors of differently located serial killers within these occupations so as to determine if it can be expected that these offenders are most likely to be callous, lack empathy, and show thrill seeking behaviors. In addition, Canadian serial killers’ preferences in “Management occupations” and “Sales and services occupations” suggests that they are more likely to be narcissistic since these work environments contain social careers and business related careers. Likewise, research could examine if differently located serial killers within these same occupations can be expected to act egotistically, entitled, boastful, and conceited. Since none of the preferred

work areas involved artistic interests, Canadian serial killers possess some amount of Machiavellianism, as a negative correlation between the two exists. Examinations of differently located serial killer cases within these similar work environments may reveal that they are generally manipulative and deceitful. In addition, more research would be useful for assessing how Machiavellianism may positively correlate with serial killers' occupational interests and behaviors. It was difficult to infer which dark traits best correspond with "Trades, transports and equipment operators and related occupations." Possibly some careers in this work environment may relate to applied jobs—skilled trades—and work styles that require stamina. Therefore, the negative correlations between these work interests and types suggested that Canadian serial killers within this occupational group are less likely to show Dark Triad traits. Future studies on the behaviors of differently located serial killers within this classification, compared to other work areas, may emphasize a difference in the extent of dark traits.

Sex differences also influence the effect of Dark Triad personality traits on occupational preferences. Nearly all of the offenders in the preferred occupational areas were male. Males possessing Dark Triad traits tended to correlate significantly higher in Machiavellianism and psychopathy; their preferences and attributes were in science, mathematics, physical science, engineering, adventure, dominant leadership, and finance (Kowalski et al., 2017, p. 45). It is highly presumable that the male Canadian serial killers possessed traits of Machiavellianism and psychopathy: manipulation and callousness. Future research using the Dark Triad as a personality assessment should note if these traits are consistent among male serial killers. Interestingly, one sample member was female: Karla Homolka (see Appendix A). Females possessing Dark Triad Traits

significantly correlated with career and interests in creative arts, the social interest factor, personal service, social service, elementary education, the applied interest factor, family activity, office work, and accountability (Kowalski et al., 2017, p. 45). Though known serial killers are predominantly male, research should also observe if traits are consistent among females as well. Moreover, comparing male and female serial killers' occupations may further confirm gender differences in the Dark Triad personality structure.

Psychopathic Serial Killers' Occupational Preferences

The occupational preferences of serial killers with deviant personalities also require further research. Understanding the psychopathic serial killer is particularly important due to the various misconceptions surrounding the effects of psychological disorders on serial killers' offending. Using instances of psychopathic Canadian serial killers may indicate how this personality disorder influenced their offending. The cases of psychopaths Clifford Olsen Jr. and David Snow are markedly insightful (Mellor, 2012, p. 91; p. 260). The similar facets of their abnormal personality, and their same occupational preferences, may inspire further case studies to confirm this finding for psychopaths and their vocational choices.

As earlier described, psychopaths display behaviors that deviate from the norm in which they choose to behave dangerously and knowingly exploit other's weaknesses. In addition, they are not deterred by the threat of punishment (Federman et al., 2009, p. 40). According to the Hare Psychopathy Checklist, psychopathic traits and behaviors include "glib and superficial charm; ego centrality; selfishness; lack of empathy, guilt, and remorse; deceitfulness and manipulateness; lack of enduring attachments to people, principles or goals; impulsive and irresponsible behavior; and a tendency to violate

explicit social norms” (Federman et al., 2009, p. 49). Since psychopaths exhibit traits that are related to ethical behavior more so than mental illness, they have a great potential to influence occupational choice.

As excessively cruel and remorseless serial killers who certainly killed more than those for which they have been convicted, Snow and Olsen were undeniably psychopathic. In significance, both Snow and Olsen were in “Management occupations” (see Appendix B). This suggests a connection between psychopathic serial killers’ career preference towards management positions—at least for Canadian serial killers. However, it may also possibly suggest a link between psychopathic serial killers and this work environment in general, which deserves further exploration. Future research should therefore explore if psychopathic traits influence both serial killers’ preferences and successes in these positions. Management-like occupations are demanding, as those who occupy these positions must make decisions that affect departments within the organization or the organization in its entirety. People in these positions are also given high levels of responsibility and accountability, and they must have high subject matter expertise (Government of Canada, 2015, n.p.). Psychopathic traits may support these occupational characteristics and abilities alongside the characteristics and abilities to remorselessly offend against others. Case studies on different serial killers’ behaviors with successful management positions should be examined for psychopathic tendencies. Hare’s Psychopathy Checklist may be the most effective tool to accurately assess if these serial killers are psychopathic. For instance, Mellor did not specify if Air Force Commander Colonel Williams was a psychopath. Yet in this management position, he necessarily exhibited Hare’s traits of superficial glib and charm, deceit and manipulation

