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*The language of serial killers:
communicative patterns in interviews with psychopaths
diagnosed with antisocial personality disorder*

Relatrice
Prof. Sara Gesuato

Laureanda
Eleonora Fazio
n° matr.2093697

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ABSTRACT

Psychopaths diagnosed with Antisocial Personality Disorder (ASPD) often display behaviors that largely diverge from societal norms, such as callousness, manipulateness, impulsivity, risk-taking, and attention-seeking. This study explored whether people with these disorders also exhibit specific forms of language use. More specifically, it addresses two main questions: 1) What are the most common linguistic traits found in the speech of people diagnosed with Psychopathy and ASPD? and 2) What distinctive linguistic traits, if any, are peculiar to the speech of specific psychopathic individuals?

To explore these questions, I adopted a corpus-driven approach, analyzing the transcripts of interviews with four infamous serial killers —John Gacy, Ted Bundy, David Berkowitz, and Jeffrey Dahmer— who all meet the criteria for psychopathy and ASPD. The corpus was examined by using *AntConc* so as to identify recurring linguistic patterns, including frequent words, clusters, N-Grams, and keywords, and the *UCREL Semantic Analysis System (USAS)* to identify the thematic focus of the texts.

The findings revealed both shared and unshared properties of the interview data analyzed. In line with the literature on the language of psychopathic and antisocial individuals, the findings highlight common traits such as self-referential language, a focus on crime and violence, and a high incidence of negation. Additionally, they also show linguistic features not previously identified in the literature such as the use of *you* for self-reference, frequent combinations of *I* with experiential verbs in negative constructions, a preference for third-person pronouns with experiential, stative, and action verbs in the affirmative form. Finally, they revealed preferential semantic categories identified through automatic semantic tagging. These categories include grammar, temporal and spatial circumstances, people and relationships, and religion.

Furthermore, the study revealed that each sub-corpus is focused on recurrent themes, which are not as prominently instantiated in the corpus as a whole. These themes include, for example, Gacy's emphasis on physical spaces, sexuality and work environment; Bundy's focus on identity, legal and geographical features; Berkowitz's insistence on religion, family and occult beliefs; and Dahmer's attention to crime, substance use and anatomical references.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

This study analyzes interviews with four notorious American serial killers —John Gacy, Theodore Robert Bundy, David Richard Berkowitz, and Jeffrey Lionel Dahmer— who are commonly identified as psychopaths and diagnosed with Antisocial Personality Disorder (ASPD). The purpose of this thesis is to identify and examine the linguistic patterns, communicative features and semantic preferences associated with the speech produced by individuals affected by these disorders, with the aim of contributing to their identification.

In this chapter, I will provide an overview of Psychopathy and ASPD, outlining their characteristics and behavioral patterns (Section 1.2). Next, I will provide background information on each individual under analysis (Section 1.3). Section 1.4 will provide a summary of the chapter and an overview of the rest of the thesis (Section 1.4).

1.2. Psychopathy and Antisocial Personality Disorder

A clear diagnosis of psychopathy is challenging to establish, due to its inconsistent recognition in mental health classifications. However, the individuals under analysis are commonly referred to as psychopaths due to the extreme severity of their criminal actions, which affected numerous victims.

It is not possible to access psychiatric evaluations from specialists who directly assessed the subjects considered in this thesis. Nevertheless, most psychologists and psychiatrists agree on the antisocial traits that characterize their behaviors. The renowned American psychiatrist Donald W. Black, for instance, dedicates an entire chapter titled *The Antisocial Murderer: Gacy and Others* to describing the subjects' antisocial traits and behaviors in his book *Bad Boys, Bad Men: Confronting Antisocial Personality Disorder* (2004, pp. 158-180). In this chapter, he highlights ASPD traits and the severity of the behaviors of the individuals examined in this thesis with the following statement: “Not all serial killers are antisocials, and certainly most antisocials never rise to the heights of violence reached by men like Gacy, Jeffrey Dahmer, Ted Bundy, Henry Lee Lucas, and David Berkowitz. But ASP symptoms—unruly childhoods, failures at school and work, legal skirmishes, instability, impulsiveness, and the like—are common features of their lives.”

To describe the main characteristics of psychopathy and ASPD, I have relied on the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM)* in its latest version, *DSM-5-TR*, published in 2022. This manual is one of the diagnostic tools for mental and psychopathological disorders most widely used by mental health professionals worldwide. It is authored by the American Psychiatric Association (APA).

There is ongoing debate about the distinctions between Psychopathy and ASPD. However, psychologist Robert Hare, who developed the *Psychopathy Checklist-Revise (PCL-R)*, a clinical tool for assessing the presence and severity of psychopathic traits in an individual, argues that psychopathy should be recognized as a distinct syndrome, whereas the *DSM* contributors have opted to associate the two disorders.

In the *DSM*, Psychopathy is included within the category of ASPD as a “specifier”. *DSM-5* describes Psychopathy as “a distinct variant [...] marked by a lack of anxiety or fear and by a bold interpersonal style that can mask maladaptive behaviors (e.g. fraudulence)”. Specifically, this variant is “characterized by low levels of anxiousness” and “withdrawal”, which represent the assertive and dominant traits of psychopathy, and “high levels of attention seeking”, which are associated with the individual's emotional stability and resilience (pp. 884-885).

Typical features within antisocial personality disorder are “a failure to conform to lawful and ethical behavior, and an egocentric, callous lack of concern for others, accompanied by deceitfulness, irresponsibility, manipulateness, and/or risk taking”. All the features are specified in Figure 1.1.

1.3. The serial killers

This section will describe the lives and crimes of John Wayne Gacy, Ted Bundy, David Berkowitz, and Jeffrey Dahmer, providing background for the analyses that will follow. The information presented here is derived from documentaries and books about the above-mentioned killers: Berlinger (2022a, 2022b, 2022c); Sullivan and Maiken (2013); Michaud Aynesworth (2019); Brodi's (2016) and Castleden (2011).

Figure 1.1.: The DSM's focus on ASPD (APA 2022: 884-886)

Antisocial Personality Disorder

Typical features of antisocial personality disorder are a failure to conform to lawful and ethical behavior, and an egocentric, callous lack of concern for others, accompanied by deceitfulness, irresponsibility, manipulateness, and/or risk taking. Characteristic difficulties are apparent in identity, self-direction, empathy, and/or intimacy, as described below, along with specific maladaptive traits in the domains of Antagonism and Disinhibition.

Proposed Diagnostic Criteria

- A. Moderate or greater impairment in personality functioning, manifested by characteristic difficulties in two or more of the following four areas:
 1. **Identity:** Egocentrism; self-esteem derived from personal gain, power, or pleasure.
 2. **Self-direction:** Goal setting based on personal gratification; absence of prosocial internal standards, associated with failure to conform to lawful or culturally normative ethical behavior.
 3. **Empathy:** Lack of concern for feelings, needs, or suffering of others; lack of remorse after hurting or mistreating another.
 4. **Intimacy:** Incapacity for mutually intimate relationships, as exploitation is a primary means of relating to others, including by deceit and coercion; use of dominance or intimidation to control others.
- B. Six or more of the following seven pathological personality traits:
 1. **Manipulativeness** (an aspect of **Antagonism**): Frequent use of subterfuge to influence or control others; use of seduction, charm, glibness, or ingratiation to achieve one's ends.
 2. **Callousness** (an aspect of **Antagonism**): Lack of concern for feelings or problems of others; lack of guilt or remorse about the negative or harmful effects of one's actions on others; aggression; sadism.
 3. **Deceitfulness** (an aspect of **Antagonism**): Dishonesty and fraudulence; misrepresentation of self; embellishment or fabrication when relating events.
 4. **Hostility** (an aspect of **Antagonism**): Persistent or frequent angry feelings; anger or irritability in response to minor slights and insults; mean, nasty, or vengeful behavior.
 5. **Risk taking** (an aspect of **Disinhibition**): Engagement in dangerous, risky, and potentially self-damaging activities, unnecessarily and without regard for consequences; boredom proneness and thoughtless initiation of activities to counter boredom; lack of concern for one's limitations and denial of the reality of personal danger.
 6. **Impulsivity** (an aspect of **Disinhibition**): Acting on the spur of the moment in response to immediate stimuli; acting on a momentary basis without a plan or consideration of outcomes; difficulty establishing and following plans.
7. **Irresponsibility** (an aspect of **Disinhibition**): Disregard for—and failure to honor—financial and other obligations or commitments; lack of respect for—and lack of follow-through on—agreements and promises.

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Note. The individual is at least 18 years of age.

Specify if:

With psychopathic features

1.3.1. John Wayne Gacy

John Wayne Gacy, notoriously known as the Killer Clown, was an American serial killer responsible for the abduction, rape, torture and murder of at least 33 young men and boys in the Norwood Park Township area of Chicago. Gacy, who performed at local events dressed in the guise of *Pogo* the clown, presented himself as a respectable member of the community, which masked his deeply disturbed and violent nature. Gacy was born on March 17, 1942, in Chicago (Illinois). His early life was marked by great adversity, including an abusive father and an alcoholic mother, which created a harmful and unhappy environment. These adverse conditions during his formative years, combined with various health issues, are believed to have significantly influenced his psychological development. Despite these challenges, he established a successful construction business, *PDM Contractors*, and engaged actively in local Democratic Party politics.

Gacy predominantly targeted young men and boys. These tended to be vulnerable individuals from marginalized backgrounds, who were less likely to be promptly reported missing or people who were seeking employment opportunities. Indeed, he used promises of jobs or other inducements to lure his victims to his residence, where they were subjected to severe violence. Most of his victims were interred in the crawl space beneath the house, while others were disposed of in the Des Plaines River.

Gacy was arrested on December 21, 1978, following an investigation into the disappearance of 15-year-old Robert Piest, which led to the discovery of incriminating evidence at his residence. During his trial, Gacy's defense team attempted to make an insanity plea. However, the prosecution successfully demonstrated premeditation and control through compelling evidence and testimony. Gacy was found guilty of 33 murders on March 12, 1980, and was sentenced to death the following day. He was executed on May 10, 1994, at Stateville Correctional Center.

1.3.2. Ted Bundy

Ted Bundy, born on November 24, 1946 in Burlington (Vermont) is infamously known for his heinous criminal activities carried out during the 1970s. Bundy's criminal conduct involved the abduction, assault, and murder of numerous young women, with his actions reflecting a disturbing interplay between charm and brutality. Although Bundy confessed to 30 murders, there is substantial evidence suggesting that his true victim count could be significantly higher.

Bundy's early life was marked by instability and deception. Raised by his grandparents under the false belief that his mother was his sister, Bundy's youth was characterized by psychological and

emotional turmoil. From a young age, he exhibited troubling behaviors, including episodes of animal cruelty, bullying and an incident where he placed knives around his aunt's bed. Despite these early warning signs, Bundy managed to project an image of charisma and intelligence, which facilitated his ability to gain the trust and respect of those around him.

His first crimes took place in Washington and Oregon in 1974, where he targeted female students using deceitful tactics to lure them into his Volkswagen Beetle. Bundy's modus operandi involved faking injuries or impersonating authority figures to gain trust, leading victims to secluded areas where he would incapacitate, sexually assault, and murder them. Bundy's brutality extended to necrophilia and decapitation, with severed heads kept as trophies.

Bundy's criminal activities led to his arrest in August 1975 on charges of kidnapping. Incriminating evidence and the testimony of Carol DaRonch, who had managed to escape from him, were pivotal to his conviction. Following his conviction, Bundy managed to escape from custody in 1977, first from a courthouse and later from jail. Upon resuming his killing spree in Florida, Bundy was eventually recaptured in 1978.

The trials against Bundy started in 1979, during which he represented himself and sabotaged his own defense with manipulative tactics. He was convicted and sentenced to death for the murders of Chi Omega sorority members and later for the murder of Kimberly Leach¹. Throughout his time on death row, Bundy confessed to many crimes with evident detachment. He revealed his motivations, including a desire for control over his victims and an enjoyment of revisiting crime scenes. He was executed in the electric chair on January 24, 1989.

1.3.3. David Berkowitz

David Berkowitz, born on June 1st, 1953, in Brooklyn (New York), is infamously known as the *Son of Sam* or the *.44 Caliber Killer*. Berkowitz was adopted shortly after his birth by Nathan and Pearl Berkowitz, which marked the beginning of a troubled childhood. His reign of terror lasted from July 1976 to July 1977, during which he carried out a series of shootings in New York City with a .44 Special caliber Bulldog revolver, instilling widespread fear and panic in the city and leading to one of the manhunts in New York's history.

Berkowitz's nickname, *Son of Sam*, originated from a handwritten letter he left at the scene of a shooting in April 1977. In the letter, he referred to himself as *Son of Sam* and claimed to be driven by

¹ The youngest of Bundy's victims. She was only 12 years old when she was kidnapped on her way home from school.

a demonic entity that manifested through his neighbor's dog, which he said commanded him to kill. This macabre explanation added a layer of psychological intrigue to the case, though Berkowitz later admitted that the story was a fabrication meant to mislead investigators and divert attention from his true motives.

Berkowitz's shooting spree resulted in the deaths of six individuals, and left others eleven injured. The police investigation intensified following these attacks, with widespread media coverage and public pressure on law enforcement to find the killer. The breakthrough in the case came after a witness observed a man behaving suspiciously near the scene of the July 31, 1977, shooting of Stacy Moskowitz and Robert Violante in Brooklyn. Following this lead, the police arrested Berkowitz on August 10th, 1977. In his car, they found incriminating evidence, including the .44 caliber revolver used in the murders.

On May 8, 1978, Berkowitz pleaded guilty to all the shootings and was sentenced to six consecutive life terms in prison, without the possibility of parole. Despite his initial claims of demonic influence, Berkowitz later disavowed these statements. Since then, he has described himself as having been deeply troubled, and as searching for some form of release during the time of the murders. He remains incarcerated at Shawangunk Correctional Facility in New York.

1.3.4. Jeffrey Dahmer

Jeffrey Dahmer, born on May 21, 1960, in Milwaukee (Wisconsin), is one of the most infamous serial killers in modern history, having committed the murder, dismemberment, and cannibalism of 17 young men between 1978 and 1991. His early life was shaped by familial instability and troubling behavior, which laid the groundwork for the violent tendencies that would surface in adulthood. From a young age, Dahmer displayed alarming signs of deviance, including an intense fascination with dead animals, which he collected and dissected. His profound sense of isolation, combined with repressed sexual urges, appeared to drive the compulsions that later defined his brutal crimes.

Dahmer's first known murder occurred in 1978, just after he graduated from high school. His victim was 18-year-old Steven Hicks, whom Dahmer lured to his home under a false pretext. Dahmer later admitted his initial motivation was a desire to prevent Hicks from leaving him, revealing an obsessive need for control and companionship.

Throughout the 1980s and into the early 1990s, Dahmer's crimes escalated in both frequency and severity. He lured victims, typically young men of marginalized backgrounds, to his apartment with

promises of money or alcohol. His methods became more gruesome over time, incorporating acts of necrophilia, dismemberment, and cannibalism. By the late 1980s, Dahmer had begun experimenting with techniques to render his victims into a submissive, zombie-like state. This involved injecting substances like hydrochloric acid or boiling water into the skulls of his victims, an indication of his increasingly sadistic desires for complete control over his victims.

Dahmer was arrested on July 22, 1991, after one of his intended victims, Tracy Edwards, managed to escape from his apartment and alert the police. When officers arrived at his residence, they discovered a horrifying scene: photographs of dismembered bodies, skulls, and human remains scattered throughout the apartment, along with a vat of acid used to dissolve his victims' flesh.

During his trial, Dahmer confessed to the murders and provided disturbing insights into his motivations. He admitted to necrophiliac acts and to constructing a "private altar" composed of his victims' skulls, which he intended to use as a place of worship. His cold and methodical confessions revealed the depth of his psychological disturbance; yet, despite his plea of guilty but insane, he was found legally sane by the court. Dahmer was sentenced to 15 consecutive life terms in prison. He was incarcerated at the Columbia Correctional Institution in Portage, Wisconsin. After initially being kept in isolation for his protection, Dahmer was placed in the general prison population, where he was killed by fellow inmate Christopher Scarver on November 28, 1994, who claimed divine instruction for the attack.

1.4. Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of psychopathy and ASPD, highlighting the complexities involved in their diagnosis and identification, and outlining the primary distinguishing characteristics and behavioral traits associated with these disorders. The summaries of the life stories of the serial killers under study have illustrated their backgrounds, part of which are reflected in their discourse.

Given that these individuals exhibit behavioral characteristics that are visibly different from those of the general population, it is possible that they may also display distinctive traits in their communicative behavior. The goal of this research is therefore to analyze their speech to identify possible peculiar linguistic patterns in their discourse, such as recurrent word choices and semantic preferences, which might be relatable to these disorders. The ultimate goal would be the identification of likely "linguistic telling signs" of their criminal profiles.

In Chapter 2, I review the existing literature on language use in criminal contexts, presenting findings on linguistic patterns, narrative analysis, automated speech detection methods and both verbal and non-verbal communication features of psychopaths and individuals with ASPD. In Chapter 3, I describe the data collection and methodologies employed for this study, explaining the corpus-driven approach and the use of *AntConc* and *UCREL Semantic Analysis System (USAS)* software for data analysis. In Chapter 4, I present the results of a bottom-up, corpus-driven of the lexical make-up of the entire corpus and its sub-corpora. In Chapter 5 I discuss the results, interpreting the most prevalent linguistic patterns identified through the analyses. I conclude by outlining the contributions of the present work, addressing its limitations and suggesting directions for future research.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

Exploring language use in criminal contexts, and in particular examining communicative dynamics of criminal offenders, offers an opportunity to present the complexity of interactions in which such offenders are involved. This chapter summarizes the content of the literature on this subject. I looked for relevant publications in *Galileo Discovery*, the online catalogue of Padua University, *Google Scholar*, *Proquest*, *EBSCO* and *Springerlink* in such fields as communication studies, criminology, forensic sciences, and psychology. I carried out my searches employing strategic keywords in the following word combinations: *language AND psychopathy*, *linguistic AND psychopathy*, *speech AND psychopathy*, *psychopathy AND syntax*, *language AND Antisocial Personality Disorder*, *psychopathy AND speech*, *psychopathy AND discourse*, *psychopathy AND words*, *psychopathy AND lexicon*, *ASPD AND speech*, *Antisocial Personality Disorder AND text*, *psychopathy AND narratives*, *psychopathic traits AND language*. Section 2.2. presents summaries of two articles which explain the main features of, and the similarities and differences between, Antisocial Personality Disorder (ASPD) and Psychopathy. Section 2.3. overviews linguistic findings which highlight the relationship between language and the two disorders.

2.2. Antisocial Personality disorder vs Psychopathy

The study conducted by Coid and Ullrich (2010) investigated the relationship between ASPD and Psychopathy, aiming to determine whether they represent distinct syndromes or if Psychopathy can be considered a form of ASPD. The authors tested a sample of 496 male and female prisoners from English and Welsh facilities, employing the Schedules for Clinical Assessment in Neuropsychiatry, namely a structured diagnostic interview tool designed to diagnose mental disorders, and the Psychopathy Checklist–Revised, an assessment tool developed by the forensic psychologist Robert D. Hare to detect the presence of psychopathic traits in individuals. The findings suggest that ASPD and Psychopathy demonstrate considerable overlap, indicating a continuum rather than distinct categories. Furthermore, there was a subgroup of individuals with ASPD and psychopathic features who typically exhibited more severe symptoms and a greater propensity for violence compared to those with ASPD alone. The study concluded that psychopathy likely represents an intensified and more severe form of ASPD.

Abdalla-Filho and Vollm (2020) addressed the question whether every psychopath has APD, examining diachronic and synchronic data. The authors highlighted that, while many studies have shown that not all individuals with ASPD meet the criteria for psychopathy, the reversed association, so whether every individual diagnosed with psychopathy also has ASPD, has been less explored. The authors reported that recent research suggests that certain characteristics traditionally associated with Psychopathy such as impulsivity, deceitfulness, irresponsibility and lack of remorse, overlap with ASPD diagnosis, and that a chronically unstable and antisocial lifestyle, which is one of the main indicative factors of Psychopathy, is closely associated with ASPD. However, the authors concluded by underscoring the complexity of diagnosing Psychopathy and emphasizing the need for further research to explore its possible association with ASPD and other personality disorders.

2.3. Linguistic studies of Psychopathy and ASPD

This section will explore the literature on the relationship between language and Psychopathy or ASPD, providing an overview of their theories, methodologies, and findings.

The study conducted by Hancock, Woodworth and Porter (2011) aimed to analyze the language employed by psychopaths in interviews about their violent crimes. The main purpose was to explore how linguistic patterns —detected with tools for corpus analysis— can provide insights into the cognitive and emotional processes of individuals with psychopathic traits. The authors analyzed detailed narratives produced by 52 male murderers (14 psychopathic and 38 non-psychopathic offenders) in Canadian correctional facilities, classified according to Hare's Psychopathy Checklist Revised (PCL-R) scale. The results showed that prominent linguistic features of the offenders' language included the following: a high level of speech disfluency, which suggests a difficulty in expressing emotionally intense events; a frequent use of past tense verbs, which indicates a psychological detachment from the events described; an instrumental worldview, that is, an emphasis on practical, rather than emotional or social aspects of events being reported; emphasis on basic physiological and self-preservation needs, such as eating, drinking, and money, highlighting practical and material aspects of life; a general emotional detachment, revealed by non-verbal behavior; and finally, linguistic expressions that convey a lack of positive emotional tone and reduced emotionality, which suggests affective deficits.

Gullhaugen and Sakshaug (2018) reviewed the literature on the communication styles of psychopathic offenders, revealing the following common characteristics: disorganization, a poor flow, stuttering, rapid shifts in topics, lack of coherence, self-contradictions, a tendency to omit

fundamental details, an extensive use of past tense, negations, non-personal or indirect references, limited anxiety-related words, and reduced emotional intensity. The literature review also suggested that, physically, psychopathic offenders display increased gesticulation, frequent blinking, head movements, incongruent emotional expressions, an impaired eye contact as well as manipulative techniques, such as lowering the voice and leaning in. Emotional inconsistency was also observed, with psychopathic individuals becoming more emotional when discussing salient topics, as well as a general dismissive attitude with superficial sympathy with victims. Overall, the authors' review showed that psychopathic individuals appear more vulnerable than stereotypically portrayed, with their difficulties in relationships becoming evident through communication.

Hancock, Woodworth, Morrow, McGillivray and Boochever (2015) conducted two studies exploring the discursive characteristics of positive and negative narratives produced by individuals affected by psychopathy, compared to non-psychopathic subjects. The results showed distinctive traits in psychopaths' storytelling: an emphasis on material needs over social needs, a frequent use of past tense verbs; a more limited use of first-person plural pronouns in the storytelling of negative events, suggesting a distancing strategy and the desire to remove themselves from their actions. Psychopaths also employed more first-person singular pronouns in positive storytelling, in an effort to associate themselves with the positive aspects of the stories. Overall, the study highlighted the potential of linguistic analysis in detecting psychopathy and assessing credibility-related factors.

De Almeida Brites (2016) also provided a review of the literature exploring the language of psychopaths, reporting the following findings: a high use of past tense verbs, suggesting psychological detachment; using a "hollow language", that is, repeating words without really understanding them just to manipulate the addressee; a difficulty in processing the emotional and semantic meaning of language; a persuasive and misleading use of language, that is, inconsistency between verbal expressions and actual behavior; the use of talkative and emotional words to capture attention; slow speech; and the expression of shallow emotions. The authors suggest that the varied perspectives on psychopathy and language attested in the literature may result from the complexities of psychopathy, leading to apparent discrepancies, which can only be clarified with additional research in the field.

Endres (2006) studied the linguistic features associated with psychopathy, administering the PCL-R scale and a Sentence Completion Test to 76 inmates in a high-security prison, who were serving sentences exceeding five years for offenses such as homicide, robbery, and sex crimes. The study revealed that certain ways of communicating, like discussing power, resisting control, using strong language, and expressing negative emotions, were linked to psychopathy, suggesting that these verbal

patterns, along with interpersonal behavior, could serve as indicators for such tendencies. Endres's study provided valuable insights into the role of linguistic features in identifying psychopathy, presenting an understanding of how language use may reflect underlying personality characteristics in individuals within a forensic context.

Gawda (2010) explored the syntax of emotional narratives related to love, hate and anxiety produced by individuals diagnosed with ASPD, including 60 antisocial inmates, 40 non-antisocial inmates and 100 controls. The following distinctive linguistic features were found to be prominent in such individuals: a high frequency of repetitions, pauses and negations, compared to the other groups. The use of these linguistic patterns took on a different meaning depending on the context: in love narratives, repetitions and negations were interpreted as a sign of anxiety and a heightened emotional involvement, leading to ambivalent and uncertain storylines; in narratives related to hate and anxiety, instead, repetitions, negations and pauses were linked with typical traits of psychopathy such as high activity, and emotional reactivity. The cognitive constructivist approach of the study deciphered how emotions are encoded in linguistic expressions.

A more recent publication by Gawda (2021) both offered a review of the literature on people affected by ASPD and reported a study on the narrative styles in individuals with high Psychopathic Deviate (PD). In her literature review, the author pointed out that individuals with ASPD had great persuasive communication skills and a special ability to tell impressive self-serving stories, although their discourse often lacked coherence and logical flow —exhibiting contradictory patterns and grammatical irregularities— they employed inconsistent emotional expressions with a detached voice. In her own study, the author aimed at identifying distinct narrative styles among individuals with high PD scores, and focused on finding patterns and configurations of communication rather than analyzing individual linguistic features in isolation. The study involved 200 male subjects aged 18-50, categorized into three groups: 60 prisoners with ASPD, 40 prisoners without the disorder and 100 non-prisoners. Participants were asked to produce spontaneous narrations on emotional topics, resulting in a total of 600 transcripts. The analysis led to the identification of two main linguistic profiles: the *demonstrative-digressive-egocentric-emotional-dogmatic* profile and the *reserved-focused on the topic-repetitive* profile. The former reflected traits such as verbosity ability in persuasion, emotional language use, and digressions consistent with previous literature on psychopathic communication styles, which are associated to emotional difficulties and egocentrism. In contrast, the second profile identified individuals who produce shorter, less convincing narratives, with repetitive language usage and a better focus on the topic.

The study conducted by Reidy, Zeichner, Hunnicutt-Ferguson and Lilienfeld (2008) investigated the relationship between traits associated with Psychopathy and the processing of emotionally loaded linguistic stimuli, through a lexical decision task. Sixty male undergraduate psychology students participated in the study, the reason for excluding female candidates being that lower levels of Psychopathy traits are attested among women in the general population. Participants completed the Levenson Self-Report Psychopathy Scale (LSRP), a questionnaire which assessed two main facets of psychopathy: Factor 1 (F1), measuring callousness, lack of empathy and interpersonal manipulation, and Factor 2 (F2), assessing impulsivity, poor behavioral control, and antisocial tendencies. The study analyzed emotional categories such as anger, sadness, fear, and happiness, and their correlation with the F1 and F2 facets of psychopathy. The results indicated a general deficit in emotional processing among individuals with psychopathic traits, particularly evident in their response to emotionally loaded words. Additionally, the participants who scored higher on F1 traits showed reduced sadness in response to emotionally relevant words, whereas those who scored higher on F2 traits showed increased anger. These findings suggest associations between specific psychopathy factors and emotionally loaded linguistic stimuli, associating F1 with a diminished experience of sadness and F2 traits with heightened experiences of anger.

The study by Brinke, Porter, Korva, Fowler, Lilienfeld and Patrick (2017) explored the connection between psychopathic traits and verbal and non-verbal communication styles on recordings previously made of 100 male inmates at a federal correctional institution in Florida while undergoing the PCL-R test. The recordings were examined by experts in Psychopathy and clinical interviews as well as by a group of 40 graduate and undergraduate students, who served as naïve observers. The analysis focused on facial expressions, hand gestures, emotional language and speech fluency. The results showed that psychopaths exhibited increased hand gestures, reflecting increased animation, and a greater use of negative emotional words, indicating aggressive and antisocial tendencies. Additionally, they displayed Duchenne smiles, which are typically associated with genuine happiness and joy, suggesting a deliberate effort to appear friendly and charming and perhaps manipulate listeners' perceptions. In particular, Factor 1 psychopathy traits, related to interpersonal and affective deficits, were associated with an increased use of hand gestures, negative emotional language, and Duchenne smiles, while Factor 2 traits, associated with impulsive and antisocial behaviors, were linked to the use of hostile words. Remarkably, even naïve observers demonstrated an ability to recognize behavioral cues associated with psychopathy, highlighting the importance of non-verbal behavior in influencing perception.

Brinkley, Newmana, Harpur and Johnsona's (1999) study examined the influence of Psychopathy on language production, with a focus on speech cohesion. The study involved 39 male inmates from a security prison in Wisconsin, including both psychopathic and non-psychopathic individuals. Prior to participation, subjects underwent assessment with the use of the PCL-R scale, and completed the Welsh Anxiety Scale to measure anxiety levels. Participants were then asked to produce two narratives based on personal experiences, one connected to anger and one connected to fear, which were recorded to be later analyzed. The results showed that psychopaths used significantly fewer cohesive links compared to controls, and participants with high anxiety levels also exhibited reduced cohesion. Interestingly, all participants used more cohesive links in the second story compared to the first. However, no significant differences were observed in the frequency of improper or irrelevant references in the narratives provided by the groups. These results support previous research, suggesting less cohesive speech among psychopaths and implying decreased effort in integrating discourse.

