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Unmasking serial murder: a comparison of a South African murder series with characteristics from the Federal Bureau of Investigation Serial Murder Database

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UNMASKING SERIAL MURDER:

A COMPARISON OF A SOUTH AFRICAN MURDER SERIES WITH CHARACTERISTICS FROM THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION SERIAL MURDER DATABASE

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A research report submitted to the Faculty of Health Sciences, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree Master of Medicine in Forensic Pathology and Medicine.

Johannesburg

2015

DECLARATION

I Shakeera Holland declare that this research report is my own work. It is being submitted for the degree Master of Medicine in Forensic Pathology and Medicine in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at this or any other University.



Dr S Holland

Date: 14 May 2015

DEDICATION



TO MY FAMILY:

My parents, for always leading by example and inspiring me to achieve.

My husband, for supporting me through this process – without you, I would not have been able to finish.

My children, who are my inspiration to always be my best so I can lead by example.

ABSTRACT

The term ‘serial killer’ brings to mind notorious criminals whose crimes are so heinous as to test the limits of the most vivid imagination and make us question their humanity. What is the reality of serial murder?

In 2005, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) hosted a symposium on serial murder, which brought together international experts in the field of serial murder with the aim of clarifying and understanding this multifarious crime. On the 12th of March 2008, Gcinumzi Richman Makhwenkwe, ‘The Moffat Park Serial Murderer’ was convicted of 5 counts of murder, 3 counts of rape and 3 counts of robbery with aggravating circumstances. The Department of Forensic Medicine and Pathology of the University of the Witwatersrand, based at the Johannesburg Forensic Pathology Service (FPS) Medicolegal Mortuary Facility performed the medicolegal investigations of death in all the victims. This research report explores the characteristics of serial murder and serial murderers as documented in the literature; documents the features and characteristics of the Moffat Park murder series; compares the features of this South African murder series to those from the findings of the FBI serial murder symposium; explores the role of the forensic medical practitioner in the investigation of the Moffat Park series and serves to educate and inform forensic medical practitioners of the features of serial murder as awareness may potentially lead to earlier identification of a murder series. This could ultimately lead to earlier implementation of specialist investigative methods, earlier apprehension of the serial murderer and most importantly fewer victims.

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"We serial killers are your sons,

We are your husbands,

We are everywhere…

And there will be more of your children dead tomorrow"

Ted Bundy

Chapter I:

1.1 Introduction

The term 'serial killer' brings to mind the notorious names of Ted Bundy and Jeffrey Dahmer internationally and Moses Sithole and 'The Station Strangler' locally, killers whose crimes are so heinous as to test the limits of the most vivid imagination. The bizarre and barbaric acts of violence they committed make us question their humanity. In popular media, novels like those written by Patricia Cornwell, intrigue us with the creation of strong protagonists who unravel the patterns and clues of serial murders leading to the apprehension of the guilty party. Television series like 'Dexter' delve into the psychopathy that characterises 'serial killers'. Films like 'Monster' attempt to understand and clarify the reasons behind serial murder. The general perception is that 'serial killers' are intelligent, single white males, with high IQ's, but who do poorly in school and often do menial jobs. They tend to come from unstable, dysfunctional families and are typically abandoned by their fathers and raised by domineering mothers. They often have family histories of criminal activity, psychiatric illnesses, and alcoholism. They have often spent time in institutions as children and have a history of early psychiatric problems. They have high rates of suicide attempts. From an early age, many are intensely interested in voyeurism, fetishism, and sadomasochistic pornography. They wet their

beds beyond the age of 12 years. They are fascinated with fire starting and they are involved in sadistic activity or torturing small animals (Pakhomou 2004). These are the characteristics that are perpetuated by the popular media with little regards for any scientific evidence to support these ideas.

We feel compelled to try to find ways to understand the urge to commit serial murder. We look to the psychological theories of Freud and Erikson in an attempt to understand why human beings become serial murderers because surely, there must be an explanation as to why human-beings become 'monsters'? (De Wet 2004; Barkhuizen 2005)

Popular media concepts as proposed above are not a reality. It is the mandate of those involved in the process of law to know the answers to these questions. The only way to do so is to strip these crimes of their Hollywood-like veneer and approach this topic in a scientific and rational manner.

1.2 Aims and objectives

On the 12th of March 2008 Gcinumzi Richman Makhwenkwe, also known as the 'Moffat Park Serial Murderer', was convicted of 5 counts of murder, 3 counts of rape and 3 counts of robbery with aggravating circumstances. Makhwenkwe officially confessed to these crimes. The Department of Forensic Medicine and Pathology of the University of the Witwatersrand, based at the Johannesburg Forensic Pathology Service (FPS) Medicolegal Mortuary Facility, performed the medicolegal investigations of death in all these incidents. The medicolegal investigation of death includes assessment of the scene of death; the post mortem examination

including the performance of special investigations; the compilation of the medicolegal report, which includes the cause of death and ultimately testifying in court.

The aims of the research report are:

- To explore the characteristics of serial murder and serial murderers as documented in the literature
- To document the features and characteristics of the Moffat Park murder series.
- To compare the features of this South African murder series to those obtained from the findings of the FBI serial murder symposium (Morton 2005)
- To explore the roles of the forensic medical practitioners involved in the investigation of the Moffat Park murder series

The objectives of the research report are:

- To determine whether or not the objective findings in the medicolegal investigations of death were consistent with the statements made in the official confession, by comparing the findings from the medicolegal death investigations to the relevant corresponding aspects of the official confession.
- To determine if the Moffat park series differs from series depicted in international literature
- To describe this local murder series and thereby educate and inform forensic medical practitioners of the possible features of serial murders, as awareness may potentially lead to earlier identification of a murder series. This could ultimately lead to earlier

implementation of specialist investigative methods, earlier apprehension of the serial murderer and thus fewer victims.

1.3 Materials and methods

1.3.1 Study design

This research is presented in the form of a case study based on a retrospective review of the Moffat Park murder series, covering the period from 19 December 2005 to 13 March 2008. This information incorporates the information from the South African Police Service (SAPS) investigation case file, including the official confession made by Makhwenkwe; all aspects of the medicolegal death investigations performed by the forensic medical practitioners involved; results from the forensic science investigations and the court proceedings in this matter.

This is a 'document study' using a qualitative research design that aims to gain an in-depth understanding into this particular murder series and the phenomenon of serial murder. Serial murder is a rare phenomenon making this case study distinctive and particularly interesting. This case is an ideal example of the types of serial murders that are committed in South Africa and thus the comparison of the findings from the FBI symposium on serial murder to those seen in this South African series offers a unique opportunity to answer the question of how similar or how different the circumstances in South Africa are to those seen internationally with a view towards guiding and directing practical outcomes in the management of these cases and to gain a greater depth of understanding.

1.3.2 Data collection

A literature search was performed obtaining relevant information on serial murder the using electronic databases ‘PUBMED’, ‘MD CONSULT’ and ‘MEDLINE’. The search criteria included articles published from the year 2000 until 2015 that were in English. The searches were performed in 2009, 2013, 2014 and 2015. The key words that were used were: serial killer, serial murderer, serial homicide, serial murder, crime scene behaviours, signature, ritual, linkage analysis, profiling, sexual murder, decomposition, time of death, algor mortis, rigor mortis, livor mortis, hypostasis.

Articles and dissertations were also obtained from the Investigative Psychology Unit of the South African Police Service database.

This is a ‘document study’ so all the information on the case study was gathered from written sources, in this case, the files from the official SAPS investigation and court proceedings.

After the necessary ethical and research approval was obtained and the case of ‘State verses Makhwenkwe’ was officially concluded in court, copies of the official SAPS docket relating to the investigations of ‘State versus Gcinumzi Richman Makhwenkwe’ (2008) were obtained. The information was correlated into sections pertaining to each victim and then tabulated and collected into data sheets. The results were then compared, analysed and written up.

The information pertaining to the areas of comparison between the ‘Moffat Park Serial Murderer’ and the findings from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) symposium on serial murder were used to complete data sheet A. The criteria used in the comparison included: the definition of serial murder; the identification details, social circumstances, and

family background of serial murderers; the motivations behind the murders; the geographic areas of operation including where the murders were committed and where the victims' bodies were found; the psychiatric and psychological background of the serial murderer; the level of intelligence and level of education of the serial murderer; the possibility of whether serial murderers want to be caught; the way in which the victim were identified ; a past history of criminal behaviour and a the presence of deviant sexual behaviour in the murderer.

The information pertaining to the victims in the Moffat Park murder series was tabulated in data sheet B and this included: the identification particulars of the victims and whether the victims were positively identified; the methods used in the identification of the victims; the calculation of the post mortem interval (to determine when each victim had been killed); the findings of the post mortem examinations; the results of the investigations performed during the post mortem examinations; and the ultimate sentencing that was handed down by the court for each of the crimes committed during the series. Each feature identified in the various components of the investigations was correlated with the information obtained from the confession and other SAPS docket content.

1.3.3 Data analysis

Descriptive analysis was performed comparing the characteristics of this South African murder series with the characteristics of serial murder based on the findings of the FBI symposium on serial murder.

Descriptive analysis was performed, correlating the aspects of the Moffat Park murder series as found in the various components of the SAPS investigation with the aspects as disclosed in the official confession.

1.4 Ethics

Ethics clearance was obtained through the Medical Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Witwatersrand on 30/11/2009.

Clearance certificate: M091109

Chapter 2: Literature review

This chapter will explore the existing literature on serial murder, starting from the historical perspective. The characteristics of serial murderers and serial murders will then be reviewed and the chapter will conclude with a review of the key aspects of the investigations of serial murder in general and the current state of affairs of serial murder investigation in South African (SA).

2.1 The historical background of serial murder

Serial murders have been documented throughout history and occur throughout the world (Labuschagne 2000a). In China, in the year 144 BC, Lui Pengli, the cousin of the emperor, was said to have murdered people for sport. His crimes were eventually exposed and the body count came to at least 100 people. In France in the 15th century, a rich nobleman, Gilles de Rais, 'The Bestial Barron' abducted and sexually violated as least 140 young children, mostly young boys (Labuschagne 2000b; De Wet 2004). One of the most notorious historical female serial murderers was Erzebet Bathory, a member of the Hungarian aristocracy. In 1610, Bathory , 'The Blood Countess', tortured and murdered more than 600 young girls and allegedly bathed in the blood of her victims, believing it would keep her skin looking youthful (BBC news 2013). In 1888, 'Jack The Ripper' brought the London authorities to their knees as they were rendered hapless under his reign of terror, when he murdered at least 5 sex workers (De Wet 2004). As distasteful as the act of serial murder is, it was thought that in addition to eviscerating his victims, 'Jack The Ripper' fed on their flesh (Lefabvre 2005). These notorious murders remain unsolved.

In response to these horrifying acts, experts on the subject began to emerge. Dr. Richard von Krafft-Ebing, a psychiatrist, conducted research on a French serial murderer who committed violent sexual murders. In 1886, he published his findings in his book, Psychopathia Sexualis (Morton 2005). Cesare Lombroso was a 19th century criminologist who taught that criminality was hereditary, and thus people were born as criminals. His theory was based on the idea that violent criminals were 'throwbacks to a prehistoric past', so could be identified by 'ape-like features' of the face and body which could be measured anthropologically. These features could then be used to surmise character and personality traits. The case study of a serial killer named Vincenz Verzeni was used to validate Lombroso's theory. Lombroso was asked to examine Verzeni, a serial murderer who strangled and disemboweled two women and then drank one of the victims' blood. Verzeni happened to have a large jaw, bull-neck, malformed ears, low forehead and thus fitted perfectly with Lombroso's image of the 'born criminal' (Lemmer 2006). Many of those early theories were later discredited with good reason.

'The Men Who Murdered' was published in 1985 by the FBI's Behavioral Science Unit (BSU) in Quantico, Virginia and is considered the seminal work on sexual homicide and crime scene analysis, based on the findings of interviews with 25 serial murderers (Beasley 2004). Since then, serial murder has fueled the minds and imaginations of people around the world and sparked and ignited academic research and study in the field.

2.2 The definition of serial murder

It was Robert Ressler, an FBI agent who first coined the term 'serial murder' in the 1970's (Pakhomou 2004; Morton 2005; Lemmer 2006). The term 'serial murderer' is more accurate

and has less of the dramatic hyperbole that is connoted in the term ‘serial killer’ and thus is the term that is used in law-enforcement circles (Labuschagne 2009).

There is a move internationally towards standardising definitions and operational procedures in serial murder. Definitions which have been derived from SA sources are explored in the dissertation by Del Fabbro (2006). She described the following key points as a definition of serial murder:

- three or more murder victims;
- a ‘cooling off’ period between murders; and
- the killings are not motivated by material gain, elimination of a witness and not related to terrorism, cultism, and racism or gang activity.

In 2005, the FBI hosted a symposium on serial murder. The findings of the symposium are documented in a monograph referenced as Morton 2005, which details the collective findings from the multi-disciplinary group of experts who attended the symposium. Internationally, there was significant work done by experts in many different fields pertaining to serial murder. The work however, was being done mostly in isolation. The aim of the symposium was to bring together these experts, to integrate their ideas and attempt to reach consensus in clarifying and understanding the crime of serial murder. The 5-day long symposium hosted 135 subject matter experts from 10 different countries on 5 continents, including SA. The attendees included law enforcement officials involved in the investigation and apprehension of serial murderers; mental health, academic, and other experts involved in studying serial murderers; court officials involved in the judgment, prosecution and defense of serial

murderers and members of the media. The agenda encompassed a variety of topics related to serial murder, including common myths, definitions, typologies, pathology and causality, forensics, the role of the media, prosecution issues, investigative task force organisation, and major case management issues. The findings of the FBI Symposium on serial murder included a definition of serial murder which incorporated the following:

- one or more offenders;
- two or more murdered victims; and
- the incidents should occur in separate events, at different times (Morton 2005)

2.3 Characteristics of serial murderers

The popular press would be greatly disappointed to learn that the main identifying criterion of serial murderers being single white males is actually a myth. This will be seen as we explore the identification criteria of serial murderers as described in the literature.