(Federman et al., 2009, p. 49). This was why his revelation as a serial killer was so shocking. He had displayed a successful work persona thereby becoming “arguably the most prestigious multiple murderer in recent history” (Mellor, 2012, p.22). These psychopathic traits therefore assisted his occupational front. Yet as a serial killer, Colonel Williams also exhibited Hare’s traits of remorselessness and cold-blooded violence (Hare, 1996, p. 39). He sexually assaulted his victims multiple times before killing them by means of suffocation or strangulation (Mellor, 2012, p. 251; 292-3). These behaviors suggest that Colonel Williams was most likely psychopathic. However, a more in-depth case study and personality assessment is needed to affirm this evaluation.

Improving Typologies Through Occupational Preferences

Because occupational choice is personally motivated, continued research on serial killers’ occupational preferences and their influences may help further develop typologies: those categories that distinguish serial killers by what personally drives their offending (Holmes & DeBurger, 1985, p. 31). It may be worthwhile for future research to examine the interaction between serial killers’ differing motivational drives for offending together with their differing motivational drives for working in certain occupational fields. Mellor (2012) provided cases of Canadian serial killers within certain typologies by which this thesis was then able to classify their occupational preferences. It therefore asks for further examinations if these occupational preferences generally hold true for certain types of motivated offenders. This may improve typologies’ ability to assist law enforcement by providing a more complete understanding of the exact kind of offender that they are pursuing.

Employability of Visionary and Missionary Type Serial Killers

Since none of the Canadian serial killers within the most preferred occupational areas were considered visionary or missionary oriented, it should be confirmed whether these types of serial killers seek employment or are even employable. Perhaps these types' characteristics are incompatible with the ability to retain an occupation. Typical of the visionary serial killer are often traits of psychosis; traits of the mission-oriented serial killer involve a sense of "self-imposed duty" to rid the world of certain populations they consider undesirable (Holmes & DeBurger, 1985, p. 31-2). Indeed, a psychotic individual would make for an unproductive employee, as would a pre-occupied "duty-bound" employee. Further case examples of these types of serial killers' employment histories may clarify this phenomenon.

Occupational Preferences of Hedonistic Type Serial Killers

Interactions between Mellor's cases of hedonistic-oriented Canadian serial killers within the most preferred occupational areas requires further research since this typology contains several subtypes and each had various implications for serial killers' occupational preferences. Recall hedonistic types include thrill-seeking—those who kill for the "pure" enjoyment of killing, lust-oriented—those who receive sexual gratification from killing, and comfort-oriented serial killers—those who kill for personal gain (Holmes & DeBurger, 1985, p. 32).

Occupational Preferences of Serial Thrill Killers

Since the employment status on the hedonistic thrill serial killers within the Canadian sample was both contradicting and lacking, more research is needed. The Canadian thrill serial killers included Clifford Olsen Jr. and Michael McGray (Mellor, 2012, p. 241). Yet Olsen was employed within a Management occupation, and as a drifter

McGray was not (See Appendix B). They were major contrasts in standing and obligations; Olsen was in a head position characterized by high levels of responsibility and expertise; McGray had no responsibilities or accountability. Nonetheless, both had the same motivation for offending: for the rush, the thrill of the kill. This calls for an examination of the occupational facets of management vocations and the facets of unemployment that are both helpful and attractive for thrill serial killers' offending. Perhaps those types who are able to hold down occupations are able to utilize occupational elements that offer the same advantages to unemployed serial thrill killers. Those who can handle the employment may also enjoy the thrilling role of a high level position. Future research with a larger sample of thrill killers and their occupational status would be necessary.