The 2016 study by Le, Woodworth, Gillman, Hutton and Hare aimed to investigate the correlation between linguistic features and psychopathic traits within the discourse of criminal offenders. The authors collected interviews of 66 male Canadian inmates who underwent assessment using the PCL-R scale, and then analyzed the transcripts using computerized text analysis programs such as Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count and Wmatrix. The findings revealed associations between PCL-R scores and specific linguistic categories. The discourse of psychopathic offenders appeared to be characterized by the frequent use of fillers such as *you know*, *uhm*, *like*, along with inappropriate and anger-related language. Moreover, their speech included more self-referential pronouns and few references to family and others, as well as less positive emotional content. Regression analysis conducted on the data also suggested a limited use of anxiety-related words and a more frequent use of personal pronouns: these characteristics were considered strongly associated with higher PCL-R scores, making them two of the most significant predictors for psychopathy.

The study conducted by Louth, Williamson, Alpert, Pouget and Hare (1998) aimed to investigate the vocal characteristics and acoustic features of speech in psychopaths, with the hypothesis that these features are as important as verbal content in communication. The researchers analyzed the speech of 20 male inmates of a medium-security correctional institution in British Columbia. Participants were divided into two groups based on their scores on the PCL-R scale: one group with higher scores indicative of psychopathy and the other with lower scores serving as the control group. Data were collected from spontaneous speech, where participants discussed simple topics, and controlled tasks, where they were asked to recall emotional experiences or read sentences with emotionally charged

words. The findings revealed that, during spontaneous speech, psychopaths tended to speak more quietly than the control group, potentially using this as a strategy to appear more sincere to listeners. In controlled tasks, psychopaths appeared indifferent to the emotional content of the material, unlike non-psychopaths, who showed variations in voice levels while reading different emotional words. This indicated a general dissociation between emotional processing and speech in psychopaths, who are believed to have little emotional investment in their words.

The research conducted by Klaver, Lee and Harton (2006) aimed to investigate the relationship between Psychopathy and non-verbal behavior among adult male offenders, in both truthful and deceptive situations. The study involved 45 male offenders who were classified for their high, moderate and low levels of psychopathy, based on the PCL-R scores. Initially, the subjects completed a self-assessment questionnaire about how good they were at lying, how often they lied and how they felt when they successfully deceived someone. Following this, participants were asked to provide two video-recorded statements. In the first one, the “true condition”, they had to describe the real circumstances of their real offense. For the second statement, the “false condition”, participants had to watch a video reenacting a crime and then make up a story implicating themselves in the depicted crime. The analysis focused on two aspects: non-verbal behavior and body movements, along with speech disturbances. The results showed that higher PCL-R scores were associated with specific non-verbal behaviors across conditions, including a greater use of illustrators (i.e. hand gestures accompanying speech) and blinking. Additionally, in the true condition, high PCL-R scores correlated with speech hesitation and a greater number of words spoken, while in false condition, high PCL-R scores were associated with more frequent head movements and a faster speech rate.

The study by Romberg, Skaret, Stedal, Øhra, Hem, Herfindal, Welander and Gullhaugen (2015) aimed to investigate the communication patterns of psychopaths regarding emotional and relational topics, distinguishing between verbal and non-verbal cues, as well as explicit and implicit communication. The analysis focused on video interviews featuring four notorious offenders. In terms of self-presentation, psychopaths showed a tendency to adopt a rehearsed and theatrical way of speaking, with implicit cues revealing emotions like anger, remorse and pride. Non-verbally, they maintained an emotionless appearance, occasionally interrupted by snarls and intense eye contact, suggesting feelings of loneliness and insecurity. Psychopaths’ conversations about childhood experiences unveiled a defensive tone, characterized by abusive language and contradictions. Non-verbal cues hinted at a range of emotions, from happiness to indifference, with underlying feelings of shame and frustration. Discussions surrounding close relationships featured theatrical pauses and a brisk tempo in speech, masking emotions like irritation, caring and loss. Non-verbal gestures subtly

conveyed psychological pain, longing, and attempts at justification. When discussing criminal intent or acts, psychopaths employed logical reasoning and retrospective rationalization, often displaying emotional detachment. Non-verbal cues indicated pride, insecurity, and a refusal to accept responsibility. In conclusion, the study underscored differences in how psychopaths communicate depending on the subject matter and underlined that they tend to display more emotional engagement or reaction when discussing personal or relational topics compared to discussions about criminal behavior.

Jain, Arora and Jha proposed a study (2019) with innovative research methods aiming to identify psychopaths through the analysis of their speech patterns. The authors pointed out the challenges associated with recognizing and diagnosing psychopaths, with no standardized criterion for a psychopathic personality disorder, emphasizing their ability to blend into society due to their charming nature, and to commit crimes impulsively without leaving cues. The study proposed a model with an algorithm that automated the conversion of video recordings into text and subsequently analyzed the text for specific linguistic patterns indicative of psychopathic behavior. This was presented as a supposedly more accurate method when compared to existing approaches like manual analysis of interviews by forensic psychologists, which were described as tedious and prone to human error. The authors' analysis was conducted on publicly available interviews, whose transcripts were scrutinized for the occurrence of function words, emotion words, past tense, and conjunctions. The results indicated that psychopaths used more personal pronouns and particularly implied the use of past tense words compared to non-psychopaths, suggesting psychological detachment and lack of remorse. Psychopaths also often attempted to justify their crimes using subordinate conjunctions like *because* and *since*. In conclusion, the study demonstrated the effectiveness of identifying psychopaths through speech analysis using neural networks.

2.4. Conclusion

The studies reported in this chapter revealed many linguistic and discursive features associated with Psychopathy and ASPD: psychopathic antisocial offenders tended to exhibit high levels of speech disfluency with a frequent use of fillers, and employed few cohesive links, indicating challenges in expressing emotionally intense events; their language showed a lack of positive emotional tone and reduced responsiveness to emotional linguistic stimuli, reflecting deficits in affectivity and in emotional processing; they prevalently used past tense verbs, which suggests a psychological detachment from the events described; they often engaged in manipulative strategies and demonstrated atypical use of gesticulation and non-verbal behavior such as increased hand gestures,

blinking and Duchenne smiles, potentially used to influence perceptions. These findings were obtained by employing various methods including reporting the state of the art, performing computerized text analyses, conducting observational analysis on video recordings, acoustic analysis, and automated transcription and linguistic pattern recognition.

Despite numerous studies in the field, some aspects of the relationship between language and Psychopathy and ASPD remain unknown. For example, while recurrent communicative habits of individuals affected by psychopathy and ASPD have been identified, it is still unclear how their communicative practices are specifically encoded in the language, and thus how these traits may compare against those of people suffering from other disorders or individuals with typical behavior. Furthermore, individual variations and factors such as social environment, education, and genetics have not been taken into consideration as possible influences on language and communicative dynamics. Also, existing literature lacks a comprehensive study integrating both quantitative and qualitative analysis of criminal language. This research aims to contribute to bridging this gap by examining both quantitatively and qualitatively criminal discourse with a view to identifying their recurrent and distinctive phraseologies and patterns.

CHAPTER 3. BACKGROUND AND METHOD

3.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to give an overview of the methodological approach adopted for this study. Specifically, in Section 3.2, I describe the data collection process. In Section 3.3, I explain the quantitative analysis I carried out on the data. In Section 3.4, I outline the research questions addressed, and in Section 3.5, I provide a conclusion.

3.2. Data collection

As the objective of this thesis is to investigate the linguistic characteristics of the speech of psychopathic individuals diagnosed with ASPD, the data examined consists of the transcripts of interviews with notorious serial killers. The individuals selected for this study were John Wayne Gacy, Theodore Robert Cowell, better known as Ted Bundy, Richard David Falco, better known as David Berkowitz, and Jeffrey Lionel Dahmer. The subjects shared some traits: they were all United States citizens, and thus comparable from a cultural and linguistic viewpoint; they were all identified as serial killers, and thus their interviews were all publicly available; they were all male, as most serial killers in the USA are, and thus probably homogeneous in their gender identity; and they were all defined as psychopaths and diagnosed with ASPD, and thus they were likely to have the same clinical identified traits.

To gather the data for this study, I conducted a search for all available interviews with the individuals under consideration on engines such as *Youtube* and *Google*. The interviews were identified using specific search combinations that included the names of the individuals taken into consideration with the word *interview*. The search led to documents in various formats: mostly recorded interviews available on *Youtube*, which I would later personally transcribe, but also interviews collected in books, as well as interviews in *PDF* and *JPG* files available from credible contributors including journalists, authors, and justice professionals, such as police officers, attorneys, judges, detectives, and psychologists.

Once I selected the data to analyse, I saved them as *Word* documents. For each, I recorded the title as it appeared on the source platform, along with the interviewer's name, when available. I originally gathered all the available material for the serial killers considered. Later, for each one, I selected the same amount of data to analyze, namely 15,000 tokens, that is, large enough to be representative of discursive patterns, manageable for just one analyst, and comparable across individuals. To minimize

selection bias in collecting data for this study, I utilized a randomization tool to determine which interviews would be included, and the order in which they would be transcribed. Transcription only began after this randomization process.

For John Gacy, the data set includes a 1992 CBS interview conducted by reporter Walter Jacobson, and a 1992 interview conducted by criminal profiler Robert Ressler, both available on YouTube (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mmmpc5P9urlU&t=353s>; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BWpJdQ0t4rU&t=5s>). It also includes episodes from the *Netflix* documentary “Conversations with a Killer: The John Wayne Gacy Tapes” named “The Life of the Party”, “A Nicely Kept Secret” and “Sane Enough”. Furthermore, excerpts from “the Defense Diaries” podcast by Bob Motta, which were already transcribed and accessible online (<https://defensediaries.com/gacy-transcript>), are part of the data set. The dataset includes the following clips from the podcast: Clip 1 and Clip 4 from Episode 1, and Clip 2 and Clip 1 from Episode 6, and part of the final clip from Episode 6, transcribed only to the point I reached the pre-established 15,000-word limit.

The data about Ted Bundy includes his final 1989 interview with psychologist James Dobson, and his 1977 interview with KUTV News at Glenwood Springs Prison, both of which were available on Youtube (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kvd9En-Pens&t=1498s>; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=USYpjIW1jZo>); episodes from the *Netflix* documentary “Conversations with a Killer: The Ted Bundy Tapes” named “Handsome Devil”, “One of Us”, “Not My Turn to Watch Him” and “Burn Bundy Burn; and excerpts from the book “Ted Bundy: Conversations with a Killer” by Stephen Michaud.

For David Berkowitz, the data set includes his 1999 interview with Larry King on *CNN*’s Larry King Live and part of his interview for the documentary “The Son of Sam”, that is, the part necessary to reach the pre-established word limit. Both of these interviews were available on YouTube (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gCGF6W_NAV8&t=80s; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MAiHS-rpUuE&t=3548s>).

For Jeffrey Dahmer, the dataset comprises episodes from the *Netflix* documentary “Conversations with a Killer: The Jeffrey Dahmer Tapes” named “Sympathy for the Devil”, “Can I Take Your Picture?” and “Evil or Insane?”, along with a 1993 interview with Nancy Glass on *Inside Edition*, a 1992 interview with Robert Ressler, and a 1994 interview with Stone Philips on *MSNBC*, all available on Youtube (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J3QNgHY9Bwk&t=2s>; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e4MuPMPb6YI>;

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tfvTAxSJIE&t=768s>). An interview conducted by undisclosed special agents of the Florida Police Department, available in *PDF* format online, is also part of the data set and was transcribed up to the point when I reached the 15,000 word limit.

Some segments of the *Netflix* documentaries “Conversations with a killer: The Ted Bundy Tapes” also included excerpts of Ted Bundy’s statements from courtroom footage. These were excluded from transcription as they did not qualify as “interviews”. Similarly, in Berkowitz’s interview featured in the documentary “The Son of Sam”, sections where he read out excerpts from a book relevant to his narrative were omitted to avoid adding “noise” data.

The transcription process involved employing different methods as per the different types of sources accessed. I manually wrote down the content of the *JPG* files from “the Defense Diaries” podcast episodes regarding John Gacy and the *PDF* file of the 1992 interview with Jeffrey Dahmer, and then saved the transcripts into Word documents. I also manually transcribed all the interviews from *YouTube*. I created *Word* files from the *Netflix* documentaries by converting visual content into written format, aided by activating the subtitling function.

Initially, I created *Word* documents containing two versions of each interview: one presenting only the interviewees’ statements (total words: 60,000), and another including both the interviewers’ questions and the responses of the individuals under study (total words: 82,538). The latter, providing the co-text of the interviewees’ turns, might be helpful in understanding the criminals’ utterances. Later, I created *TXT* files from the *Word* documents containing only the responses, which I was going to analyse with a corpus-informed approach.

3.3. Quantitative analysis

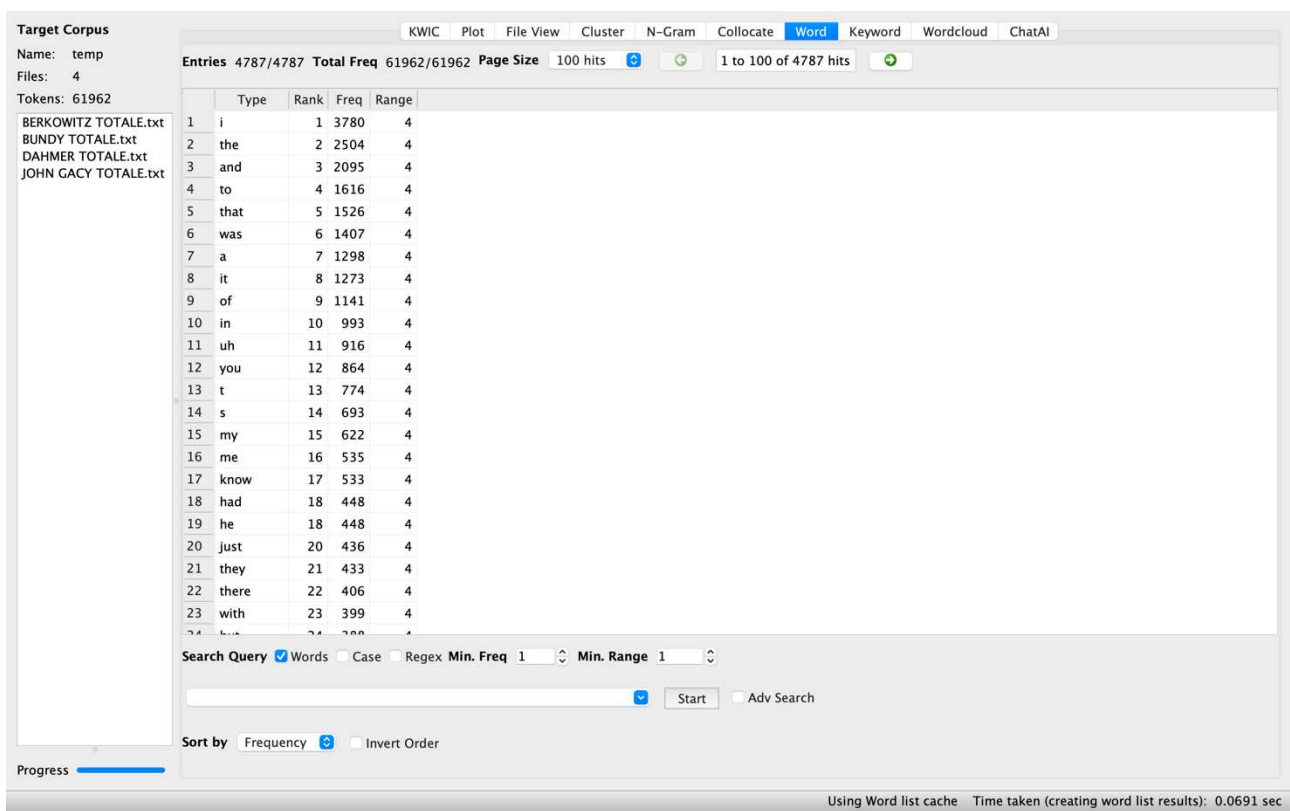
To conduct the first phase of this research, I adopted a quantitative corpus-driven approach. My datasets lent themselves to such an analysis, given that they, indeed, constitute a corpus, that is, a “large collection of authentic texts that have been gathered in electronic form according to a specific set of criteria” (Bowker and Pearson 2002: 9). A corpus-driven approach involves identifying patterns in texts through an inductive bottom-up analysis of the lexis and phraseologies of discourse. To this end, I utilized the software *AntConc*, which provides a range of tools for exploring textual data, and an automatic semantic tagger.

3.3.1. *AntConc* functions

I utilized several functions within *AntConc*: *Word*, *Keyword In Context (KWIC)*, *Cluster*, *N-Gram*, and *Keyword*.

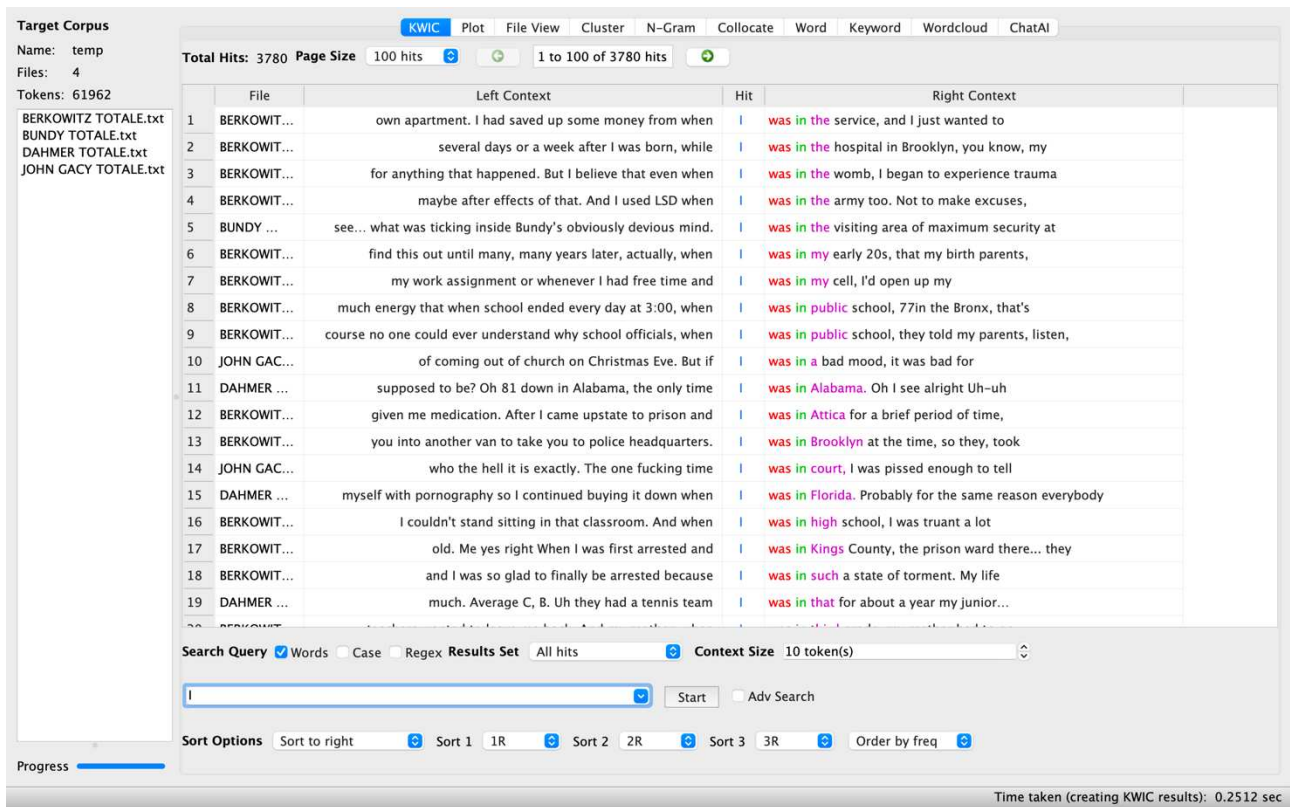
- 1) The *Word* feature generates a frequency list of all words in the corpus, ordered by their frequency of occurrence (see Fig. 3.1). This helps identify recurrent topics in the corpus by identifying frequent words belonging to shared semantic domains.

Figure 3.1: *Word* function in *AntConc*



- 2) The *KWIC (Keyword in Context)* function displays occurrences of a search term within its immediate co-text, that is, lines of text called *concordances*, in which the search term appears in the center and with a few words shown on either side. The output of this function reveals phraseologies characterizing given *KWICs* (see Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2: KWIC Function for the word “I” in AntConc



- 3) The *Cluster* function identifies groups of words that frequently appear around a pre-selected word. It serves to detect how given concepts are talked about, as a result of its association with given recurring words. I only focused on 3-word and 4-word clusters with a minimum frequency of 2 occurrences. Figure 3.3 illustrates the clusters around the word *the*.
- 4) The *N-Gram* function identifies and displays the most frequent word combinations in the corpus, identified with a bottom-up approach by searching the entire corpus without pre-specifying any node word. Also in this case, I looked for 3-word and 4-word *N-Grams* size to 3 or 4 words with a minimum frequency of 2 occurrences. Figure 3.4 shows for the top 3-word n-grams retrieved in this corpus.
- 5) The *Keyword* function identifies words which are more frequent in a target corpus compared to a reference corpus, using statistical measures such as *likelihood*, which evaluates how unexpectedly frequent a word in the target corpus is, and *effect*, which measures the magnitude of this frequency difference. Figure 3.5 shows the partial outcome of the application of the *Keyword* function on *Gacy's sub-Corpus* compared against the others.

Figure 3.3: Cluster Function for the word “the” in AntConc

The screenshot shows the AntConc interface with the 'Cluster' tab selected. The 'Target Corpus' on the left lists four files: BERKOWITZ TOTALE.txt, BUNDY TOTALE.txt, DAHMER TOTALE.txt, and JOHN GACY TOTALE.txt, with a total of 61961 tokens. The main window displays a table of clusters for the search term 'the'. The table has columns for Cluster, Rank, Freq, and Range. The search query is 'the' with a cluster size of 4, minimum frequency of 1, and minimum range of 1. The results show 2365 clusters. The bottom status bar indicates 'Time taken (creating cluster results): 0.0896 sec'.

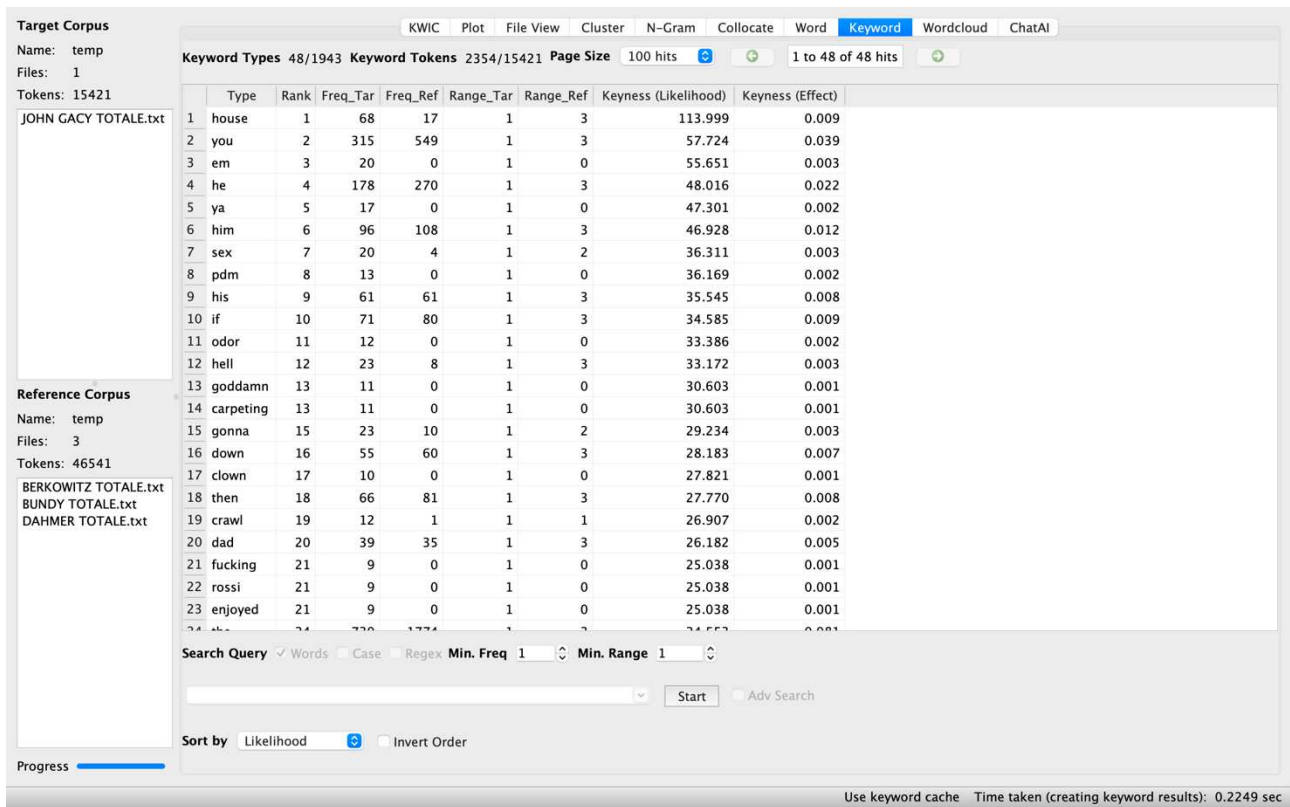
Cluster	Rank	Freq	Range
1	1	6	3
2	1	6	1
3	1	6	1
4	4	5	2
5	4	5	3
6	4	5	3
7	7	4	1
8	7	4	1
9	9	3	1
10	9	3	2
11	9	3	2
12	9	3	1
13	9	3	1
14	9	3	1
15	9	3	1
16	9	3	1
17	9	3	1
18	9	3	2
19	9	3	1
20	9	3	3
21	9	3	1
22	22	2	1
23	22	2	1

Figure 3.4 AntConc’s interface for N-Gram function of this corpus

The screenshot shows the AntConc interface with the 'N-Gram' tab selected. The 'Target Corpus' on the left is the same as in Figure 3.3. The main window displays a table of N-Grams. The table has columns for Type, Rank, Freq, and Range. The search query is 'Words' with an N-Gram size of 4, open slots of 0, minimum frequency of 1, and minimum range of 1. The results show 58071 N-Gram types. The bottom status bar indicates 'Using N-Gram stats cache' and 'Time taken (creating ngram results): 0.3337 sec'.

Type	Rank	Freq	Range
1	1	92	4
2	2	23	4
3	3	18	3
4	3	18	4
5	3	18	3
6	6	15	4
7	6	15	4
8	8	14	4
9	8	14	1
10	8	14	3
11	11	13	4
12	11	13	4
13	11	13	4
14	14	12	4
15	15	11	3
16	15	11	3
17	15	11	4
18	15	11	4
19	15	11	2
20	15	11	3
21	21	10	4
22	21	10	4
23	21	10	2

Figure 3.5: Keywords in Gacy's sub-Corpus

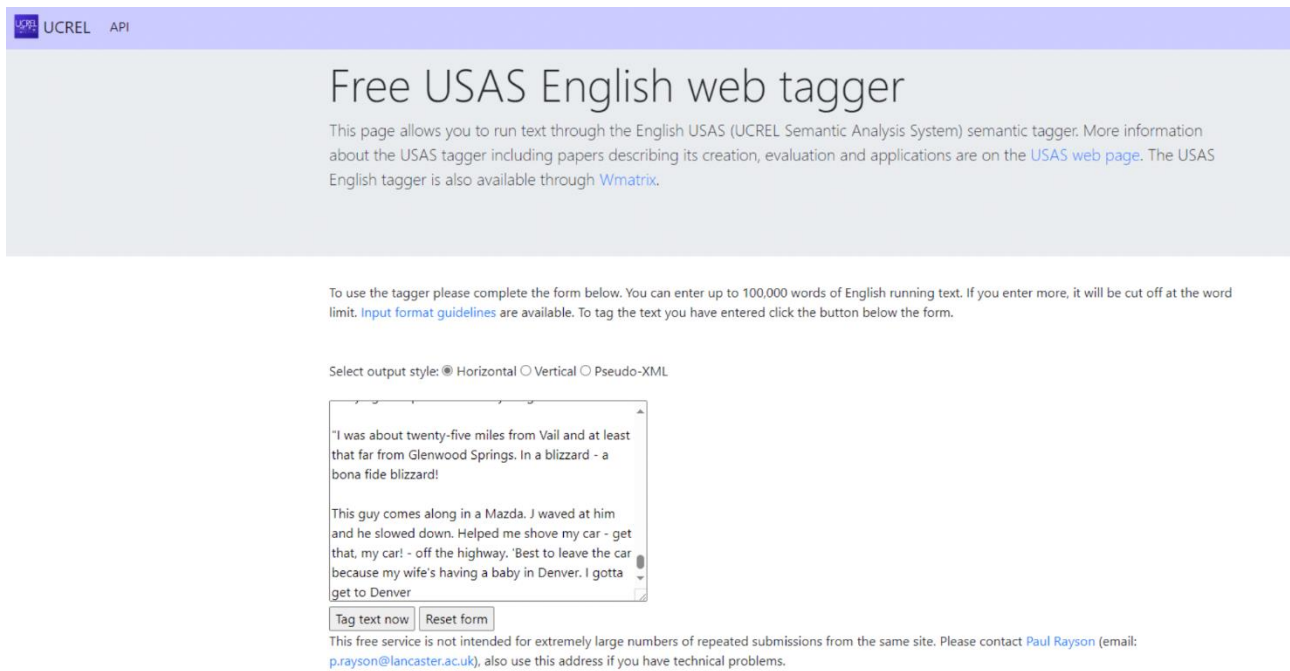


3.3.2. Semantic tagging

UCREL Semantic Analysis System is an online tool used for annotating texts with semantic labels according to the *UCREL* framework. It involves assigning predefined semantic categories to words in a corpus so as to automatically identify its themes. Initially, the tool processes the input text to identify individual words and multi-word expressions, then categorizes each element according to its semantic class (see Figure 3.6).