The results of two major studies are specifically highlighted in the findings:
From the United States of America (USA): One of the largest studies of serial murder was by Hickey (2006), who reviewed the demographic information of 431 serial murder offenders, consisting of 367 males and 64 females from the United States (US) between 1800 and 2004 and who collectively murdered between 2,760 and 4,340 victims (Hickey 2006; Salfati, Labuschagne, Horning, Sorochinski & De Wet 2015). (Referred to as the US study)

From SA: This study is the most up to date research based on SA serial murder statistics. The data was obtained from serial murder police files from the archives of the Investigative

Psychology Unit (IPU) of the South African Police Service (SAPS). The research is based on 33 solved serial homicide cases from 1953 to 2007, with a total of 254 known crime scenes and 302 victims (Salfati, Labuschagne, Horning, Sorochinski & De Wet 2015). (Referred to as the SA study)

2.3.1 Race

Serial murderers span all racial groups. Generally, it has been shown that the racial composition of serial murderers reflects demographics of the population where the homicide takes place (Horning, Salfati & Labuschagne 2015)

The racial diversification of serial murderers in the USA generally mirrors that of the overall population (Morton 2005). In the SA study, 66.7% were black offenders, 24.2% were white offenders and 9.0% were coloured (or mixed-group) offenders. It is noted in the SA study that the percentage of the white offenders was found to be higher than the general percentage of white people in the South African population. This could be attributed to the fact that the findings of the SA study were derived from only solved murder series.

2.3.2 Gender

The popular belief about serial murderers predominantly being adult males is true. This is confirmed by a number of publications from the USA, Germany and Finland. (Kraemer, Lord & Heilbrun 2004; Snook, Cullen & Mokros 2005; Häkkänen-Nyholm et al 2009). In the US study, 83% of the offenders were male and 17% were female. In the SA study, all of the

offenders included in the study were males. The statistics reflect how rare it is for women to commit serial murders.

There are no known female serial murderers reported in SA (Hodgskiss 2004). Often, Daisy de Melker is thought of as a South African female serial murderer. Daisy de Melker was a nurse who allegedly married men and then killed them for financial gain in the 1900's. She married three men, who were plumbers. Her first two husbands died under similar, highly suspicious circumstances, which pointed towards poisoning. However, the only murder charge that could be proved against her in court was that of her son from her first marriage, where evidence of arsenic poisoning was found (Marsh 2013). She received large life insurance payouts from the deaths of her first two husbands and her son. It was suspected that she may have killed her son because he was insisting on his share of his deceased father's inheritance (South African history online 2013). Morton (2005) indicates that financial gain may be an added benefit in the commission of serial murder. However, in murder series where there are financial gains derived from the murders, financial gain is not the driving force or primary aim in committing murder. Thus, the case of Daisy de Mellker does not fit the criteria of serial murder, as her killing was motivated solely by financial gain

2.3.3 Age

The literature shows that serial murder is generally committed by young adults. In the SA study , the ages of the offenders ranged from 18 to 42 years, with a mean age of 29 years when the first murder in the series was committed. This is almost identical to the findings from the

US study where the average age was 28 years. Middle-aged murderers do exist, but most serial murderers tend to be young adults when they start to murder (Ostrosky-Solis et al. 2008)

Serial murders committed by children and adolescents are exceedingly rare. Myers 2004 reviewed six cases of serial murder by children and adolescents over the past 150 years, noting that little scientific information on serial murder by children and adolescents exists.

2.3.4 Marital/relationship status

The stereotype of the serial murderer as a misfit and a loner is a myth. 'Serial killers hide in plain sight within their communities' (Morton 2005 pg 3). The majority of serial murderers are often active and productive members of society. Most serial murderers blend into society so well that they effectively escape police detection (Morton 2005).

Serial murders are capable of being in stable and sustaining relationships. The SA study shows that of the 25 offenders whose relationship status was known, 60% were in relationships at the time of committing the murders. The types of relationships included girlfriends, wives, girlfriends and wives at the same time and one offender was divorced.

2.3.5 Employment

Serial murderers are capable of sustaining employment. In the US study most were involved in blue collar or unskilled jobs. In the SA study, 34.5% were unemployed at the time of their arrest, 55.2% were laborers, one was a 'disc jockey' in a night-club and one was a traditional

healer. It must be borne in mind that the high unemployment rates in SA most probably impacts on these statistics.

2.3.6 Education/intellect

Serial murderers are generally portrayed as highly intelligent. To the contrary, the US study shows that majority of offenders attained a high school education or less. In the SA study, the education level of the offenders ranged from no formal education, to primary school level of education (up to and including grade 7) and high school education (grades 8 to 12). Most of the serial murderers in SA that have undergone IQ testing scored within the average range (Labuschagne 2009).

2.3.7 Past criminal behaviour

A large majority of serial murderers have criminal pasts. In the US study, almost two thirds of offenders had been incarcerated prior to the start of their series. The offenses included property crimes, sex-related crimes, drug-related offenses, prior homicide offenses and assaults. In the SA study, 89.3% of the offenders had a previous criminal history, including arrests for violent crimes against persons, sexual crimes against persons and property crimes.

2.3.8 Psychopathy

Most serial murderers do not suffer from psychiatric disorders, instead, it has been shown that as a group, serial murderers often have a variety of personality disorders including psychopathy (Reisner, McGee & Noffsinger 2003; Meloy & Felthous 2004; Morton 2005;

Labuschagne 2009). In SA, only one serial murderer has been found unfit to stand trial due to mental illness (Labuschagne 2009).

Gilles de Rais, 'The Bestial Barron', stated the following about his notorious crimes, 'I did and perpetrated them following [the dictates] of my imagination and my thought, without the advice of anyone, and according to my own judgment and entirely for my own pleasure and physical delight, and for no other intention or end' (Myers et al. 2006 pg 901).

In Bavaria in the 19th century, Andreas Bichel, 'The Bavarian Ripper', killed and dissected girls. At his trial he commented, 'I may say that during the operation I was so eager, that I trembled all over, and I longed to rive off a piece and eat it' (Myers et al. 2006 pg 901).

Richard Speck killed eight nurses in Chicago in 1966. He forced his way into the house they shared by threatening them with a gun. He chatted to his victims amiably while robbing them and binding them with sheets, promising not to hurt them. However, over the course of the night, Speck raped and killed 8 women. The only survivor who had escaped by hiding under the bed, heard Speck 'kindly' ask one girl as he was raping her, 'Will you please put your legs around my back?' (Myers et al. 2006 pg 902). When later asked in prison why he killed the women, he answered, 'It just wasn't their night'. As to how he felt about the killings, he responded, 'Like I always feel. Had no feelings' (Myers et al. 2006 pg 902). Speck's murder rampage could be categorised as a 'murder spree' which is generally defined as 'two or more murders committed by an offender of offenders, without a cooling-off period' (Morton 2005 page 9). It is noted in Morton 2005, that the idea of classifying 'spree murders' as a separate category of serial murder was found to be unhelpful in terms of the practical aspects relating to

the investigation of serial murders and it was felt that creating arbitrary guidelines as to the definition of a ‘cooling-off period’ would lead to confusion and would not be of any real benefit in the investigation of these incidents by law enforcement officials.

Dennis Nilsen killed 15 male victims between 1978 and 1983 in the United Kingdom (UK). He lured the victims to his home and strangled or drowned them. He then performed necrophilic acts on the corpses. In some cases, he disposed of the bodies by cutting them up into small pieces and burning them or flushing them down the toilet. Other body parts were found hidden in his home after his arrest. Nilsen had worked as a butcher while in the army. When he was arrested, he said, ‘the victim is the dirty platter after the feast and the washing up is an ordinary clinical task’ (Myers et al. 2006 pg 902). When asked about the motivation behind his crimes, Nilsen replied, ‘Well, enjoying it is as good a reason as any’ (Myers et al. 2006)

These cases perfectly illustrate the features of psychopathy. Psychopathy is a personality disorder characterised by:

- superficial charm
- an inflated sense of self-worth
- a lack of remorse or empathy
- impulsivity
- shallowness of emotions
- deceitful and manipulative behaviour, including pathological lying and conning
- failure to accept responsibility

- egocentric, glib, callous interpersonal style
- low frustration tolerance
- episodic relationships
- a parasitic lifestyle
- the persistent violation of social norms, including the displaying of antisocial behaviours, manifesting in early childhood behavioural problems, juvenile delinquency, and criminal versatility

(Morton 2005; Porter et al. 2006; Wolf & Lavezzi 2007)

Dr Robert Hare, a pioneer in the study of psychopathy, was instrumental in the development of clinical assessment tools, 'the Psychopathy Check List Revised (PCL-R)' and its derivatives to measure the degree of psychopathy in individuals (Arrigo & Griffin 2004; Morton 2005; Porter et al 2006; Wolf & Lavezzi 2007). It has been shown that there is a strong association between serial murderers and psychopathy in that serial murderers are more likely to display psychopathic personality traits or disorders. However, psychopathy in an individual does not mean that the individual will become a serial murderer nor does it explain the motivation to commit serial murder (Morton 2005; Porter et al. 2006; Wolf & Lavezzi 2007).

2.4 Typologies of serial murder

The psychological inner workings of the serial murderer are a never-ending source of fascination and study. The theories that have been developed as to 'what makes them tick' are complex and intricate. The tools to assess the psychological make-up of serial murderers are

vast and varied. The media hype is that all serial murderers have a background of abuse, family dysfunction, dominant mothers and absent fathers. Although these factors are present in a number of cases, there are serial murderers who are not considered mentally disturbed and do not have the histories of abusive childhoods (Ferguson et al 2003). Cruelty towards animals during childhood has been identified as a trait often found in serial murderers. However, when Wright & Hensley (2003) undertook to study this phenomenon, they found that although childhood animal cruelty could be identified in some of the cases that they studied, it was impossible to conclude that all or a specified percentage of serial murderers displayed the behaviour. Silva, Leong & Ferrari (2004) suggests that there may be an element of autism present in serial murderers but this cannot be conclusively proven. Healthcare workers who are considered the benevolent servants of society, have been shown to commit serial murders (Yorker et al 2006). This apparent contradiction in character brings into question the idea of the innate 'moral compass' or conscience that is supposed to guide human beings. Thus the issue of causality remains a mystery. Most experts agree that causality is in fact a complex and multi-factorial phenomenon, based on biological, social, and environmental factors, tempered by the individual's right to choose to act or not to act (Morton 2005; Labuschagne 2009).

Criminal activity must be viewed within the context in which it occurs (Labuschagne, 2000b). The ways in which serial murderers are classified are often based on the motivations behind the killings (Singer & Hensley 2004; Winter et al 2007). The 'Holmes and Holmes' classification of the serial murderer is based on four major categories. 'Visionary killers' are motivated by psychotic delusions; 'mission killers' commit murder to eradicate groups of people that are considered undesirable; 'hedonistic killers' commit murder either to attain sexual gratification or for the thrill and excitement committing murder provides to them;

‘power or control killers’ derive pleasure from dominating and having power over another human being (Canter & Wentink 2004).

Morton (2005) proposes a broader type of classification, whereby the motivations behind serial murders are sexually based; committed out of anger; to feel power or a thrill; for the purposes of promoting certain ideologies; to derive benefits in criminal enterprises; to have the added benefit of financial gains; as attention seeking behaviour; as a result of a psychotic illness or to feel empowered.

2.5 Epidemiology

Although sensational, serial murders do not occur frequently. Serial murder is estimated to comprise less than one percent of all murders committed annually in the USA (Morton 2005).

Up to 2010, the SAPS had identified 104 murder series, of which 70% have been solved. The majority of these have been identified since 1990. The earliest noted murder series in SA occurred in 1936 (Labuschagne & Salfati 2015). The IPU of the SAPS has official court records of a series dating back to 1953 where the accused, Elifasi Msomi, murdered 15 people in the province of KwaZulu-Natal after luring the victims with a promise of employment. The highest number of murder convictions is attributed to Moses Sithole, ‘The Atteridgeville Strangler’, who raped and murdered 38 black females from 1994 to 1995 (Hickey 2006; Labuschagne & Salfati 2015).

The numbers of serial murderers in SA is significantly high, ranking SA as the top five countries in this category (Hodgeskiss 2004). There is an average of five new series occurring every year in SA (Salfati, Labuschagne, Horning, Sorochinski & De Wet 2015). In addition, the average number of homicides per series is 9, which is much higher than that found in the USA and other Western countries (Salfati, Labuschagne, Horning, Sorochinski & De Wet 2015; Sorochinski, Salfati & Labuschagne 2015).

2.6 The crime

The details of the crime are important in identifying and investigating serial murders. Serial murderers use different tools to successfully commit crimes, which influence the behaviours they display while committing the crimes. These include their knowledge of the local geography and the roles and positions of people in society. The expressed behaviours can be recognised in the features of the crime itself, including pre-crime interaction with victims and victim selection (Horning, Salfati & Labuschagne 2015).

There are differences between serial murders committed by male and female perpetrators. Female serial murderers tend to know their victims, who are often partners or frail individuals (Frei et al. 2006). A study by Messing and Heeren (2004) identified 32 cases of serial murders committed by women in a domestic context between 1993 and 2001. This study found that the murders were well-planned and the majority of the victims were the children of the perpetrators. According to Frei et al (2006), female serial murderers tend to use covert methods of murder and material gain may be an additional element in their motivation.

Furthermore it was found that sadism is rarely a feature of the crimes and the offences are commonly committed with a man or men.

In all of the six cases of children and adolescents serial murderers, as reviewed by Myers (2004), signs of sexual sadism were exhibited in the murders and the methods of killing were classified as ‘hands on’, which included cutting, stabbing or strangulation.