Occupational Preferences of Serial Lust Killers

The diversity among the Canadian serial lust killers' occupational preferences and employment status signifies a need for greater observation of this typology. Canadian serial lust killers included Archambault, Magee, Wood, Sweeney, Stanton, and Gillis (Mellor, 2012, p. 232). Only Archambault and Magee were among the most preferred occupations: "Sales and services occupations" and "Trades, transports and equipment operators and related occupations." Gillis was in another NOC classification and the rest were unemployed (see Appendix B). Future research could therefore explore the factors that are particularly reoccurring for these serial killers' offending in order to determine what may possibly be most helpful and appealing regardless of employment or occupation. For instance, employed Canadian serial lust killers were able to offend since they were given the crucial occupational element of the freedom of movements.

Archambault and Magee owned work vehicles which they used to increase their zone of offending (Mellor, 2012, p. 110; p. 327; p. 432). Similarly, even without work vehicles, unemployed serial lust killers still had the freedom of movements. Wood was a drifter who owned a vehicle independently; Sweeney murdered his victims within a walking distance as did Stanton with at least one of his victims (Mellor, 2012, p. 183; p. 426-427; p. 430). Perhaps these Canadian serial killers were better able to satisfy their lustful motivation since they had greater access and availability to victims. Future research may notice if the freedom of movements is a key aspect of serial lust killers' occupational preferences or if unemployed serial lust killers are largely transient.

Occupational Preferences of Comfort-Oriented Serial Killers

Since the Canadian comfort-oriented serial killers shared the same occupational preference and also used their occupations for their offending in a similar manner, this may indicate that these types of serial killers are drawn to these careers for specific advantages. Further research may support this insinuation. The hedonistic comfort-oriented serial killers were Kembo and Dhillon (whose case was not mentioned); both were in "Management occupations" (Mellor, 2012, p. 206; see Appendix B). Both also used their occupations as respectable fronts to avoid suspicion and as a means to gain the trust and get closer to their victims. This helped them profit from their deaths, their key motivation (Mellor, 2012, p. 208-9; 217). Thus, future research on this serial killer typology could examine if they are attracted to management-like positions because they can be possibly used for victim access and evading suspicion.

Occupational Preferences of Power/Control Serial Killers

Further research on the occupational preferences of power/control serial killers is particularly desired since the Canadian power/control serial killers' occupational preference was highly intriguing. Canadian power/control oriented serial killers included Snow, Jordan, and Williams. All fell into "Management occupations" (Mellor, 2012, p. 251; see Appendix B). These findings are both affirmatory and surprising. They are affirming in the fact that these serial killers obviously find gratification in having control—management positions inherently allow one to do so. However, if one already receives power and control in a legitimate way—through an occupation—then the need to exert power and control through a more deviant manner seems unnecessary. Perhaps these findings indicate that it is not enough. This legitimate source of control by the way of one's occupation may not be as satisfying, or may still feel too constraining, within these serial killers' definition of "control." The appearance of this occupational trend within this Canadian group calls for further exploration. Future research could examine the cases of other power/control oriented serial killers to see if management-like positions are preferred, in which their behaviors at both work and during their offending could be noted for similarities.

Occupational Preferences of Sexually Sadistic Serial Killers

Although divergent, the occupational preferences of Canadian sexually sadistic serial killers may be mentionable. The sexually sadistic Canadian serial killers—Colalillo, Archambault, Magee, Snow, Greenidge, and Sweeney—were present in all of the most preferred occupational groups as well as the Unemployed/Unknown classification (Mellor, 2012, p. 108; p. 167; p. 232; p. 242; p. 250; p. 427; see Appendix B). Perhaps vocational differences across work groups signifies that they do not have a

specific occupation preference. There may not be a compelling interaction between the motivation for their offending and the motivation for their occupational choice. If desired, future observations on case studies of different sexually sadistic serial killers could explore this negative finding. Common offending elements among their various occupations or employment status possibly exist.