Classification is based on a hierarchical structure of semantic categories and subcategories. Each category is assigned a specific alphanumeric code to identify its semantic class, with codes often preceded by + or – sign to indicate positive or negative connotations, respectively. The complete tagset can be found at <https://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/usas/USASSemanticTagset.pdf>.

Figure 3.6: UCREL's interface for semantic tagging



This is an example of the code (See Fig. 3.7) for the first sentence pronounced by Jeffrey Dahmer in his interview with Nancy Glass, namely “It was almost addictive”.

Figure 3.7 USAS code for the sentence “It was almost addictive”.

5 words tagged

It_Z8 was_A3+ almost_A13.4 addictive_F3 ._PUNC

The pronoun *it* is categorized under Z8 - *Pronouns etc.*; the verb *was* falls under A3 - *Being*; the adverb *almost* belongs to A13.4 - *Degree: Approximators*; the adjective *addictive* belongs to F3 - *Cigarettes and drugs*, and ._PUNC identifies punctuation.

3.4. The research questions

The goal of this study is the examination of linguistic patterns in interviews with psychopaths diagnosed with ASPD. The following research questions are addressed:

- 1) What are the most recurrent linguistic traits exhibited by individuals diagnosed with Psychopathy and ASPD in general?
- 2) What distinctive semantic preferences emerge in the language use of individuals with Psychopathy and ASPD?

To answer these questions, corpus-driven analyses were carried out. More specifically, with regard to the first research question

- 1) The *Wordlists* and *Clusters* functions served to identify the most frequent words and word combinations within the general corpus, as well as within the sub-corpora of individual subjects.
- 2) The *Concordances (KWIC)* and *Fileview* functions provided co-textual information to clarify analyses and facilitate interpretations.

With regard to the second research question:

- 3) The *USAS*' semantic tagger helped identify recurring concepts within the data.
- 4) The *Keyword* function made it possible to compare each individual subject's sub-corpus against those of the other subjects, highlighting unusual words and recurring themes.

3.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I provided an overview of the research methodologies employed for data collection and analysis. I described the process of gathering data from various sources and formats, outlining the measures taken to ensure accuracy and minimize bias. The chapter also included a description of the dataset, specifying the interviews used to build the corpus. Following this, I explained the corpus-driven approach employed in the analysis, including a few illustrative examples. Lastly, I presented the research questions that guided this study. The following chapter will present the results derived from these analyses.

CHAPTER 4. FINDINGS

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I present the results of my bottom-up analysis of the lexical make-up of the corpus.

4.2. Word frequency lists

Using *AntConc*, I compiled the word frequency list of the whole corpus. Table 4.1 shows the 250 most frequent words. As to be expected, a large number of them are function words (i.e. 91.4% of the total). Indeed, among the top 10 most frequent words are the function words *I* (3,780 occurrences), *the* (2,504 occurrences), *and* (2,095 occurrences), *to* (1,616 occurrences), *that* (1,526 occurrences), *was* (1,526 occurrences), *a* (1,298 occurrences), *it* (1,273 occurrences), *of* (1,141 occurrences), and *in* (993 occurrences).

Besides the very frequent wordform *I*, additional function words denoting the speaker are found, namely *my* (622 occurrences), *me* (535 occurrences) and *myself* (89 occurrences). In an interview context, recurrent self-reference is to be expected; however, its exceptionally high frequency value in this case is remarkable. Other personal pronouns such as *you* (863 occurrences), *he* (448 occurrences), *they* (433 occurrences) and *she* (112 occurrences) also feature prominently in the corpus.

The pronoun *you* in English is ambiguous out of context, as it can either refer to the addressee or a generic person. Concordances with the *KWIC* tool revealed three uses of *you*: (1) reporting others' direct speech within the narrative, (2) directly addressing the interlocutor and (3) employing the impersonal *you* to refer to a generic individual. However, a careful reading of the texts revealed that the supposedly impersonal *you* frequently served as a linguistic device for the subjects to indirectly include themselves in the narrative. This occurred 66,71% of the time. Examples of this usage are given below:

- 1) "I became, I found the best way to make time pass is, first of all, you come up with a schedule that you try to meet, and schedules are meant to be broken [...]" – Ted Bundy.
- 2) "When you try to keep a terrible secret like I was, it warps every other aspect of your life". – Jeffrey Dahmer.
- 3) "I believe in myself, and I treat every man with the respect he deserves. And that's why you get along in prison. One of the many ways you get along in the joint, is that you treat a man with respect [...]."

The most frequent words can be grouped into three main semantic categories: generic entities and individuals (e.g. *people, things, something, thing, years, guy*), family life and childhood experiences (e.g. *dad, school, home, child, mother*) and crime (*prison, control, death* and *pornography*).

4.2.1. Word frequency list in *John Gacy's sub-corpus*

The 250 most frequent words in *John Gacy's sub-corpus* (see Table 4.2) are mainly function words, including pronouns, articles, and prepositions. The most frequent word is the pronoun *I* with 994 occurrences; combined with the other first-person reference terms *my, me, myself* and *mine*, words denoting the speaker account for 8.41% of the total vocabulary. Other frequently occurring pronouns include *he/him/his* (335 occurrences), *you/your/yours* (338 occurrences), *it/its* (270 occurrences), *they/them/their/theirs* (203 occurrences), and *we/us/our/ours* (97 occurrences). In contrast, *she/her/hers* is the least frequent with 42 occurrences.

Among the 250 most frequent words in this sub-corpus, several are specific to it, that is, absent from the list of the most frequent words of the general corpus. These words are relevant to the notions of crime and violence (e.g. *killed, victims, dead, crime, odor*), family (e.g. *dad, father, mother, young, children*), physical spaces (e.g. *house, room, bed, bedroom, concrete*), work, (e.g. *PDM², business* and *carpeting*), time (*now, then, after, time, years*), *sexuality* (*sex* and *fucking*), *crime-related items* (*knife* and *handcuffs*), and clowning (*clown* and *clowning*).

4.2.2. Word frequency list in *Ted Bundy's sub-corpus*

In this *Ted Bundy's sub-corpus* as well, the most frequent words are function words (see Table 4.3), with a predominance of the pronoun *I* (934 occurrences) and other self-referential forms (*my*, and *myself* and *mine*) that make up the 7.43% of the corpus. Other frequently occurring pronouns are *it/its* (324 occurrences), *he/him/his* (86 occurrences), *you/your/yours* (217 occurrences), *they/them/their/theirs* (140), *he/him/his* (86 occurrences), *we/us/our/ours* (84 occurrences); *she/her/hers* are the least frequent with 51 occurrences.

Among the words that appear among the most frequent in this sub-corpus, but not in the general corpus, are terms related to the law (e.g. *law, state, attorney, innocent, locked*), those expressing the

² PDM stands for *Painting, Decorating and Maintenance*; *PDM Contractors* was the name of the construction company founded by John Wayne Gacy.

notion of violence (*violence* and *violent*) and those identifying places (e.g. *Utah*, *street*, *lake*, *county* and *Salt*). The word *Salt* refers to *Salt Lake City*, where Bundy committed numerous crimes and was first arrested in 1975.

4.2.3. Word frequency list in *David Berkowitz's sub-corpus*

As shown in Table 4.4, the predominant categories in *David Berkowitz's sub-corpus* are grammatical, with a strong prevalence of the pronoun *I*, with 935 occurrences. This pronoun, along with the self referential words *my*, *myself* and *me* makes up 9.17% of the corpus. Other frequent pronouns are *you/your/yours* (287 occurrences), *it/its* (246 occurrences), *he/him/his* (164 occurrences), *they/them/their/theirs* (148 occurrences), *she/her/hers* (91 occurrences); *we/us/our/ours* is the less frequent category occurring 55 times.

The content words within *Berkowitz's sub-corpus* point to mainly three semantic fields: his family history (e.g. *birth*, *mom*, *adoptive* and *womb*), religion and ethnic-cultural references (e.g. *bible*, *Jesus*, *Jewish*), and crime (e.g. *died* and *crimes*).

4.2.4 Word frequency list in *Jeffrey Dahmer's sub-corpus*

In *Jeffrey Dahmer's sub-corpus* as well, function words are predominant, and the most frequent word is *I* with 917 occurrences (see Table 4.5) The self referential terms make up the 6.95% of the corpus.

The main content words which are included in this sub-corpus and don't appear in the general corpus can be grouped in words related to Dahmer's criminal behavior (e.g. *head*, *fantasies*, *sexual*, *parts*³, *freezer*) and words connected to substance use (e.g. *drinking*, *pills*, *drink* and *drunk*).

³ This word refers to body parts, as Jeffrey Dahmer used to collect them after the killings.

Table 4.1a: The 250 most frequent words in the corpus – part I

Rank	Type	Frequency
1	<i>i</i>	3780
2	<i>the</i>	2504
3	<i>and</i>	2095
4	<i>to</i>	1616
5	<i>that</i>	1526
6	<i>was</i>	1407
7	<i>a</i>	1298
8	<i>it</i>	1273
9	<i>of</i>	1141
10	<i>in</i>	993
11	<i>uh</i>	916
12	<i>you</i>	864
13	<i>t</i>	774
14	<i>s</i>	693
15	<i>my</i>	622
16	<i>me</i>	535
17	<i>know</i>	533
18	<i>had</i>	448
19	<i>he</i>	448
20	<i>just</i>	436
21	<i>they</i>	433
22	<i>there</i>	406
23	<i>with</i>	399
24	<i>but</i>	388
25	<i>no</i>	380
26	<i>for</i>	375
27	<i>on</i>	353
28	<i>have</i>	344
29	<i>so</i>	318
30	<i>not</i>	314
31	<i>this</i>	307
32	<i>is</i>	302
33	<i>don</i>	299
34	<i>like</i>	298
35	<i>what</i>	282
36	<i>or</i>	276
37	<i>about</i>	273
38	<i>as</i>	262
39	<i>out</i>	253
40	<i>up</i>	253
41	<i>at</i>	250
42	<i>we</i>	236
43	<i>when</i>	233
44	<i>m</i>	230
45	<i>were</i>	226
46	<i>all</i>	225
47	<i>time</i>	217
48	<i>because</i>	210
49	<i>would</i>	209
50	<i>didn</i>	206
51	<i>him</i>	204
52	<i>be</i>	202
53	<i>do</i>	193
54	<i>one</i>	192
55	<i>them</i>	187
56	<i>from</i>	182
57	<i>right</i>	179
58	<i>think</i>	168
59	<i>got</i>	164
60	<i>said</i>	161
61	<i>yeah</i>	160
62	<i>can</i>	154
63	<i>well</i>	154

Rank	Type	Frequency
64	<i>never</i>	152
65	<i>did</i>	151
66	<i>going</i>	151
67	<i>if</i>	151
68	<i>ve</i>	149
69	<i>people</i>	147
70	<i>then</i>	147
71	<i>into</i>	138
72	<i>some</i>	137
73	<i>go</i>	136
74	<i>things</i>	131
75	<i>could</i>	128
76	<i>way</i>	128
77	<i>an</i>	123
78	<i>get</i>	123
79	<i>lot</i>	123
80	<i>his</i>	122
81	<i>re</i>	122
82	<i>down</i>	115
83	<i>back</i>	114
84	<i>been</i>	114
85	<i>really</i>	114
86	<i>by</i>	113
87	<i>she</i>	112
88	<i>life</i>	109
89	<i>something</i>	109
90	<i>d</i>	108
91	<i>went</i>	104
92	<i>how</i>	102
93	<i>any</i>	101
94	<i>see</i>	101
95	<i>where</i>	100
96	<i>around</i>	98
97	<i>even</i>	98
98	<i>thing</i>	98
99	<i>are</i>	97
100	<i>over</i>	97
101	<i>very</i>	97
102	<i>say</i>	96
103	<i>yes</i>	94
104	<i>want</i>	91
105	<i>myself</i>	89
106	<i>who</i>	88
107	<i>after</i>	87
108	<i>house</i>	85
109	<i>her</i>	84
110	<i>years</i>	84
111	<i>wasn</i>	82
112	<i>now</i>	81
113	<i>why</i>	81
114	<i>these</i>	79
115	<i>anything</i>	78
116	<i>being</i>	78
117	<i>other</i>	78
118	<i>here</i>	77
119	<i>wanted</i>	77
120	<i>come</i>	76
121	<i>first</i>	75
122	<i>those</i>	75
123	<i>dad</i>	74
124	<i>mean</i>	74
125	<i>their</i>	74
126	<i>day</i>	73

Table 4.1b: The 250 most frequent words in the corpus – part II

Rank	Type	Frequency
127	<i>nothing</i>	73
128	<i>more</i>	71
129	<i>only</i>	70
130	<i>felt</i>	69
131	<i>good</i>	69
132	<i>god</i>	68
133	<i>always</i>	67
134	<i>believe</i>	67
135	<i>came</i>	67
136	<i>make</i>	67
137	<i>ll</i>	66
138	<i>your</i>	66
139	<i>started</i>	64
140	<i>told</i>	64
141	<i>which</i>	64
142	<i>doing</i>	63
143	<i>keep</i>	63
144	<i>work</i>	63
145	<i>took</i>	62
146	<i>feel</i>	61
147	<i>off</i>	61
148	<i>through</i>	60
149	<i>happened</i>	59
150	<i>much</i>	58
151	<i>has</i>	56
152	<i>kind</i>	56
153	<i>person</i>	56
154	<i>says</i>	56
155	<i>again</i>	55
156	<i>school</i>	55
157	<i>own</i>	54
158	<i>let</i>	53
159	<i>everything</i>	52
160	<i>before</i>	51
161	<i>part</i>	50
162	<i>away</i>	49
163	<i>home</i>	49
164	<i>times</i>	49
165	<i>child</i>	48
166	<i>oh</i>	48
167	<i>done</i>	47
168	<i>guy</i>	47
169	<i>mother</i>	47
170	<i>prison</i>	47
171	<i>two</i>	47
172	<i>couldn</i>	46
173	<i>look</i>	46
174	<i>take</i>	46
175	<i>maybe</i>	45
176	<i>thought</i>	45
177	<i>too</i>	45
178	<i>remember</i>	44
179	<i>trying</i>	44
180	<i>understand</i>	44
181	<i>little</i>	43
182	<i>long</i>	43
183	<i>than</i>	43
184	<i>another</i>	42
185	<i>control</i>	42
186	<i>looking</i>	42
187	<i>night</i>	42
188	<i>put</i>	42

Rank	Type	Frequency
189	<i>used</i>	42
190	<i>made</i>	41
191	<i>still</i>	41
192	<i>talk</i>	41
193	<i>while</i>	41
194	<i>getting</i>	40
195	<i>mind</i>	40
196	<i>ever</i>	39
197	<i>family</i>	39
198	<i>guys</i>	39
199	<i>parents</i>	39
200	<i>talking</i>	39
201	<i>whole</i>	39
202	<i>every</i>	38
203	<i>name</i>	38
204	<i>police</i>	38
205	<i>um</i>	38
206	<i>car</i>	37
207	<i>case</i>	37
208	<i>man</i>	37
209	<i>many</i>	37
210	<i>place</i>	37
211	<i>sure</i>	37
212	<i>under</i>	37
213	<i>wrong</i>	37
214	<i>cause</i>	36
215	<i>okay</i>	36
216	<i>stuff</i>	36
217	<i>most</i>	34
218	<i>point</i>	34
219	<i>apartment</i>	33
220	<i>big</i>	33
221	<i>gonna</i>	33
222	<i>kept</i>	33
223	<i>morning</i>	33
224	<i>tell</i>	33
225	<i>having</i>	32
226	<i>reason</i>	32
227	<i>will</i>	32
228	<i>young</i>	32
229	<i>hell</i>	31
230	<i>later</i>	31
231	<i>read</i>	31
232	<i>somebody</i>	31
233	<i>working</i>	31
234	<i>am</i>	30
235	<i>involved</i>	30
236	<i>once</i>	30
237	<i>story</i>	30
238	<i>thinking</i>	30
239	<i>three</i>	30
240	<i>asked</i>	29
241	<i>knew</i>	29
242	<i>try</i>	29
243	<i>called</i>	28
244	<i>death</i>	28
245	<i>else</i>	28
246	<i>feeling</i>	28
247	<i>give</i>	28
248	<i>guess</i>	28
249	<i>high</i>	28
243	<i>pornography</i>	28

Table 4.2a: The 250 most frequent words in John Gacy's sub-corpus - part I

Rank	Type	Frequency
1	<i>i</i>	994
2	<i>the</i>	730
3	<i>and</i>	466
4	<i>to</i>	353
5	<i>was</i>	349
6	<i>that</i>	329
7	<i>you</i>	315
8	<i>a</i>	280
9	<i>it</i>	269
10	<i>in</i>	268
11	<i>of</i>	253
12	<i>t</i>	194
13	<i>he</i>	178
14	<i>s</i>	143
15	<i>me</i>	133
16	<i>with</i>	129
17	<i>know</i>	128
18	<i>they</i>	127
19	<i>there</i>	126
20	<i>had</i>	121
21	<i>my</i>	121
22	<i>uh</i>	119
23	<i>for</i>	108
24	<i>or</i>	98
25	<i>is</i>	97
26	<i>him</i>	96
27	<i>no</i>	94
28	<i>on</i>	94
29	<i>don</i>	91
30	<i>we</i>	89
31	<i>have</i>	80
32	<i>out</i>	77
33	<i>were</i>	72
34	<i>if</i>	71
35	<i>what</i>	71
36	<i>when</i>	71
37	<i>like</i>	69
38	<i>not</i>	69
39	<i>house</i>	68
40	<i>said</i>	68
41	<i>got</i>	67
42	<i>just</i>	67
43	<i>up</i>	67
44	<i>but</i>	66
45	<i>then</i>	66
46	<i>because</i>	63
47	<i>at</i>	62
48	<i>his</i>	61
49	<i>do</i>	58
50	<i>them</i>	57
51	<i>as</i>	56
52	<i>down</i>	55
53	<i>m</i>	55
54	<i>all</i>	54
55	<i>about</i>	53
56	<i>this</i>	53
57	<i>from</i>	52
58	<i>into</i>	52
59	<i>ve</i>	52
60	<i>one</i>	51
61	<i>would</i>	51
62	<i>so</i>	50
63	<i>think</i>	50

Rank	Type	Frequency
64	<i>get</i>	49
65	<i>can</i>	47
66	<i>go</i>	44
67	<i>could</i>	43
68	<i>didn</i>	43
69	<i>time</i>	43
70	<i>want</i>	42
71	<i>be</i>	41
72	<i>well</i>	40
73	<i>dad</i>	39
74	<i>around</i>	37
75	<i>yeah</i>	37
76	<i>did</i>	36
77	<i>re</i>	36
78	<i>never</i>	35
79	<i>see</i>	35
80	<i>something</i>	35
81	<i>went</i>	33
82	<i>thing</i>	32
83	<i>come</i>	30
84	<i>why</i>	30
85	<i>an</i>	29
86	<i>told</i>	29
87	<i>back</i>	28
88	<i>wanted</i>	28
89	<i>after</i>	27
90	<i>by</i>	27
91	<i>way</i>	27
92	<i>came</i>	26
93	<i>people</i>	26
94	<i>off</i>	25
95	<i>other</i>	25
96	<i>over</i>	25
97	<i>even</i>	23
98	<i>first</i>	23
99	<i>gonna</i>	23
100	<i>hell</i>	23
101	<i>how</i>	23
102	<i>nothing</i>	23
103	<i>only</i>	23
104	<i>took</i>	23
105	<i>under</i>	23
106	<i>wasn</i>	23
107	<i>always</i>	22
108	<i>going</i>	22
109	<i>says</i>	22
110	<i>your</i>	22
111	<i>cause</i>	21
112	<i>doing</i>	21
113	<i>her</i>	21
114	<i>ll</i>	21
115	<i>she</i>	21
116	<i>where</i>	21
117	<i>who</i>	21
118	<i>been</i>	20
119	<i>believe</i>	20
120	<i>day</i>	20
121	<i>em</i>	20
122	<i>sex</i>	20
123	<i>work</i>	20
124	<i>being</i>	19
125	<i>d</i>	19
126	<i>here</i>	19

Table 4.2b: The 250 most frequent words in John Gacy's sub-corpus - part II

Rank	Type	Frequency
127	<i>lot</i>	19
128	<i>put</i>	19
129	<i>their</i>	19
130	<i>away</i>	18
131	<i>right</i>	18
132	<i>two</i>	18
133	<i>anything</i>	17
134	<i>let</i>	17
135	<i>ya</i>	17
136	<i>any</i>	16
137	<i>bed</i>	16
138	<i>case</i>	16
139	<i>ever</i>	16
140	<i>things</i>	16
141	<i>john</i>	15
142	<i>more</i>	15
143	<i>say</i>	15
144	<i>used</i>	15
145	<i>getting</i>	14
146	<i>killed</i>	14
147	<i>now</i>	14
148	<i>same</i>	14
149	<i>take</i>	14
150	<i>years</i>	14
151	<i>look</i>	13
152	<i>make</i>	13
153	<i>own</i>	13
154	<i>pdm</i>	13
155	<i>room</i>	13
156	<i>somebody</i>	13
157	<i>tell</i>	13
158	<i>th</i>	13
159	<i>times</i>	13
160	<i>victims</i>	13
161	<i>which</i>	13
162	<i>again</i>	12
163	<i>bedroom</i>	12
164	<i>crawl</i>	12
165	<i>either</i>	12
166	<i>four</i>	12
167	<i>give</i>	12
168	<i>home</i>	12
169	<i>involved</i>	12
170	<i>odor</i>	12
171	<i>started</i>	12
172	<i>still</i>	12
173	<i>business</i>	11
174	<i>car</i>	11
175	<i>carpeting</i>	11
176	<i>children</i>	11
177	<i>felt</i>	11
178	<i>goddamn</i>	11
179	<i>left</i>	11
180	<i>mother</i>	11
181	<i>shit</i>	11
182	<i>some</i>	11
183	<i>space</i>	11
184	<i>these</i>	11
185	<i>working</i>	11
186	<i>also</i>	10
187	<i>are</i>	10
188	<i>clown</i>	10

Rank	Type	Frequency
189	<i>dead</i>	10
190	<i>done</i>	10
191	<i>every</i>	10
192	<i>father</i>	10
193	<i>morning</i>	10
194	<i>myself</i>	10
195	<i>next</i>	10
196	<i>police</i>	10
197	<i>reason</i>	10
198	<i>stuff</i>	10
199	<i>three</i>	10
200	<i>yes</i>	10
201	<i>asked</i>	9
202	<i>concrete</i>	9
203	<i>enjoyed</i>	9
204	<i>fact</i>	9
205	<i>fucking</i>	9
206	<i>guy</i>	9
207	<i>hand</i>	9
208	<i>handcuffs</i>	9
209	<i>image</i>	9
210	<i>keep</i>	9
211	<i>kid</i>	9
212	<i>kids</i>	9
213	<i>last</i>	9
214	<i>nobody</i>	9
215	<i>okay</i>	9
216	<i>once</i>	9
217	<i>rossi</i>	9
218	<i>son</i>	9
219	<i>thought</i>	9
220	<i>trying</i>	9
221	<i>until</i>	9
222	<i>year</i>	9
223	<i>along</i>	8
224	<i>anybody</i>	8
225	<i>bodies</i>	8
226	<i>boys</i>	8
227	<i>call</i>	8
228	<i>clowning</i>	8
229	<i>crime</i>	8
230	<i>everything</i>	8
231	<i>feel</i>	8
232	<i>five</i>	8
233	<i>fuck</i>	8
234	<i>gacy</i>	8
235	<i>good</i>	8
236	<i>gotten</i>	8
237	<i>insanity</i>	8
238	<i>keys</i>	8
239	<i>knife</i>	8
240	<i>night</i>	8
241	<i>person</i>	8
242	<i>place</i>	8
243	<i>remember</i>	8
244	<i>show</i>	8
245	<i>talk</i>	8
246	<i>too</i>	8
247	<i>while</i>	8
248	<i>whole</i>	8
249	<i>young</i>	8
250	<i>am</i>	7

Table 4.3a: The 250 most frequent words in Ted Bundy's sub-corpus - part I

Rank	Type	Frequency
1	<i>i</i>	934
2	<i>the</i>	564
3	<i>and</i>	544
4	<i>to</i>	444
5	<i>that</i>	396
6	<i>of</i>	340
7	<i>it</i>	323
8	<i>a</i>	313
9	<i>in</i>	260
10	<i>t</i>	221
11	<i>was</i>	209
12	<i>s</i>	199
13	<i>you</i>	199
14	<i>my</i>	141
15	<i>uh</i>	136
16	<i>me</i>	134
17	<i>is</i>	117
18	<i>know</i>	110
19	<i>not</i>	109
20	<i>for</i>	104
21	<i>they</i>	99
22	<i>m</i>	98
23	<i>have</i>	97
24	<i>this</i>	96
25	<i>as</i>	94
26	<i>but</i>	92
27	<i>don</i>	92
28	<i>what</i>	92
29	<i>there</i>	89
30	<i>on</i>	88
31	<i>just</i>	87
32	<i>or</i>	78
33	<i>about</i>	77
34	<i>with</i>	75
35	<i>be</i>	72
36	<i>we</i>	71
37	<i>at</i>	66
38	<i>can</i>	66
39	<i>like</i>	66
40	<i>people</i>	66
41	<i>had</i>	63
42	<i>think</i>	63
43	<i>up</i>	60
44	<i>he</i>	58
45	<i>no</i>	57
46	<i>out</i>	57
47	<i>do</i>	56
48	<i>going</i>	56
49	<i>ve</i>	56
50	<i>would</i>	56
51	<i>all</i>	54
52	<i>been</i>	51
53	<i>well</i>	50
54	<i>because</i>	48
55	<i>from</i>	48
56	<i>an</i>	46
57	<i>are</i>	45
58	<i>didn</i>	45
59	<i>re</i>	45
60	<i>say</i>	45
61	<i>way</i>	45
62	<i>were</i>	44
63	<i>one</i>	43

Rank	Type	Frequency
64	<i>very</i>	43
65	<i>being</i>	42
66	<i>so</i>	41
67	<i>right</i>	40
68	<i>time</i>	39
69	<i>by</i>	38
70	<i>myself</i>	38
71	<i>really</i>	37
72	<i>some</i>	36
73	<i>mean</i>	35
74	<i>now</i>	35
75	<i>those</i>	35
76	<i>get</i>	34
77	<i>lot</i>	34
78	<i>things</i>	34
79	<i>got</i>	33
80	<i>into</i>	32
81	<i>kind</i>	32
82	<i>when</i>	32
83	<i>more</i>	30
84	<i>something</i>	30
85	<i>here</i>	29
86	<i>how</i>	29
87	<i>if</i>	29
88	<i>never</i>	29
89	<i>any</i>	28
90	<i>d</i>	28
91	<i>she</i>	28
92	<i>them</i>	28
93	<i>did</i>	27
94	<i>go</i>	27
95	<i>life</i>	26
96	<i>felt</i>	25
97	<i>where</i>	25
98	<i>again</i>	24
99	<i>around</i>	24
100	<i>let</i>	24
101	<i>person</i>	24
102	<i>down</i>	23
103	<i>even</i>	23
104	<i>her</i>	23
105	<i>which</i>	23
106	<i>good</i>	22
107	<i>who</i>	22
108	<i>feel</i>	21
109	<i>said</i>	21
110	<i>these</i>	21
111	<i>through</i>	21
112	<i>understand</i>	21
113	<i>other</i>	20
114	<i>yeah</i>	20
115	<i>believe</i>	19
116	<i>bundy</i>	19
117	<i>car</i>	19
118	<i>could</i>	19
119	<i>ll</i>	19
120	<i>okay</i>	19
121	<i>see</i>	19
122	<i>want</i>	19
123	<i>am</i>	18
124	<i>day</i>	18
125	<i>first</i>	18
126	<i>happened</i>	18

Table 4.3b: The 250 most frequent words in Ted Bundy's sub-corpus - part II

Rank	Type	Frequency
127	<i>kinds</i>	18
128	<i>thing</i>	18
129	<i>your</i>	18
130	<i>anything</i>	17
131	<i>back</i>	17
132	<i>come</i>	17
133	<i>couldn</i>	17
134	<i>make</i>	17
135	<i>over</i>	17
136	<i>point</i>	17
137	<i>pornography</i>	17
138	<i>prison</i>	17
139	<i>talking</i>	17
140	<i>than</i>	17
141	<i>yes</i>	17
142	<i>his</i>	16
143	<i>much</i>	16
144	<i>talk</i>	16
145	<i>then</i>	16
146	<i>utah</i>	16
147	<i>wasn</i>	16
148	<i>mind</i>	15
149	<i>before</i>	14
150	<i>law</i>	14
151	<i>question</i>	14
152	<i>state</i>	14
153	<i>violence</i>	14
154	<i>always</i>	13
155	<i>done</i>	13
156	<i>every</i>	13
157	<i>high</i>	13
158	<i>home</i>	13
159	<i>man</i>	13
160	<i>maybe</i>	13
161	<i>most</i>	13
162	<i>part</i>	13
163	<i>police</i>	13
164	<i>school</i>	13
165	<i>somebody</i>	13
166	<i>sure</i>	13
167	<i>ted</i>	13
168	<i>wrong</i>	13
169	<i>away</i>	12
170	<i>doing</i>	12
171	<i>far</i>	12
172	<i>him</i>	12
173	<i>keep</i>	12
174	<i>long</i>	12
175	<i>might</i>	12
176	<i>only</i>	12
177	<i>their</i>	12
178	<i>went</i>	12
179	<i>women</i>	12
180	<i>years</i>	12
181	<i>does</i>	11
182	<i>experience</i>	11
183	<i>feeling</i>	11
184	<i>guilty</i>	11
185	<i>looking</i>	11
186	<i>off</i>	11
187	<i>own</i>	11
188	<i>street</i>	11