2.6.1 Modus Operandi

The modus operandi (MO) is the method by which a crime is committed and encompasses the actions necessary to successfully commit the crime. The MO is a learned behaviour that can be modified and perfected over time, as the offender’s experience grows (Mott 1999). Studies indicate that there is an evolution of the behaviour in a murder series, which results in a more distinctive MO as the series progresses (Labuschagne 2010). Salfati, Horning, Sorochinski and Labuschagne (2015) and Bateman and Salfati (2007) confirm this by reporting that serial homicide offenders do not consistently perform the same crime scene behaviors throughout their series of homicides. Features of the MO can include aspects like the time and place the offender chooses to commit the crime, the type of victim chosen, how the victim is controlled, the weapons or tools used in the process and the methods of gaining access to the area in which the murders are committed (Labuschagne 2009).

The methods of wounding may vary across the same series. In the SA study, the methods of wounding included gunshots, wounds by blunt instruments, strangulation and stabbing. In the

majority of cases studied, the offender brought the weapon to the scene. In the US study, shooting, strangulation and stabbing were more common than bludgeoning.

2.6.2 Signature

A signature is a unique behavior or act consistently performed during the crime. It is not a necessary action required for the offender to complete the actual crime but is the offenders 'personal touch' imprinted on the crime scene that may serve to emotionally fulfill the offender (Mott 1999; Hickey 2006; Wolf & Lavezzi 2007; Schlesinger et al 2010). The signature generally remains stable throughout a murder series. Often, the signature can be in the form of a ritual. Examples of signature that have been observed in serial sexual homicides include aberrant sex, attacks at the face, cannibalism, decapitation, mutilation of the body, carving on the body, leaving messages at the scene, post mortem activity inflicted on the body, forcing the victim to respond verbally in a specific fashion, dismemberment, necrophilia, object penetration, 'posing' of the bodies (post mortem manipulation of the corpse into various positions as desired by the perpetrator) and taking souvenirs and trophies (Hickey 2006; Wolf & Lavezzi 2007; Labuschagne 2010). In sexual murders, manifestations of paraphilias may be evident at the crime scenes and be a form of signature (Warren 1996; White 2007). Paraphilias are sexual disorders characterised by intense sexual arousal to atypical or unconventional stimuli, including objects, atypical situations involving non-consenting human and non-humans. Jeffrey Dahmer had a number of paraphilias which included necrophilia. Dahmer confessed to keeping his victims' skulls and then masturbating to them (Strubel 2007). An example of a signature can be seen in the SA 'Phoenix Serial Murderer' who used items of

clothing from previous victims to strangle and tie up the subsequent victims (Labuschagne G 2009).

2.6.3 Victimology

Most of the US serial murderers prey on members of their own race (Walsh 2005; Lemmer 2006). Bearing this in mind, racial bigotry must be considered as a motive for those who cross racial lines to kill (Walsh 2005). This motivation must be considered in SA where considerable offending across racial lines has been identified (Hodgskiss 2004). The victims of serial murderers may be targeted because they represent something personally relevant to the offender (Labuschagne 2010). The majority of serial murderers tend to be consistent in their victimology (Labuschagne 2010).

There seems to be a preference towards selecting victims considered to be vulnerable or marginalised by society, like migrant workers, the unemployed, sex workers, children, homosexuals, the homeless and drug and/or alcohol addicts. This could be because these individuals have lifestyles that expose them to greater risk; they may be considered easier to control or dominate; they may be easier to detain; they may not be noticed to be missing and they could be seen as being of less worth than other members of society and thus expendable (Brewer et al 2006; Hickey 2006; Horning, Salfati & Labuschagne 2015).

The victims in the US study were mostly white females, who were alone including homeless people, sex workers and drug addicts. Nearly half the offenders had at least one male victim. A large majority of the victims were strangers to the offender. Family members were victims

in 8% of offenders and 10% of the victims were considered acquaintances. A small number of offenders targeted children and adolescents.

According to Hodgskiss (2004), the three most common victim groups targeted by serial homicide offenders in SA were children, women seeking employment and sex workers. In the SA study, the majority of the victims were female. The ages of the victims ranged from 7 months to 85 years with an average age of 28. Only 2 offenders consistently targeted children or adolescents. Most of the victims were black but in general, the racial composition of the victims mirrored the overall racial demographics in SA. A significant number of victims were unidentified (18.2%). Nearly all the victims were unemployed. This once again could be a reflection of the high unemployment rates in SA. In this context, offers of employment could be used as a ruse to lure victims into the clutches of the offender. In SA, it would not be uncommon to be offered legitimate employment by a stranger and thus accompanying a stranger to an unknown place, would not be unusual in this circumstance, creating the perfect setting for murder (Salfati, Labuschagne, Horning, Sorochinski & De Wet 2015). Moses Sithole, who is currently the most prolific known SA serial murderer lured 38 victims into isolated areas with a promise of employment and then raped and killed them (Horning, Salfati & Labuschagne 2015).

2.6.4 Sexual Murders

The first study of sexual homicide by Krafft-Ebing in 1886 produced the term ‘sadism’ which was defined as deriving sexual pleasure and enjoyment from another person’s physical suffering (Knight 2006; Porter et al 2006). Sadism and psychopathy often go hand in hand.

Psychopathic offenders who engage in serial sexual homicide are more likely to engage in sadistic and more gratuitous violence in the offenses they commit (Porter et al 2006; Häkkänen-Nyholm et al 2009). A study by Langevin (2003) comparing sexual murderers to other criminals who committed violent sexual crimes without murder, showed that perpetrators of sexual murders tended to start their criminal careers earlier, had often been to reform school, tended to be members of criminal gangs and had a history of fire-setting and cruelty to animals. The majority of these offenders showed features of antisocial personality disorder and only 15.2% could be classified as psychopaths. They also tended to show features of sadism, fetishism and voyeurism in their offenses.

Most serial murderers in SA commit sexual serial murders (Labuschagne 2010; Labuschagne & Salfati 2015) and this is true generally for serial murders worldwide (Salfati& Bateman 2005). In the SA study, there was evidence of a sexual motive in almost two thirds of the cases studied. In the US study, 47% of serial homicide offenders in the sample had an underlying sexual motive in at least some of their crimes.

In sexual homicide, the sexual acts may occur before, during, or after the homicide (Salfati & Bateman 2005; Porter et al 2006). Features that can be seen in sexual murders include leaving the victim naked or partially dressed; staging and posing the body; torturing the victim; ante- or post mortem mutilation of the body and taking personal items or trophies from the victim (Salfati & Bateman 2005).

2.6.4.1 Case examples of SA sexual serial murders

The case studies of 2 SA sexual murderers are described below highlighting features of victim selection and MO.

2.6.4.1(a) 'The Norwood Serial Killer': Kobus Geldenhuys (1989 – 1992), (Hook 2002, Hook 2003)

On the 24th of September 1993, 25 year old Kobus Geldenhuys received 5 death sentences after being found guilty of 15 crimes, including the murders of 5 women, and 3 counts of rape and attempted rape. He was known as 'The Norwood Serial Killer' because between May 1989 and July 1992, he committed the crimes that he was convicted for, in and around the Norwood area in Johannesburg, where he lived and worked. Geldenhuys was a railway police officer, which was a branch of the SAPS at that time.

Geldenhuys was raised by a strict, domineering and religiously devout mother, who rarely showed him any physical affection. He reports that one of the few ways where there was physical contact between them was when she used to wrestle with him. His father was quiet and distant and did not have a substantive relationship with his son. From a young age, his mother tried to inculcate her views about sex on Geldenhuys. She tried to impress upon him that sex was dirty and wrong and that women were evil. Despite this, when Geldenhuys moved out on his own, he managed to accumulate a prolific collection of pornography which he often indulged in. From a young age, Geldenhuys engaged in antisocial behaviours like petty theft and property crime for which he had never been caught. He started stealing money from his mother's purse at around age 10 or 11. This antisocial behaviour continued during

this tenure in the railway police. In 1989 Geldenhuys met a mentally disabled woman at a church function. They were involved in a romantic relationship which included a consensual sexual relationship and they intended to marry. Apparently Geldenhuys was always gentle towards his fiancé, including in their sexual relationship. Geldenhuys was a loner and an introvert, who did not have many friends. He was described by the community in which he lived as a soft-natured and well-mannered man, who did not display any overt signs of aggression.

His first incident of crime against a person was triggered by the dissolution of his engagement, due to an altercation with his fiancé's father. His victims were all females; their ages ranged from young adults to senior citizens and they were of different races. The victims were all strangers to Geldenhuys. On the 5th of December 1989, during an incident of breaking and entering into a house in Norwood to steal money, Geldenhuys came across a young black female domestic worker. He claims he was surprised by her presence and proceeded to beat her to death with a brick. He then then moved her body to her room and set the room on fire. On the 6th of November 1991, he raped a 37 year old woman in a block of flats, which was situated next to his police barracks in Norwood and stole her car and some money. He later abandoned the car at the Norwood police barracks. A few weeks later, on the 26th of November, he raped a 68 year old woman in Norwood and stole money from her. He then allegedly left her with the words, 'Goodnight, sleep well'. The next 2 victims were both 27 year old women. On the 16th of December 1991 he raped and shot his next victim in her Norwood flat. Later that month, on the 30th of December, he raped another woman in Norwood, after which he ran a bath for her and forced her into the bath before shooting her in the head. On the 7th of May 1992, he shot and killed a 74 year old woman in Brakpan. His last

victim was a 16 year old girl, who he raped and murdered in her home in Benoni on the 15th of July 1992. As illustrated, the MO of the crimes varied throughout the series.

Geldenhuys' actions after committing rape were inconsistent and incongruous. He claimed that he would offer his victims a cup of coffee or give them a blanket. On one occasion he even ran a bath for the victim. However, he claimed that if the victim tried to look at his face or attempted to escape, he would kill her by shooting her between the eyes. The rapes apparently did not always lead to sexual gratification and at times he did not ejaculate or have successful penetrative sex with his victims. This seems to suggest that the crimes were fuelled by rage, fury and a sense of power. He said that what he enjoyed most about some of the murders he committed, was 'the star-shaped indentation left by the firearm when it was pressed against the victim's forehead' (Hook 2003, pg 2). Geldenhuys claimed that he was unable to control himself when he committed these atrocious crimes. In interviews after his arrest and conviction, Geldenhuys described his crimes as an 'adventure' and as something he could not 'bring himself to stop'. He was fully aware that his actions were wrong, but regarded his crimes with very little emotional insight.

2.6.4.1(b) Stewart 'Boetie Boer' Wilken (1990-1997), (Hurst A 2003a; Hurst A 2003b; Hickey 2006)

Wilken's victims do not fit the traditional profile of violent offenders. His victims were black, white and coloured, males and females and their ages ranged between 8 and 42 years. The victims were strangers, acquaintances and family. His signature was that he used the victims' clothing to strangle them. He also partook in cannibalism, necrophilia, and incest during the

series. Wilken was arrested after the murder of his last victim, Henry Alexander Bakers on 22 January 1997. In fact, it was Wilken himself, acting as a concerned family friend, who 'discovered' the missing boy's body, after offering to assist the police in their investigation. The lead SAPS investigator on this case was disturbed by Wilken's behaviour during this time and officially interrogated Wilken, who confessed to the series of murders and led the police to the scenes of his murders. He blamed his offenses on drugs (marijuana and mandrax) and on his wife, whom he claimed denied him sex and worked as a sex worker.

At a young age, Wilken and his sister were found in a telephone booth, abandoned by their parents. He was raised by foster parents who he said physically, sexually and emotionally abused him. At the age of 10, he claimed he was sodomised by a member of his church. He failed in school and was sent to reform school where he claimed he was sodomised again. On commenting on his childhood, Wilken said, 'I began to feel like an object, not a person' (Hickey 2006, pg 320). He was drafted into the army and was discharged after 4 months because of a suicide attempt. He was married for 9 years and the marriage ended in divorce when Wilken claimed his wife was unfaithful. Intermittently, he was treated for various psychiatric problems and another suicide attempt. In 1990 he remarried and in 1995 he was arrested for sodomising his step children

His first 5 victims were sex workers, including a 14 year old black male sex worker. His last 4 victims were children aged 13 and younger. He performed necrophilic acts on his 2nd and 5th victims, who were both female sex workers and on 2 of his child victims. Necrophilia in combination with sexual homicide is a rare and bizarre phenomenon (Stein, Schlesinger & Pinizzotto 2010). His 4th victim was a 32 year old black female sex worker. After he killed

her, he inserted a knife into her vagina, cut off her nipples and ate them. The 7th victim was his own 10 year old daughter whom he strangled. Wilken claimed that there were no sexual elements in this crime. He said that he killed his daughter to prevent her from suffering as he did. Wilken said that he enjoyed the way people's faces looked when they were strangled. He called this the 'Jelly Bean Effect' (Hickey 2006 pg 320).

Wilken liked visiting the remains of child victims. He said he covered their bodies with branches to ensure that their souls would go to heaven.

'Boetie Boer', could be a 'textbook' case as identified by Krafft-Ebing, who ascribed the following characteristics to sexually motivated serial murderers: They tend not to harm wives or girlfriends; they plan their murders; their victims are usually sex workers and they tend to humiliate and degrade their victims. The levels of violence expressed in the commission of their offenses tend to increase over time. They leave a signature at the crime scene, show features of sadism and tend to take trophies. They sometimes revisit the crime scene. They are manipulative individuals, who despite the grossly deviant behaviours displayed in the commission of their crimes, show no overt signs of abnormality in their everyday social interactions (Knight 2006).