Further Development of Criminal Profiling

Future research stemming from this thesis' findings could explore if there is a potential to increase the effectiveness, validity, and legitimacy of criminal profiling as an investigative tool. Canadian serial killers' occupational preferences and offending were both psychologically influenced and criminal profiling involves "an interrelationship between physical evidence and psychological evidence left at crime scenes" (White et al., 2011, p. 161)." Therefore, it is possible that these findings add to profiling. Occupational preferences are the result of certain personality traits, which may be reflected in serial killers' offending. In addition, resources and skills learned from one's occupations may also be reflected in their offending. Therefore, knowing the occupation that most likely influenced particular crime scene behavior and attracts similarly shown personality structures would develop a more accurate profile to help law enforcement narrow down and apprehend suspects. More research in this area would be valuable for real-world application.

To be clear, none of the Canadian serial killers were caught with the assistance of a criminal profile. Most were caught through eye-witness testimony and old-fashioned police work with the inclusion of forensic evidence (Mellor, 2012, p.88; p. 99; p.109; p. 208; p. 237; p. 258; p. 385; p. 437). Nevertheless, aspects of their personality—which

influences occupational preferences—and the way in which they used their occupations was apparent in their offending. Perhaps if profiling had been applied to these cases with an understanding that these serial killers prefer vocations within “Management occupations,” “Sales and services occupations,” and “Trades, transports and equipment operators and related occupations,” this may have helped narrow down suspects more efficiently, and led to their apprehension more quickly.

Profiling Serial Killers’ Typologies

Future research could examine if profiling, with the additional knowledge of serial killers’ occupational preferences, may be more effective when crime scene traits and behaviors indicate certain typologies. For instance, it was previously shown that power/control oriented, psychopathic, or sexually sadists types of Canadian serial killers preferred “Management occupations.” These typologies epitomize dominating behavior and traits in their offending, and management positions require these characteristics, at least in a legitimate form. A general confirmation that serial killers prefer this particular vocational area may help narrow down suspects. That is, when these types of traits and behaviors are inferred from crime scenes, developing a profile of the possible suspect with management-like position may be useful. For example, as an Air Force Commander, Colonel Russell Williams held an especially high management position (see Appendix A). Accordingly, he had personality traits and behaviors typical of one in a dominant leadership position and he was used to being in control and assertive. These characteristics were reflected in the way in which he interacted with his victims. Indeed, Colonel Williams was considered a power/control oriented serial killer; he bound and blindfolded his victims with duct tape, repeatedly sexually assaulted them, suffocated one

with duct tape, and strangled the other (Mellor, 2012, p. 251; 292-3). This physical evidence left on the bodies would have suggested the psychologically dominating characteristics typical of power/control-oriented serial killers. Knowing that Canadian serial killers, especially those who are brutal and dominating, prefer “Management occupations” may have created a profile that would have led to his apprehension more quickly. Future research including occupational preferences and profiling may be confirming.

Profiling Serial Killers’ Occupational Skills

Future research may also indicate how profiling can be improved with a greater understanding of how serial killers use their occupations for their offending. Especially through the skills that they have learned from these occupations. Some serial killers may incorporate these skills into their signatures or modus operandis by which the origin of these abilities or techniques could be traced to the specific occupation through profiling. For instance, Serge Archambault integrated his former “Sales and services occupation” into his signature. As the “Butcher of St. Eustache” Archambault compulsively sliced and mutilated his victims (Mellor, 2012, p. 107). Slicing and knife work is a skill obviously typical of butchers, and knowing that this vocation is within a preferred career field for Canadian serial killers along with the physical evidence may have developed a helpful profile. Thus, future research examining the certain occupation skillsets used by serial killers for their offending may be useful.

Profiling Serial Killers’ Occupational Resources

Further studies on serial killers’ occupational preferences may also enhance profiling by recognizing the features and resources available within these work areas.

Knowing the vocations that serial killers prefer means that certain resources used during their offending can be matched back to a certain occupation. To exemplify, David Threinen used his greatest resource within his “Trades, transports and equipment operators and related occupation:” his truck. With his work vehicle, Threinen was able to successfully offend in a variety of ways, particularly in victim transport and body disposal (Mellor, 2012, p. 171). Knowing that this preferred vocation provided a highly efficient tool for offending—a truck—may have developed a better profile depicting the offender. This may have narrowed down suspects and may have led to Threinen as a priority more quickly. For instance, the inability to find victims’ bodies may have signified to investigators that the offender had a transient occupation—which is preferred for serial killers—whereby he could hide bodies in remote and random locations. It may have also indicated that this transient occupation provided a large vehicle, perfect for offending, storing, and disposing of bodies without suspicion. This could have helped develop a profile that could have led to certain truck drivers, possibly with criminal records, to have been investigated; or citizens could have been told to report suspicious truck driver activity. For this profiling aim, future research should be attentive to the particular resources within serial killers’ preferred work environments.