Rank	Type	Frequency
189	<i>take</i>	11
190	<i>try</i>	11
191	<i>violent</i>	11
192	<i>walked</i>	11
193	<i>why</i>	11
194	<i>will</i>	11
195	<i>young</i>	11
196	<i>act</i>	10
197	<i>behavior</i>	10
198	<i>came</i>	10
199	<i>describe</i>	10
200	<i>everything</i>	10
201	<i>god</i>	10
202	<i>has</i>	10
203	<i>heard</i>	10
204	<i>money</i>	10
205	<i>our</i>	10
206	<i>society</i>	10
207	<i>tell</i>	10
208	<i>able</i>	9
209	<i>absolutely</i>	9
210	<i>another</i>	9
211	<i>become</i>	9
212	<i>case</i>	9
213	<i>friends</i>	9
214	<i>lake</i>	9
215	<i>next</i>	9
216	<i>nothing</i>	9
217	<i>saying</i>	9
218	<i>should</i>	9
219	<i>social</i>	9
220	<i>stuff</i>	9
221	<i>wouldn</i>	9
222	<i>across</i>	8
223	<i>against</i>	8
224	<i>attorney</i>	8
225	<i>best</i>	8
226	<i>better</i>	8
227	<i>certainly</i>	8
228	<i>close</i>	8
229	<i>county</i>	8
230	<i>course</i>	8
231	<i>happens</i>	8
232	<i>hard</i>	8
233	<i>innocent</i>	8
234	<i>involved</i>	8
235	<i>knew</i>	8
236	<i>little</i>	8
237	<i>locked</i>	8
238	<i>made</i>	8
239	<i>may</i>	8
240	<i>new</i>	8
241	<i>parents</i>	8
242	<i>reason</i>	8
243	<i>salt</i>	8
244	<i>today</i>	8
245	<i>told</i>	8
246	<i>too</i>	8
247	<i>two</i>	8
248	<i>walk</i>	8
249	<i>whatever</i>	8
250	<i>work</i>	8

Table 4.4a: The 250 most frequent words in David Berkowitz's sub-corpus - part I

Rank	Type	Frequency
1	<i>i</i>	935
2	<i>and</i>	670
3	<i>the</i>	528
4	<i>was</i>	427
5	<i>to</i>	411
6	<i>a</i>	407
7	<i>that</i>	364
8	<i>of</i>	272
9	<i>you</i>	266
10	<i>my</i>	253
11	<i>it</i>	244
12	<i>in</i>	233
13	<i>know</i>	192
14	<i>s</i>	167
15	<i>me</i>	166
16	<i>uh</i>	161
17	<i>but</i>	130
18	<i>so</i>	130
19	<i>just</i>	123
20	<i>he</i>	121
21	<i>had</i>	117
22	<i>t</i>	116
23	<i>this</i>	111
24	<i>they</i>	102
25	<i>like</i>	100
26	<i>on</i>	88
27	<i>with</i>	88
28	<i>no</i>	79
29	<i>there</i>	79
30	<i>have</i>	78
31	<i>at</i>	77
32	<i>for</i>	75
33	<i>when</i>	73
34	<i>because</i>	70
35	<i>up</i>	69
36	<i>out</i>	65
37	<i>all</i>	64
38	<i>time</i>	64
39	<i>life</i>	60
40	<i>is</i>	59
41	<i>m</i>	57
42	<i>things</i>	57
43	<i>about</i>	56
44	<i>not</i>	56
45	<i>she</i>	55
46	<i>what</i>	54
47	<i>said</i>	53
48	<i>as</i>	51
49	<i>we</i>	50
50	<i>god</i>	49
51	<i>yes</i>	49
52	<i>did</i>	48
53	<i>don</i>	45
54	<i>lot</i>	45
55	<i>were</i>	45
56	<i>would</i>	44
57	<i>from</i>	43
58	<i>really</i>	43
59	<i>years</i>	43
60	<i>child</i>	42
61	<i>going</i>	42
62	<i>by</i>	38
63	<i>some</i>	38

Rank	Type	Frequency
64	<i>people</i>	37
65	<i>got</i>	36
66	<i>her</i>	36
67	<i>or</i>	36
68	<i>very</i>	36
69	<i>well</i>	36
70	<i>who</i>	35
71	<i>be</i>	34
72	<i>even</i>	33
73	<i>mother</i>	32
74	<i>then</i>	32
75	<i>could</i>	31
76	<i>re</i>	31
77	<i>school</i>	31
78	<i>go</i>	30
79	<i>back</i>	29
80	<i>do</i>	29
81	<i>one</i>	29
82	<i>um</i>	29
83	<i>an</i>	28
84	<i>day</i>	28
85	<i>has</i>	28
86	<i>over</i>	28
87	<i>says</i>	28
88	<i>thing</i>	28
89	<i>parents</i>	27
90	<i>are</i>	26
91	<i>been</i>	26
92	<i>prison</i>	26
93	<i>them</i>	26
94	<i>didn</i>	25
95	<i>family</i>	25
96	<i>guys</i>	25
97	<i>into</i>	25
98	<i>right</i>	25
99	<i>oh</i>	24
100	<i>see</i>	24
101	<i>story</i>	24
102	<i>these</i>	24
103	<i>birth</i>	23
104	<i>can</i>	23
105	<i>dad</i>	23
106	<i>mean</i>	23
107	<i>name</i>	23
108	<i>read</i>	23
109	<i>through</i>	23
110	<i>come</i>	22
111	<i>happened</i>	22
112	<i>him</i>	22
113	<i>little</i>	22
114	<i>myself</i>	22
115	<i>now</i>	22
116	<i>which</i>	22
117	<i>his</i>	21
118	<i>nothing</i>	21
119	<i>say</i>	21
120	<i>something</i>	21
121	<i>way</i>	21
122	<i>went</i>	21
123	<i>where</i>	21
124	<i>your</i>	21
125	<i>called</i>	20
126	<i>d</i>	20

Table 4.4b: The 250 most frequent words in David Berkowitz's sub-corpus - part II

Rank	Type	Frequency
127	<i>down</i>	20
128	<i>get</i>	20
129	<i>here</i>	20
130	<i>many</i>	20
131	<i>much</i>	20
132	<i>never</i>	20
133	<i>their</i>	20
134	<i>want</i>	20
135	<i>how</i>	19
136	<i>long</i>	19
137	<i>make</i>	19
138	<i>mom</i>	19
139	<i>told</i>	19
140	<i>david</i>	18
141	<i>everything</i>	18
142	<i>if</i>	18
143	<i>kind</i>	18
144	<i>later</i>	18
145	<i>ll</i>	18
146	<i>made</i>	18
147	<i>other</i>	18
148	<i>ve</i>	18
149	<i>while</i>	18
150	<i>after</i>	17
151	<i>always</i>	17
152	<i>around</i>	17
153	<i>felt</i>	17
154	<i>maybe</i>	17
155	<i>bible</i>	16
156	<i>born</i>	16
157	<i>remember</i>	16
158	<i>started</i>	16
159	<i>another</i>	15
160	<i>believe</i>	15
161	<i>couldn</i>	15
162	<i>dog</i>	15
163	<i>doing</i>	15
164	<i>mind</i>	15
165	<i>still</i>	15
166	<i>took</i>	15
167	<i>wasn</i>	15
168	<i>whole</i>	15
169	<i>before</i>	14
170	<i>bronx</i>	14
171	<i>good</i>	14
172	<i>jesus</i>	14
173	<i>look</i>	14
174	<i>new</i>	14
175	<i>sure</i>	14
176	<i>take</i>	14
177	<i>think</i>	14
178	<i>thinking</i>	14
179	<i>those</i>	14
180	<i>yeah</i>	14
181	<i>bad</i>	13
182	<i>big</i>	13
183	<i>jewish</i>	13
184	<i>media</i>	13
185	<i>part</i>	13
186	<i>talking</i>	13
187	<i>times</i>	13
188	<i>trying</i>	13

Rank	Type	Frequency
189	<i>understand</i>	13
190	<i>work</i>	13
191	<i>again</i>	12
192	<i>anything</i>	12
193	<i>anyway</i>	12
194	<i>came</i>	12
195	<i>met</i>	12
196	<i>own</i>	12
197	<i>problems</i>	12
198	<i>saw</i>	12
199	<i>used</i>	12
200	<i>adoptive</i>	11
201	<i>course</i>	11
202	<i>days</i>	11
203	<i>died</i>	11
204	<i>first</i>	11
205	<i>friends</i>	11
206	<i>getting</i>	11
207	<i>joe</i>	11
208	<i>listen</i>	11
209	<i>man</i>	11
210	<i>off</i>	11
211	<i>only</i>	11
212	<i>sometimes</i>	11
213	<i>talk</i>	11
214	<i>walk</i>	11
215	<i>wanted</i>	11
216	<i>womb</i>	11
217	<i>cell</i>	10
218	<i>crimes</i>	10
219	<i>death</i>	10
220	<i>falco</i>	10
221	<i>found</i>	10
222	<i>giving</i>	10
223	<i>heart</i>	10
224	<i>person</i>	10
225	<i>share</i>	10
226	<i>somehow</i>	10
227	<i>struggles</i>	10
228	<i>try</i>	10
229	<i>also</i>	9
230	<i>away</i>	9
231	<i>control</i>	9
232	<i>done</i>	9
233	<i>every</i>	9
234	<i>find</i>	9
235	<i>guy</i>	9
236	<i>kid</i>	9
237	<i>lived</i>	9
238	<i>men</i>	9
239	<i>park</i>	9
240	<i>put</i>	9
241	<i>reading</i>	9
242	<i>richard</i>	9
243	<i>ricky</i>	9
244	<i>stuff</i>	9
245	<i>than</i>	9
246	<i>thought</i>	9
247	<i>too</i>	9
248	<i>whatever</i>	9
249	<i>wish</i>	9
250	<i>wrong</i>	9

Table 4.5a: The 250 most frequent words in Jeffrey Dahmer's sub-corpus - part I

Rank	Type	Frequency
1	<i>i</i>	917
2	<i>the</i>	682
3	<i>uh</i>	500
4	<i>it</i>	437
5	<i>that</i>	437
6	<i>was</i>	422
7	<i>and</i>	415
8	<i>to</i>	408
9	<i>a</i>	298
10	<i>of</i>	276
11	<i>t</i>	243
12	<i>in</i>	232
13	<i>s</i>	184
14	<i>just</i>	159
15	<i>no</i>	150
16	<i>had</i>	147
17	<i>there</i>	112
18	<i>my</i>	107
19	<i>with</i>	107
20	<i>they</i>	105
21	<i>know</i>	103
22	<i>me</i>	102
23	<i>but</i>	100
24	<i>so</i>	97
25	<i>right</i>	96
26	<i>didn</i>	93
27	<i>he</i>	91
28	<i>have</i>	89
29	<i>yeah</i>	89
30	<i>for</i>	88
31	<i>about</i>	87
32	<i>you</i>	84
33	<i>on</i>	83
34	<i>not</i>	80
35	<i>them</i>	76
36	<i>him</i>	74
37	<i>don</i>	71
38	<i>time</i>	71
39	<i>one</i>	69
40	<i>never</i>	68
41	<i>were</i>	65
42	<i>what</i>	65
43	<i>or</i>	64
44	<i>like</i>	63
45	<i>as</i>	61
46	<i>would</i>	58
47	<i>up</i>	57
48	<i>when</i>	57
49	<i>be</i>	55
50	<i>out</i>	54
51	<i>all</i>	53
52	<i>some</i>	52
53	<i>any</i>	51
54	<i>do</i>	50
55	<i>this</i>	47
56	<i>at</i>	45
57	<i>d</i>	41
58	<i>think</i>	41
59	<i>back</i>	40
60	<i>did</i>	40
61	<i>from</i>	39
62	<i>went</i>	38
63	<i>after</i>	36

Rank	Type	Frequency
64	<i>could</i>	35
65	<i>go</i>	35
66	<i>keep</i>	35
67	<i>way</i>	35
68	<i>started</i>	34
69	<i>if</i>	33
70	<i>then</i>	33
71	<i>where</i>	33
72	<i>anything</i>	32
73	<i>why</i>	32
74	<i>going</i>	31
75	<i>how</i>	31
76	<i>wanted</i>	31
77	<i>because</i>	29
78	<i>into</i>	29
79	<i>is</i>	29
80	<i>really</i>	29
81	<i>got</i>	28
82	<i>wasn</i>	28
83	<i>well</i>	28
84	<i>over</i>	27
85	<i>control</i>	26
86	<i>guy</i>	26
87	<i>we</i>	26
88	<i>good</i>	25
89	<i>lot</i>	25
90	<i>apartment</i>	24
91	<i>feel</i>	24
92	<i>his</i>	24
93	<i>only</i>	24
94	<i>things</i>	24
95	<i>first</i>	23
96	<i>see</i>	23
97	<i>something</i>	23
98	<i>their</i>	23
99	<i>these</i>	23
100	<i>ve</i>	23
101	<i>thought</i>	22
102	<i>work</i>	22
103	<i>night</i>	21
104	<i>part</i>	21
105	<i>an</i>	20
106	<i>around</i>	20
107	<i>get</i>	20
108	<i>m</i>	20
109	<i>nothing</i>	20
110	<i>thing</i>	20
111	<i>thoughts</i>	20
112	<i>too</i>	20
113	<i>came</i>	19
114	<i>even</i>	19
115	<i>myself</i>	19
116	<i>said</i>	19
117	<i>those</i>	19
118	<i>can</i>	18
119	<i>life</i>	18
120	<i>make</i>	18
121	<i>more</i>	18
122	<i>own</i>	18
123	<i>people</i>	18
124	<i>two</i>	18
125	<i>yes</i>	18
126	<i>been</i>	17

Table 4.5b: The 250 most frequent words in Jeffrey Dahmer's sub-corpus - part II

Rank	Type	Frequency
127	<i>down</i>	17
128	<i>home</i>	17
129	<i>kept</i>	17
130	<i>looking</i>	17
131	<i>place</i>	17
132	<i>took</i>	17
133	<i>are</i>	16
134	<i>bars</i>	16
135	<i>before</i>	16
136	<i>everything</i>	16
137	<i>felt</i>	16
138	<i>head</i>	16
139	<i>much</i>	16
140	<i>times</i>	16
141	<i>trying</i>	16
142	<i>always</i>	15
143	<i>doing</i>	15
144	<i>done</i>	15
145	<i>fantasies</i>	15
146	<i>having</i>	15
147	<i>other</i>	15
148	<i>probably</i>	15
149	<i>say</i>	15
150	<i>very</i>	15
151	<i>years</i>	15
152	<i>anyone</i>	14
153	<i>drinking</i>	14
154	<i>happened</i>	14
155	<i>look</i>	14
156	<i>off</i>	14
157	<i>person</i>	14
158	<i>type</i>	14
159	<i>believe</i>	13
160	<i>big</i>	13
161	<i>gave</i>	13
162	<i>maybe</i>	13
163	<i>pills</i>	13
164	<i>remember</i>	13
165	<i>saw</i>	13
166	<i>sometimes</i>	13
167	<i>complete</i>	12
168	<i>mean</i>	12
169	<i>oh</i>	12
170	<i>parts</i>	12
171	<i>real</i>	12
172	<i>second</i>	12
173	<i>sexual</i>	12
174	<i>whole</i>	12
175	<i>another</i>	11
176	<i>completely</i>	11
177	<i>couldn't</i>	11
178	<i>either</i>	11
179	<i>freezer</i>	11
180	<i>has</i>	11
181	<i>hotel</i>	11
182	<i>house</i>	11
183	<i>morning</i>	11
184	<i>most</i>	11
185	<i>put</i>	11
186	<i>seemed</i>	11
187	<i>sort</i>	11
188	<i>three</i>	11

Rank	Type	Frequency
189	<i>tried</i>	11
190	<i>young</i>	11
191	<i>acid</i>	10
192	<i>away</i>	10
193	<i>bedroom</i>	10
194	<i>by</i>	10
195	<i>dad</i>	10
196	<i>ever</i>	10
197	<i>far</i>	10
198	<i>made</i>	10
199	<i>now</i>	10
200	<i>once</i>	10
201	<i>point</i>	10
202	<i>police</i>	10
203	<i>pornography</i>	10
204	<i>re</i>	10
205	<i>still</i>	10
206	<i>than</i>	10
207	<i>thinking</i>	10
208	<i>used</i>	10
209	<i>want</i>	10
210	<i>who</i>	10
211	<i>working</i>	10
212	<i>wouldn't</i>	10
213	<i>year</i>	10
214	<i>actually</i>	9
215	<i>anybody</i>	9
216	<i>being</i>	9
217	<i>compulsion</i>	9
218	<i>desire</i>	9
219	<i>else</i>	9
220	<i>enough</i>	9
221	<i>find</i>	9
222	<i>great</i>	9
223	<i>guess</i>	9
224	<i>happen</i>	9
225	<i>here</i>	9
226	<i>knew</i>	9
227	<i>large</i>	9
228	<i>looked</i>	9
229	<i>met</i>	9
230	<i>open</i>	9
231	<i>pictures</i>	9
232	<i>pretty</i>	9
233	<i>sleeping</i>	9
234	<i>someone</i>	9
235	<i>through</i>	9
236	<i>whether</i>	9
237	<i>while</i>	9
238	<i>worked</i>	9
239	<i>able</i>	8
240	<i>almost</i>	8
241	<i>asked</i>	8
242	<i>cause</i>	8
243	<i>couple</i>	8
244	<i>dead</i>	8
245	<i>drink</i>	8
246	<i>drunk</i>	8
247	<i>during</i>	8
248	<i>feeling</i>	8
249	<i>getting</i>	8
250	<i>incident</i>	8

4.3. Clusters

I then identified and analyzed the 4-word clusters with a minimum frequency of 2 occurrences surrounding pronouns and self-referential terms, as these had emerged as the most frequent words (see Table 4.1). The clusters around *I* (see Table 4.6) revealed two patterns: the frequent occurrence of the negation *not* (89.1% of the total) and of verbs denoting experiences (e.g. *I don't know*, *I didn't know*, *I don't think*, *I don't want* and *I didn't want*) or states (*I didn't have*; 71.9% of the total). The 4-word clusters built around the word *my* (see Table 4.7) make reference to family members (e.g. *my father-in-law*, *my dad about it*, *my dad and I*, *my family didn't*, *my half-sister Rosalyn*), and more generally Berkowitz's life (e.g. *my life and he*, *my life and so*, *my life I was*, *my life that's*). The 4-word clusters around *myself* and those around *you* did not reveal any enlightening patterns. The former appear to encode episodes from the speaker's narrative (e.g. *myself I have got*, *myself in the apartment*, and *myself with rage*). The latter only show the pragmatic marker *you know*, typical of spontaneous speech, followed by the pronoun *I*.

The clusters around third-person pronouns exhibit varying frequencies: those around *he* and *they* are numerous, while clusters around *she* with a frequency higher than 2 are only eight. All clusters share the characteristic of being predominantly affirmative; some express the same notions, while others show more variability. Specifically, the clusters around *he* (see Table 4.8) report actions (e.g. *He did it he*, *He came into my*, *He came up to*, *He drank he was*) and states (e.g. *He had his own*, *He didn't have*, *He wasn't there*, *He would be fulfilled*, *He was a workaholic*), mostly in the affirmative form (41 = 87.23%). All the clusters around the pronoun *she* (see Table 4.9) express experiences and conditions and start with the pronoun itself; most clusters around *they* (see Table 4.10) express experiences (e.g. *they didn't know*, *they didn't believe*) and situations (e.g. *they were a part*, *they were going to*) rather than actions.

Table 4.6: The 20 most frequent 4-word clusters around the word “I”

Rank	Type	Frequency
1	<i>i don t know</i>	92
2	<i>i didn t have</i>	18
3	<i>i didn t know</i>	18
4	<i>i don t think</i>	18
5	<i>i don t want</i>	15
6	<i>i don t like</i>	14
7	<i>i don t i</i>	13
8	<i>i didn t want</i>	12
9	<i>i m i m</i>	11
10	<i>i was i was</i>	11
11	<i>i i don t</i>	10
12	<i>i m going to</i>	10
13	<i>i don t remember</i>	8
14	<i>i don t have</i>	7
15	<i>i didn t do</i>	6
16	<i>i don t believe</i>	6
17	<i>i don t care</i>	6
18	<i>i don t even</i>	6
19	<i>i don t really</i>	6
20	<i>i don t understand</i>	6

Table 4.7: The 20 most frequent 4-word clusters around the word “my”

Rank	Type	Frequency
1	<i>my father in law</i>	3
2	<i>my heart out to</i>	3
3	<i>my own little world</i>	3
4	<i>my books and so</i>	2
5	<i>my case has been</i>	2
6	<i>my close friends we</i>	2
7	<i>my conscience was just</i>	2
8	<i>my dad about it</i>	2
9	<i>my dad and i</i>	2
10	<i>my family didn t</i>	2
11	<i>my half sister Rosalyn</i>	2
12	<i>my head high i</i>	2
13	<i>my house and i</i>	2
14	<i>my legal education to</i>	2
15	<i>my liberty being taken</i>	2
16	<i>my life and he</i>	2
17	<i>my life and so</i>	2
18	<i>my life i was</i>	2
19	<i>my life that s</i>	2
20	<i>my mind i had</i>	2

Table 4.8: The 20 most frequent clusters around the word “he”

Rank	Type	Frequency
1	<i>he had his own</i>	4
2	<i>he did it he</i>	3
3	<i>he didn t have</i>	3
4	<i>he s got a</i>	3
5	<i>he wasn t there</i>	3
6	<i>he would be fulfilled</i>	3
7	<i>he came into my</i>	2
8	<i>he came up to</i>	2
9	<i>he drank he was</i>	2
10	<i>he fell asleep and</i>	2
11	<i>he had a pump</i>	2
12	<i>he placed his hands</i>	2
13	<i>he said he was</i>	2
14	<i>he sent me the</i>	2
15	<i>he was a workaholic</i>	2
16	<i>he was blackmailing me</i>	2
17	<i>he was coming at</i>	2
18	<i>he was going to</i>	2
19	<i>he was in a</i>	2
20	<i>he was so excited</i>	2

Table 4.9: The most frequent four-word clusters around the word “she”

Rank	Type	Frequency
1	<i>she got the divorce</i>	4
2	<i>she had a lot</i>	3
3	<i>she heard him she</i>	3
4	<i>she is turning into</i>	3
5	<i>she s lying now</i>	3
6	<i>she s lying she</i>	3
7	<i>she turned around and</i>	2
8	<i>she was from a</i>	2

Table 4.10: The 20 most frequent 4-word clusters around the word “they”

Rank	Type	Frequency
1	<i>they didn t know</i>	4
2	<i>they would of had</i>	4
3	<i>they don t have</i>	3
4	<i>they were in the</i>	3
5	<i>they d be afraid</i>	2
6	<i>they did a disservice</i>	2
7	<i>they didn t believe</i>	2
8	<i>they didn t see</i>	2
9	<i>they gave me a</i>	2
10	<i>they got worse and</i>	2
11	<i>they have told me</i>	2
12	<i>they know and they</i>	2
13	<i>they know that i</i>	2
14	<i>they re claiming that</i>	2
15	<i>they re going to</i>	2
16	<i>they see no way</i>	2
17	<i>they want to make</i>	2
18	<i>they were a part</i>	2
19	<i>they were going to</i>	2
20	<i>they were looking for</i>	2

4.4. N-Grams

The corpus contains 4-word grams with a minimum frequency of 2. The most frequent N-Gram is *I don't know*, appearing 92 times overall. The second most frequent N-Gram is *and I don't* with 23 occurrences, followed by *I didn't have*, *I didn't know*, and *I don't think*, each appearing 18 times, and *I don't know what*, with 15 occurrences (see Table 4.11).

The 4-word N-Grams in the entire shows the same most prominent patterns as previously reported: a high frequency of negation (87.7% of the total; e.g. *I don't know*, *and I don't*, *I didn't have*) and a marked degree of self-referential language (88.5% of the total; e.g. *I didn't know*, *I don't think*, *I don't want*). A KWIC analysis reveal that even the three clusters which do not formally contain *I* (*don't know what*, *don't know why*, *don't want to*) are part of larger word groups that contain *I* (see an example in Fig. 4.1).

Table 4.11: The 20 most frequent four-word N-Grams in the corpus

Rank	Type	Frequency
1	<i>i don t know</i>	92
2	<i>and i don t</i>	23
3	<i>i didn t have</i>	18
4	<i>i didn t know</i>	18
5	<i>i don t think</i>	18
6	<i>don t know what</i>	15
7	<i>i don t want</i>	15
8	<i>don t know i</i>	14
9	<i>i don t like</i>	14
10	<i>uh i don t</i>	14
11	<i>don t know why</i>	13
12	<i>don t want to</i>	13
13	<i>i don t i</i>	13
14	<i>i didn t want</i>	12
15	<i>because i didn t</i>	11
16	<i>i am i am</i>	11
17	<i>i was i was</i>	11
18	<i>know i don t</i>	11
19	<i>that s why i</i>	11
20	<i>when i was in</i>	11

Fig.4.1: KWIC analysis of the N-Gram “don’t want to”

Target Corpus
Name: temp
Files: 4
Tokens: 61962
BERKOWITZ TOTALE.txt
BUNDY TOTALE.txt
DAHMER TOTALE.txt
JOHN GACY TOTALE.txt

KWIC
Plot
File View
Cluster
N-Gram
Collocate
Word
Keyword
Wordcloud
ChatAI

Total Hits: 13
Page Size: 100 hits
1 to 13 of 13 hits

	File	Left Context	Hit	Right Context
1	BERKOWIT...	they say I don't really want, they see I	don't want to	talk about it, so they respect
2	BERKOWIT...	to certain things. I can't talk about everything. I	don't want to	talk about the crimes specifically. There'
3	BUNDY ...	did a lot of dumb things. I don't, I	don't want to	talk about that right now. This
4	BUNDY ...	t, I, I know what you're saying, and I	don't want to	infer again... that I was that
5	BUNDY ...	I can only liken it to ... after ... (you know I	don't want to	overdramatize it) ... but to have been
6	BUNDY ...	good question. I'll answer very, very honestly. I, I	don't want to	die; I'm not gonna kid
7	DAHMER ...	any sense to be trying to hide that. Well I	don't want to	do that. So that's why
8	DAHMER ...	anymore you know. I would welcome the death penalty. I	don't want to	go on rotting away in this
9	DAHMER ...	are they going to do to me? You know, I	don't want to	cause grief for you. A great
10	BERKOWIT...	I know I could choose to do bad but I	don't want to.	Bad thoughts or sinful thoughts come
11	BUNDY ...	because they've been so brutalized over the years they	don't want to	think about the outside. But most
12	JOHN GAC...	this garbage on what you've heard of me. I	don't want to	go in, I don't want
13	JOHN GAC...	of me. I don't want to go in, I	don't want to	go into the other, uh... the

Search Query ☒ Words ☐ Case ☐ Regex
Results Set All hits
Context Size 10 token(s)

don t want to
Start
Adv Search

Sort Options
Sort to right
Sort 1 1R
Sort 2 2R
Sort 3 3R
Order by freq

Progress

Using KWIC cache
Time taken (creating KWIC results): 0.0633 sec

4.4.1. N-Grams in *John Gacy's sub-corpus*

The N-Grams in *John Gacy's sub-corpus* (see Table 4.12) are predominantly verb phrases (88 = 71.5%), primarily in the negative form and associated with a first-person subject; an example of this is evident from the most frequent N-Gram, *I don't know*, which appears 29 times and stands out compared to other clusters, each occurring 7 times or fewer. Among these, a high incidence of negation is noted (81 = 63.8%), along with a high presence of the pronoun *I* (80 = 62.8%) and frequent use of experiential verbs (e.g. *know* and *want*) as well as copula verbs (e.g. *am*). The table also includes three locative expressions: *in the crawl space*, *in the house*, and *down in the crawl*.

Table 4.12: The most frequent 4-word N-Grams in *John Gacy's sub-corpus*

Rank	Type	Freq
1	<i>i don t know</i>	29
2	<i>i don t i</i>	7
3	<i>i am i am</i>	7
4	<i>in the crawl space</i>	7
5	<i>don t i don</i>	6
6	<i>t i don t</i>	6
7	<i>i don t want</i>	6
8	<i>the thing of it</i>	6
9	<i>because i didn t</i>	5
10	<i>don t know if</i>	5
11	<i>i didn t have</i>	5
12	<i>in the house and</i>	5
13	<i>that s why i</i>	5
14	<i>a lot of things</i>	4
15	<i>and stuff like that</i>	4
16	<i>don t know how</i>	4
17	<i>don t know i</i>	4
18	<i>don t know what</i>	4
19	<i>down in the crawl</i>	4
20	<i>him out of the</i>	4

4.4.2. N-Grams in *Ted Bundy's sub-corpus*

Most of the N-Grams (i.e. 92 = 67.6%) of *Ted Bundy's sub-corpus* are verb phrases that denote negative experiential processes (e.g. *I don't know*, *I don't like*, *I don't think*). Concordance lines reveal that they are all preceded by the pronoun *I* (see Fig 4.2). Indeed, The most frequently occurring N-Gram in this dataset is the same as the other sub-corpora: *I don't know*, appearing 20 times (see Table 4.13). The N-Gram *The Utah State Prison* differs from the others as it contains a toponym.