2.7 'Location, location, location' - The importance of location in serial murder

According to Morton (2005), most serial murderers have defined geographical areas of operation, defined by an 'anchor point' (e.g. place of residence, employment, or residence of a relative) in which the murders seemed to be conducted. However, when the confidence of the

serial murderer has grown through experience or in an effort to avoid detection, serial murderers may carry out their operations away from these areas. A study by Lundrigan and Canter (2001) reviewed the geographical locations of the disposal of victim's bodies in 126 US and 29 UK serial murder cases. The study found that the majority of murderers operated within an area that bore a strong relationship to their home. Further studies indicate that the majority of the serial murderers appeared to leave the bodies of their victims in areas that were readily accessible to them and possibly familiar to them, because of the routine activities that they were engaged in (Lundrigan & Canter 2001; Arndt , Hietpas & Kim 2004). Snook, Cullen and Mokros (2005) showed similar results in their study of German serial murderers, with 63% of the murderers living within 10 km of their crime locations. In SA there is a trend towards clustering of the crime-scenes around 'comfort zones' (Labuschagne 2009). Most offenders lack stable employment, thus cannot afford a vehicle to use in the commission of their crimes, which compels them to lure and transport the victim by foot and public transport to the final crime scene (Labuschagne & Salfati 2015). Interestingly, in SA the most common location for crime scenes are outside in the veld (Labuschagne, 2009). In the SA study, 78.1% of the crimes occurred outside. In the majority of SA serial murders, the bodies of the victims are recovered in the place where the murders occurred (Labuschagne & Salfati 2015).

The following two SA series highlight the importance of location:

2.7.1 'The Newcastle Serial Murderer'- Themba Anton Sukude (2004 - 2005),

(Labuschagne 2006; Labuschagne 2010; Labuschagne & Salfati 2015).

The location that played the main role in this series of murders was a park bordering the town of Newcastle in Kwazulu Natal (KZN).

The first incident took place in February 2004. The perpetrator watched a black adult couple engaging in sexual intercourse. He then murdered the male victim, using a rock to inflict blunt force trauma to the head. He then raped the female victim and let her go. In October 2004, the perpetrator watched another black adult couple engaging in sexual intercourse in the same park. Once again, he used a rock to the head to beat the male victim to death and raped the female victim then her go. In fact, Sukude gave her money for taxi fare to get home. In November 2004 the offender killed a black adult male by beating him to death using a rock to the head. The body was found in a footpath near the park. In January 2005 an adult Indian male was found in the park alive but severely beaten with a rock to the head. He later died later in hospital and became the last victim in the series. The distance between the locations of the 1st and 3rd incidents was 1.2 km and the distance between 2nd and fourth incident was 50 m. The perpetrator himself lived close to the central two crime scenes.

2.7.2 'The Quarry Serial Murderer' -Richard Jabulani Nyauza (2002-2006),

(Labuschagne 2010; Labuschagne & Salfati 2015)

From January to September 2002 the bodies of five unidentified adult black females were found along a small river near a highway just outside the city of Pretoria in SA, near a township known as Olievenhoutbos, close to the Rossway Quarry. From January to September 2006 a total of 11 adult black females were murdered, and a l2th case of attempted murder occurred. The crime scenes were all extremely close to each other. The greatest distance between any two crime scenes was 1.3 kilometers. The closest distance between any two

scenes was 51 meters. The perpetrator's signature in this series was the targeting of adult black females for sexual murders committed by means of strangulation and leaving their bodies in or around the Rossway Quarry. He lured his victims by promising them employment. The time gap between the 2002 and 2006 murders was due to the fact that between 2002 and 2006 Nyauza was in jail awaiting trial for the attempted rape of a minor child, which was unrelated to this murder series. He was found not guilty and released. Only five of the sixteen murder victims in this series were identified. This series illustrates two crucial aspects that seem to recur in SA serial murders:

- the offender used a con-story to lure his victims, promising them employment
- all the victims were black females.

2.8 Important aspects of investigations

The identification of critical features of the serial murderer and the murder series are important tools used in the investigation of serial murders.

2.8.1 The offender

Often in fiction, a central theme is the desire that the serial murderer harbours for him or herself to be caught. This would be a wonderful testament as to how the inherent goodness of human nature ultimately prevails… if this was true. The experience in the USA is that the serial murderer will grow in experience and confidence as he or she becomes more experienced in killing and he or she will learn to eliminate or overcome mistakes. Eventually the ability to continue to offend without being captured will lead to feelings of empowerment, which may lead to high risk behavior, which often leads to mistakes, resulting in the

identification of the murderer by law enforcement officials (Canter & Wentink 2004; Morton 2005). There are different theories explored in the literature as to the reason why serial murderers want their identities to be known. Amongst the theories is that there may be a strong need for notoriety and to 'stand out' and be admired (Whitman & Akutagawa 2004).

In SA, in addition to the above factors, it may be the serial murderer's arrogance, lack of faith in the police's ability to apprehend him and ignorance of the realms of forensic science that lead to capture (Labuschagne 2009: Labuschagne & Salfati 2015). This is clearly illustrated in the series of the 'Newcastle Serial Murderer'. Sukude did not hide his identity, nor did he take forensic precautions such as using a condom during his rapes to prevent leaving DNA evidence; he released his female rape victims and let them live and he did not try to hide or destroy any fingerprint evidence (Labuschagne 2006). 'The Quarry Serial Murderer' took no precautions to hide his identity; he committed his crimes during the day; was seen by witnesses with some of his victims; he took no forensic precautions to prevent leaving DNA evidence and took traceable items from some of his victims, such as cellular telephones (Labuschagne & Salfati 2015). Sorochinski, Salfati and Labuschagne (2015) found that SA serial murderers rarely engaged in behaviours to cover up their crimes and avoid detection.

Unofficial confessions by perpetrators to members of the public, who then come forward to present that information to the police, may provide vital clues in the investigation of serial murders and may be used as evidence in a court of law (Labuschagne 2010). In the case of the 'Newcastle Serial Murderer', the informal confession made by Sukude to a member of the public where he claimed responsibility for the murders in that series, was admissible in court (Labuschagne 2006).

2.8.2 The crime

The identification of a murder series and the investigation of the series to lead to the ultimate arrest and prosecution of the serial murderer is a complex process.

The shorter the time between each murder, the easier it is for law enforcement officials to connect the crimes (Mott 1999). Researchers have found that the location of the body disposal is a better predictor of offenders' anchor point than the sites from which the victims were abducted (Mott 1999)

There are unique factors in SA that impact on the way in which serial murders are perpetrated. As stated before, serial murderers tend not to own or have access to vehicles, therefore they must lure victims to places they feel are isolated and safe enough to commit their crimes and subsequently leave their victim's bodies. In most cases, these places are out in the open, like in veldts (Horning, Salfati & Labuschagne 2015.) In the majority of SA serial murders, the bodies of the victims are recovered where the murders took place (Labuschagne & Salfati 2015). A corpse left in the open decomposes faster than a buried one and predators like insects and animals can devour the corpse, which further hastens decomposition, making identification very difficult and destroying forensic evidence, thereby hampering investigations (Horning, Salfati & Labuschagne 2015.) Furthermore, the victims are generally strangers to the offender and thus there are no known links between them.

2.8.2.1 Linkage Analysis

The psychology of serial murder and the psychological motivation behind serial murder is an integral part of offender profiling. Offender profiling involves describing individual traits of the serial murderer, based on the way in which the crimes are perpetrated (Canter et al 2004; Labuschagne 2009). Although of academic interest, offender profiling often does not help with the objective investigation of serial murder (Labuschagne 2009). The absence of eye witness testimony and the lack of forensic evidence in a murder series poses a problem in the investigation and prosecution of serial murder, as without these vital elements, there are very few ways of linking a series of crimes to an individual. This was the situation before 'Linkage Analysis'. Linkage Analysis is a method of linking a series of crimes to one another and to an individual, using the outstanding and unique characteristics of each crime in a series, including the MO, signature and the geographical behavioural patterns of the perpetrator (Labuschagne 2006; Labuschagne 2010). It is essential that Linkage Analysis is performed by an expert who has knowledge of the crime being assessed, to determine if the behavior displayed by the offender across a series is consistent and unique enough to be relevantly distinguishable from other crimes and other offenders (Labuschagne 2010). Linkage Analysis is a tool that can also be used by law enforcement officials to identify and investigate serial murder cases more proactively and thus allow the more effective use of limited resources. This is especially pertinent in SA where limited resources may be a crippling impediment to the functioning of every service delivery related government department (Labuschagne 2006; Labuschagne 2010). The first time Linkage Analysis was successfully used in court was in the prosecution of the 'Newcastle Serial Murder' in 2006. Linkage Analysis is now recognised and accepted as legal evidence in SA courts (Labuschagne 2006; Labuschagne 2010). It has since

successfully been used other serial murder cases such as the ‘Knysna Serial Murderer’ and the ‘Quarry Serial Murderer’ (Labuschagne 2010).

2.9 The current situation in South Africa

SA has one of the highest homicide rates in Sub-Saharan Africa and in the world, with a murder rate nine times higher than the international average (Salfati, Labuschagne, Horning, Sorochinski & De Wet 2015). There was an increase of almost 900% in the average annual recorded serial murder rates from 1990-1996 with approximately five new series identified per year (Salfati, Labuschagne, Horning, Sorochinski & De Wet 2015).

The Investigative Psychology Unit (IPU) of the SAPS was established in 1996 to provide investigative support, to carry out research and to provide training in psychologically motivated crimes, which include serial murder (Labuschagne 2009). The SAPS is one of the few law enforcement agencies worldwide to offer investigative psychological services from within its structures (Hickey 2006). This unit services the whole of SA and is contacted by the SAPS investigators to assist in the investigation of cases falling within the sphere of psychologically motivated crimes (Labuschagne 2009). Thus if the SAPS investigators do not recognise these cases for what they are, they may not contact the IPU and thereby lose vital input in the timeous apprehension of the perpetrators of these monstrous crimes.

Chapter 3: Results

In this chapter, the features of the Moffat Park murder series will be described, including the findings of the investigations into each of the victims' deaths.

3.1 Introduction

From 19/12/2005 – 05/10/2006, five corpses were discovered in Moffat Park (fig 1), a large open veldt area in the south of Johannesburg. Investigations led to the arrest of Richman Gcnumuzi Makhwenkwe, the 'Moffat Park Serial Murderer', who confessed to the murders on 15/11/2006. On the 12/03/2008, Makhwenkwe was found guilty of 5 counts of murder, 3 counts of rape and 3 counts of robbery with aggravating circumstances.

Six forensic medical practitioners from the Department of Forensic Medicine and Pathology, University of the Witwatersrand were involved in the investigation of this murder series. Their contributions encompassed attending the scenes of death, performing the medicolegal investigations on the victims and testifying in court.

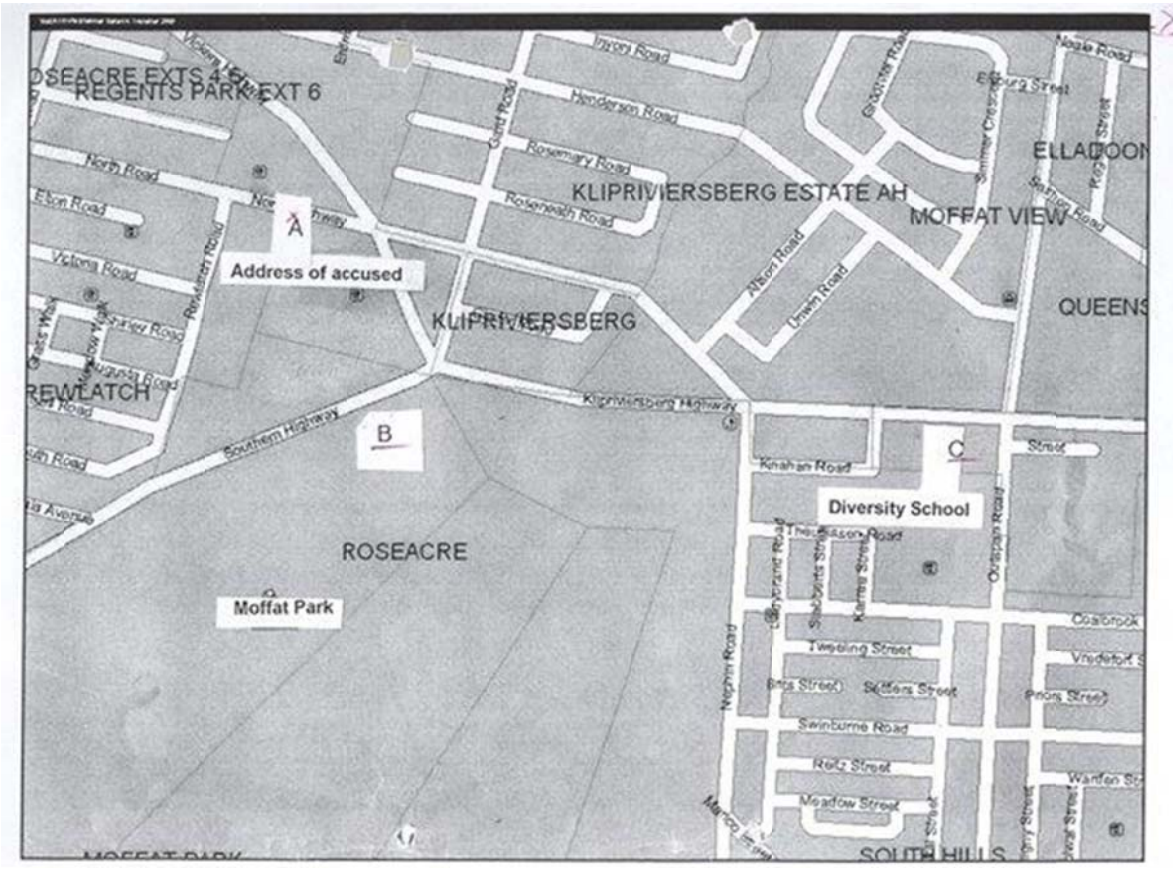


Fig 1: Moffat Park

3.2 Victim 1 – black, adult female

On the 19/12/2005 at 15h40, Inspector Grobbelaar of the Dog Unit of the SAPS was searching for a missing person. Instead, he found the decomposing remains of a corpse buried in a shallow grave in Moffat Park (fig 2). The body was covered in a grey blanket, soil and bricks (fig 3). The grave yielded the decomposing body of a black adult female with an estimated age of 30 years old (fig 4 and 5).