Since profiling’s use serial killer investigations involves deciphering a variety of complex factors, the addition of occupational preferences has potential value. Of course, a significant benefit of research is its ability to enhance profiling as an investigative technique. Profiling involves determining both personality and actions. Canadian serial killers were more likely to use resources from occupations, such as work vehicles, for their method of offending. The personality aspects of their occupational preference was

less reflected in their offending. This indicates that in developing profiles based on occupational preferences, the physical evidence should still take prominence over the inferred psychological characteristics, as typical of traditional investigation techniques. Nevertheless, future research on serial killers' occupational preferences and profiling can be fruitful.

Exploring The Lack of Canadian Healthcare Serial Killers

Previous research on serial killers' occupational preferences has shown that the healthcare industry is highly advantageous for their offending in various ways (Dean, 2015; Yardley & Wilson, 2014; Lubaszka & Shon, 2013; Lubaszka, Shon, & Hinch, 2013). Thus, it was surprising that there was nearly an absence of Canadian healthcare serial killers. There was only one, Elizabeth Wettlaufer, a nurse (see Appendix A). Since a high amount of attention has been given to healthcare serial killers it may therefore be important to address this country's occupational scarcity. Future directions could explore the possible reasons why Canadian serial killers did not prefer occupations in the health field—one of the most advantageous offending work environments.

Perhaps Canadian serial killers did prefer healthcare occupations yet avoided apprehension due to a gender assumption. As previously explained, although most offenders are male, serial killing is not gender exclusive. Female serial killers often go undetected due to gender biases maintaining that females fundamentally cannot be serial killers (Harrison et al., 2015, p. 384). Not only can females be serial killers, but they also have central differences from male serial killers. Importantly, female serial killers are described as holding stereotypical feminine caring occupations (Harrison et al., 2015, p. 400). This would certainly include healthcare careers. Hence, if Canadian female serial

killers preferred these caring occupations in the health field—and subsequently offended at their workplace—they may have avoided detection because of gender biases. No one would assume that patients were dying at the hands of a female serial killer. In avoiding detection and capture, they avoided occupational classification thereby creating an “absence.”

Even without gender assumptions, perhaps Canadian healthcare serial killers avoided detection—and thus occupational classification—due to the inherent advantages of healthcare occupations. As earlier described, healthcare settings provide highly suitable victims and an efficient method of offending: the easily accessible and vulnerable, and poisons that mimic natural causes (Lubaszka & Shon 2013, p. 68; Yardley & Wilson, 2014, p. 51). Canadian healthcare serial killers may have targeted victims whose deaths would have been unsuspecting and had the knowledge and ability to do so whereby their deaths would have been attributed to other natural causes. In this case, it does not mean that Canadian serial killers did not prefer careers within the NOC’s “Health occupations,” but that they were never apprehended. Again, it is a sampling issue with unknown serial killers. Future research may therefore clarify if healthcare occupations are simply not as preferred for Canadian serial killers; or it may suggest for investigators to be more willing to look into suspicious deaths even within healthcare settings.

Similar Studies in Different Countries

Given the under-developed state of the literature on serial killers’ occupational preferences, more research in addition to this thesis is vital. Data is lacking cross-culturally; the focus has been limited to British, American, and now Canadian serial

killers. More studies need to be completed if general trends or differences between serial killers' occupational preferences and the ways in which it assists their offending are to be found. Indeed, serial killers are affected by their unique context; so, it cannot be assumed that serial killers universally prefer the same occupations, have access to the same occupations, or are similarly influenced. Further research on the occupational preferences of serial killers must continue to be done in different countries. Initial countries could be chosen for various reasons. For instance, the most notable connection between America, Britain, and Canada's job markets is an emphasis in the service industry (Schoen, 2017, n.p.; Clegg, 2017, n.p.; Racco, 2016, n.p.). Thus, studies could include countries with job markets similar to those previous studied in order to determine if trends exist within these economic structures. On the other hand, Canada is the second largest country in the world by which the physical environment may have had an effect on occupations' influences ("11 basic facts about Canada," 2015, n.p.). Studies could continue with counties of various geographical sizes.