Table 4.13: The 20 most frequent 4-grams in Ted Bundy's sub-corpus

Rank	Type	Frequency
1	<i>i don t know</i>	20
2	<i>and i don t</i>	17
3	<i>i don t like</i>	14
4	<i>i don t think</i>	7
5	<i>i m going to</i>	7
6	<i>the utah state prison</i>	6
7	<i>can t begin to</i>	5
8	<i>don t know why</i>	5
9	<i>don t like being</i>	5
10	<i>don t want to</i>	5
11	<i>i can t begin</i>	5
12	<i>i didn t have</i>	5
13	<i>i think it s</i>	5
14	<i>we re talking about</i>	5
15	<i>you re going to</i>	5
16	<i>as far as i</i>	4
17	<i>as i am concerned</i>	4
18	<i>don t know what</i>	4
19	<i>far as i m</i>	4
20	<i>have a lot of</i>	4

Figure 4.2: KWIC concordances of the N-Gram “don’t want to”

The screenshot displays the KWIC interface with the following components:

- Target Corpus:** Name: temp, Files: 1, Tokens: 15663, BUNDY TOTALE.txt
- Search Query:** don t want to
- Search Options:** Words (checked), Case, Regex, Results Set: All hits, Context Size: 10 token(s)
- Sort Options:** Sort to right, Sort 1: 1R, Sort 2: 2R, Sort 3: 3R, Order by freq
- Total Hits:** 5
- Page Size:** 100 hits
- 1 to 5 of 5 hits**
- Concordance Table:**

File	Left Context	Hit	Right Context
1 BUNDY ...	did a lot of dumb things. I don't, I	don't want to	talk about that right now. This
2 BUNDY ...	t, I, I know what you're saying, and I	don't want to	infer again... that I was that
3 BUNDY ...	I can only liken it to ... after ... (you know I	don't want to	overdramatize it) ... but to have been
4 BUNDY ...	good question. I'll answer very, very honestly. I, I	don't want to	die; I'm not gonna kid
5 BUNDY ...	because they've been so brutalized over the years they	don't want to	think about the outside. But most
- Progress:** Using KWIC cache Time taken (creating KWIC results): 0.0591

4.4.3. N-Grams in *David Berkowitz's sub-corpus*

Compared to the other sub-corpora, the N-Grams in *David Berkowitz's sub-corpus* (see Table 4.14) show fewer occurrences overall and exhibit greater variability. Some express circumstances of time (e.g. *at the time I*, *at the time and*, *but at the time*) and others include verbs in the past (e.g. *when I was in*, *and it was a*, *I had a lot*): these refer to events in Berkowitz's youth (see Fig. 4.3). There are 33 N-Grams that contain the pronoun *I* account (42.03% of the total), and 23 that contain a negation (21.74% of the total).

4.5. N-Grams in *Jeffrey Dahmer's sub-corpus*

The majority of the most frequent N-Grams in *Dahmer's sub-corpus* are verb phrases (123 = 83.67%), with *I don't know* being the most frequent once again, which tend to encode experiential processes (see Table 4.15). The presence of negation is prominent (106 = 73.6%; e.g. *didn't want to*, *don't know why and don't know how to*), and so is self-referentiality (97 = 67.4%; e.g. *I had a lot*; *when I was in*); the latter trend is also stressed by the presence of N-Grams encoding verb phrases which are preceded by the pronoun *I* (see Fig. 4.5).

There are also N-Grams that express temporal references (*that was the first*, *was the first time*, *when I was about*). Concordance analysis reveals that the first two N-Grams are semantically related to his crimes (see Fig. 4.6), while the N-Gram *when I was about* refers to his youth (see Fig. 4.7)

Table 4.14: The 4-grams in David Berkowitz's sub-corpus with 2 or more occurrences

Rank	Type	Frequency
1	<i>i don t know</i>	10
2	<i>had a lot of</i>	8
3	<i>when i was in</i>	8
4	<i>and things like that</i>	6
5	<i>at the time i</i>	6
6	<i>it was it was</i>	6
7	<i>and a lot of</i>	5
8	<i>and it was a</i>	5
9	<i>died while giving birth</i>	5
10	<i>i had a lot</i>	5
11	<i>no no no no</i>	5
12	<i>a child you know</i>	4
13	<i>and i didn t</i>	4
14	<i>and there s a</i>	4
15	<i>at the time and</i>	4
16	<i>but at the time</i>	4
17	<i>by the name of</i>	4
18	<i>don t know what</i>	4
19	<i>go to the chapel</i>	4
20	<i>had nothing to do</i>	4

Figure 4.3: KWIC analysis for the N-Gram “when I was in”

The screenshot displays the KWIC (Key Word In Context) analysis interface. On the left, the 'Target Corpus' section shows 'Name: temp', 'Files: 1', and 'Tokens: 15380'. The main interface has a top navigation bar with tabs: KWIC, Plot, File View, Cluster, N-Gram, Collocate, Word, Keyword, Wordcloud, and ChatAI. Below the navigation bar, the 'Total Hits: 8' and 'Page Size: 100 hits' are shown. The search results are displayed in a table with columns: File, Left Context, Hit, and Right Context. The search query is 'when I was in' and the context size is set to 10 token(s). The results show 8 hits from the file 'BERKOWITZ TOTALE.txt'. The bottom section contains search options, including 'Sort to right', 'Sort 1: 1R', 'Sort 2: 2R', 'Sort 3: 3R', and 'Order by freq'. A progress bar is visible at the bottom left, and the time taken for the analysis is shown at the bottom right: 'Time taken (creating KWIC results): 0.0275 sec'.

File	Left Context	Hit	Right Context
1 BERKOWIT...	my own apartment. I had saved up some money from	when I was in	the service, and I just wanted
2 BERKOWIT...	t find this out until many, many years later, actually,	when I was in	my early 20s, that my birth
3 BERKOWIT...	excuse for anything that happened. But I believe that even	when I was in	the womb, I began to experience
4 BERKOWIT...	so much energy that when school ended every day at 3:00,	when I was in	public school, 77in the Bronx, that'
5 BERKOWIT...	the teachers wanted to leave me back. And my mother,	when I was in	third grade, my mother had to
6 BERKOWIT...	if course no one could ever understand why school officials,	when I was in	public school, they told my parents,
7 BERKOWIT...	because I couldn't stand sitting in that classroom. And	when I was in	high school, I was truant a
8 BERKOWIT...	some maybe after effects of that. And I used LSD	when I was in	the army too. Not to make

Figure 4.4: KWIC concordances of the N-Gram “died while giving birth”

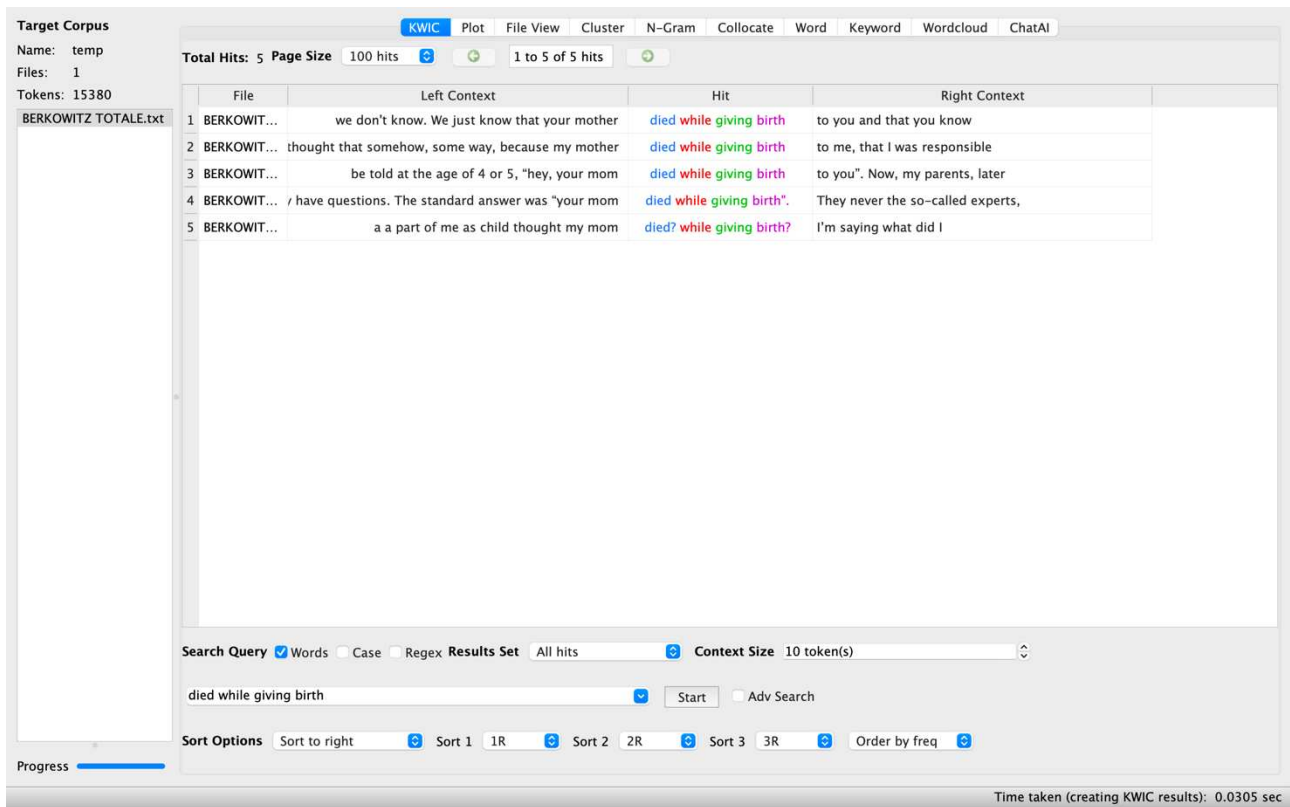


Table 4.15: The most frequent 4-grams in Jeffrey Dahmer's sub-corpus

Rank	Type	Frequency
1	<i>i don t know</i>	33
2	<i>uh i don t</i>	10
3	<i>i didn t know</i>	9
4	<i>i don t think</i>	9
5	<i>i didn t have</i>	8
6	<i>didn t want to</i>	6
7	<i>don t know why</i>	6
8	<i>i didn t want</i>	6
9	<i>that s that s</i>	6
10	<i>that s when i</i>	6
11	<i>that s why i</i>	6
12	<i>i don t remember</i>	5
13	<i>it s it s</i>	5
14	<i>no i don t</i>	5
15	<i>t know how to</i>	5
16	<i>that was the first</i>	5
17	<i>was the first time</i>	5
18	<i>when i was about</i>	5
19	<i>but it didn t</i>	4
20	<i>didn t have any</i>	4

Figure 4.5: KWIC concordances of the N-Gram “don’t know why”

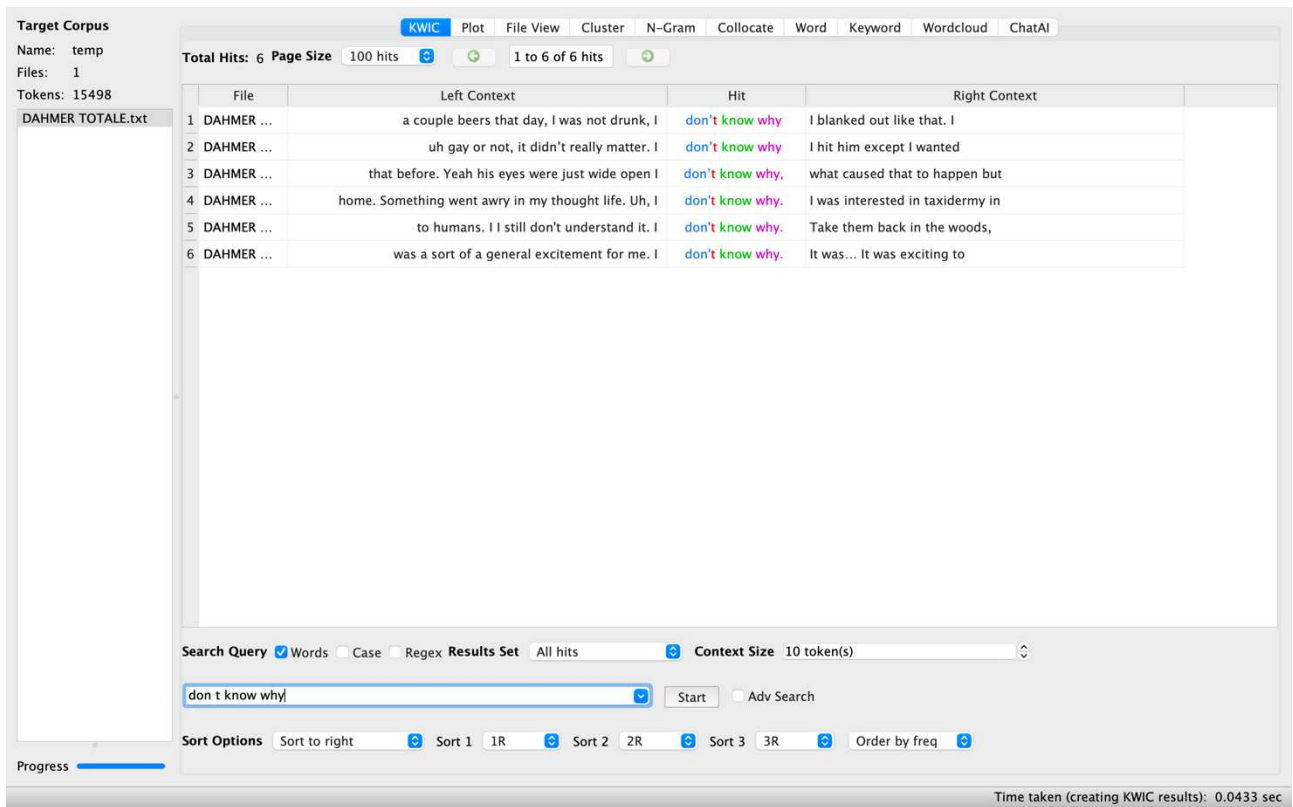


Figure 4.6: KWIC concordances of the N-Gram “that was the first”

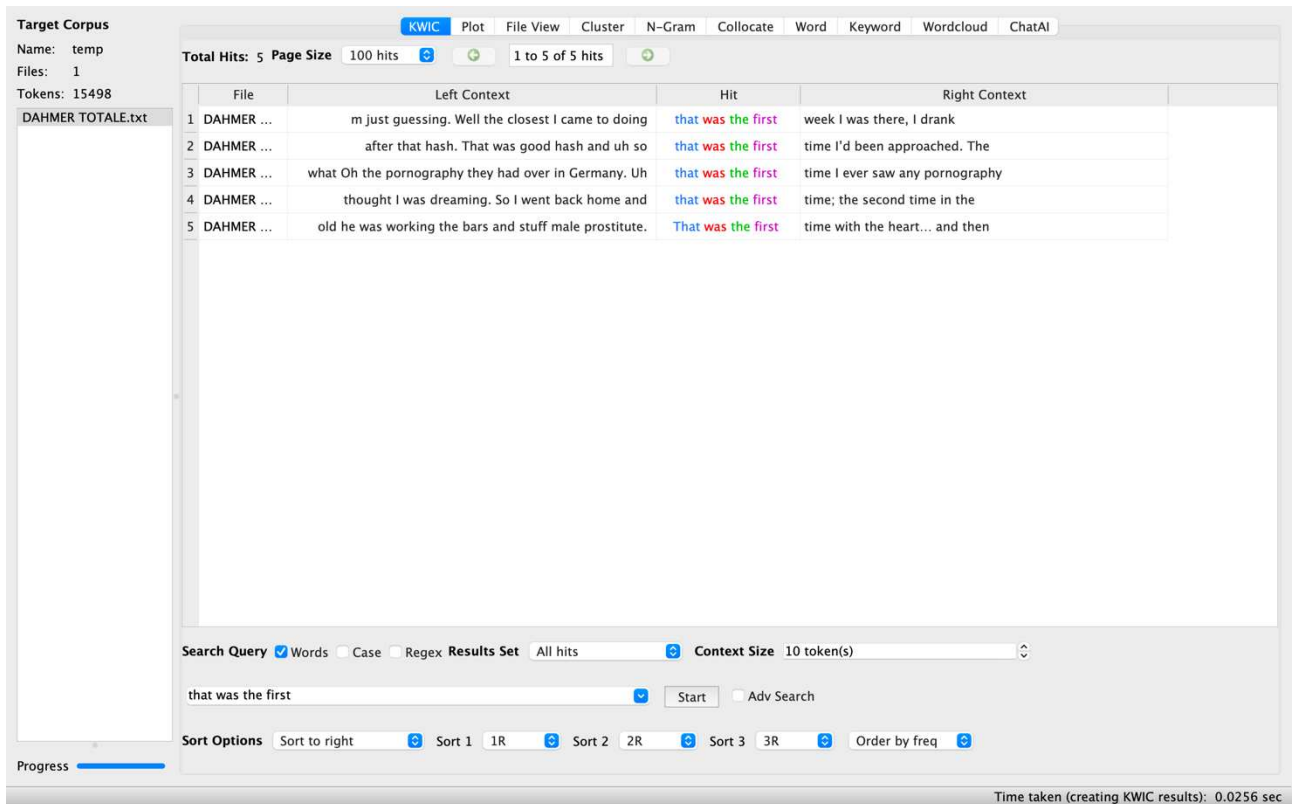
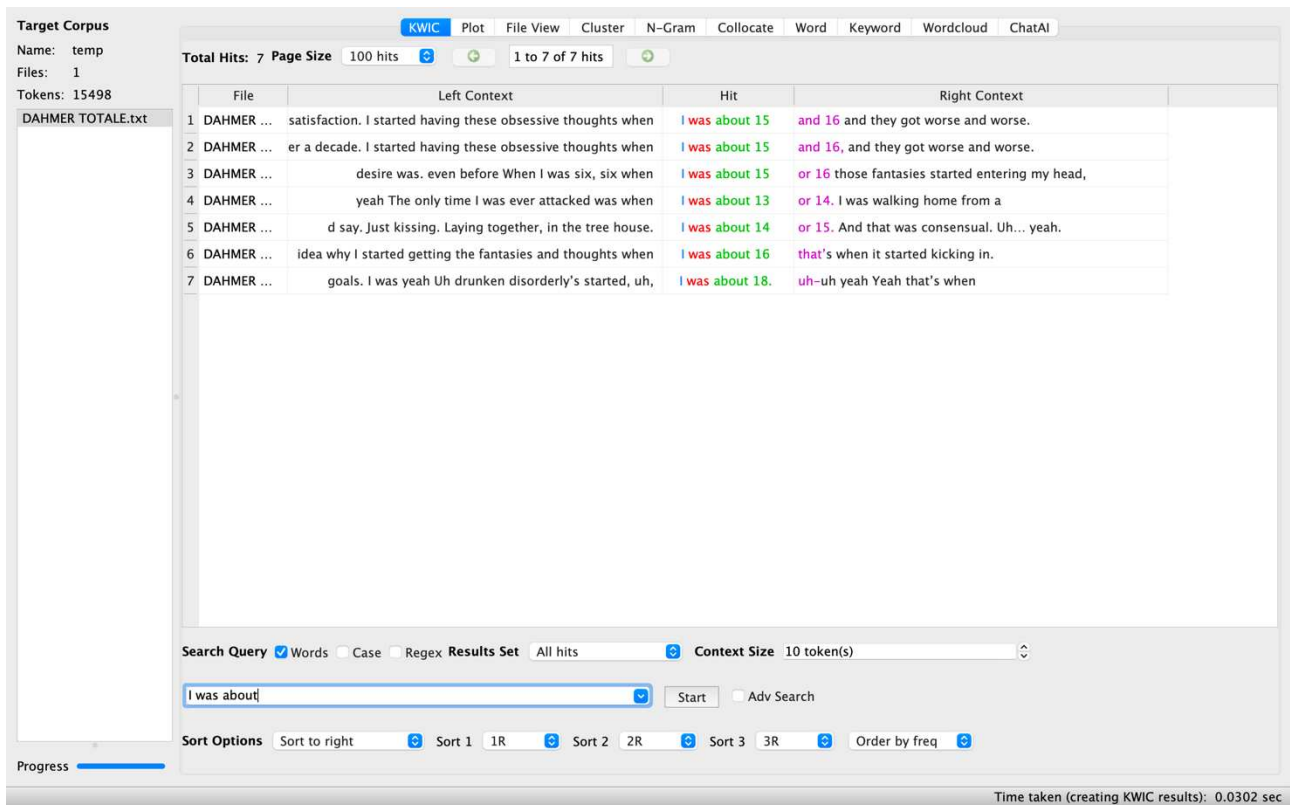


Figure 4.7: KWIC concordances of the N-Gram “I was about”



4.6. Keywords

In the following sections, I present the data obtained by using the *Keyword* function in *AntConc*. To extract keywords, I compared each sub-corpus against the other three.

4.6.1 Keywords in *John Gacy's sub-corpus*

The words that are unusually frequent in *John Gacy's sub-corpus* (see Table 4.16) are associated with his crimes, and can be grouped into three semantic categories: physical spaces (e.g. *house*, *crawl*, *space* and *kitchen*), sexuality (e.g. *sex*, *fucking*, *fuck*, *bed* and *bisexual*), and concealment and decay (e.g. *body* and *odor*). The words related to physical space, with a high likelihood value, were used by Gacy in narratives connected to his criminal activities, since his house functioned both as the site of the murders and the location for concealing the bodies, with the serial killer hiding them in the crawl space beneath it. The words relevant to sexuality, often strong and vulgar, are reminiscent the violence he inflicted on his victims. The presence of words such as *body* and *odor* can be explained if one

knows Gacy's story: he hid his victims in the crawl space for extended periods, until the smell eventually became unavoidable.

Other keywords are a group of expletives (curse words like *hell*, *goddamn*, *shit*, and *fuck*) and words related to his personal life: *clown* and *clowning*, reminiscent of his volunteer activities, and *PDM*, *carpeting*, and *business*, connected with his work.

Table 4.16: Keywords in John Gacy's sub-corpus

Type	Freq Tar	Freq Ref	Likelihood	Effect
<i>house</i>	68	17	113.999	0.009
<i>you</i>	315	549	57.724	0.039
<i>em</i>	20	0	55.651	0.003
<i>he</i>	178	270	48.016	0.022
<i>ya</i>	17	0	47.301	0.002
<i>him</i>	96	108	46.928	0.012
<i>sex</i>	20	4	36.311	0.003
<i>pdm</i>	13	0	36.169	0.002
<i>his</i>	61	61	35.545	0.008
<i>if</i>	71	80	34.585	0.009
<i>odor</i>	12	0	33.386	0.002
<i>hell</i>	23	8	33.172	0.003
<i>goddamn</i>	11	0	30.603	0.001
<i>carpeting</i>	11	0	30.603	0.001
<i>gonna</i>	23	10	29.234	0.003
<i>down</i>	55	60	28.183	0.007
<i>clown</i>	10	0	27.821	0.001
<i>then</i>	66	81	27.770	0.008
<i>crawl</i>	12	1	26.907	0.002
<i>dad</i>	39	35	26.182	0.005
<i>fucking</i>	9	0	25.038	0.001
<i>rossi</i>	9	0	25.038	0.001
<i>enjoyed</i>	9	0	25.038	0.001
<i>the</i>	730	1774	24.553	0.081
<i>space</i>	11	1	24.291	0.001
<i>shit</i>	11	1	24.291	0.001
<i>said</i>	68	93	23.150	0.009
<i>under</i>	23	14	22.924	0.003
<i>gacy</i>	8	0	22.256	0.001
<i>fuck</i>	8	0	22.256	0.001
<i>clowning</i>	8	0	22.256	0.001
<i>insanity</i>	8	0	22.256	0.001
<i>bodies</i>	8	0	22.256	0.001
<i>john</i>	15	5	22.101	0.002
<i>bed</i>	16	7	20.254	0.002
<i>got</i>	67	97	20.112	0.009
<i>th</i>	13	4	19.906	0.002
<i>robert</i>	7	0	19.473	0.001
<i>kitchen</i>	7	0	19.473	0.001
<i>illinois</i>	7	0	19.473	0.001
<i>charge</i>	7	0	19.473	0.001
<i>bisexual</i>	7	0	19.473	0.001
<i>carole</i>	7	0	19.473	0.001
<i>december</i>	7	0	19.473	0.001
<i>want</i>	42	49	19.291	0.005
<i>we</i>	89	147	19.015	0.011
<i>cause</i>	21	15	18.109	0.003
<i>business</i>	11	3	17.771	0.001

4.6.2 Keywords in *Ted Bundy's sub-corpus*

The keywords in *Ted Bundy's sub-corpus* (see Table 4.17) represent specific elements of his life and identity, including his name (e.g., *Ted* and *Bundy*), his origin (e.g., *Utah*, *Salt*, and *Lake*), his criminal behavior (e.g., *violence* and *women*), and his education and sports experience (e.g., *law* and *football*). The terms *Salt* and *Lake* refer to Salt Lake City, while *violence* and *women* describe Bundy's criminal activities, which exclusively targeted female victims. The term *law* is associated with his university studies, and *football* refers to the sport he played during his youth.

Table 4.17: Keywords in *Ted Bundy's sub-corpus*

Type	Freq Tar	Freq Ref	Likelihood	Effect
<i>bundy</i>	19	1	44.917	0.002
<i>utah</i>	16	0	44.019	0.002
<i>ted</i>	13	0	35.764	0.002
<i>m</i>	98	132	32.806	0.012
<i>violence</i>	14	1	31.750	0.002
<i>being</i>	42	36	28.873	0.005
<i>kinds</i>	18	5	28.350	0.002
<i>people</i>	66	81	26.555	0.008
<i>is</i>	117	185	26.544	0.015
<i>kind</i>	32	24	25.543	0.004
<i>question</i>	14	3	24.419	0.002
<i>women</i>	12	2	22.694	0.002
<i>can</i>	66	88	22.543	0.008
<i>salt</i>	8	0	22.007	0.001
<i>law</i>	14	4	21.776	0.002
<i>say</i>	45	51	20.820	0.006
<i>been</i>	51	63	20.259	0.006
<i>are</i>	45	52	20.146	0.006
<i>football</i>	7	0	19.255	0.001
<i>lake</i>	9	1	18.839	0.001

4.6.3 Keywords in *David Berkowitz's sub-corpus*

The keywords in *David Berkowitz's sub-corpus* (see Table 4.18) comprise those related to the family (e.g. *child*, *birth*, *born*, *story*, *mother*), religion (i.e. *God*, *bible*, *Jewish*, and *Jesus*), occult beliefs and influences (i.e. *dog* and *Samhain*: the former), and self-referential names (i.e. *David*, *Falco*, and *Richard*).

The words *dog* and *Samhain* fall under the category of occult beliefs. Their presence can be justified with reference to Berkowitz's claim that he had been driven to commit murders by voices he heard — initially, they were associated with a neighbor's black Labrador, and were later linked to *Samhain*, a druid devil, which eventually led to define him as the *Son of Sam*.

Table 4.18: Keywords in David Berkowitz's sub-corpus

Type	Freq Tar	Freq Ref	Likelihood	Effect
<i>child</i>	42	6	84.382	0.005
<i>my</i>	253	369	75.980	0.032
<i>god</i>	49	19	66.923	0.006
<i>and</i>	670	1425	56.391	0.077
<i>birth</i>	23	1	56.381	0.003
<i>life</i>	60	49	45.274	0.008
<i>bible</i>	16	0	44.603	0.002
<i>born</i>	16	0	44.603	0.002
<i>um</i>	29	9	44.386	0.004
<i>story</i>	24	6	40.309	0.003
<i>so</i>	130	188	39.597	0.017
<i>bronx</i>	14	0	39.026	0.002
<i>mother</i>	32	15	38.911	0.004
<i>dog</i>	15	1	34.903	0.002
<i>david</i>	18	3	34.665	0.002
<i>parents</i>	27	12	33.975	0.004
<i>know</i>	192	341	33.295	0.024
<i>read</i>	23	8	33.281	0.003
<i>yes</i>	49	45	32.152	0.006
<i>womb</i>	11	0	30.662	0.001
<i>adoptive</i>	11	0	30.662	0.001
<i>joe</i>	11	0	30.662	0.001
<i>she</i>	55	57	30.640	0.007
<i>jewish</i>	13	1	29.603	0.002
<i>mom</i>	19	6	28.835	0.002
<i>a</i>	407	891	28.823	0.049
<i>struggles</i>	10	0	27.874	0.001
<i>falco</i>	10	0	27.874	0.001
<i>years</i>	43	41	26.874	0.006
<i>called</i>	20	8	26.815	0.003
<i>guys</i>	25	14	26.761	0.003
<i>family</i>	25	14	26.761	0.003
<i>richard</i>	9	0	25.086	0.001
<i>ricky</i>	9	0	25.086	0.001
<i>school</i>	31	24	24.762	0.004
<i>was</i>	427	980	22.552	0.051
<i>article</i>	8	0	22.298	0.001
<i>samhain</i>	8	0	22.298	0.001
<i>brooklyn</i>	8	0	22.298	0.001
<i>somehow</i>	10	1	21.742	0.001
<i>things</i>	57	74	21.739	0.007
<i>name</i>	23	15	21.692	0.003
<i>jesus</i>	14	5	19.977	0.002
<i>prison</i>	26	21	19.837	0.003
<i>this</i>	111	196	19.544	0.014
<i>adoption</i>	7	0	19.511	0.001
<i>thank</i>	7	0	19.511	0.001
<i>tremendous</i>	7	0	19.511	0.001
<i>betty</i>	7	0	19.511	0.001
<i>pray</i>	7	0	19.511	0.001
<i>larry</i>	7	0	19.511	0.001
<i>giving</i>	10	2	18.201	0.001

4.6.4 Keyword in *Jeffrey Dahmer's sub-corpus*

The keywords in *Jeffrey Dahmer's sub-corpus* (see Table 4.19) are relevant to the following semantic categories: crime-oriented mental states (e.g. *fantasies*, *thoughts*, *control*, *compulsion*, and *pleasure*), substance use (*pills*, *acid*, and *drunk*), locations (e.g. *apartment*, *bars*, and *hotel*) and body parts (e.g. *parts*, *skulls*, and *skeletons*).