Fig 2: Shallow grave of victim 1



Fig 3: Body of victim 1



Fig 4: Decomposing body of victim 1 (Posterior view)



Fig 5: Decomposing body of victim 1 (Anterior view)

The body was clothed in a dark blue T-shirt and a grey vest. The hands were tied in front of the body with a cloth ligature and then tied to the right leg with a wire.

The decomposition changes included:

- green-black discolouration and skin slippage of the face, torso and thighs;
- bloating of the face, abdomen and genital area
- maggot infestation of the body cavities.

3.2.1 Post mortem examination results

A post mortem examination was performed on the 22/12/2005**.** The findings were:

- Decomposing body of a black adult female (length: 1.6 m, mass: 55 kg).
- There was a scalp haematoma of the occipital area. The skull was not fractured. The brain was liquefied due to autolysis but no membrane haemorrhages were identified. There was extensive contusion of the intercostal muscles of the posterior thoracic cage but no fractures of the thoracic cage were identified.
- Due to the extent of the decomposition, the examination of the genitalia was obscured but there was no recognisable trauma identified.
- A sexual assault kit was performed and blood was retrieved for reference DNA analysis. The results of the DNA from the sexual assault kit were inconclusive.
- The cause of death was unascertained at autopsy

Using fingerprint analysis, the body was identified to be Makhwenkwe's girlfriend. They lived together for about 1 year prior to her death. According to the confession and witness statements, Makhwenkwe was in prison from 27/6/2005 – 17/11/2005, after he was arrested for housebreaking and attempted theft. He was found not guilty of the charges and released.

On his return to the home that Makhwenkwe shared with victim 1, he discovered that she had sold all his possessions. He was very angry with her and decided to kill her. Approximately 15 days after he returned from prison, Makhwenkwe saw his chance. Between 20h00 – 22h00 on the day of the murder, victim 1 was walking towards Moffat Park. Makhwenkwe followed her (He alleged that he was with another man called 'Manyana'. The existence of this accomplice could never be proven). He then killed her by stabbing her and bound her with a wire to stop her from getting away. He then dug a grave with a spade and buried her. He left the spade somewhere in an informal settlement. Witness testimony from a friend of Makhwenkwe's , who lived in the same informal settlement set up in the backyard of a house close to Moffat Park, stated that the last time he had seen victim 1, she was with Makhwenkwe and they walked together in the direction of Moffat Park. Furthermore, on that same day, Makhwenkwe returned home without victim 1 and asked the witness if he could borrow a spade

3.3 Victim 2 – unknown black adult male

On the 26/03/2006, a man collecting scrap metal came across another corpse in Moffat Park. The decomposing body of a black adult male with estimated age of 30 years was found lying prone in a shallow grave (fig 6). The body was covered in building rubble consisting of rocks and pieces of concrete.



Fig 6: Shallow grave of victim 2



Fig 7: Body of victim 2

The body was clothed in white boxer shorts. The hands were tied behind the back of the body with a pair of jeans (fig 7). The decomposition changes included:

- green-black discolouration and blistering of the front of the body with the limbs and the back relatively well-preserved;
- rigor mortis was slightly present in all muscle groups including the fingers and toes;
- the skin of the fingers was wrinkled;
- there were blowflies present;
- no larvae were seen;
- there were extensive spider webs across the rocks.

3.3.1 Post mortem examination results

A post mortem examination was performed on the 28/03/2006. The findings were:

- Decomposing body of a black adult male (length: 1.69 m, mass: 60 kg).
- There was a 40 mm laceration of the left occipital area with an underlying 40 mm x 50 mm scalp haematoma. The skull was not fractured. The brain was liquefied due to autolysis but no membrane haemorrhages were identified.
- Bloodless dissection of the neck was performed. There was a fracture of the greater horn of the hyoid bone on the right with surrounding haemorrhage into the strap muscles of the neck on the right.
- There were sub-pleural petechial haemorrhages and the lungs were congested.
- There was no trauma of the genitalia identified.
- A sexual assault kit was performed and blood was retrieved for reference DNA analysis. The results of the DNA from the sexual assault kit were inconclusive.

- The cause of death was consistent with strangulation.

According to the confession, Makhwenkwe identified the deceased as ‘Vuyani’ and referred to him as ‘a young Venda or Shangaan’. Makhwenkwe stated that victim 2 was victim 1’s boyfriend (the implication being that victim 1 had cheated on Makhwenkwe) and that victim 2 had taken Makhwenkwe’s possessions from victim 1. It was for this reason that Makhwenkwe was angry with him and decided to kill him. He strangled the man with a wire which he later discarded. Makhwenkwe says he buried the body by digging a little soil then covered the body with bricks. He dug the body with a spade that he claimed to ‘always keep with him for work’. He then wrapped the body. At this point in the confession he says, ‘I covered all the people’. The incident occurred in the early morning around 05h00.

The identity of the victim remains unknown despite investigations, including circulation of identikits and fingerprint analysis.

3.4 Victim 3 – black adolescent female

On the 30/05/2006 at +/- 15h30, a man collecting firewood in Moffat Park came across yet another shallow grave. He saw red material and bones protruding out of the sand (fig 8). The ground where the shallow grave was found had recently been burned in a veldt fire.



Fig 8: Shallow grave of victim 3

A team of forensic officers and police, led by a senior registrar in forensic pathology, excavated the grave which was approximately 1.68 m in length, and 45 cm -50 cm deep (fig 9).

The grave was covered in bricks and dry soil mixed with a small amount of litter.

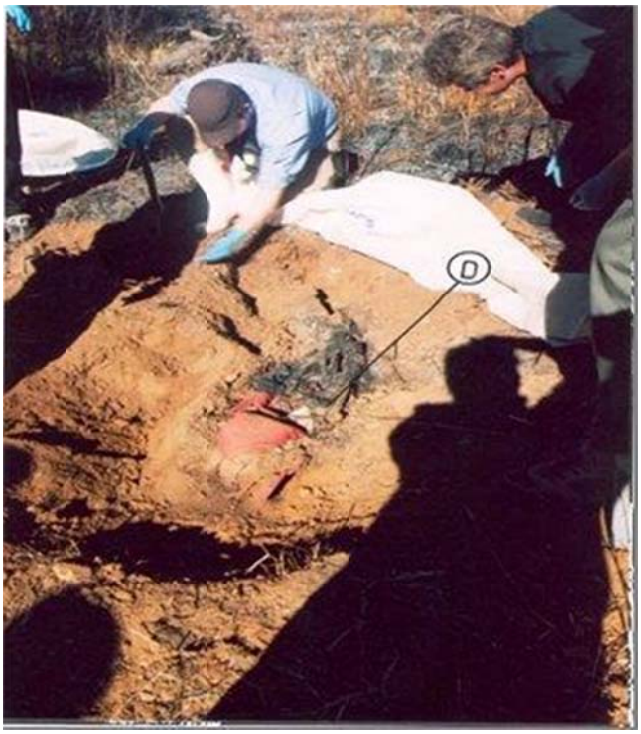


Fig 9: Excavated grave of victim 3

- The grave yielded skeletonised remains positioned to lie on the left side with the left arm underneath the body (fig 10).
- There was a minimal amount of tissue present on the bones.
- There was post-mortem burning of the right arm and some of the right ribs.
- A red school blazer was identified in the grave with a school logo containing the words ‘Unity in Diversity’.
- The chest area was covered in a white button-down, long sleeved shirt, with a white vest underneath. The legs were covered in a grey long trouser – the zip of the trouser was open.
- There was extensive insect infestation and samples were collected at the scene for analysis.



Fig 10: Skeletonised remains of victim 3

3.4.1 Post mortem examination results

Post mortem examination was performed on the 01/06/2006. The findings were:

- Skeletonised remains with minimal decomposed saponified tissue present.
- The skull was covered with long African-type hair with a white head band over the skull (fig11).
- No ante mortem trauma of the remains could be identified. The hyoid bone was intact.
- There was no evidence of dental procedures.
- There was post-mortem burning of the bones of the right arm and hand, the right ribs and the right ilium.
- A key was found in the left trouser pocket.

- Based on the post mortem findings, the identification features were: body of a black female, between 16 and 20 years old, 1.65 m- 1.68 m in length.
- The estimated post mortem interval was 3 months to1 year.
- The cause of death was unascertained at post mortem due to extensive decomposition.

Anthropological assessment was performed by a forensic anthropologist from the Department of Anatomy, Faculty of Health Sciences of the University of Pretoria which revealed the following:

- Features consistent with an African female
- Age: 16-23 years old
- Approximately 162.03 cm (+/- 2.789 cm) in stature.
- A perimortem fracture of the right proximal tibia was identified.
- There was post mortem burning of the hands, pelvis, forearms, and ribs.

The school blazer with the logo was essential to unlocking identity of this victim. The blazer led the SAPS investigators to the school of the victim. Victim 3 (fig 12) was a 16 year old teenager who had been missing since 03/03/2006, 88 days before her body was found. The key in her pocket was found to fit the front gate of a house where a friend of victim 3 lived. She would often visit the friend after school.

Photo to skull video superimposition was performed by a forensic analyst in the Biology Unit of the SAPS in Pretoria, using the skull and a photograph of the deceased taken just before her death (fig 12) to positively identify victim 3.

The clothing that victim 3 was wearing on the day she went missing was described by her mother as: a white hair band, a red school jacket, a white shirt, grey trousers and black shoes.



Fig 11: Skull of victim 3

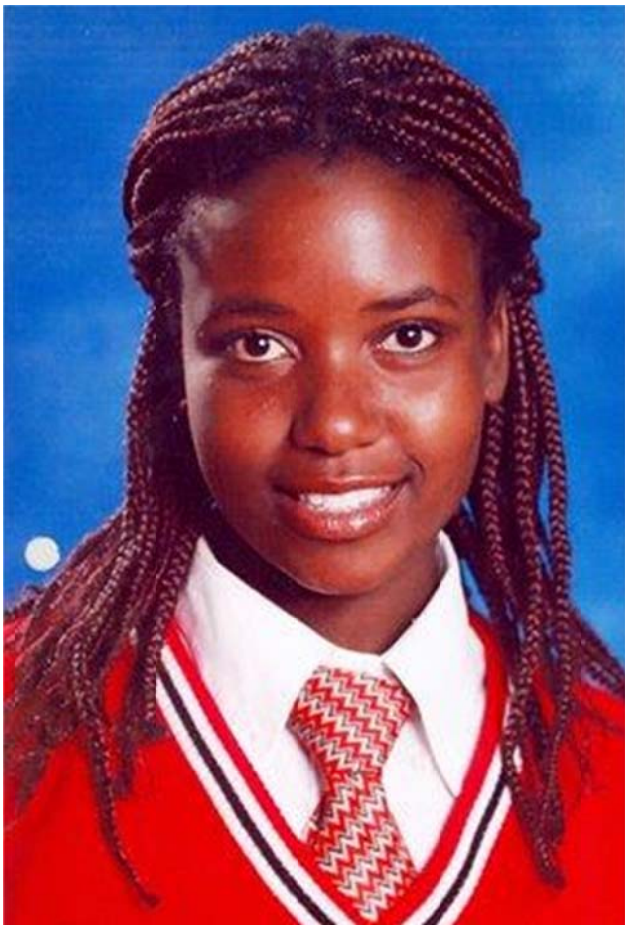


Fig 12: Ante mortem photograph of victim 3

In his confession, Makhwenkwe said that he had watched the girl walk through Moffat Park on her way to school wearing her red blazer. He decided to rape her. He tied her to a tree then raped her, strangled her and covered her. He dug a hole and buried her. He said the incident took place in the morning as victim 3 was walking to school.

3.5 Victim 4 – unknown black female

On the 14/09/2006, 2 men collecting cans came across a further corpse in Moffat Park (fig 13).



Fig 13: Body of victim 4

The decomposing body of a black adult female with estimated age of 40 years was found lying supine in a shallow grave under a cluster of trees. Her body was covered by branches and leaves scattered over the face and torso (fig 14).



Fig 14: Shallow grave of victim 4

- The body was clothed in a red sweater, a black T-shirt and black socks. The lower half of the body was naked.
- A pair of brown trousers was found under the buttocks.
- The body was found lying supine with the hands tied beneath the body
- The hands were tied behind the back with a piece of plastic (fig 15).



Fig 15: Body of victim 5

The decomposition changes included:

- gas and blister formation of the skin with focal skin slippage;
- bloating of the face and abdomen;
- white mould growing over the buttocks and posterior thighs;
- there were ‘washerwoman’s hands’ (wrinkling of the skin from exposure to water or moisture)
- there was maggot infestation of the back, neck and occipital area of the scalp;
- there were maggot eggs in the external genitalia.

3.5.1 Post mortem examination results

A post mortem examination was performed on the 18/09/2006. The findings were:

- Decomposing body of a black adult female (length: 1.5 m, mass: 46 kg).
- There were a few grey head and pubic hairs present.
- There was a dental plate with false teeth attached to the hard palate.
- Bloodless dissection of the neck was performed. There was extensive haemolytic staining of the strap muscles of the neck. There was haemorrhage around the thyroid cartilage on the left. There was a fracture of the superior horn of the thyroid cartilage on the right. The hyoid bone was calcified and intact.
- The lungs were congested.
- Due to the extent of the decomposition, the examination of the genitalia was obscured but there was no recognisable trauma identified.
- There were post mortem fractures of ribs 2 – 5 on the left antero-laterally.
- A sexual assault kit was performed and blood was retrieved for reference DNA analysis. The results of the DNA from the sexual assault kit were inconclusive.
- The cause of death was consistent with pressure to the neck.

According to the confession, Makhwenkwe called this victim ‘the old woman’. He said she was a domestic worker who was a stranger to him. Makhwenkwe tied her to a tree, raped her and buried her body. He said he tied her hands with ‘a plastic’. He positively identified the red sweater the victim was wearing when she was found. He said he that the only time he used a

condom in the rapes of his victims was with ‘the old woman’. He said the incident occurred in the afternoon.

The identity of the victim remains unknown despite investigations, including circulation of identikits and fingerprint analysis.