Of course, a great challenge in researching different countries' serial killers would be devising a standard way of classifying their occupational preferences. Indeed, a limitation of this thesis' claim of repeatability and validity to previous studies was its use of Canada's 2016 National Occupational Classification system; Lynes and Wilson used a different classification. A lack of consensus on offenders' occupational preferences may arise as more studies with differing classification systems emerge. This may create more confusion than clarity. Thus, it may be more fruitful for future research to predominately focus on the elements within serial killers' preferred occupations to observe if there are reoccurring themes.

Personal Interviews with Serial Killers on Their Occupational Preferences

Aforesaid, a limitation of this thesis was the reliance on secondary data. The ways in which Canadian serial killers' occupations influenced their offending both instrumentally and psychologically had to be subjectively inferred. Those proposed influences cannot be made absolutely certain since they are the author's interpretations of biographical cases as written by someone else. The research on occupational influences on serial killing is predominantly theoretical (Lynes & Wilson, 2015a, p. 429). However, future research could both verify and move beyond these theoretical approaches through personal interviews. Specifically asking serial killers how their occupations influenced their offending would give the most direct and reliable answer. Although researchers would have to be aware of threats to response validity such as subjects who are purposefully misleading or simply mistaken. In this case even analyzing actual primary case documents could give a more direct and clear explanation than other sources, such as novels like Mellor's. Nevertheless, the most effective approach for understanding one's personal experience is by interviewing that individual on their experience.

Final Thoughts

Though pervasive and captivating, serial killing is nevertheless enigmatic. The repeated compulsion to kill is virtually incomprehensible, and the biological, social, and psychological factors thought to create the serial killer are uncertain. For these reasons, "serial murderers...fit into no single profile; and create too wide a burden to be explained with one idea. They do seem to have one similar characteristic –that is; to blend into society and appear normal" (Forsyth, 2015, p. 871). Consequently, serial killers have occupations. To be employed is to be a part of the contemporary social structure in which

they live and interact. As stated, though it may not be possible to understand serial killing in its entirety, recognizing serial killers' occupational preferences and the influences their occupations have on their offending can at least give greater insight. Significantly, understanding the occupational preferences of serial killers has value as it reveals the personal traits and lifestyles of society's most brutal and terrifying offenders. This awareness may aid investigators during the active pursuit of a serial killer. The more that is known about serial killers, the easier it is to catch them. Likewise, the willing persistence to explore new areas, including the occupational preferences of Canadian serial killers, will continue to bring this dark phenomenon closer to light.

Appendix A: Canadian Serial Killer Descriptors

Name	Race	Sex	Age (last murder)	Years Active	Number Of Victims	Occupation	Source
Allen James Sweeney	White	Male	n/a	1975, 1985	2	Parolee	Cold North Killers (CNK)
Allen Legere	White	Male	41	1986, 1989	5	Career Criminal/Drifter	CNK
Allen MacDona-ld	White	Male	36	1975, 1989	3	Construction worker	CNK
Angelo Colalillo	White	Male	38	1993-2002	3	Cell-phone salesman	CNK
Bruce Hamill	White	Male	35	1977, 1991	2	Odd jobs	CNK
Bruce McArthur	White	Male	66	2012-2017	5	Landscaper	Npr.org
Carl Hall	White	Male	27	2000-2001	3	Thief (Career criminal)	CNK
Charles Kembo	Black	Male	n/a	2003-2005	4	Financial management company owner; Convenience store owner	CNK
Christian Magee	White	Male	28	1974-1976	3	Dead animal removal Service worker	CNK
Clifford Olsen Jr.	White	Male	41	1980-1981	11+	Construction contractor	CNK
Cody Legebokoff	White	Male	20	2009-2010	4	Mechanic	Murderpedia.org
Colonel Russel Williams	White	Male	46	2008-2009	2+	Air Force Commander	CNK
Daniel Wood	White	Male	n/a	1979-1981	2-15	Odd jobs/Drifter	CNK
David Snow	White	Male	37	1992	2-12	Antiques dealer	CNK
David Threinen	White	Male	27	1975	4	Trucker	CNK