The terms *pills* and *acid* can be accounted for with reference to Dahmer's practice of drugging his victims with sleeping pills or incapacitating them with injections of acid before committing abuse. The references to locations are also relevant to his criminal activities: his apartment and various hotels were the sites where most of his crimes took place, and most of his victims were targeted at gay bars. The words referring to body parts are linked to Dahmer's practice of preserving parts of his victims' bodies, often in a *freezer* (a term also included in the keyword list).

Table 4.19: Keywords in *Jeffrey Dahmer's sub-corpus*

Type	Freq Tar	Freq Ref	Likelihood	Effect
<i>uh</i>	500	416	369.599	0.061
<i>yeah</i>	89	71	67.977	0.011
<i>right</i>	96	83	66.883	0.012
<i>it</i>	437	836	56.150	0.052
<i>fantasies</i>	15	0	41.585	0.002
<i>didn</i>	93	113	39.330	0.012
<i>no</i>	150	230	38.590	0.019
<i>pills</i>	13	0	36.039	0.002
<i>thoughts</i>	20	5	33.307	0.003
<i>apartment</i>	24	9	33.049	0.003
<i>freezer</i>	11	0	30.494	0.001
<i>any</i>	51	50	30.188	0.007
<i>bars</i>	16	3	29.510	0.002
<i>just</i>	159	277	28.283	0.020
<i>never</i>	68	84	27.876	0.009
<i>acid</i>	10	0	27.721	0.001
<i>keep</i>	35	28	26.601	0.004
<i>control</i>	26	16	25.473	0.003
<i>started</i>	34	30	23.061	0.004
<i>complete</i>	12	2	22.934	0.002
<i>parts</i>	12	2	22.934	0.002
<i>skulls</i>	8	0	22.176	0.001
<i>drunk</i>	8	0	22.176	0.001
<i>them</i>	76	111	21.971	0.010
<i>hotel</i>	11	2	20.482	0.001
<i>guy</i>	26	21	19.546	0.003
<i>skeletons</i>	7	0	19.404	0.001
<i>pleasure</i>	7	0	19.404	0.001
<i>germany</i>	7	0	19.404	0.001
<i>bath</i>	7	0	19.404	0.001
<i>worse</i>	7	0	19.404	0.001
<i>compulsion</i>	9	1	19.022	0.001
<i>was</i>	422	985	18.306	0.050

4.7 Semantic tagging

The most prominent patterns emerging from the semantic tagging of the general corpus (see Table 4.20) are a strong presence of grammatical elements, and words identifying people and relationships, time and space, and structural elements. Other, less frequently attested categories include those related to quantities and measures, media and communication, experiential processes and emotional states and evaluations.

The prevalence of grammatical categories is consistent with the findings from previous analysis. Within this pattern, the categories with the highest occurrences are *Z8 Pronouns*, *Z6 Negative* (which includes negative particles), and *Q2.1 Speech: Communicative*, which includes, for example, elements such as the communicative filler *you know* and the instances of reported speech.

One macro-category, which accounts for 3,926 words (6.1% of the total), identifies people and relationships (e.g. categories *S2 People*, *S2.2 People: Male*, *S2.1 People: Female*, *S3.1 Personal relationship: General*, *S3.2 Relationship: Intimacy and sex*).

Reference to time, in the interviews, addressed through its various facets, includes 2,710 instances, constituting 4.2% of the total (e.g., *T1: Time*, *T1.3 Time: Period*, and the more specific categories *T1.1.1: Past*, *T2+ Time: Beginning* depicting commencement, *T1.1.3 Time: Future*). Space and structural elements were discussed with 2,096 occurrences, constituting 3.24% of the total (e.g. *M1 Moving, coming and going*, *M3 Vehicles and transport on land*, *H1 Architecture, houses and buildings*, *H2 Parts of buildings*, *H3 Areas around or near houses*, *H4 Residence*).

The semantic categories related to quantities and measures (e.g. *N1 Numbers*, *N5 Quantities*, *N5.1+ Entire: Maximum*, *N5.1- Part*, *N5.2+ Exceed: Waste*) are attested in 1,887 occurrences, 2.93% of the total, while those connected to media e communication (i.e. *Q1.2 Paper documents and writing*, *Q3 Language, speech and grammar*, *Q4 The media*, *Q4.1 The media: Books*, *Q2.1 Speech: Communicative*) count 1,637 instances, representing 2.54% of the total.

Finally, the semantic categories representing experiential processes (e.g. *X2.1 Thought, belief*, *X2.2 Knowledgeable*, *X3.2 Sensory: Sound*, *X3.3 Sensory: Sight*, *X4.1 Mental object: Conceptual object*) have 1,775 occurrences, representing 2.70% of the total, and those indicating emotional states and evaluations (e.g. *E2+ Like*, *E3- Violent/Angry*, *E4.1 Sad*, *E4.1+ Happy*, *E5- Fear/shock*) count 1,742 instances, 2.70% of the total.

Table 4.20: Semantic categories of the corpus, identified with the USAS semantic tagger

Code	Semantic Category	Occurrences	Code	Semantic Category	Occurrences
Z5	Grammatical bin	15510	B2-	Disease	128
Z8	Pronouns	10502	X4.2	Mental object: Means, method	125
Z4	Discourse Bin	2929	S8+	Helping	123
A3+	Existing	2194	A13.4	Degree: Approximators	121
Z6	Negative	1116	S3.1	Personal relationship: General	120
M1	Moving, coming and going	1027	A2.1	Modify, change	118
A9+	Getting and possession	1014	E4.1-	Sad	117
M6	Location and direction	987	F2	Drinks and alcohol	112
Z99	Unmatched}	877	A9-	Giving	111
S2	People	875	L1+	Alive	111
A1.1.1	General actions / making	813	A1.1.2	Damaging and destroying	109
A7+	Likely	714	M7	Places	109
Q2.1	Speech: Communicative	654	H5	Furniture and household fittings	104
X2.1	Thought, belief	566	A8	Seem	103
S9	Religion and the supernatural	560	A10-	Closed; Hiding/Hidden	100
B1	Anatomy and physiology	556	A6.1+	Comparing: Similar	99
A2.2	Cause&Effect/Connection	516	S1.1.1	Social Actions, States And Processes	96
N5+	Quantities: many/much	492	S7.4+	Allowed	96
A14	Exclusivizers/particularizers	480	X2.5+	Understanding	96
H1	Architecture, houses and buildings	471	A13.2	Degree: Maximizers	95
N5.1+	Entire; maximum	463	B3	Medicines and medical treatment	95
X2.2+	Knowledgeable	461	X4.1	Mental object: Conceptual object	95
T1.3	Time: Period	460	I2.2	Business: Selling	93
A13.3	Degree: Boosters	452	A13.1	Degree: Non-specific	88
N1	Numbers	440	X5.2+	Interested/excited/energetic	88
Z1	Personal names	430	A6.2+	Comparing: Usual	87
N5	Quantities	417	Q3	Language, speech and grammar	87
T1	Time	414	A5.1-	Evaluation: Bad	84
Q2.2	Speech acts	410	L2	Living creatures: animals, birds, etc.	84
N4	Linear order	401	Z3	Other proper names	84
G2.1	Law and order	380	G2.1-	Crime	83
T1.1.1	Time: Past	370	T1.3+	Time period: long	83
S4	Kin	367	N5.1-	Part	82
Q4.1	The Media: Books	355	F1	Food	80
X7+	Wanted	353	T3	Time: Old, new and young; age	79
T2+	Time: Beginning	348	X3.2	Sensory: Sound	78
T1.1.3	Time: Future	340	N3.2+	Size: Big	77
M2	Putting, pulling, pushing, transporting	339	A4.2+	Detailed	76
O2	Objects generally	335	G2.2-	Unethical	76
A5.1+	Evaluation: Good	325	N6	Frequency	76
S6+	Strong obligation or necessity	301	X9.2-	Failure	76
A2.1+	Change	285	X9.2+	Success	74
N6+	Frequent	266	A5.2+	Evaluation: True	73
Z2	Geographical names	248	S2.1	People: Female	73
X3.4	Sensory: Sight	219	N5-	Quantities: little	72
A6.1-	Comparing: Different	209	O4.2+	Judgement of appearance: Beautiful	72
T3-	Time: New and young	206	X2	Mental actions and processes	72
A4.1	Generally kinds, groups, examples	198	X2.4	Investigate, examine, test, search	72
H2	Parts of buildings	190	N5.2+	Exceed; waste	71
L1-	Dead	182	X1	Psychological Actions, States And Processes	71
M3	Vehicles and transport on land	181	A11.1+	Important	70
E3-	Violent/Angry	175	Q1.2	Paper documents and writing	70
A10+	Open; Finding; Showing	174	E4.1+	Happy	68
E2+	Like	169	K1	Entertainment generally	68
Z7	If	168	T3+	Time: Old; grown-up	67
S7.1+	In power	162	H3	Areas around or near houses	66
H4	Residence	161	N3.8+	Speed: Fast	65
S3.2	Relationship: Intimacy and sex	154	T1.2	Time: Momentary	65
S2.2	People: Male	153	B5	Clothes and personal belongings	64
P1	Education in general	151	E5-	Fear/shock	64
I3.1	Work and employment: Generally	147	A12-	Difficult	63
T1.1.2	Time: Present; simultaneous	146	E6-	Worry	63
S5+	Belonging to a group	140	A1.7-	No constraint	61
T2-	Time: Ending	132	Q4	The Media	61
X8+	Trying hard	129	A5.3+	Evaluation: Accurate	60

4.7.1 Semantic tagging in *John Gacy's sub-corpus*

In *John Gacy's sub-corpus*, the most prominent categories are those related to grammar (6.749 = 42.18%), spaces and places (710 = 4.44%), time (540 = 3.38%) and people and relationships (482 = 3.01%). Other categories have a smaller overall number of occurrences: those related to work (136 = 0.85%), law (132 = 0.83%), and religion (137 = 0.86%) (see Table 4.21).

The most frequent grammatical categories are *Z5 Grammatical Bin*, with 3,916 occurrences, *Z8 Pronouns* with 2859 terms, *Z4 Discourse Bin*, with 526 words and *Z6 Negative*, with 253 occurrences. A high frequency of terms in the in the category *A9+ Getting and Possession* is also evident.

The temporal references in the corpus are mainly represented by the categories *T1.3 Time: Period*, with 113 occurrences, *T1.1.1 Time: Past*, with 99 occurrences, and *T2+ Time: Beginning*, which has 85 occurrences. The spatial references are mainly represented by the categories *H1 Architecture, Houses, and Buildings* (137), *H2 Parts of Buildings* (85) and *H5 Furniture and Household Fittings* (39).

The most frequent categories related to people and relationships are *S2 People* (228 occurrences), its subcategories *S2.2 People : Male* (43 occurrences) and *S2.1 People: Female* (5 occurrences), *S4 Kin*, denoting terms related to family (113 occurrences) and *S3.2 Relationship: Intimacy and Sex*, indicating a focus on sexuality with 55 occurrences.

The category related to work is primarily represented by *I3.1 Work and Employment: Generally* with 51 occurrences, law is mainly represented by *G2.1 Law and Order* with 106 occurrences and religion is instantiated by *S9 Religion and the Supernatural* with 137 occurrences.

Certain categories exhibit a higher number of instantiations in *John Gacy's sub-corpus* compared to others. *I3.1 Work and Employment: Generally*, *I2.1 Business: Generally* and *B2 Disease*, 51, 31 and 40 occurrences, respectively.

In addition to the expected strong emphasis on grammatical elements, the data reveal a clear focus on temporal and spatial references that pertain to the events narrated. A large portion of the data is also dedicated to references about people and relationships, highlighting a predominance of mentions of males over females, as well as a particular emphasis on sexual and familial relationships. Also, work-related categories in *Gacy's sub-corpus* are more frequent compared to other corpora. Additional themes represented in the data are those related to law and religion.

Table 4.21: Semantic categories identified with the USAS semantic tagger of John Gacy's sub-corpus

Code	Occurrences	Semantic Category	Code	Occurrences	Semantic Category
Z5	3916	Grammatical bin	S7.1+	35	Power, organizing
Z8	2859	Pronouns	A4.1	34	Generally kinds, groups, examples
Z4	526	Discourse Bin	A1.1.2	32	Damaging and destroying
A3+	467	Existing	E4.1+	32	Happy
Z99	348	Unmatched	A9-	31	Giving
M1	337	Moving, coming and going	I2.1	31	Business: Generally
M6	290	Location and direction	K1	31	Entertainment generally
A9+	283	Getting and possession	F1	30	Food
Z6	253	Negative	I2.2	29	Business: Selling
S2	228	People	T1.1.2	29	Time: Present; simultaneous
A1.1.1	204	General actions / making	B5	27	Clothes and personal belongings
Q2.1	193	Speech: Communicative	Q1.2	27	Paper documents and writing
A7+	169	Likely	T1.2	27	Time: Momentary
B1	169	Anatomy and physiology	G2.1-	26	Crime
N5	169	Quantities	M4	25	Sailing, swimming, etc.
N1	164	Numbers	S8+	25	Helping
A2.2	151	Cause&Effect/Connection	A5.2+	24	Evaluation: True
Z1	149	Personal names	M7	24	Places
N4	138	Linear order	B3	23	Medicines and medical treatment
H1	137	Architecture, houses and buildings	F2	23	Drinks and alcohol
S9	137	Religion and the supernatural	H4	23	Residence
M2	136	Putting, pulling, pushing, transporting	A2.1	22	Modify, change
X2.1	130	Thought, belief	C1	22	Arts and crafts
O2	117	Objects generally	L2	22	Living creatures: animals, birds, etc.
X2.2+	116	Knowledgeable	S7.4+	22	Allowed
S4	113	Kin	A13.4	21	Degree: Approximators
T1.3	113	Time: Period	N3.8+	21	Speed: Fast
Q2.2	110	Speech acts	N6	21	Frequency
N5.1+	107	Entire; maximum	S1.2.6-	21	Foolish
G2.1	106	Law and order	M8	19	Stationary
X7+	105	Wanted	A1.8+	18	Inclusion
N5+	97	Quantities: many/much	A13.1	18	Degree: Non-specific
Q4.1	97	The Media: Books	X4.2	18	Mental object: Means, method
T1.1.1	97	Time: Past	H3	17	Areas around or near houses
H2	85	Parts of buildings	O4.1	17	General appearance and physical properties
T2+	85	Time: Beginning	T1.1	17	Time: General
N6+	83	Frequent	X2.5+	17	Understanding
A14	82	Exclusivizers/particularizers	X9.2+	17	Success
L1-	71	Dead	A6.2+	16	Comparing: Usual
Z7	69	If	K5.1	16	Sports
A5.1+	64	Evaluation: Good	N5-	16	Quantities: little
T1.1.3	58	Time: Future	S3.1	16	Personal relationship: General
T1	57	Time	X9.2-	16	Failure
A6.1-	55	Comparing: Different	A8	15	Seem
S3.2	55	Relationship: Intimacy and sex	A11.1+	15	Important
S6+	55	Strong obligation or necessity	I1.2	15	Money: Debts
X3.4	55	Sensory: Sight	E5-	14	Fear/shock
M3	54	Vehicles and transport on land	O1.1	14	Substances and materials: Solid
I3.1	51	Work and employment: Generally	S8-	14	Hindering
Z2	48	Geographical names	X1	14	Psychological Actions, States And Processes
T3-	47	Time: New and young	A12-	13	Difficult
A2.1+	44	Change	E6-	13	Worry
A13.3	44	Degree: Boosters	X8+	13	Trying hard
S2.2	43	People: Male	A5.1-	12	Evaluation: Bad
S5+	43	Belonging to a group	A5.3-	12	Evaluation: Inaccurate
X2	43	Mental actions and processes	G2.2-	12	Unethical
E2+	41	Like	N3.2+	12	Size: Big
E3-	41	Violent/Angry	N5.2+	12	Exceed; waste
B2-	40	Disease	T1.3+	12	Time period: long
T2-	40	Time: Ending	E2-	11	Dislike
A10-	39	Closed; Hiding/Hidden	G1.2	11	Politics
H5	39	Furniture and household fittings	L3	11	Plants
A6.1+	38	Comparing: Similar	N3.2-	11	Size: Small
A10+	38	Open; Finding; Showing	X4.1	11	Mental object: Conceptual object
Z3	36	Other proper names	X6+	11	Decided

4.7.2 Semantic tagging of *Ted Bundy's sub-corpus*

Most of the prominent categories in *Ted Bundy's sub-corpus* are consistent with those mentioned in previous sections (see Table 4.22): grammatical elements (6.967 = 43.53%) are mostly represented by categories *Z5 Grammatical Bin* leads, with 4,018 words, followed by *Z8 Pronouns* with 2,425, *Z4 Discourse Bin* with 555, and *Z6 Negative* with 306 words, and *A9+ Getting and Possession*; spatial references (565 = 3.53%) are represented by many categories (e.g. *H1 Architecture, Houses and Buildings*, *H4 Residence*, *H2 Parts of buildings*, *M7 Places*, *H3 Areas around or near houses*); temporal references (689 = 4.31%) are also instantiated by the high occurrence of several categories (e.g. e.g. *T1 Time* with 166 occurrences, *T1.1.3 Time: Future* with 142 occurrences, and *T1.3 Time: Period* with 88); people and relationships (460 = 2.%) count the highest occurrences in categories *S2 People*, with 238 occurrences, followed by *S2.2 People: Male* and the specific category *S3.2 Relationships: Intimacy and Sex*; legal themes (176 = 1.10%) are mostly represented by categories e.g. *G2.1 Law and Order* and *G2.1 Crime*, and religion (95 = 0.59%) by *S9 Religion and the Supernatural*.

Some categories in this sub-corpus occur more frequently than in the other corpora: *G2.1 Law and order*, *W3 Geographical terms*, *E3 Angry/Violent* and *T1.1.3 Time: Future*.

This sub-corpus is largely similar to the previous in terms of the frequency of grammatical, temporal, spatial, relational, legal, and religious categories. However, it exhibits some distinct characteristics. Temporally, it shows the highest number of future tense usages compared to other sub-corpora. In terms of interpersonal relationships, there is a prominent focus on sexual relationships, while references to family are the lowest among all semantic tags in all sub-corpora. Additionally, the sub-corpus shows a preference for themes related to law, specific geographical references, and negative, violent emotions, based on high occurrences in these categories compared to the ones in other corpora.

4.7.3 Semantic tagging of *David Berkowitz's sub-corpus*

Several of the most prominent semantic categories in *David Berkowitz's sub-corpus* mirror those observed in previous ones: grammar (7,990 occurrences = 49.94%) is mostly represented by the categories *SZ Grammatical bin* with 3846 occurrences, followed by *Z8 Pronouns* with 2714 and *Z4 Discourse Bin* with 877; time references (903 occurrences = 5.65%) reveal a preference for terms related to the past (*T1.1.1 Time: Past*, with 162 occurrences) and terms referring to specific periods of time (e.g., *T1.3 Time: Period*, with 130 occurrences); people and relationships (626 occurrences =

3.91%) count the highest occurrences in categories *S2 People*, with 241 occurrences, followed by *S2.2 People: Male*, with 67 occurrences (compared to the 37 occurrences for *S2.1 People: Female*) and *S4 Kin*, with 174 occurrences, the highest in this category across all sub-corpora; and spaces and places (588 occurrences = 3.68%) mostly represented by categories *H1 Architecture, houses, and buildings* (107 occurrences) and *H4 Residence* (33 occurrences); smaller ones include religion (224 occurrences = 1.40%) and law (135 occurrences = 0.84%) (see Table 4.23).

In this sub-corpus, some categories stand out with the highest occurrences across all sub-corpora. Specifically, *S9 Religion and the Supernatural* with 204 occurrences, *S4 Kin*, related to family, with 179 occurrences, *T1.1.1 Time: Past* with 162 occurrences, *T1.3 Time: Period* with 130 occurrences. Additionally, unlike the high occurrences found in other sub-corpora, there is an absence of the *S3.2 Relationship: Intimacy and Sex* category in this case.

This sub-corpus is overall similar to previous ones regarding the most frequent categories, but it also reveals distinctive patterns. Specifically, within the trend of using temporal references, it was observed that Berkowitz made more frequent use of references to the past or to specific periods of time compared to other sub-corpora. Additionally, in the category related to people and relationships, there is a notable preference for references to family, and a lack of terms regarding intimacy and sex, as signaled by the absence of category *S3.2 Relationship: Intimacy and Sex*, prominent in all other sub-corpora. Another significant pattern is the exceptionally high frequency of references to religion, which further distinguishes this sub-corpus.

4.7.4 Semantic tagging in *Jeffrey Dahmer's sub-corpus*

In *Jeffrey Dahmer's sub-corpus*, some recurrent semantic categories are reaffirmed, including the grammatical ones (6553 = 40.71%), the spatial ones (792 = 4.95%), the temporal ones (773 = 4.83%), those referring to people and relationships (495 = 3.94%) and the minor one related to religion (124 = 0.75) (see Table 4.24).

The grammatical category remains the most prevalent. The spatial category is notably extensive, followed by the temporal category, which indicates a preference for referring to specific periods of time (*T1.3 Time: Period* with 129 occurrences). The category related to people and relationships reaffirms the general trend towards discussing intimate and sexual relationships (*S3.2: Relationship: Intimacy and sex* with 49 occurrences) or referring to family (*S4 Kin* with 39 occurrences).

Two prominent categories emerge: health and body (e.g., *B1 Anatomy and Physiology*, *B2 Disease*, *B3 Medicines and Medical Treatment*, *B5 Clothes and Personal Belongings*) with 297 occurrences, where *B1 Anatomy and Physiology* alone accounts for 210, and personal agency and control (e.g., *S6+ Strong Obligation or Necessity*, *X7 Wanting; Planning; Choosing*, *S7+ Power, Organizing*) with 230 occurrences. Additionally, *S9 Religion and the Supernatural* (124 occurrences) and *F2 Drinks and Alcohol* (72 occurrences) show clear semantic preferences.

This sub-corpus shares similarities with the others in terms of the most frequent main categories; however, it stands out due to its prominent focus on health and the body, including terms related to diseases, medicines, medical treatment, and specific anatomical and physiological features. Additionally, it highlights personal agency and control and reveals a pattern related to drinks and alcohol.

Table 4.22: Semantic categories identified with the USAS semantic tagger of Ted Bundy's sub-corpus

Code	Occurrences	Semantic Category	Code	Occurrences	Semantic Category
Z5	4018	Grammatical bin	A13.4	34	Degree: Approximators
Z8	2425	Pronouns	X4.2	34	Mental object: Means, method
Z4	555	Discourse Bin	H2	33	Parts of buildings
A3+	528	Existing	A13.2	32	Degree: Maximizers
Z6	306	Negative	A2.1	31	Modify; change
M6	273	Location and direction	M7	31	Places
S2	238	People	G2.1-	30	Crime
M1	228	Moving, coming and going	S7.1+	30	Power, organizing
Z99	221	Unmatched	S7.4+	30	Allowed
A7+	218	Likely	A6.2+	29	Comparing: Usual
A1.1.1	217	General actions / making	E4.1-	29	Sad
A9+	186	Getting and possession	I3.1	28	Work and employment: Generally
					General appearance and physical properties
X2.1	181	Thought, belief	O4.1	28	Mental object: Conceptual object
Q2.1	169	Speech: Communicative	X4.1	28	
T1	166	Time	A9-	27	Giving
A13.3	159	Degree: Boosters	L1-	27	Dead
G2.1	146	Law and order	T2-	27	Time: Ending
T1.1.3	142	Time: Future	X2.4	27	Investigate, examine, test, search
A2.2	124	Cause&Effect/Connection	A1.7+	26	Constraint
X2.2+	123	Knowledgeable	A13.1	26	Degree: Non-specific
Q2.2	120	Speech acts	E5-	26	Fear/shock
A5.1+	117	Evaluation: Good	L1+	26	Alive
N5+	117	Quantities: many/much	X9.1+	26	Able/intelligent
N5.1+	117	Entire; maximum	A5.3+	25	Evaluation: Accurate
H1	101	Architecture, houses and buildings	X9.2+	25	Success
A14	95	Exclusivizers/particularizers	A1.4	24	Chance, luck
S9	95	Religion and the supernatural	T1.2	24	Time: Momentary
A2.1+	90	Change	W3	24	Geographical terms
T1.3	88	Time: Period	X8+	24	Trying hard
					Psychological Actions, States And Processes
N1	87	Numbers	X1	23	
A4.1	82	Generally kinds, groups, examples	A13.6	22	Degree: Diminishers
Q4.1	82	The Media: Books	H3	22	Areas around or near houses
Z2	80	Geographical names	S2.1	22	People: Female
N4	78	Linear order	S3.1	22	Personal relationship: General
S6+	78	Strong obligation or necessity	Z3	22	Other proper names
Z1	78	Personal names	A1.7-	21	No constraint
B1	73	Anatomy and physiology	A13.7	21	Degree: Minimizers
M2	72	Putting, pulling, pushing, transporting	E6-	21	Worry
N5	70	Quantities	A5.2+	20	Evaluation: True
N6+	70	Frequent	A7	20	Probability
X7+	70	Wanted	A10-	20	Closed; Hiding/Hidden
T1.1.1	69	Time: Past	Q4	20	The Media
M3	68	Vehicles and transport on land	S5-	20	Not part of a group
E3-	66	Violent/Angry	X2	20	Mental actions and processes
T1.1.2	66	Time: Present; simultaneous	X3.2	20	Sensory: Sound
T2+	62	Time: Beginning	X9.2-	20	Failure
P1	59	Education in general	A1.8+	19	Inclusion
E2+	57	Like	N3.8+	19	Speed: Fast
A6.1-	56	Comparing: Different	A5.1-	18	Evaluation: Bad
X3.4	48	Sensory: Sight	A5.4+	18	Evaluation: Authentic
A10+	47	Open; Finding; Showing	K5.1	18	Sports
S1.1.1	47	Social Actions, States And Processes	L2	18	Living creatures: animals, birds, etc.
T3-	45	Time: New and young	N5.1-	18	Part
Z7	44	If	X5.2+	18	Interested/excited/energetic
S2.2	43	People: Male	F1	17	Food
S3.2	43	Relationship: Intimacy and sex	I3.2	17	Work and employment: Professionalism
X2.5+	41	Understanding	O4.2+	17	Judgement of appearance: Beautiful
S5+	40	Belonging to a group	A5.2-	16	Evaluation: False
S8+	40	Helping	A5.3-	16	Evaluation: Inaccurate
B2-	37	Disease	A8	16	Seem
A1.1.2	36	Damaging and destroying	A13.5	16	Degree: Compromisers
S4	36	Kin	B5	16	Clothes and personal belongings
A4.2+	35	Detailed	M4	16	Sailing, swimming, etc.
A11.1+	35	Important	N3.3-	16	Distance: Near
H4	35	Residence	Q3	16	Language, speech and grammar

Table 4.23: Semantic categories identified with the USAS semantic tagger of David Berkowitz's sub-corpus

Code	Occurrences	Semantic Category	Code	Occurrences	Semantic Category
Z5	3846	Grammatical bin	X9.2-	35	Failure
Z8	2714	Pronouns	E3-	34	Violent/Angry
Z4	877	Discourse Bin	T1.1.2	34	Time: Present; simultaneous
A3+	620	Existing	B2-	33	Disease
A9+	256	Getting and possession	H4	33	Residence
S2	241	People	X3.2	33	Sensory: Sound
M1	238	Moving, coming and going	S1.1.1	31	Social Actions, States And Processes
Z6	229	Negative	X1	31	Psychological Actions, States And Processes
Q2.1	207	Speech: Communicative	H2	30	Parts of buildings
M6	204	Location and direction	N6	30	Frequency
S9	204	Religion and the supernatural	S5+	30	Belonging to a group
S4	179	Kin	X2.3+	30	Learning
A1.1.1	178	General actions / making	X4.2	30	Mental object: Means, method
N5+	170	Quantities: many/much	B3	29	Medicines and medical treatment
A7+	169	Likely	H5	29	Furniture and household fittings
T1.1.1	162	Time: Past	A12-	28	Difficult
Z1	154	Personal names	T3	28	Time: Old, new and young; age
A13.3	133	Degree: Boosters	X2.5+	28	Understanding
T1.3	130	Time: Period	A13.1	27	Degree: Non-specific
A14	128	Exclusivizers/particularizers	A13.4	27	Degree: Approximators
A2.2	118	Cause&Effect/Connection	A5.1-	26	Evaluation: Bad
Q2.2	114	Speech acts	L2	26	Living creatures: animals, birds, etc.
X2.2+	111	Knowledgeable	M7	26	Places
Z99	110	Unmatched	A9-	25	Giving
O2	108	Objects generally	A6.2+	24	Comparing: Usual
T2+	108	Time: Beginning	A13.6	23	Degree: Diminishers
H1	107	Architecture, houses and buildings	I3.1	23	Work and employment: Generally
B1	104	Anatomy and physiology	N5-	23	Quantities: little
X2.1	99	Thought, belief	X4.1	23	Mental object: Conceptual object
N5.1+	96	Entire; maximum	N3.2+	22	Size: Big
T1.1.3	90	Time: Future	T2-	22	Time: Ending
N5	81	Quantities	A13.2	21	Degree: Maximizers
G2.1	80	Law and order	H5-	21	Unfurnished
T3-	79	Time: New and young	A1.1.2	20	Damaging and destroying
A2.1+	78	Change	G2.2+	20	Ethical
N4	78	Linear order	X2.4	20	Investigate, examine, test, search
A5.1+	72	Evaluation: Good	M3	19	Vehicles and transport on land
X7+	69	Wanted	A6.1+	18	Comparing: Similar
N1	68	Numbers	A8	18	Seem
S2.2	67	People: Male	N5.1-	18	Part
P1	65	Education in general	Q1.2	18	Paper documents and writing
M2	61	Putting, pulling, pushing, transporting	X5.2+	18	Interested/excited/energetic
L1+	60	Alive	A4.2+	17	Detailed
E4.1-	58	Sad	A7	17	Probability
X3.4	57	Sensory: Sight	H3	17	Areas around or near houses
N6+	56	Frequent	S5-	17	Not part of a group
X8+	56	Trying hard	T4-	17	Time: Late
Q4.1	54	The Media: Books	A2.2-	16	Unconnected
A6.1-	52	Comparing: Different	A5.2-	16	Evaluation: False
Q3	50	Language, speech and grammar	G2.1-	16	Crime
T1	50	Time	S1.1.2+	16	Reciprocal
Z2	49	Geographical names	Z7	16	If
A4.1	47	Generally kinds, groups, examples	A5.4+	15	Evaluation: Authentic
L1-	47	Dead	N3.7+	15	Long, tall and wide
S6+	47	Strong obligation or necessity	Q4.2	15	The Media: Newspapers etc.
E2+	43	Like	E6-	14	Worry
S3.1	43	Personal relationship: General	N3.8+	14	Speed: Fast
A10+	41	Open; Finding; Showing	O4.2+	14	Judgement of appearance: Beautiful
A2.1	39	Modify, change	Q4	14	The Media
T3+	39	Time: Old; grown-up	A1.7-	13	No constraint
S2.1	37	People: Female	N5.2+	13	Exceed; waste
S7.1+	37	Power; organizing	S7.4+	13	Allowed
S8+	37	Helping	X2.5-	13	Not understanding
T1.3+	36	Time period: long	Z3	13	Other proper names
G2.2-	35	Unethical	A5.3+	12	Evaluation: Accurate