3.6 Victim 5 – Unknown Black Female

On the 05/10/2006, people walking through Moffat Park found another corpse (fig 16).



Fig 16: Body of victim 5

- The naked decomposing body of a black adult female was found lying prone in between some bricks and rubble.
- The body was covered in a pink dressing gown.

- There was pair of denim jeans and a pink panty around the right ankle (fig 17).
- There was a white shirt around the neck that partially covered the chest.



Fig 17: Legs of victim 5

The decomposition changes included:

- partially skeletonised remains with multiple post mortem predation defects;
- the remaining skin was desiccated and showed green black discolouration with areas of wrinkling consistent with exposure to water or moisture;
- there was fetid plant matter on the body;
- there were maggots in the body cavities.

3.6.1 Post mortem examination results

A post mortem examination was performed on the 05/10/2006. The findings were:

- Decomposing partially skeletonised body of a black adult female.
- The internal organs were mostly absent. The remnants of the internal organs that were identified were too decomposed to offer any meaningful comment.
- Due to the extent of the decomposition, the examination of the genitalia was obscured but there was no recognisable trauma identified. The internal reproductive organs were identifiable as female.
- Although the extent of the decomposition obscured the post mortem examination, no identifiable trauma was found on the remains.
- A sexual assault kit was performed and blood was retrieved for reference DNA analysis. The results of the DNA from the sexual assault kit were inconclusive.
- The cause of death was unascertained due to decomposition.

According to the confession, Makhwenkwe did not know the woman. He tied her to a tree and raped her. He did not bury her because he was disturbed by people approaching the scene after he had strangled her. He said the incident took place at night.

The identity of the victim remains unknown despite investigations including circulation of identikits and fingerprint analysis.

3.7 Important aspects of the investigation and the trial

The SAPS were able to identify and link Makhwenkwe to the murders because of information from members of the public. Makhwenkwe had told people living with him in the informal settlement about the murders he had committed. When the witnesses came forward with this information, Makhwenkwe was arrested and on questioning, he confessed almost immediately to all of the crimes.

Towards the end of the confession, Makhwenkwe agreed to a 'pointing-out' where he positively identified the locations where the victims had been found. A 'pointing-out' is a formal police procedure where the offender agrees to point out the locations of the crimes that have been committed to an independent member of the police, who is a commissioned officer and not involved in the investigation (Labuschagne & Salfati 2015).

The bodies of the first 4 victims were found within a 200 m radius from each other and the body of the 5th victim was found approximately 1000 m from the others

Makhwenkwe took cellular telephones from victims 3 and 5 and money from the victims 4 (R350) and 5 (R100).

On the 12/03/2008, Makhwenkwe was sentenced to 5 life sentences for murder, 20 years for 3 counts of rape and 6 months for theft.

3.8 All about Makhwenkwe



Fig 18: The Moffat Park serial murderer

Richman Gcnumuzi Makhwenkwe was born on 15/02/1978 in Transkei making him 27 years old when he started murdering the victims of this series. He obtained a grade 2 level of education. This is consistent with the findings from the SA study indicating that the average age of the offender at the start of a murder series is 29 years old and that most offenders were educated only to a primary school level. He left the Transkei for Cape Town where he lived from 1996 to 1999, then moved to Gauteng. Makhwenkwe and victim 1 lived in a shack set up in the backyard of a house, very close to Moffat Park. There were a number of other people living in shacks in the same yard. Makhwenkwe had left this residence and at the time of his arrest, he was living in a shack in another informal settlement, which was located approximately 30 minutes to 1 hour walking distance from Moffat Park.

Makhwenkwe had held a number of casual jobs in Cape Town and Johannesburg, including working at fast food outlets and gardening. In fact, one of his employers for whom he gardened in Johannesburg, claimed he was a good worker and at one stage even gave him a

cellular telephone as a gift. Thus, Makhwenkwe's employment profile concurs with the findings in the literature that in SA serial murderers are often engaged in casual employment or 'piece jobs' (Labuschagne 2009).

Other than his arrest for suspected property crime for which he was found not guilty shortly prior to the start of the murder series, Makhwenkwe admitted to raping 2 women in 1999 and 2004 in Gauteng. The SAPS investigators were unable to find evidence of these crimes being reported. However, as with Moses Sithole, Kobus Geldenhuys and other serial murderers, it is not uncommon to have these offenders first begin with serial rapes before escalating to serial murders.

Makhwenkwe mentioned at least 2 relationships with women before victim 1 and these relationships each lasted at least a year. He said he enjoyed 'normal' sex with women but did not elaborate on what 'normal sex' entailed. Makhwenkwe did not maintain contact with his family when he left the Transkei. After Makhwenkwe's arrest for the murders, his brother, who was interviewed by the SAPS, did not indicate any suggestions of childhood abuse or psychological problems.

In his confession, Makhwenkwe says that at the age of 15 or 16, he was forced to have sex with a much older woman. He also admitted that he liked to wear women's underwear and had to stop this practice when he started living with other people.

During his confession he was asked about whether he returned to the places where he left his victims and he said, 'Yes. On Sundays. I went to pray there. I felt good but when I am

between people again I feel dangerous...I prayed for myself so people must not see me that I have done the bad things’. Returning to a crime or body disposal scene is a practice noted amongst some SA serial murderers such as Stewart 'Boetie Boer' Wilken and other international serial murderers.

Makhwenkwe did not do any interviews nor did he talk about the crimes after he was imprisoned. He died in Barberton Maximum Security Prison in Mpumalanga province in 2011 after a prolonged illness.

3.9 Conclusion

Over a period of 10 months, Makhwenkwe murdered a total of 5 victims in a small geographical area. The salient features of the murder series and the findings from the investigations will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Discussion

The cardinal features of the Moffat Park series will be discussed in this chapter, followed by a comparison of the Moffat Park series with the features of serial murder from the FBI serial murder symposium. The role of the forensic medical practitioner will be discussed as it relates to this series and serial murder in general.

4.1 Modus operandi analysis

In the evolution of the Moffat Park murder series, certain features in the series remained constant throughout, but there were changes in the MO as the series progressed. The phenomenon of a change in the MO across a series has been described in the literature (Mott 1999; Bateman & Salfati 2007; Labuschagne & Salfati 2015; Salfati, Horning, Sorochinski & Labuschagne 2015).

The constants in the series were the location of the murders, the subjugation of the victims and the way in which the bodies were disposed of. Differences were observed in the motivations behind each murder, the methods of murder and victimology.

4.1.1 Location

Moffat Park played a central role in the series. Like most SA serial murderers, Makhwenkwe operated on foot and lived very close to Moffat Park when he perpetrated the murders. Thus Moffat Park was Makhwenkwe's anchor point, not only did it provide him with a hunting ground that proffered a wide array of victims to choose from, it also provided a convenient way to dispose of his victims. The bodies of 4 out of the 5 victims were disposed of by burial

in shallow graves. The last victim was not buried because Makhwenkwe was disturbed by people passing by the crime scene, so he had to leave in a hurry to avoid detection and thus he did not have time to bury her. However, he covered her with a pink gown before he left her. This correlates with the literature that most SA serial murders occur out in the open and the bodies of the victims are found in the place where they are murdered (Labuschagne 2009; Labuschagne & Salfati 2015).

In the confession, Makhwenkwe seemed to emphasise that he 'covered' all the victims – this may be the psychological expression of a subconscious desire to cover his criminal behaviour.

When discussing victim 2 in his confession, Makhwenkwe states that he used a spade that he carried with him to dig the grave. This suggests an evolution in the MO, whereby there is a form of pre-planning in that the spade had now become a necessary tool in the commission of the murders

The bodies of the first 4 victims were found within a 200 m radius from each other and the body of the 5th victim was found approximately 1000 m from the others. This could perhaps be a reflection that Makhwenkwe was growing in confidence and was emboldened by his perception that his crimes had escaped detection, thus imbuing him with the notion that he could expand his territory of murder.

4.1.2 Victimology

The series consisted of 5 victims. All the victims were black, fitting in with the findings from the literature that offenders tend to murder people from their own race (Walsh 2005; Lemmer 2006). The ages of the victims ranged from 16 to 40 years. Four out of 5 victims were female, which is also consistent with the findings that majority of SA serial murder victims tend to be black females. The reasons for this could lie in the perception that in SA gender-based violence in general may be 'normalised'. There are very limited social pressures to deter men from committing violence against women and culturally, women are often perceived as objects and possessions that can be controlled (Horning, Salfati & Labuschagne 2015). These factors may be reflected in the fact that SA has one of the highest estimated rates of rape with an estimated 561 cases of suspected rape homicide identified in 1999 (a rate of 3.65/100,000 women aged 14 years and older) (Abrahams et al 2008) and a total of 63,818 sexual offenses reported during 2007-2008 (Horning, Salfati & Labuschagne 2015).

Victim 1 was well known to the offender. She was his girlfriend and they lived together. Perhaps her murder awakened Makhwenkwe's thirst for murder? Victim 2 was an acquaintance towards whom Makhwenkwe bore a personal grudge. He claimed that his girlfriend, victim 1, had been cheating on him with this man and that victim 2 had taken Makhwenkwe's personal possessions. The other 3 victims were strangers to Makhwenkwe, but it seems from the confession that Makhwenkwe had watched at least 2 of them and was familiar with their routines before he murdered them. In the confession, Makhwenkwe said that he had watched victim 3 walk through Moffat Park on her way to school wearing a red blazer. Although he says that victim 4 was a stranger to him, he stated that she was as a domestic worker. SA serial murderers have been known to murder either a mix of strangers

and known victims such as Stewart Wilken or only victims known to them such as Robin Cloete, 'The Concordia Serial Murderer' who murdered 3 women, 2 who were his intimate partners and one who was the second victim's mother. (Labuschagne 2009). Similarly, having male and female victims in a single series is not unheard of, such as 'The Wemmerpan Serial Murderer', Cedric Maake, who murdered 35 victims, males and females, across different race groups, in Wemmerpan, Johannesburg from 1995 – 1997 (Hickey 2006).

A total of 3 of the 5 victims remain unidentified, which is a common feature found in SA serial murders. The reason for this may be due to the fact that a large sector of the SA population does not have valid identification documents. This is thought to be due to the lack of resources to access government departments for official registration and identification processes. Furthermore, many South Africans work far from their homes and often do not have the resources to make regular contact with their families. Therefore when they go missing, the families are not necessarily aware that they are missing and do not actively look for them or report them as missing to the SAPS. Also, the victims may be from another country, without legal status, and thus they have no form of SA identification.

4.1.3 The methods of murder

The information on the way in which the victims were restrained and murdered is derived from the confession and the medicolegal investigations of death.

All the victims were tied up:

- Victim 1 was found her hands bound in front of her with a cloth ligature and then her hands were bound to her leg with a wire. This is confirmed in Makhwenkwe's confession, wherein he states that he bound victim 1 with a wire.
- Victim 2 was found with his hands bound behind his back with a pair of denim jeans. Makhwenkwe did not comment on this in his confession.
- According to the confession, the third victim was tied to a tree, but no evidence of the ligature was found in the subsequent exhumation of victim 3.
- Victim 4 was found with her hands were tied behind her back with a plastic ligature. Makhwenkwe confirms this in his confession, stating that he 'tied her hands with a plastic'.
- According to the confession, victim 5 was tied to a tree, but no evidence of a ligature was found in the subsequent examination of the scene of death.

In victims 2, 3, 4 and 5, the cause of death was the same. The cause of death differed in victim 1. Makhwenkwe confessed to stabbing victim 1. Unfortunately this could not be confirmed during the post mortem examination, due to the advanced state of decomposition.

Makhwenkwe confessed to strangling the remaining 4 victims:

- According to the confession, Victim 2 was strangled with a wire which was discarded. This wire was not found.
- The objects used to strangle victims 3, 4 and 5 were not mentioned in the confession, nor identified in the subsequent investigations.

The causes of death could be identified in the post mortem examinations in victim 2 and 4 which were ‘consistent with strangulation’ and ‘consistent with pressure to the neck’ respectively which concurred with the confession.

4.1.4 The motivation behind the murders

The motivation behind the murders was different for victims 1 and 2 who were known to Makhwenkwe. These were committed out of anger. Victims 3, 4 and 5 were strangers to Makhwenkwe and were sexual murders. Although it is thought that sexual murders are committed for reasons of empowerment and expression of rage, there is no clear indication from Makhwenkwe’s confession as to why he murdered these victims. These findings are in keeping with the research that shows that most SA serial murders have a sexual element (SA study). Makhwenkwe confessed to using a condom in only one victim – which points to a lack of knowledge of forensic procedures, as was found to be common in SA serial murderers. Unfortunately, due to the extent of the decomposition, the genital areas of the victims could not be accurately assessed during the post mortem examinations and the sexual assault kits that were taken on all of the victims bore inconclusive results.

Makhwenkwe took cellular telephones from victims 3 and 5 and money from victims 4 and 5. It is possible that he may have seen these objects as trophies or they could have just been added benefits to the satisfaction he derived from his sexual murders.

4.2 The challenge of decomposition

Due to the nature of serial murders, victims are often concealed or are not reported to be missing and thus are found some time after death. As a result, various stages of decomposition will inevitably be seen in the victims' bodies. Decomposition presents many challenges in the forensic analysis of remains, as is highlighted in this series.

One of the key roles of the forensic medical practitioner in the investigation of murders is the estimation of post mortem interval (PMI). This assists in the police investigation by narrowing the pool of suspected offenders based on the times that they may have interacted with the victims. The more advanced the decomposition changes are, the broader the post mortem interval estimation becomes. The bodies of the victims all showed various stages of decomposition.

The body of victim 1 showed the following post mortem changes:

- green-black discolouration and skin slippage of the face, torso and thighs;
- bloating of the face, abdomen and genital area
- maggot infestation of the body cavities.