Doug Moore	White	Male	35	2003	3	Auto parts factory worker	CNK
Elizabeth Wettlaufe-r	White	Fem-ale	47	2007-2014	8	Nurse	BBC.com/Murderpedia.org
Gerald Archer	White	Male	39	1969-1970	3	Drifter/Petty thief	CNK
Gilbert Paul Jordan	White	Male	57	1965-1988	8-10	Barbershop owner/ Barber	CNK/Murderpedia.org
Henry Williams	White	Male	n/a	1973-74	2	Bricklayer	CNK
James Greenidge	Black	Male	n/a	1967-1981	2-6	Thief/Parolee	CNK
John Martin Crawford	White	Male	33	1981, 1992-95	4-7	Odd Jobs	Radford.edu
Karla Homolka	White	Fem-ale	22	1990-1992	3	Veterinarian's assistant	CNK
Melvin Stanton	White	Male	32	1978, 1988	2	Parolee	CNK
Michael Hector	White	Male	n/a	1997	3	Ex-Car Thief/Parolee	CNK
Michael McGray	White	Male	46	1985-1998, 2011	7-17	Drifter	CNK
Paul Bernardo	White	Male	28	1990-1992	3	Junior accountant	CNK
Paul Cecil Gillis	White	Male	n/a	1974, 1988	3-9	Sparta mercantile factory worker	CNK
Robert Pickton	White	Male	53	?-2002	6-49	Pig farmer	CNK
Ron West	White	Male	23	1970	2+	Toronto police officer	CNK
Russell Maurice Johnson	White	Male	30	1973-1977	7	Stock clerk at Talbotville Ford Plant	CNK
Sam Pirrera	White	Male	32	1991, 1999	2	Dofasco steel plant factory worker	CNK
Serge Archambault	White	Male	36	1989-1992	3-6	Traveling salesman (former Butcher)	CNK
Suhkwind-er Dhillon	White	Male	37	1995-96	5	Car Dealership owner	CNK

Wayne Boden	White	Male	23	1970-1971	4	Traveling salesman	CNK/ Murderpedia .org
William Fyfe	White	Male	44	1979-1999	9	Handyman	CNK

**Appendix B: The Major National Occupational Classification (NOC) Occupational
Groups of Canadian Serial Killers**

“Management occupations”	“Business, finance, and administration occupations”	“Natural and applied sciences and related occupations”	“Health occupations”	“Occupations in education, law and social, community and government services”	“Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport”
<i>Charles Kembo</i> <i>Clifford Olsen Jr.</i> <i>Colonel Russel Williams</i> <i>David Snow</i> <i>Gilbert Paul Jordan</i> <i>Suhkwinder Dhillon</i>	<i>Paul Bernardo</i>		<i>Elizabeth Wettlaufer</i>	<i>Ron West</i>	
Total: 6	Total: 1	Total: 0	Total: 1	Total: 1	Total: 0

**Appendix B: The Major National Occupational Classification (NOC) Occupational
Groups of Canadian Serial Killers Cont'd.**

“Sales and service occupations”	“Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations”	“Natural resources, agriculture and related production occupations”	“Occupations in manufacturing and utilities”	Unemployed/Unknown
<i>Angelo Colalillo</i>	<i>Allen MacDonald</i>	<i>Bruce McArthur</i>	<i>Doug Moore</i>	<i>Allen James Sweeney</i>
<i>Karla Homolka</i>	<i>Christian Magee</i>	<i>Robert Pickton</i>	<i>Paul Cecil Gillis</i>	<i>Allen Legere</i>
<i>Russell Maurice Johnson</i>	<i>Cody Legebokoff</i>		<i>Sam Pirrera</i>	<i>Bruce Hamill</i>
<i>Serge Archambault</i>	<i>David Threinen</i>			<i>Carl Hall</i>
<i>Wayne Boden</i>	<i>Henry Williams</i>			<i>Daniel Wood</i>
<i>William Fyfe</i>				<i>Gerald Archer</i>
				<i>James Greenidge</i>
				<i>John Martin Crawford</i>
				<i>Melvin Stanton</i>
				<i>Michael Hector</i>
				<i>Michael McGray</i>
Total: 6	Total: 5	Total: 2	Total: 3	Total: 11

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