Table 4.24: Semantic categories identified with the USAS semantic tagger of Jeffrey Dahmer's sub-corpus

Code	Occurrences	Semantic Category	Code	Occurrences	Semantic Category
Z5	3730	Grammatical bin	N5.2+	37	Exceed; waste
Z8	2504	Pronouns	X8+	36	Trying hard
Z4	971	Discourse Bin	A4.1	35	Generally kinds, groups, examples
A3+	579	Existing	A10-	35	Closed; Hiding/Hidden
Z6	328	Negative	B3	35	Medicines and medical treatment
A9+	289	Getting and possession	T3-	35	Time: New and young
M1	224	Moving, coming and going	A13.2	34	Degree: Maximizers
M6	220	Location and direction	E3-	34	Violent/Angry
A1.1.1	214	General actions / making	A6.1+	33	Comparing: Similar
B1	210	Anatomy and physiology	N3.2+	33	Size: Big
Z99	198	Unmatched	X4.1	33	Mental object: Conceptual object
A14	175	Exclusivizers/particularizers	E4.2+	32	Content
S2	168	People	T1.3+	32	Time period: long
A7+	158	Likely	O4.2+	31	Judgement of appearance: Beautiful
X2.1	156	Thought, belief	S7.4+	31	Allowed
N5.1+	143	Entire; maximum	H5	29	Furniture and household fittings
T1	141	Time	A5.1-	28	Evaluation: Bad
T1.3	129	Time: Period	A9-	28	Giving
H1	126	Architecture, houses and buildings	E2+	28	Like
S9	124	Religion and the supernatural	M7	28	Places
A2.2	123	Cause&Effect/Connection	S5+	27	Belonging to a group
Q4.1	122	The Media: Books	A2.1	26	Modify, change
N1	121	Numbers	F1	26	Food
S6+	121	Strong obligation or necessity	X2.4	25	Investigate, examine, test, search
A13.3	116	Degree: Boosters	E4.1-	24	Sad
X2.2+	111	Knowledgeable	O1	24	Substances and materials generally
O2	110	Objects generally	A1.7-	23	No constraint
X7+	109	Wanted	Q4	23	The Media
N5+	108	Quantities: many/much	X9.2+	23	Success
N4	107	Linear order	A1.1.2	21	Damaging and destroying
N5	97	Quantities	O4.2-	21	Judgement of appearance: Ugly
T2+	93	Time: Beginning	S8+	21	Helping
Q2.1	85	Speech: Communicative	A5.2-	20	Evaluation: False
A2.1+	73	Change	L1+	20	Alive
A5.1+	72	Evaluation: Good	P1	20	Education in general
F2	72	Drinks and alcohol	A5.2+	19	Evaluation: True
Z2	71	Geographical names	N5-	19	Quantities: little
H4	70	Residence	A6.2+	18	Comparing: Usual
M2	70	Putting, pulling, pushing, transporting	B2-	18	Disease
Q2.2	66	Speech acts	C1	18	Arts and crafts
S7.1+	60	In power	L2	18	Living creatures: animals, birds, etc.
X3.4	59	Sensory: Sight	O4.3	18	Colour and colour patterns
N6+	57	Frequent	X2.2-	18	No knowledge
A8	54	Seem	A5.3+	17	Evaluation: Accurate
T1.1.3	50	Time: Future	A13.1	17	Degree: Non-specific
S3.2	49	Relationship: Intimacy and sex	B4	17	Cleaning and personal care
Z1	49	Personal names	T1.1.2	17	Time: Present; simultaneous
A10+	48	Open; Finding; Showing	A4.2+	16	Detailed
G2.1	48	Law and order	A7	16	Probability
A6.1-	46	Comparing: Different	E4.1+	16	Happy
I3.1	45	Work and employment: Generally	Q4.3	16	The Media: TV, Radio and Cinema
T2-	43	Time: Ending	W3	16	Geographical terms
X4.2	43	Mental object: Means, method	A13.7	15	Degree: Minimizers
X5.2+	43	Interested/excited/energetic	E6-	15	Worry
H2	42	Parts of buildings	O3	15	Electricity and electrical equipment
I2.2	42	Business: Selling	Q3	15	Language, speech and grammar
T1.1.1	42	Time: Past	X3.2	15	Sensory: Sound
M3	40	Vehicles and transport on land	A1.5.1	14	Using
A13.4	39	Degree: Approximators	A5.4+	14	Evaluation: Authentic
S3.1	39	Personal relationship: General	B5	14	Clothes and personal belongings
S4	39	Kin	G2.2-	14	Unethical
Z7	39	If	M8	14	Stationary
N5.1-	38	Part	N3.2-	14	Size: Small
T3	38	Time: Old, new and young; age	N6-	14	Infrequent
L1-	37	Dead	O4.6-	14	Temperature: Cold

4.8. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented the results of an inductive, automatic bottom-up analysis of the lexical make-up of the corpus considered. Frequently occurring words and word combinations, distinctive words, and attested semantic categories have shown shared trends relevant to the whole corpus and more local patterns relevant to specific sub-corpora. In the next chapter, I will comment on and draw the implications from the findings.

CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I summarize and discuss the findings of my study. In Section 5.2, I recapitulate the issues addressed and the investigative methods employed. In Section 5.3, I outline and summarize the main results. In Section 5.4, I discuss these results, and in Section 5.5, I reflect on the limitations of the study while offering recommendations for future research.

5.2. Research objectives and methodological framework

Individuals with psychopathy and ASPD often exhibit behavioral characteristics distinct from those of the general population, as documented in diagnostic manuals such as the *DSM-5* and observed in real-life cases. The hypothesis underlying this thesis was that, given their distinct behavioral peculiarities, these individuals might manifest distinctive and recurring linguistic and discursive choices, even potentially linked to their pathological characteristics. Consequently, this study aimed to uncover if that was the case. Utilizing corpus analysis tools such as *AntConc* and the *UCREL Semantic Analysis System (USAS)*, I identified frequent words and word combinations and the main semantic notions characterizing a corpus of interview data with 4 criminals defined as psychopaths. I examined both the corpus as a whole and the specific sub-corpora relevant to the interviewees taken into consideration.

5.3. Main findings about the corpus

The analysis of word frequencies revealed that function words account for 91.4% of the most common words, with a prevalence of self-referential terms like *I*, *me*, *myself* and *my*. The term *you* also appeared frequently, serving functions such as direct address, reported speech, impersonal references, and self-reference. Overall, the most frequent words identified three main semantic domains: generic notions, familial and childhood experiences, and crime-related topics.

Function words were predominant also in each sub-corpus, especially *I* and other self referential words. However, distinct thematic preferences emerged across the sub-corpora: John Gacy's focused on crime, violence, and clowning; Ted Bundy's on legal terms, geographic locations, and violence; David Berkowitz's on family history, religion, and crime; and Jeffrey Dahmer's on criminal behavior and substance use.

Analysis of 4-word clusters showed that those around *I* featured frequent negations and experiential verbs, while clusters around *my* often included family-related and personal words. Clusters around *he*, *she* and *they* mainly described actions and states. Among the sub-corpora, frequent 4-Grams highlighted the recurrence of negations and self-referential words, with the phrase *I don't know* being common. In addition, N-Grams specific to the sub-corpora included phrases encoding temporal references, familial themes, and locations.

Keyword analysis revealed that John Gacy focused on physical spaces, sexuality, concealment, and his hobbies; Ted Bundy on personal identity, geography, criminal behavior, and early life; David Berkowitz on family, religion, and occult beliefs; and Jeffrey Dahmer on criminal mental states, substance use, and body references.

Semantic tagging confirmed a general predominance of grammatical categories, interpersonal dynamics, temporal and spatial contexts, psychological experiences, and evaluative language. Across all sub-corpora, shared themes included grammar, people, family, religion, and body references. At the same time, some specific preferences emerged as well, such as Gacy's focus on sexual and architectural contexts, Bundy's on legal and geographical terms, Berkowitz's on temporal and spatial references, and Dahmer's on personal agency, control, and substance use.

5.4. Discussion of the findings

The prominence of function words in the corpus is not surprising, as these words are frequent in most English discourse. However, the exceptionally high frequency of the first-person singular pronoun *I*, along with other self-referential words such as *my*, *me*, *myself*, and *mine*, suggests that the individuals considered were self-centered. This also extends to the use of *you*. Indeed, as highlighted in the analysis, the second-person pronoun was frequently employed by the subjects to construct a narrative that was actually about themselves. One possible interpretation of this is that language may reflect a self-centered worldview characterized by an inflated self-perception of superiority. It may also indicate that individuals engage in interpersonal interactions primarily to advance their own goals, directing narratives to serve their interests; that is, they prioritize their own needs and desires over those of others, revealing a reluctance or inability to consider perspectives beyond their own and a lack of interest in others' concerns.

The above results find support in the specifications provided in the *DSM* regarding ASPD and psychopathy. According to the *DSM*, key characteristics of ASPD include, among others, identity

(i.e. egocentrism; self-esteem derived from personal gain, power, or pleasure) and self-direction (i.e. goal-setting based on personal gratification, with an absence of pro-social internal standards, often resulting in failure to conform to lawful or culturally normative ethical behavior). Furthermore, the *DSM* specifies that the psychopathic variant of ASPD is “characterized by low levels of anxiousness and withdrawal, coupled with high levels of attention-seeking behavior” (p. 885), which further strengthens the hypothesis of heightened egocentrism.

Among the semantic categories identified through the wordlist analysis is that of general and common notions or entities (e.g. *people, things, something*). This was expected, as the use of broad terminology is typical of spoken language. However, the presence of words relevant to the topics of family, childhood and crime require a further comment. Indeed, spurred on by those data, I carried out an in depth reading of the interviews. This revealed that discussions about one’s family frequently appeared mainly in spontaneous narratives, whereas references to criminality predominantly emerged in response to direct interview questions. By concentrating on familial matters, individuals with ASPD might be redirecting the conversation away from more sensitive or uncomfortable subjects, such as criminal behavior. Indeed, when asked specific questions about their crimes, the subjects often displayed an evasive attitude. Ted Bundy, for example, frequently refused to answer detailed questions about the murders, as evident from an excerpt of his interview with James Dobson:

JD: One of the final murders you that committed in the course, apparently, was the little Kimberly Leach which was 12 years of age. I think the public outcry is greater there because an innocent child was taken from a playground. What did you feel after that? Was there, were there the normal emotions three days... Where were you, Ted?

TB: I, I can’t really talk about that right now. That’s ...

JD: That’ s too painful.

TB: I would like to... uh, I’d like be able to convey to you what that... that experience is like... but I can’t, I won’t be able to talk about that.

The analysis of clusters revealed that the interviewees talked in different ways about themselves vs other people. For example, the clusters around *I* show the predominant use of negations combined with experiential verbs. Therefore, in these text segments, the interviewees represent themselves as sentient beings, but not deliberate agents, and also as not involved in the processes encoded. This may indicate a tendency toward denial and self-protection, that is, that speakers may be attempting to

distance themselves from certain experiences or behaviors, possibly to avoid responsibility or minimize accountability for their actions.

In contrast, clusters surrounding the pronouns *he*, *she* and *they* generally lack negations, and predominantly include experiential, stative, and action verbs. The absence of negations associated with these verbs and pronouns shows that the speaker is attributing the involvement of the referents in the actions and events described.

In line with this, the N-Gram analysis revealed that the most frequent phrase in the corpus, and across all sub-corpora was *I don't know*; its frequent use may be a strategy for expressing uncertainty and avoidance, a way for interviewees to distance themselves from specific details or events. This allowed them to deflect responsibility and minimize accountability, thereby protecting themselves from scrutiny and uncomfortable truths.

John Gacy's keyword analysis highlighted a focus on the themes of concealment, physical space, professional life and sexuality. The prominence of the first three was expected, as directly tied to narratives about his criminal or business activities. However, the frequent use of sexual terms can be motivated with Gacy's frequent reference to his hidden homosexuality. Indeed, he engaged in sexual relations with young men and boys. In the interviews, he framed his actions as expressions of bisexuality and as a form of stress release, while he labeled homosexuals as "sick". The repeated emphasis on sexual language may indicate an attempt to rationalize or justify his behaviors and thoughts about sexuality. An emblematic statement regarding this is the following:

"Now a bisexual has sex just for having sex. To me, it's like a form of masturbation. I'll have sex with either one with no feeling involved. So I honestly can say that I've never had a homosexual relationship, because all I've ever, you know, either oral or anal intercourse, with no lovemaking. There was no feeling there. There was no love."

The keyword analysis revealed that Ted Bundy's narratives were mainly linked to his personal identity, background, and criminal behavior. Keywords such as his name, and those encoding his geographic origin, interests, education, and violence are prominent in his sub-corpus, but also expected. The word *women* was used with particular frequency in this sub-corpus compared to the other ones. This is motivated by Bundy's criminal record—his victims were predominantly young women and girls, who he objectified and dehumanized, as is exemplified in the following statement:

"Women are possessions. Beings which are subservient more often than not, to males. Women are merchandise. From the pornographic, through Playboy, right on up to the evening news. So

there is no denying the sexual component. However, sex has significance. Only in the context of a much broader scheme of things. That is possession, control, violence”.

The frequency of words related to women underscores not only his criminal focus, but also his deep-seated misogyny and the manner in which he rationalized his actions within a framework of possession and dominance.

The keyword analysis of *David Berkowitz's sub-corpus* revealed a focus on religion, occult influences, family, and personal identity. While Berkowitz, after being arrested, eventually claimed that his references to being possessed by occult entities were mere justifications for his crimes, the emphasis on religious and familial themes is particularly noteworthy. Berkowitz's frequent mention of religious terms, particularly from prison, suggests a possible attempt to rationalize and minimize the severity of his actions. He attributed his salvation and healing to God, Jesus, and the Bible, insisting on it multiple times, one of his emblematic statements being “I have no problem, no mental or emotional problems. Whatever I had in the past, God has completely and totally healed me of that”. Additionally, Berkowitz's extensive use of keywords related to family suggested possible discussions connected to the tumultuous history of his family; this was confirmed by a thorough reading of this sub-corpus. This is in fact characterized by detailed accounts of abandonment, abuse, and betrayal, which could be interpreted as an attempt to elicit sympathy or to frame his actions within a context of personal suffering. This focus on his familial background may serve to highlight perceived injustices and hardships, thereby seeking to garner understanding or leniency for his behavior.

The keyword analysis of *Jeffrey Dahmer's sub-corpus* revealed a focus on locations, substance use, corporeal references, and also mental states and compulsions. The references to locations, substance use, and corporeal terms are directly related to the criminal aspects of his narrative and seem coherent with the context. The prominence of words denoting mental states and compulsions, instead, warrants closer examination, as Dahmer frequently claimed he derived no satisfaction from the murders, describing them as acts driven by an overpowering compulsion. By emphasizing his mental states, he may have aimed to frame his criminal behavior as a result of uncontrollable forces beyond his control. This is evident from his statements such as: “[...] the compulsion to do it was too strong. And I didn't even try to stop it after that” and: “No, the killing wasn't the objective. I just wanted to have the person under my complete control”. While this aligns with the context of mental disorders and may reflect Dahmer's genuine psychological experiences, his diagnosis of ASPD did not preclude him from being declared competent to stand trial. Therefore, his focus on mental states could represent a justification for his behavior.

The semantic tagging of the corpus revealed a high occurrence of the semantic categories of grammatical elements, people and relationships, time and its specifics, space and structural elements, and less prominent categories like quantities and measures, media and communication, experiential processes and emotional states and evaluations.

The high number of pronouns, negative particles, and communicative speech suggests a strong focus on personal perspectives and social interactions. This appears to emphasize individual viewpoints and dynamics of communication within the narratives. Additionally, the high presence of semantic categories related to people, relationships, and emotional states indicates an emphasis on social relationships and emotional experiences, including narratives about interactions with others, personal relationships, and evaluations of emotional states.

The high frequency of words related to time and spatial elements revealed by the semantic tagging underscores a focus on contextual details within the narratives. Specifically, the prominence of spatial terms reflects a concentrated effort to anchor personal experiences and social interactions within specific physical settings and locations. Furthermore, the substantial presence of terms associated with physical and structural elements, as well as experiential processes, highlights a detailed depiction of physical spaces intertwined with sensory experiences.

As evidenced by the semantic tagging, there are only 430 occurrences of proper names in the entire corpus. These identify religious figures (i.e. *God, Jesus, Christ*), the interviewees themselves (i.e., *David, Bundy, John, Ted, Falco, Richard, Gacy, Berkowitz, Jeffrey, Dahmer*), and individuals associated with their lives, such as spouses, partners, and parents, but also lawyers, police officers, family and certain cultural figures from books or films. The names of the victims were mentioned only 65 times in total in the corpus. This may suggest a deliberate omission of specific references to victims, possibly indicating an attempt to dissociate from them.

5.5. Conclusion

The results obtained in this study partially align with existing literature on the language of psychopathic and antisocial individuals as revealed by the prevalent use of self-referential language, the focus on the themes of crime and violence, and the frequent occurrence of negations.

However, this study, with its original corpus-driven approach, has revealed local linguistic features not identified in previous research: the use of the pronoun *you* for self-reference; the frequent co-occurrence of the pronoun *I* with experiential verbs in the negative form; the use of third-person

pronouns with experiential, stative, and action verbs in the affirmative form; the frequency of words relevant to the semantic categories of grammar, temporal and spatial circumstances, people and relationships, religion. This study has also identified semantic categories specific to, or at least prominent in, each sub-corpus, namely physical spaces, sexuality and work environment in *John Gacy's sub-corpus*; identity, legal and geographical features in *Ted Bundy's sub-corpus*; religion, family and occult beliefs in *David Berkowitz's sub-corpus*; and crime, substance use and anatomical references in *Jeffrey Dahmer's sub-corpus*.

Traditionally, mental disorders have been diagnosed based on genetic, biological, psychological, behavioral, and environmental factors, including social and cultural influences. However, given the recurrent symptoms and behaviors associated with these disorders, identifying linguistic factors associated with them could further refine psychopathic and antisocial profiles. This study has made a small contribution in this direction. Further research may improve the detection of such traits, which would be of use to law enforcement, legal professionals and mental health practitioners, who need to be able to recognize the telling signs of such mental disorders in forensic settings and aid in developing more detailed diagnostic profiles.

However, this thesis has suffered from some limitations. For instance, the transcription of the data was carried out primarily manually, which may have resulted in occasional inaccuracies. To address this issue, reducing reliance on manual processes and implementing automated transcription tools could minimize potential errors ensuring greater accuracy and reliability. Also, the high number of unmatched words (877 = 1.37%) after the semantic tagging of the corpus would have required further manual analysis; a systematic approach to refining the tagging process could enhance the quality of the analyses. Another limitation was the decision to examine only parts of the interview transcripts, rather than the full texts. If all the transcripts had been fully examined, the unique characteristics of each interviewee could have emerged more clearly. Furthermore, only four individuals with psychopathy and ASPD were considered; if the range of interviewees had been broader, the sample would have been more representative.

This study employed only a corpus-driven approach, while additional analyses might have been conducted: for example, analyzing of the degree of agentivity of the subjects, focusing on the verbs that refer to the criminals and victims, to understand to what extent they present themselves as responsible for, and to blame for, their actions; examining the narrative strategies used by the offenders, to uncover how they construct their stories; exploring the evaluative language present in the corpus so as to examine how individuals frame their experiences and the world around them; and

adopting a critical discourse analytical approach to examine how language may reflect (interpretations of) power relations, ideology and social control:

Future research could incorporate alternative data sources, such as letters or written correspondence, online communications, personal journals or diaries, court hearing declarations or transcripts from therapeutic sessions. On the other hand, comparative studies involving interviews with female offenders could reveal possible gender-related differences in language use and narrative styles. Similarly, other comparative studies could involve offenders of different age groups, and individuals with psychopathy or ASPD vs different diagnoses.

Various linguistic features could be investigated within the same dataset to gain a comprehensive understanding of communication patterns in individuals with ASPD. For instance, analyzing syntactic structures could reveal the complexity and variety of sentence constructions, while examining turn-taking mechanisms may highlight how individuals with ASPD manage interpersonal dynamics, such as interrupting, dominating, or ignoring social cues. Pragmatic markers could provide insight into how they structure interactions and maintain social engagement. Assessing lexical variety and complexity could help identify their linguistic richness and communication strategies in different contexts. Analyzing speech acts could offer a window into their communicative intentions and their management of social power or politeness. Studying metaphors and figurative language may uncover their ability to use or understand symbolic and non-literal expressions, offering clues about their cognitive flexibility and emotional depth, while politeness strategies could reveal their sensitivity to social norms and interpersonal relationships.

Longitudinal studies tracking changes in linguistic patterns over time in individuals with ASPD could provide insights into the progression of the disorder and its impact on communication, while cross-cultural comparisons investigating linguistic patterns in psychopathy and ASPD across different cultures could uncover how cultural contexts influence language use and communication styles among offenders. Finally, integrating psychological assessments alongside linguistic analyses could offer a deeper understanding of the relationship between language use and psychopathic traits.

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APPENDIX A

Transcript of John Gacy's interview with Robert Ressler

The interview is based on an audio file sourced from the YouTube video available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BWpJdQ0t4rU&t=5s>.

RR: My question would be to you, right off the bat, is why after so many years of silence, never having a media interview, and people have said that you have given them interviews in years...

JG: Well, that's hogwash.

RR: yeah.

JG: That's strictly hogwash.

RR: So we're saying...

JG: I'm constantly told that I... I'm misquoted constantly saying I said this, I said that, and it's not happening.

RR: So it's pretty well established that this is the first time you're speaking publicly about your case.

JG: Right.

RR: Yeah.

JG: I've always felt that my attorneys were handling it and they said to keep a low profile and stay away from it and... uh... in light of all that has been used against me, in the media, they created this fantasy monster image, and it's been going on for the last 12 years, and I've ever had no comment, and I had no need to talk to the media for the simple reason that they were looking for sensationalism and they were looking for the monster.

RR: When you say "fantasy monster image", what are you referring to by that?

JG: Well the idea that... that I'm, I'm a homosexual thrill killer and all that, that garbage, and they have painted this image of me... that... like I, I strolled down the streets and stalked young boys and I slaughtered them. Hell, if you could see my schedule, my work schedule, you'd know damn well that I was never out there.

RR: Well, you, you were now, you were indicted, convicted and sentenced on 33 counts of... of... of homicide, is that correct?

JG: That's correct.

Reporter's assistant fixes John Gacy's microphone

JG: See, I was gonna ask you, insofar as sound goes, if I'm down with my head does that hurt your sound quality?

Assistant: No, it's ok, just don't... try not to move around too much. If you break into song, give him a cue.

JG: No I ain't gonna break into any song. We'll go into the lead in as to, as you know, you were at... 1978.

JG: You were present.

RR: Yeah. Ok, that's where I'd like to start, and I'd like to kind of go through...

JG: What do you got there? Let's see your list...

RR: I'd just like to go through the generalities, maybe talk about the background of the thing, the... the original case.

JG: Uh... bleeping of the language, yeah, I will watch the language [laughs].

RR: Yeah, he's gonna try [laugh]. John does tend to slip into uh...

JG: Well, I call it as I see it, some people can't understand that [smiles].

All right so whenever the hell they're ready.

RR: Now, gimme kind of just an overview of the business that you eventually established, the...the construction work. Is it self taught then...

JG tosses: Sorry.

RR: the... the construction and...

JG: Yeah.

RR: maintenance work?

JG: I started doing painting and then I started doing wall papering and decorating, and inside of three years of PDM, which is painting decorating and maintenance, was doing a million dollars a year.

RR: And that was...

JG: And I only had four employees.

RR: And that was the business you were in at the time of the arrest.^[1]JG: That's correct. PDM in 1974 became a corporation and then I owned PDM contractors corporation, I owned PDM plumbing, PDM concrete and PDM decorating.

RR: Uh-Uh.

JG: And then I branched off with another partner into Rafco construction.

RR: Uh-uh.

JG: And... from there, uh, we were doing strictly drugstores.

RR: Now, they did not search the house at the time, or look through the house?

JG: No. Accord, according... uh, afterwards, they, they're claiming that they came to the front door of the house, knocked on the door and that I hid from them.

RR: Why didn't you let them in at that time when they were knocking at the front door?

JG: There's no way I could have heard them, I was, I was way in the back of the house,

RR: the back...

JG: in the rec room, on the telephone. When I walked finally, walked around the side of the house, I could look out the picture window, see them there, cause I was on the phone and they could see me clearly too, sitting on the couch on the telephone, cause I was talking to my sister in regards to a death in our family. So I, I told her that I would call her back, got up, went to the door and they... and he introduced himself as Kozenczak and Pickle, and they wanted to come in and talk to me about, uh... Robert Piest. And I told them I had not had any conversation with him, but I said if you wanna talk to me, then come back there. They wanted me to come down to the police station. Ok, well, I didn't have time cause I was doing work for the county and stuff like that. I went into the police station finally on the next day after, this was after Zach and Pickle were at the house. They had asked me to come in and give me an account of my whereabouts. The thing of it, is that... uh... that same day, they held me there at for nine hours, and while holding me there for nine hours they executed a search warrant. The first search warrant was executed on December 13th. That is the search warrant where they claimed they went through the house, looking for Robert Piest. It was written up to be looking for Robert Piece. And Robert Piest wasn't there.

RR: Uh, the police said that, uh, focused in on you as being the suspect in the missing boy and eventually, uh...

JG: Well, they were following me around.

RR: Following you?

JG: Yeah, constantly. On December 13th, I had made a statement to the police department. And from that date forward, uh, they were had me under surveillance. The only trouble is, is that the Mickey Mouse way they were doing it, they had two cars following me day and night. And they had trouble keeping up with meso I used to go out to the car in the morning and tell them where I was going, so in case they got lost, because at the time, I was doing five construction jobs in five parts of the city. So in, in essence, I was all over the place. But this was like Keystone Cops trying to follow me around.

RR: Is that one photograph of you and Rosalyn Carter...?

JG: Yeah. This is Rosalyn Carter... well, the Secret Service tries to cover it up and so, well, we don't know how he got into the picture. Hell, I was in charge of the reception.

I had to stand at the door and let them know which politicians were allowed in and which ones weren't. The thing of it is, but the, uh, the Secret Service wanted to cover up and make it sound like, that, I had no business there.

I was cleared, and that was with the Secret Service at the time and setting up the parade route and everything, because I used to set up the parades for the Polish Alliance, and then for three years in a row, I had set up the parades to, to run. And, you know, that's a big feat getting, uh, 20,000 Polish people to go in one direction at one time. The subdivision where the Summerdale House is located, is built on a clay field. And when it rained, the rain would come down from both ends and it would flood from, from one house to the other. The crawlspace would fill up with water. In 1976, I asked a landscaper, I said, what do you do for for that sour odor of clay? And he said, spread white lime, just regular masonry lime on the ground.

He said, it'll sweeten up the clay and you won't have that odor. It's sort of like whatcharcoal does in filtering things. That's why the lime was spread in the crawlspace.

RR: How much lime was spread down there eventually?

JG: uh, I think 7 or 800 pounds of it. The first search warrant was executed on December 13th. However, what is strange is you had 20 trained officers that came into that house, supposedly went down in the crawl space, crawled around, there was no mounds of dirt. There was no odor. There was no nothing.

I never feared anybody going down the crawl space. The clowning was relaxation for me. I enjoyed entertaining kids, like some people are... uh, you know, they... they unwind in different ways, either either by going out drinking or that, I could put on clown makeup, and I was relaxed and I enjoyed doing it.

I was, uh... twice. It was only twice a month that I did it.

RR: Yeah. This was not used then for allure, to... to draw kids to you as, as the...

JG: No. We would visit, uh... different hospitals, and entertain the children there. And we didn't entertain them with handcuffs or anything like that. All we used was, uh, balloon animals and small toys and stuff like that. But we also did parades. And in the summertime, like on 4th of July, I used to be in four parades, in one day. I've always told people, when, when, I got into clown makeup, I regressed into childhood. It was fun being a clown because you could, you... you could be yourself or just let yourself go and act a fool.