The features of decomposition would indicate a PMI of about 3 weeks (Saukko & Knight 2004). Based on the confession and witness statements, victim 1 was dead for approximately 19 days which is consistent with the PMI estimation. The important factors that influence the rate and ultimate completeness of the decomposition processes are temperature, moisture, the pH, the partial pressure of oxygen in the surrounding atmosphere (Vass 2011) and the size of

the body (Sutherland, Myburgh, Steyn & Becker 2013). In this case, the temperature that the body was exposed to may have accelerated the rate of decomposition.

The body of victim 2 was the least decomposed and showed the following post mortem changes:

- green-black discolouration and blistering of the front of the body with the limbs and the back relatively well-preserved;
- rigor mortis was slightly present in all muscle groups, including the fingers and toes;
- the skin of the fingers was wrinkled;
- there were blowflies present;
- no larvae were seen;
- There were extensive spider webs across the rocks.

The presence of rigor mortis which is an early post mortem change, indicates that the PMI is between 8 and 36 hours (Saukko & Knight 2004). However, it is important to note that the green-black discolouration and blistering that had started in the front of the body, indicates an accelerated decomposition process. This most likely occurred due to the prone position of the body, as decomposition occurs earlier in the dependant parts of the body and also due to the influence of exposure to the natural elements.

The body of victim 3 showed the most advanced stage of decomposition and showed almost complete skeletonisation with minimal saponified tissue on the bones. The estimated PMI at the time of the post mortem examination was 3 months to 1 year. From the subsequent investigations, it was discovered that victim 3 had been missing for 88 days (around 3

months). The rapid rate of decomposition seen in victim 3 emphasises the difficulties encountered by forensic medical practitioners in estimating PMI once decomposition has started. This problem is seen internationally, as illustrated by a study by Ferreira and Cunha (2013), where in March 2006, 25 identified individuals buried in the same cemetery plot for almost 5 years were exhumed and even though all the individuals shared similar PMI's, they showed different stages of decomposition. As is often the case in SA serial murders, the bodies in this series were left in an open veldt. This case serves to highlight the destructive effect that the exposure of a body to the SA climate in an open veldt has on the identification and gathering of forensic evidence and the unintentional role that this situation plays in concealing evidence of murder. The remains of the victim 3 were discovered because there was a veldt fire in the area in which the grave was situated. This is frequently the way in which remains that are disposed of in open areas or veldts are discovered.

The body of victim 4, showed the following decomposition changes:

- gas and blister formation of the skin with focal skin slippage;
- bloating of the face and abdomen;
- white mould growing over the buttocks and posterior thighs;
- there were "washerwoman's hands" (wrinkling of the skin from exposure to water)
- there was maggot infestation of the back, neck and occipital area of the scalp;
- there were maggot eggs in the external genitalia.

Based on the decomposition changes, the PMI would be 1 to 3 weeks in this case (Saukko & Knight 2004).

The body of victim 5 showed the following decomposition changes:

- partially skeletonised remains with multiple post mortem predation defects;
- the remaining skin was desiccated and showed green black discolouration, with areas of wrinkling consistent with exposure to water;
- there was fetid plant matter on the body;
- There were maggots in the body cavities.

Based on the decomposition changes, the PMI estimation would be 3 months to 1 year (Saukko & Knight 2004).

In the confession, Makhwenkwe comments on the estimated time of day that the murders of victim 2, 4 and 5 occurred but the dates of the murders is not mentioned. Thus, in these cases, it is not possible to comment on whether the PMI derived from the post mortem examination of the deceased at the scene of death concurs with the details of the confession.

Decomposition obscures the post mortem findings, making the identification of skin wounds very difficult and often impossible. It is the identification and classification of wounds that allows the forensic medical practitioner to give an indication of the weapon used to inflict these wounds. Thus decomposition significantly hampers the information that can be gained from the post mortem examination. Although Makhwenkwe admitted to raping 3 of the victims, this could not be conclusively proven with DNA evidence. The genital examinations of the all the victims were obscured due to the extent of decomposition. This demonstrates how effectively decomposition destroys forensic evidence.

Facial recognition and fingerprint analysis are important methods employed in victim identification. Once decomposition had set in, these methods cannot be used effectively and as a result, the task of victim identification is made very difficult.

4.3 The investigation and subsequent arrest of the Moffat Park Serial Murderer

Makhwenkwe confessed to the murders to a member of the public, who then took that information to the SAPS. This is a frequent way in which SA serial murders are detected. On interrogation, Makhwenkwe immediately confessed to the crimes and agreed to a pointing out procedure. It is seen in SA and internationally that when serial murders are arrested and questioned about their crimes, in many cases they tend to confess, an interesting yet odd phenomenon.

4.4 How does the Moffat Park Series compare with the features of the serial murder from the FBI serial murder symposium?

The features of the Moffat Park series as identified by the investigations and confession will be compared to the features of serial murder as identified from the results of the FBI symposium.

4.4.1 Definition

The Moffat Park series meets the criteria as set out in the definition of serial murder as by the FBI Symposium: one or more offenders; two or more murdered victims; and the incidents

should be occurring in separate events, at different times. Makhwenkwe murdered five victims over an estimated 10 month period with the time intervals between the murders of each victim varying from weeks to months.

4.4.2 Characteristics of the serial murderer

The findings from the FBI symposium indicate that serial murderers span all racial groups, have families and homes, are gainfully employed, appear to be 'normal' members of the community in which they live and effortlessly blend into their communities. The Moffat Park serial murderer indeed fits these features. He was an apparently ordinary 27 year old black male when he started the series. He was able to maintain significant relationships with women including successfully living with them. He held a number of unskilled jobs and was considered a good worker.

When examining the motivations behind the murders, Makhwenkwe fulfils the most significant feature in that he made the conscious decision to kill. Based on the FBI symposium's classification of motivations, anger was the motivation in victims 1 and 2 and victims 3, 4 and 5 were sexual murders. These motivations are derived from the confession and unfortunately, because the post mortem examinations were obscured by decomposition, the expression of these motivations in Makhwenkwe's observable actions could not be verified.

The FBI symposium documents that most serial murderers conduct killings within a very defined geographical area and in this series, Moffat Park provided that anchor point for Makhwenkwe.

The findings from the FBI Symposium indicate that most serial murderers do not suffer from psychiatric illnesses and a thus cannot be classified as psychotic. Instead, psychopathy is a prominent feature observed in serial murderers. Makhwenkwe did not display features of a psychiatric illness. Although there were no official personality tests done to assess the degree of psychopathy present in Makhwenkwe's personality, there was an overwhelming sense of a lack of remorse that was reflected in his confession. He states in his confession that he returned to the sites where his victims were buried, saying 'Yes. On Sundays. I went to pray there. I felt good but when I am between people again I feel dangerous...I prayed for myself so people must not see me that I have done the bad things'. These statements imply the need to protect himself from being detected rather than concern about the brutal assault perpetrated on his victims. He even goes as far as to say that going to the places where his victims were buried made him feel good. Interestingly, this feature of re-visiting the scenes of crime or body disposal was described in the case of 'Boetie Boer' (Hickey 2006) and was a feature noted in studies done by Krafft-Ebing as early as 1886 (Knight 2006).

There was no official IQ testing done on Makhwenkwe but it is noted that he only completed a grade 2 level of education, fitting in with the FBI symposium findings that the levels of intelligence in serial murderers range from borderline to average. However, it must be noted that in the SA situation, Makhwenkwe's lack of education could be attributed the political and socio-economic disparity caused by Apartheid.

When it comes to victimology, the findings from the FBI Symposium indicate that the victims are usually strangers to the offenders and that victim selection is based on:

- availability – the lifestyle or circumstances of the victim that allow the offender easy access to the victim;
- vulnerability – the degree to which the victim is susceptible to attack by the offender
- desirability – the reason why the victims appeal to the offender, which can include the victims' race, gender, ethnic background, age or other preference of the offender

(Morton 2005)

As started, Makhwenkwe's relationships to the victims were different. Victims 1 and 2 were known to him and victims 3, 4 and 5 were strangers to Makhwenkwe. Victims 3, 4 and 5 (the stranger victims) were vulnerable in that they were alone in Moffat Park. Black females seemed to be Makhwenkwe's preference in selecting his victims, but it seems that he was not particular about the ages of the victims, as these ranged from 16 to approximately 40.

The FBI symposium indicates that in offenders who commit murders for the first time, their inexperience may be observable in the behaviour they display when committing crimes. Makhwenkwe had been arrested for property crimes but found not guilty of the charges. He confessed to raping 2 women in 1999 and 2004, 6 years and 1 year respectively before he started his murder series, but these crimes could not be proven.

The FBI symposium findings indicate that in a majority of serial sexual murderers, violence and sexually gratification are inexplicably intertwined in their psyche and thus they may display deviant sexual behaviour. Makhwenkwe did not admit to any sexually deviant behaviour. He said he liked ‘normal’ sex (although did not elaborate on what ‘normal’ sex was) and that he liked to wear ladies’ underwear but had stopped this practice because he started living with other people.

When it comes to the background of the offender, the FBI Symposium findings indicate that certain characteristics are more frequently observed in the family lives and upbringing of serial murderers. They tend to have a lack of coping skills, that may result in violent behaviour. They may suffer childhood abuse and neglect, which may lead to, or contribute to the expression of violent actions. Substance abuse may cause increased aggression and violence. There may be significant head injuries, leading to individuals becoming violent. However, there are no specific combinations of traits or characteristics identified to differentiate serial murderers from other violent offenders. There is not much known about Makhwenkwe’s family life, childhood and upbringing. He said that at the age of 15/16 he was forced to have sex with an older woman, but he did not elaborate much on that. His brother was interviewed by the SAPS and did not report any incidents of abuse or irregularities in the family life. Clearly, there is not enough information available to comment meaningfully on this aspect of Makhwenkwe’s life. In future practice, creating awareness of the importance of the characteristic personal and psychological profiles of perpetrators may enhance the investigative approach in dealing with serial murders.

Finally, there are questions as to whether serial murderers want to get caught and whether they are able to stop killing. According to the FBI Symposium, serial murderers stop killing because there are external events or circumstances in the offender's lives that inhibit them from pursuing more victims. Serial murderers get caught because as they continue to offend, their confidence in their ability to elude detection and apprehension for their crimes continues to grow. This may engender feelings of empowerment, which may cause them to take greater risks in the commission of their crimes. Makhwenkwe got caught after murdering 5 victims, but his insights about the crimes he committed, his motivations to commit murder and the inner workings of his psyche, other than what is in his official confession, are now buried with him.

The lack of information about the background and psychological constitution of Makhwenkwe highlights the main limitation of the study. It was impossible to compare those aspects where there was no information to the findings of the FBI symposium.

4.5 The role of the forensic medical practitioner

The role of the forensic medical practitioner in the investigation of serial murders is of critical importance in the criminal justice system. The examination of the crime/death/body disposal scene, the post mortem examination and the collection of trace evidence not only provides critical evidence to link the perpetrator to the scene but can provide important information on the modus operandi (MO) and the signature of the serial murderers, as well as important information to assist in victim identification. The FBI symposium findings stress the importance of a thorough post mortem examination, which together with the subsequent

collection of evidence, is critical in serial murder investigations. In SA, the jurisdiction of the Forensic Pathology Services mortuaries usually incorporates many different SAPS branches, because of the wide geographical distribution of SAPS authorities and magisterial districts. This accounts for the possible delays in connecting individual murder cases as part of a murder series, as the related individual murder cases may be investigated by different detective branches of the SAPS. Often it is the forensic medical practitioner who is serving in the broader regions who may observe similarities in seemingly unrelated cases, which could be the first indication of the possibility of a murder series.

The post mortem findings could be crucial elements in the performance of Linkage Analysis which is used by the SAPS investigators to effectively investigate serial murder and as a recognised legal tool in the prosecution of serial murderers. The findings that are derived from the post-mortem examination that could be used in Linkage Analysis include:

- Investigation of the scene of death – which could identify key aspects of the Modus Operandi including circumstances of death, manner of death and/or the possible identification of ritual or signature.
- The cause of death determination which usually shows similarities across a series

In the Moffat Park series, the forensic medical practitioners who attended the scenes of death scenes were able to assist with the exhumation of the remains, to ensure that as much evidence as possible was preserved. They were thus able to assist in the estimation of the PMI's of the victims, which is of great assistance in tracking the serial murder process. The forensic medical practitioners were also able to obtain the assistance and opinions of other forensic

experts when necessary, to aid in the investigations. Although the findings of the post mortem examinations in the 5 victims were largely obscured due to decomposition, in 2 of the victims a cause of death could be established, thus providing vital information about Makhwenkwe's MO and served as a means of scientifically verifying certain aspects of Makhwenkwe's confession. The post mortem examination findings in one of the victims (victim 3) yielded important evidence in establishing the identity of the victim.

The 'National Code of guidelines for the Forensic Pathology Practice in South Africa' aims to standardise the practice of forensic pathology in South Africa to ensure that the service rendered by the FPS in SA is of the highest standard. The guidelines indicate the importance of the forensic medical practitioner attending the scene of death and state the processes that are to be followed in the post mortem examination including the proper techniques of dissection and collection of evidence. These guidelines were followed by the forensic pathology medical practitioners involved in the Moffat Park series which allowed the SAPS to perform a comprehensive investigation. This case serves to emphasize the importance of adhering to the guidelines in every case undertaken by the FPS.

On the 12/03/2008, 'The Star' newspaper article, 'Accused found guilty of Moffat Park serial killings', contained the following excerpt, 'We (the judge and the assessor) were impressed by all the witnesses who testified for the state' (Ndaba 2008). This provides a high level of recognition of the important role that the forensic medical practitioners fulfilled as expert witnesses, accurately conveying the scientific findings from the scene of death investigations and the post mortem examinations to the court in a logical and understandable manner.

Furthermore, this endorses the important collaborative role of forensic pathology with the other elements of the Criminal Justice System

The role played by the forensic medical practitioners in the Moffat Park series can be used to form the basis for the following recommendations for forensic medical practitioners involved in serial murder investigations:

- The attendance of the scene of death is crucial in every murder case and requires meticulous documentation including photographs; accurate time of death assessment and thorough evidence collection;
- The autopsy requires detailed documentation, precise technique and thorough collection of evidence;
- The investigating officer of the SAPS must attend the autopsy;
- The post mortem report should be meticulously detailed;
- The court attendance and the presentation and interpretation of the findings should be clear and easy to understand, unbiased and scientifically accurate;
- It should be noted that often the indication that a murder is part of a series only comes after the post mortem examination has been performed, which emphasizes the importance of following the guidelines as outlined by the 'National Code of guidelines for the Forensic Pathology Practice in South Africa' in every case of suspected murder;
- There should be regular departmental academic meetings held where case discussions based on the cases seen at the FPS facilities should take place. This should ensure the identification of unique or unusual cases that could be potentially part of a murder series;

- When a potential murder series is identified, the same forensic medical practitioner or practitioners should ideally be doing those cases. There should always be a Specialist Forensic Pathologist involved either doing the cases or playing a supervising role;
- As soon as there is a suspicion of a potential murder series, a ‘task team’ or ‘working group’ should be formed including the investigation officer or officers of the SAPS who should head and co-ordinate the group, the forensic medical practitioner or practitioners involved in the cases and a member of the SAPS IPU to guide the investigation.

4.6 Summation

In summary, the features of the Moffat Park murder series were analysed, highlighting the features of the MO and the motivations behind the murders. The role of the forensic medical practitioner was discussed, as were the forensic challenges that frequently occur in the investigation of serial murders. In the comparison of the Moffat Park Series with the features of the serial murder from the FBI serial murder symposium, the Moffat Park series clearly meets the definition of serial murder and the aspects of victimology and the geographic profiling are consistent with the features of international serial murders. Unfortunately, the personal characteristics of Makhwenkwe could not be analysed due to the lack of information and in-depth psychiatric analysis and testing.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

The brutal murders of the 5 victims of the Moffat Park series were used to explore the phenomenon of serial murder.

The literature on serial murder was reviewed to discover the characteristics of serial murders, including the definition, the crime itself, exploring the modus operandi, signature and particularly the characteristics of sexual serial murders, as these are the commonest forms of serial murders that are perpetrated. The importance of location was found to be a crucial aspect in the commission of the murders and the disposal of the victims' bodies. The types of victims that are commonly chosen by serial murderers were described, as were the possible reasons for victim selection. The characteristic profiles of serial murderers were discussed, including race, age, gender, relationship status, employment status, levels of education and intelligence and past criminal behaviours. The motivations behind serial murders were contemplated and the features of psychopathy were discussed. The investigative aspects of serial murder were reviewed, highlighting the importance of tools like Linkage Analysis, which allows for the efficient use of resources and is used as an effective legal tactic in the prosecution of serial murderers

The features of the Moffat Park murder series were documented and described, including the scene of death and body disposal investigations, the post mortem findings, the processes of victim identification and the correlations with the findings of the investigations with the official confession relating to each of the five victims. Moffat Park was found to be a central

aspect of this series, justifying its prominence in the title of the murder series. The background of Richman Gcnumuzi Makhwenkwe, the Moffat Park Serial Murderer was explored.

The features of the Moffat Park series were then compared to the findings of the FBI serial murder symposium and in most aspects were found to correlate. The identification criteria, the social circumstances, level of intelligence, education and past criminal behaviour of the 'Moffat Park Serial Murderer' were comparable to those identified in the findings from the FBI serial murder symposium. The importance of the location of the crime was highlighted and found to be important in the Moffat Park series, as stipulated in the FBI symposium. The victim selection criteria observed in serial murders were found to be similar in the Moffat Park series as in the FBI symposium findings. The confession made by 'The Moffat Park Serial Murderer' was used to explore features of motivation using the classification proposed in the FBI symposium findings. Although there was not sufficient information to delve into the psyche of 'The Moffat Park Serial Murderer', there was enough information to rule out the presence of a psychiatric disorder and there were aspects hinting at the presence of psychopathy, which is in concurrence with the FBI symposium findings. Unfortunately, factors like family life and upbringing and deviant sexual behaviour could not be adequately explored in 'The Moffat Park Serial Murder' to make a meaningful comparison with the features from the FBI symposium findings.

The role of the forensic medical practitioners involved in the Moffat Park series was explored and served to highlight the important function that forensic medical practitioners play in the investigation of serial murders. The attendance of the crime/death/body disposal scenes and the findings of the post mortem examinations performed on the victims are vital in identifying

features like modus operandi and the signature, which are key aspects in the investigations of serial murders. The importance of investigations performed by the forensic medical practitioners in assisting with victim identification and providing crucial forensic evidence like DNA sampling was emphasised. In addition, the involvement of other experts in specific aspects of the investigation to provide advice can aid in elucidation of critical features of a murder series. Ultimately the importance of providing expert testimony in court is highlighted.

Knowledge is a weapon and it is my hope that the when the role players in the investigation of serial murder are armed with this weapon, they will be able to strike a crippling blow to curtail the scourge of serial murders.

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ETHICS CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

Division of the Deputy Registrar (Research)

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (MEDICAL)
R14/49 Dr Shakeera Holland

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**M091109**
PROJECT	Unmaskin Serial Murder: A Comparison of a South African Serial Murder Series with Charactersitics from the FBI Serial Murder Database
INVESTIGATORS	Dr Shakeera Holland.
DEPARTMENT	Department of Forensic Medicine & Pathology
DATE CONSIDERED	2009/11/27
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE*	Approved unconditionally

Unless otherwise specified this ethical clearance is valid for 5 years and may be renewed upon application.

DATE 2009/11/30 **CHAIRPERSON** .....
(Professor PE Cleaton-Jones)

*Guidelines for written 'informed consent' attached where applicable

cc: Supervisor : Prof J Vellema

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 10th Floor, Senate House, University.
I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to a completion of a yearly progress report.**

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER IN ALL ENQUIRIES...

DATA SHEET A: FBI Symposium Criteria vs Moffat Park Serial Murderer	
FBI SYMPOSIUM CRITERIA	**MOFFAT PARK SERIAL MURDERER**
Definition of serial murder: unlawful killing of two or more victims by the same offender(s), in separate events	5 victims between December 2005 – October 2006
Identification criteria of serial murderers Span all racial groups Racial diversification of serial killers generally mirrors that of the overall U.S. populations	Black, male, 27 years old
Social circumstances Have families and homes Most are gainfully employed Appear to be "normal" members of community and "blend in effortlessly"	Lived with girlfriend Did a number of unskilled jobs include gardening – employer thought he was a good worker
Motivation The most significant factor is the serial killer's personal decision	Confession indicated that "he decided to kill" Victims 1 and 2: anger

in choosing to pursue their crimes Sexually-based Anger Power / thrill Financial gain Attention seeking Criminal enterprise Ideology Psychosis Motive generally difficult to determine in serial murder Classification of motivations should be limited to observable behaviour at the crime scene Serial murderer may have multiple motives for committing the crimes Motives may evolve both within a single murder as well as within a murder series	Victims 3-5: sexual murder

Not necessarily able to equate a serial murderer's motivation with the level of injury found in victims	
Area of operation Most have very defined geographic areas of operation Conduct killings within comfort zones that are often defined by an anchor point (e.g. place of residence, employment, or residence of a relative).	Moffat Park
Some serial murderers are **able to stop killing** before being caught usually because there are events or circumstances in offenders that inhibit them from pursuing more victims	N/A
Psychiatric conditions / personality disorders suffer from a variety of personality disorders, including psychopathy, anti-social personality disorder Most not adjudicated as insane under the law	Not explored in detail but features indicate a lack of remorse No features of psychosis or other psychiatric illness
Psycopathy Psychopathic traits are common to some serial murderers and	Not investigated

involve: sensation seeking a lack of remorse or guilt impulsivity the need for control predatory behaviour Psychopathy Check List Revised (PCL-R) - clinical assessment of the degree of psychopathy an individual possesses by measuring the distinct cluster of personality traits and socially-deviant behaviours of an individual Interpersonal traits - glibness, superficial charm, a grandiose sense of self-worth, pathological lying, and the manipulation of others Affective traits - lack of remorse and/or guilt, shallow affect, a lack of empathy, and failure to accept responsibility Lifestyle behaviours - stimulation-seeking behaviour, impulsivity, irresponsibility, parasitic orientation, and a lack of realistic life	

goals. anti-social behaviours include poor behavioural controls, early childhood behaviour problems, juvenile delinquency, revocation of conditional release, and criminal versatility	
Level of intelligence Most are not “geniuses” - range in intelligence from borderline to above average levels.	Grade 2 level of education
Do serial murderers want to get caught? As serial murderers continue to offend without being captured, they can become empowered, feeling they will never be identified and may begin to take shortcuts and take more chances, leading to identification by law enforcement. Thus, it is not that serial killers want to get caught, they feel that they can’t get caught	Makhwenkwe confessed his crimes to members of the public
Victimology Majority of serial murderers are not acquainted with or involved in a consensual relationship with their victims. Most serial murder involves strangers with no visible relationship	Victim 1: girlfriend Victim 2: acquaintance Victims 3-5: black females, 16-40 years old, walking alone through Moffat Park

between the offender and the victim victim selection based upon availability, vulnerability, and desirability Availability - lifestyle of the victim or circumstances in which the victim is involved, that allow the offender access to the victim Vulnerability - degree to which the victim is susceptible to attack by the offender Desirability - the appeal of the victim to the offender which involves numerous factors based upon the motivation of the offender and may include factors dealing with the race, gender, ethnic background, age of the victim, or other specific preferences	
Family life and upbringing In some individuals the failure to develop adequate coping mechanisms results in violent behaviour. Neglect and abuse in childhood have been shown to contribute to an increased risk of future violence.	Not enough information Interview with brother – no abuse mentioned

Substance abuse can and does lead to increased aggression and violence. There are documented cases of people who suffered severe head injuries and ultimately become violent, even when there was no prior history of violence There are no specific combinations of traits or characteristics shown to differentiate serial killers from other violent offenders.	
Deviant sexual behaviour Majority of serial murderers, who are sexually motivated, erotized violence during development and for them, violence and sexual gratification are inexplicably intertwined in their psyche	Makhwenkwe liked 'normal sex' Wore women's underwear
Previous criminal behaviour Offenders committing a crime for the first time are inexperienced.	Arrested for property theft – found not guilty Claimed to rape 2 women in 1999 and 2004 – no evidence of these crimes could be found

DATA SHEET B: Victim Comparisons

VICTIMS	Victim 1	*cwc	Victim 2	*cwc	Victim 3	*cwc	Victim 4	*cwc	Victim 5	*cwc
Identification criteria	Black female, 33 years old, girlfriend of Makhwenkwe	Positively identified	Black male +/- 30, boyfriend of victim1	'Vuyani'; young Shangaan or Venda	Black female 16 years old Stranger	Watched her walk-ing throu-gh Moffat Park on her way to school Wearing a red blazer	Black adult female +/- 40	'old woman'; domestic worker wearing a red sweater	Black female adult	Black female
Confirmation of identity	Yes		No		Yes		No		No	
Methods of confirmation of identity	Finger-prints		Finger-prints, identikit, reference DNA taken		Photo to skull video superimpo sition Anthropo-logy Reference DNA		Finger-prints, identikit, reference DNA		Finger-prints, identikit, reference DNA	

Post-mortem interval (time since death)	+/-19 days		Not known		88 days		Not known		Not known	
Death scene: **Way in which body was discovered** **Significant linkage factors** **Method of constraint** **Injuries at scene** **Clothing on / off** **Signs of sexual abuse** **Traumatic mutilation** **"posing"** **Foreign object insertion** **Signs of sexual abuse** **Method of disposal of body**	Shallow grave in Moffat Park covered in a grey blanket Hands tied in front of the body with a cloth ligature Bottom half naked, top – blue t-shirt and grey vest Sexual element suggested	+ Shallow grave + tied her up No sexual element	Shallow grave in Moffat Park Hands tied behind the back with jeans Wearing white boxer shorts Sexual element not proven	+shallow grave +wrapped the body No sexual element	+ shallow grave in Moffat Park Fully clothed, zip of trousers found open Sexual element not proven	+shallow grave +rape +tied her to a tree	shallow grave in Moffat Park Red sweeter, socks, naked at the bottom Hand tied behind the back with a plastic ligature Sexual element suggested	+shallow grave +tied up with "a plastic" +rape Condom used	Lying between bricks and rubble in Moffat Park Naked – white shirt around the neck and chest, jeans and panty around the ankle, covered in a pink gown Sexual element	Covered in a pink gown – no time to bury +rape +tied to a tree

									suggested	
Post-mortem examination: **Post-mortem changes** **Identifying features** **External trauma** **Internal trauma / pathology** **Evidence of sexual assault** **Cause of death** **Evidence on body**	Decomposing No signify-cant ID features Injuries: scalp haema-toma of the occipital area; intercostal muscle contusion; Genitalia decompo-sition COD: unascert-ained	COD: stabbing	Decomposing No significant ID features Injuries: scalp laceration; fracture of the hyoid bone Genitalia decomposition COD: consistent with strangula-tion	COD: strangulation with a wire	Almost complete skeletoni-sation ID: school blazer; key found in pocket; Post mortem burning of bones COD: unascer-tained		Decompo-sing Washer-woman's hands Dental plate Fractures thyroid cartilage Genitalia: decompo-sing COD: consistent with pressure to the neck	COD: strangulation	Decomposing, partially skeleton-ised, multiple predation defects, skin wrinkling from exposure to water COD: unascer-tained	COD: strangulation
Results from other forensic science	DNA – inconclu-		DNA inconclu-		Entomo-logy		DNA inconclu-		DNA inconclu-	

investigations DNA Anthropology Entomology Photo-superim-position	sive		sive		Photo to skull video superimpo-sition Anthro-pology		sive		sive	
Sentencing	Murder		Murder		Murder, rape, theft		Murder, rape, theft		Murder, rape, theft	

*CWC: Correlation with confession

**COD: Cause of death