You could be slapstick and funny and have a good time. That's why I always enjoyed clowning. Clowning has taken a bad name. I... because of what they've used in my case.

RR: On a historical note, your, your Iowa conviction, goes back to what year was that?

JG: 1968.

RR: 68. And what was just in a nutshell, you know, without getting into too deeply, what was the, uh, the basis of the Iowa conviction?

JG: The basis of it... it was a sodomy conviction. It's the only thing I ever was sentenced to, was a sodomy conviction. They're claiming that the state representative son, who was on the other party, uh, he claims that he was sexually abused by me.

And in essence, he was blackmailing me for it. Now, what it... boils down to, was oral copulation, and it was consensual. I moved to Waterloo, Iowa. I was honored as man of the year, because besides working full time, I also, you know, I was a chaplain for the JCS and also ran the membership campaign. And of course, we used pornography. Uh, we had... [laughs] uh, stag shows.

And that's how we increased the membership from 150 to 400... 400 members. In that JC chapter. We were dealing with porno films, and we had a girl set up in a room in that. So it was, you know, the thing to do. We were boosting membership from it. So nobody said a word about it. At the time, uh, this young individual, made the charge at me, he was blackmailing me. He wanted more and more money. He said, look, I gave you a blowjob. Now you gotta pay for this. You gotta... I said, uh, go, go see your father.

He wasn't getting along with his father, but they came down heavy on me.

RR: How about your dad? Uh, John, you had mentioned that, uh, you could never really, uh, please him. That he had talked to, of you...

JG: And I did not hate my... I didn't hate my dad, either.

RR: But he did, he did have a hard... upbringing with him, did you not?

JG: My, my dad came from the old country, uh, limited education. But he was a good provider, and... with strong will and strong views. He was also an alcoholic, sorry to say.

RR: Was he abusive? Did he strike out at you for...

JG: When, when he... he drank, he was almost like a different person. Uh, my dad, uh, struck all of his children, all the time. Yeah.

RR: When you paroled out, where did where did you set up, uh, establish, your residency?

JG: I was, I was under the interstate compact. I was paroled back to Illinois. And you went to Springfield first, did you not?

JG: No. Directly to Chicago. Because I had a job working at Bruno's restaurant. That was a requirement of... of interstate compact transfer. You had to have a job and a place to stay.

I moved in with my mother, in the condominium I had. My dad had just passed away, so I, I live with my mother, and worked at Bruno's as a chef.

When I first got out on parole, for the next two years, I stayed with Bruno's restaurant. Um, and I worked for them. But on the on the side I used to work from,

I used to go in at 4:00 in the morning and get off at 2:00 in the afternoon, and to me, that was too short of a day, not enough work. So I started doing odd jobs painting. And, uh, I found that, on the weekends, the afternoons and the, and the weekends, I was making more money than I was as a chef. Even though I was getting, uh, 12 something an hour. I borrowed 600 dollars from my mother, and through odd jobs, I left the chef business. Um, I, I owned PDM contractors. PDM was able to work 52 weeks out of the year, while most construction companies shut down for the winter. I never had time to shut down, because I had them on a waiting list. Our business was growing at that rapid rate. That Summerdale house was rented to PDM contractors, and like the living room, was the front office. The dining room of that house was like a boardroom, because it was an eight by ten foot table with big caps and shares, because we use it as a boardroom for meetings.

RR: the media has, has, has... called you a homosexual killer. What is your position on homosexuality? I have nothing against it.

JG: I'm I'm an outspoken liberal. I don't care for the... the labeling. I don't care for any labeling, for that fact.

RR: Do you claim to be do you claim to homosexuality?

JG: No. I would, uh, definitely not be homosexual. Uh, I have nothing against what they do. And I don't deny that, uh, I've engaged in sex with males, but that I'm bisexual

RR: You're bisexual.

JG: Right. I my preference is women. And I've been married enough times and have children, and I see nothing wrong with it. My dad had conservative values. If you're out after midnight, you're up to no good. My dad did not believe it. If you're out after dark and you didn't leave a phone number, you were up to no good. So I think that's why I tended to go that way more, just to be the opposite of him.

I was married twice, and just because I didn't get along in the marriages... my marriages went down the drain only because I was a workaholic, working seven days a week and that. There was 12 keys out to the house.

RR: 12 sets of keys?

JG: 12 sets of keys. Anybody working for PDM contractors had a set of keys for the house, so you could come and go when you wanted it. And of course, my neighbors would keep me informed. They would inform me, God, while you were out of town. They, they must have been partying all night there.

RR: Who is Rossi?

JG: Michael Rossi was an employee of PDM.

RR: Uh-uh. And, uh, how old was he at the time? Who was he?

JG: He was 20 years old. Insofar as being bisexual. If I wanted to engage in sex, Rossi and Cram were willing to go down on me anytime I wanted to, providing they were given stuff.

RR: Now, when the, when the search warrants were affected in your case, uh, they did, they did find an awful lot in the crawl space of your home, did they not?

JG: Well, yeah, I had offered to sell them the house, because I thought, there was nothing down in the crawl space.

JG: I had never, uh, had any qualms about them going down in the crawl space.

RR: Well, how many bodies were actually located on the property? And where?

JG: To my understanding, there was a total of 29 bodies or 28 bodies, were found on the property; 26, 27 of them under the house.

RR: and the rest?

JG: one was under the driveway, one was under the garage. So that makes a total of 29.

RR: Okay. Now, uh, from the standpoint of the arrest, when you were arrested in this, in this matter, uh, uh...

JG: it's snowballed.

RR: It's, it's snowballed. Okay. What, what was the date of that arrest? Do you recall?

JG: Uh, December 22nd, 1978 is when I was arrested. The rope trick is not... the way I've described the rope trick its, it's nothing more than a tourniquet.

JG: And I had explained it to them. I even demonstrated it to them. We cut off the air.

RR: Uh-uh.

JG: So if you're going to kill somebody, you, you just put it on their neck and twist it three times or four times or whatever... until the person stops moving.

RR: and you took them where?

JG: Out on the I-55 bridge.

RR: And that's where... How was he then taken from the car and placed into the, into the river?

JG: I just opened up the truck and dump it in.

RR: Uh-uh. Okay.

JG: There was no, there was no big special deal.

JG: I couldn't get down in the crawl space that easy. And then I had a bum back to begin with. You got to crawl on your belly, to move around in the crawl space. There is no way that I could have done any of the digging down there. I had enough trouble [laughs] just getting down there.

JG: Gregory, Gregory Gratzik. Uh, let's see, number four. Gregory Godzik had came, come to work for me in 19... according to this 1976. He came to us through Taft High School, through a program. He had worked for Republic Lumber Company. Then he came to work for us.

JG: I'm not the monster image that's been portrayed of me. And the only way you can make a monster image is, is to make it look like I stalked the streets and picked up alter boys off the street. You know, they want to make them look like innocent babes in the woods and I was was swatting them like flies. My encounters were always by happen chance. If you pull up a stoplight and there's somebody standing there waiting for a bus, if you give them a ride, if you ask

them whether they, you know... do you you get in anything or you want... want, uh, drugs or something like that. That's how it happened. Always, uh, a happen chance encounter.

RR: a number of, uh, what, 3 or 4 psychiatrists, psychologists interviewed...

JG: I had 13 of them. There was six for the defense and seven for the, uh, the state.

RR: Yeah. What was the, the...

JG: The state's actors...

RR: decision of the defense psychiatrists? What did they feel your problem was? Uh, what did they come up with from the standpoint of...

JG: Bord...uh, what the hell is it? God, I can't remember offhand. Borderline personality. Uh, antisocial behavior. I don't see how anybody can be antisocial. When... when you were involved with the public as much as I was.

RR: How about the...the, uh, multiple personality issue?

JG: Oh, the multiple personality in, uh... came out of, uh, doctor Reifman and Hartman. These two clowns from the, uh, from the Cook County there. They came to see me the first time and I said, do you want to talk to John Wayne Gacy, the politician, the clown, the family man or the businessman? The next day, I see it in the newspaper "Gacy has four personalities".

I think one of the headlines said I was a "homosexual", "mass murderer", "confessed mass murder". There is no confession. And we offered, uh, uh, I offered as much as \$10,000 if you can produce a confession where I confessed to a crime. The time that I was interrogated by the police officers, there was no stenographer, there was no tape recording, there was no videotaping. Nothing was ever taken down. Yet everywhere you'll see there's, there's five confessions by John Wayne Gacy. Now, if I confessed to something, then why wasn't it videotaped? Why wasn't it recorded? Why wasn't a stenographer brought in, had it written up and had me sign it? There is no confessions in this case. What I did not know about this insanity defense is that in the state of Illinois, when you plead not guilty by reason of insanity, you're saying that you committed the crime, but that you were insane at the time. So it's not a question of innocent or guilt anymore. What... what they're trying to do is your whole trial now becomes an insanity trial, where...where you're to decide whether a person is sane or insane.

RR: John, how about Tim McCoy, the last one of the five that you say you have personal knowledge of?

JG: Tim McCoy, even though he's the last one, he's the first one.

RR: He's the first one, actually.

RR: The first of the 33.

JG: Tim. Tim McCoy was... was the first one. And, uh, Tim McCoy's name wasn't put on him until 1988. Prior to that, he was known as "Unknown Number Nine", and he was buried by me in the crawl space. That's the only knowledge that I have of it.

RR: What was the circumstances of that?

JG: He was killed in the house, uh, in self-defense.

RR: And who killed him then?

JG: I stabbed him.

RR: Yeah. And it was a an issue of self-defense. Why...why... was he in the process of assaulting you or what?

JG: He was coming at me with a knife. I just took the knife away and twisted it in his hand and that... that's what killed him. So...

RR: at that point, uh, you yourself did bury him then in the crawl space, right?

JG: Right, and if you... if you notice he's under concrete...

RR: Did you bury any of the others in the crawl space?

JG: No, I had nothing... I had no knowledge of it.

RR: Yeah. Why is it that... yours, your first one is there, and then, you know, 20 some others are buried down there as well. Did somebody know that you had done this with the first one, giving them an idea...

JG: More than likely when drinking and getting high with the others. Yeah.

RR: Admitting it to them.

JG nods

RR: So you feel others then followed your suit in, uh, using this as a burial ground

JG: Without a doubt.

JG: Uh, just to... just want to highlight, uh, on... on, uh, John Zeck. You know, they want... they want to make such an issue over John Zeck and his disappearance. I think he was killed for his car, personally.

RR: In your personal knowledge of this, of this Zeck case, then is...

JG: my personal knowledge of the Zeck case is... is that I had come home and Zeck and Rossi were at the house. I had a few drinks. I went to bed. When I woke up the next morning, Rossi was sleeping on the couch and Zeck was dead on the floor. Uh, I went about my own business and he was gone, later on.

RR: And where did he go? Where did he end up?

JG: I assumed he ended up in the crawl space.

RR: Did you see him being transported down there?

JG: No. Wasn't present. Didn't do the... didn't do the transporting.

RR: But when he was dead, he was dead on the floor?

JG: He was dead on the floor. Yes.

RR: And did you have a...

JG: In the hallway.

RR: ... conversation with anybody about that?

JG: No. In other words, I just, uh, I just kept my mouth shut, because I didn't want to get involved. My idea was to just stay out of it.

RR: Let's step back to... to your childhood. What was your state of health as a child?

JG: At the age of ten, I was told I had a, uh, enlarged bottleneck heart. Okay. And so I, uh, had a tendency to pass out a lot.

RR: How about childhood illnesses? Did you have any, I mean, uh, accidents, rather... any, any sort of, uh...

JG: I was hit with a...

RR: injuries or accidents?

JG: when I went to, uh, the other vocational school, when I first went to the vocational school, I got hit with a park swing in the side of the head, caused the mastery.

RR: At what... what age was that approximately?

JG: 14, I believe.

RR: Got hit with a swing. Were you unconscious.

JG: Yeah, I was taken to a medical clinic.

JG: That was at the time, that's when I started seeing that I had epilepsy.

RR: Uh-uh. Did you have any uh episodes of, you know... uh...

JG: seizures?

RR: Seizures.

JG: Yes. Seizures were, uh, according to the doctor, they claimed that when I have an epile... epileptic seizure, I had 800 times my own strength or 800 pounds of strength.

RR: Had you ever been sexually abused by anybody?

JG: at the age of nine there was a contractor, uh, who was... building, building a house next door, and he used to pick me up and take me for rides and always wanted to show me wrestling holds, with always pinning my head in between his legs. But at the time, I did not look at it as sexual. He was showing me wrestling holes, where my head was always constantly pinned between his legs or under his legs. I was 19 when I ran away and that was in...in 80, not 80... 60, 61. I went to Las Vegas for three months, took off, took my car and left.

JG: I worked for Powell Mortuary, being the night man picking up bodies at the hospitals and stuff for them. I worked as a night man, only I didn't have nothing to do with the bodies. All this talk that I slept with the dead ones or... or had sex with the dead bodies... There is no truth to any of that.

RR: You did live in the mortuary.

JG: I lived in the mortuary, yes, but not in the embalming room. I mean, they make it sound like, youknow, I slept in the crypts with them. And I never climbed into a coffin or anything like that. That that is so damn ridiculous [laughs]. You know, it's the same thing. The contention is that I slept all night with Robert Piest. If you wanna say I slept in the same house with a dead body, okay, fine, I'll buy that. But in the same room? No. And besides, the dead won't bother you. It's the living you got to worry about.

JG: I felt things were gonna work out, because I knew that I didn't do the killing and I thought it would come out in the trial. But Amirante, with this insanity defense, what I... and again, you can call it my ignorance of the law, it's like I explained in a letter to Chief Justice William Clark... the evidence based... is on the theory that the more sensational a case is, the more crazier it sounds, the insanity defense would work. And I still think it was stupid. I...I think that... they did a disservice to me, and they did a disservice to the victims. And you know what people don't understand, uh, is I feel I was wrongfully convicted for 33 murders, and it was only because of sensationalism and ego. The Des Plaines police did a sloppy investigation. This... this... I mean, it may not be the the correct way of wording it, but

the thing of it is, is that, they had other suspects and they...they had tunnel vision then to say, let's... it's Gacy's house. It's easier to put everything on Gacy.

RR: Hey, your paintings, uh, have improved over the years. I think we've seen some, uh...

JG: I think I've learned from each one of them.

JG: I guess it's the same reason why I relate to Michelangelo. Because he was a workaholic and Leonardo da Vinci... You know, people always ask me who my favorite artists are and why. And I did not know that Michelangelo was homosexual. And it doesn't make no difference to me. He was a workaholic. He was a sculptor. He was a... he was a painter and, and... did a lot of other things. Uh, da Vinci was an inventor in that. And of course, in my life I've done painting, decorating, wallpapering. I've done mural work, you name it. As you know, I'm, I'm a bug about record keeping. All of my business records confirmed where I was, who I was with, what hotel I stayed at, what, what meals I ate, everything was in the files. And all of those files on December 29th of 1978 were confiscated by the Des Plaines Police Department. And those files, they alone, could have proven that I wasn't in Illinois when 16 of these murders... when they finally set the dates as to when these murders occurred.

RR: Now, you did say that you never painted yourself as an innocent, uh, babe in the woods and that...

*JG rolls his eyes

JG: we're going over the same thing, I'm not gonna go anymore...

RR: basically, no, but, I mean, the point is, is if you feel that, uh, you're not covering up your part of the crimes, but at the same time, you open up the thought that others were involved, would you be willing to cooperate with law enforcement people today to, uh, avail, say, the, uh, the materials that you have amassed and, uh, to more or less pursue, uh, if in fact, there are others that are on the streets that have been involved in these murders, would you be willing to cooperate and to assist to, to pursue that to the ends of bringing others to justice? Would you be willing to do that?

JG: I get no qualms about that. But what I don't understand is why wasn't it done to begin with, Rob?

JG: The thing of it is, they want you to believe that, uh, I and I alone committed these, these murders. And I had nothing to do with the murders of anyone.

RR: if anybody was involved, then how many people, uh, are we talking about beside yourself?

JG: We believe there was four people involved.

JG: And that would be, uh, Michael Rossi, David Cram, uh, Philip Paske.

JG: Here we've, we've got a Philip Paske... who had a newsletter going out of the Cook County Jail. And... and here he is involved with a guy named John Norman. And John Norman was, uh, running, uh, boys for hire. They were making snuff films with young boys. To me they were pimping them off. They were selling them. There was a crossover when we checked into John Norman's background that he, he goes all the way back to uh... the early, uh, early 70s, involved in, uh, he ran the Norman Foundation. He, herun run Epic International and the Odyssey Foundation out of Dallas, Texas. And these were, uh, organizations where wealthy men could hire young boys for sexual, for sexual weekends. Male prostitution.

RR: Have you ever met Norman? Did you ever had any contact with Norman?

JG: I have yet to see a current picture of him. And... and therefore, I'd have to say no. I, you know, I feel Paske may have been with him at one time or another because, again, I came home from out of town at times and Phil Paske would be at the house drinking beer or something like that. Uh, David Cram is the one that brought, uh... Phil Paske in it, cause his, uh, Cram, when he wanted... he didn't want to do nothing. He got a hold of this guy and said, well this guy can get you, uh, somebody for sex.

JG: I have a lot of things that I've forgotten, that I can't remember. For instance, I can go back to my childhood and stuff, and I still remember that. But yet you can... I can go into the 70s, and there are a lot of things I can't remember. The same thing with the victims I've looked at all of. I don't know... if you notice here, we got pictures of every one of the victims here. And believe it or not, for the last 12 years I've studied these photos of the victims. And there is no, uh... we, we have a shot of all of the victims together here. And, uh, when you look over the, the photos, I have no recollection of any of them. Never met them. And we've gone over this more than once. They're just names and faces. And when you, when you look at them, uh... the thing of it is, we took it a step further. We went into their backgrounds. I wanted to know where they were at, what schools they attended, who they hung out with, and what kind of activities they were into. And that's what we dug up on each one of the victims. But still, there is no association. Uh... none of them never worked for me. None of them... They never went to any places that I ever hung around, because I didn't hang around in that many places, unless you were involved in politics or you, or you... if you were involved in clowning, then I might have ran into you. But there's no way I could have run into any of them. They've got all that jewelry that doesn't belong to the victims. They've got the two clown suits that don't belong to the victim. Just like I

consider myself the 34th victim. I consider the families victims as well, because they did not get, uh, justice from the shoddy investigation all the way down through...

JG: Uh, as I told you, when the FBI first came in to check on me, you said that... you were kept out of the case back in 78, and that was only because of egos. They did not want a professional coming in and doing an investigation. So they did their sloppy investigation and let it slide that way. You see, everybody was so excited about the large, massive case and everybody was looking with their egos as to how they could close this thing up. And, you know, the only one that they really hurt. You've had the... the, the victim's family vent all their hostility towards me, and they think I'm, I'm the monster that killed their son or took out their son and stuff like that, when in fact most of them don't even have the remains of their own sons.

JG: And, you know, that's another thing everybody misses from this, is that the victims' families are not aware that, that in a lot of the cases, they don't even have the remains of their own, their own sons, because the... doctor Stein never turned over the whole body. And they took the, uh, they took the heads off of each one of the victims. So when you turn over the remains to a loved, loved one's family, they don't have the whole body.

What... do you actually feel that my investigation, that my case has been thoroughly investigated?^[1]_[SEP]RR: I think, John, in a case like this, and I find this in many, many major cases that the, uh... things are at the time of the case are done, uh, uh, rather hastily, because of the fact that, you know, there's, there's pressure on it.

JG: Yeah, but that's a political answer. I know I, I don't I don't want a political answer from you. I want, I want a basic answer. Do you actually think that the investigation in my case has been done right?

RR: I believe in your case that, that there's needs to be or there should have been more, uh, more focus on, on others, as it should have been others that checked out a little more thoroughly. That's, that's the belief I've developed over these years.

RR: Yeah. I just think that we're kind of, uh, wrapping it up here. We, uh, I think we accomplished something today. Certainly, we put something down on tape that has not been said. My, my feeling is, as a career law enforcement officer is that, uh, if John Wayne Gacy is guilty, then he should be punished. If John Wayne Gacy has others involved, then they should be brought in. They should be punished. Basically, I believe in total investigation and total justice and that's really what I've been looking for all along.

Transcript of “Conversations with a killer: The John Wayne Gacy Tapes”

This text is based on multiple audio interviews available in the Netflix documentary.

Chicago, 1980

JG: First of all, drop that “Mr. Gacy” thing.

[Investigator]: Ok, John. That was technical.

JG: I don’t know who the hell you’re talking to. Just John.

[Investigator]: Okay, John. Go ahead.

JG: John, or JW, or whatever the hell else they call me, or whatever else comes to your mind if I get too mad [chuckles].

JG: Nobody wants to accept what the hell I say. Because what I tell you is... is what I know as fact. I have nothing to gain. I have nothing to lose by telling you something that’s not the truth. But I’m getting to the point that I keep going over and over and over every fucking thing. But I’m at a breaking point with it. I don’t... I don’t know how much more of this shit I can take.

[Investigator]: What do you think happen—

JG: I don’t know. I... I don’t.

JG: Lieutenant Kozenczak, the asshole from Des Plaines Police Department, talked to me about the Piast boy disappearance, asked me if I’d come down and give a witness statement. I told him I didn’t have time, that I’d just had a death in the family, that I’m waiting for a call from my mother in Arkansas. I said “You’re very rude at the time of death”. And I just told him, you know, “When I got time, I’d get down there”. I said, “I’ll come down later”; “How much later”? ; “I don’t know. When I get down there, I’ll be down there”^[1][...]

JG: I drove over to the Des Plaines police station, because I knew they were waiting for me.

[Investigator]: Who’d you see?

JG: I said, “I’m here to see Lt. Kozenczak. He says, “Oh he left hours ago”. I says “well, okay, tell him I’ll be back in the morning”. I went down to the police station around ten, eleven o’clock in the morning. They said, “Mr. Kozenczak wants to talk to you”. I said “All right, I’ll wait a few minutes”. 11:00 came, 12:00 came, I says “Look, ” I says, “I’ve got to go ‘cause I’ve got things to do”. I don’t know what they were waiting for. Then around 3:30 or 4:30, or I don’t know what the hell time it was, they wanted the keys for my house and that. “What do you want the keys for my house? ”, “We’ve got a search warrant for your house, so you either give us the keys or we’re gonna kick the door down”. I said “I don’t have to give you nothing”. You know? But they... they took the keys from me.

JG: I told him that I had left Nissan’s, and I never seen the boy, and left it at that. I never talked to him.

JG: They just kept fucking me around there, playing back and forth, back and forth. You know? I had given them the statement. What else did they want from me? I says, “You either charge me with something or, ” I says, “leave me go”.

JG: Moved to Waterloo, Iowa. I was getting into the Jaycees. I was active in the Jaycees.

JG: Marlynn, we got engaged March 13th of 1964. We didn’t get married until September. You know, I enjoyed the first two years of my married life. I was really wrapped into it. I just had such a nice, warm feeling, and I was so happy with her, and the two kids, Michael and Christine. It was like being in church all the time. When we moved up to Iowa, it wasn’t that my marriage was falling apart. It was after a year or so with her father, I couldn’t handle her father. I could never please my father-in-law. My father-in-law comes out in the same image as my dad. I could never do enough for my dad’s acceptance. My father-in-law came out the same way. My dad and I never really got along well while I lived in the house, ‘cause I never, I don’t know... I guess I... I never lived up to his standards.

JG: There’s three types of sexes. There’s heterosexual, there is homosexual, and there’s bisexual. You know, you can’t take the clinical definition and apply it to me, because I don’t think that way. A heterosexual is one who’s in love with the opposite sex. A homosexual is one who’s in love with his own sex. Now a bisexual has sex just for having sex. To me, it’s like a form of masturbation. He’ll have sex with either one with no feeling involved. So I honestly can say that I’ve never had a homosexual relationship, because all I’ve ever, you know, either oral or anal intercourse, with no lovemaking. There was no feeling there. There was no love.

JG: My approach to it was, I would mention it to somebody, and if somebody wanted to get into it, then they would pursue the conversation. Because you just can’t go along the street and walk up and say to somebody “You want to get into sex with a guy?” without getting decked or something like that. You drop hints or drop seeds and let them come back with the feedback on it.

JG: Long about '67, when I was running for Jaycee President, I asked Donald Voorhees Sr. to become my campaign manager. In the incident with this Donald Voorhes Jr. , he was 15 years old. I think it was in '67, the summer of '67 or August of '67, or September of '67, somewhere in there. Donald Voorhees, I was driving from one store to the other, which was my daily routine, Donald Voorhees was hitchhiking. I picked him up. He was asking me about the stag films. So me, like...like an asshole, I took him over to my house, and I showed him the films. Of course, I got horny by watching 'em. And anyhow, you know, to cut the conversation short, what...what happened is that he ended up blowing me, and I believe I went down on him. I had a wife, I had two children. I... I had a business. I had wealth. Why in the fuck did I go out and get myself involved with a kid? He told his dad. Well, his dad turned around and got ahold of the state's attorney, and then I was, uh, charged with it. So then I was subsequently indicted for sodomy. When I went through the psychiatric evaluation at Iowa City, I was told I had an anti-social personality, that it was deemed as an experimental-type thing and that they felt that it would be not a reoccurring thing, and... that it was, the whole thing was stupid. That it should've never happened. That's why I keep saying instead of being the perpetrator, I was the victim. I was used. I was thinking of the kids, and I was thinking of Marlynn, and I'd never got in trouble before. And when the pre-sentence report come back that they recommended that... I should be given, uh, probation. And we changed our plea from "not guilty" to "guilty", and they set sentencing. Sentenced me to 10 years, and I nearly dropped. I could not believe it. The day after I was sentenced, I was served with divorce papers from Marlynn on grounds of conviction. She came there to see me for the last time. She came to me and she told me that she had to get a divorce. That if she didn't get a divorce, her dad was gonna take the kids away from her.

[Investigator]: Now these were your natural children, right?

JG: Right. That's how young they were. 1968, last time I ever seen 'em.

JG: Constantly, I was under surveillance.

I could have ditched 'em any one of a number of times and gotten away, but I was constantly stopping and trying to help them, you know? They were slowing me down. He said, "Well, goddamn, you never stop". I said, "Well, I got things to do". I said "I got a job going in Aurora, Illinois, I've got one in Waukegan, Illinois. I've got three in Chicago". And I says "It takes time, and I've got to move around all of them".

JG: I was sentenced to Fort Madison, Iowa, which was a penitentiary, but then they revised it and said that since I was a first offender and I was still under 26, that I should be sent to the men's reformatory at Anamosa. I was sent there. I was scared to death. Again, never being arrested before, never being in jail before, didn't know what the hell...I thought I was gonna get killed in there. It turned out...[chuckles] I got into it and organized myself. I went in there with a positive attitude. And, uh, I became not only popular, but powerful. Without force, I controlled the kitchen, and there was some 55 inmates in the kitchen. But i never yield to anybody. I was honored as Man of the Year...[chuckles] at the Anamosa Men's Reformatory. I built the first miniature golf course inside the walls of a reformatory. The weak do not survive in prison. You either come under, uh, the ruling of... of some gang or...or some other forceful inmate. You do what he says, otherwise you get the shit kicked out of you. Well, I would not bow to any of that shit, because nobody will ever lead me.

JG: December 18th, my dad went in the hospital in Chicago, and I was never told of it. My dad died December 25th, Christmas day. They didn't tell me until after my dad was buried that he died. What I'm doing is just telling what my dad always told me, is I'm weak. Just a dumb, stupid kid. Can't do nothing. Yeah, he was right about a lot of things. I let him down when he died.

Norwood Park, Illinois 1978 — John got out of prison within 18 months from incarceration instead of serving 10 years. Police still follows Gacy 24/7. They have proof to get a second warrant.

JG: Rationally and understandably, I want over to talk to Sam about the harassment, not of me, but why they were harassing my employees. Why was I defending them? Was I afraid they were gonna say something about that I was doing?

Gacy confesses to Amirante.

JG: I don't remember exactly what happened. I can remember I went to Sam's office, but I did not go to Sam's office to tell him all that shit. Evidently, when I got there... something else took over and some other conversation come up.

JG: These two Des Plaines coppers said they were having trouble following me, because I was driving erratically on snowy streets. Well, shoot, they didn't know how to keep up with me anyhow.

JG: I reached in my pocket. I had marijuana. Three rolled joints. I said "I got people following me. I can't be carrying it". I slipped it into his pocket. I don't know what's happening. I'm scared to death if something happens to me. I left there, I went to drive out to the cemetery, to my dad's grave. As we were heading out into Niles at Oaken and Milwaukee Avenue, they all of a sudden pulled up alongside of both sides of the car, and they come out with guns drawn. Handcuffed me, threw me up against the car, threw me in the backseat of the car.

JG: I come out of the institution in 1970. I was an ex-convict. There's several paths that I could have chosen. I could have had the attitude that society is against me and feel sorry for myself. "Everybody's picking on poor John". Or I could come out of the institution and have the attitude "Fuck that stigma", I'll show them that you can still make something out of yourself, if you have the determination or willpower and the motivation to do so, and don't let anything stand in your way.^[1]_{SEP}...

JG: I was divorced from Marlynn. I really didn't miss Marlynn, but I did miss the children. I wanted to be John Gacy, the married man, the family man, the guy who wanted to have his own home. And then in August of '71, I bought the house out at 8213 Summerdale.

JG: I had started seeing Carole in October of '71. She was so afraid of her divorce, but we started going out anyway. We were trying to spend time together. "Hey, I said, "why don't you just move in with the kids?". I liked her, a-and I loved the children, and long about in November of '71, I told her I wanted to marry her. What did she think of it? But I...I felt, uh, that getting married for the second time, that the only way to start off was to be honest with her, open and aboveboard, upfront before we got married. She knew that I had been incarcerated, but I wanted to explain that I was a bisexual, that I engaged in different things. But that I wasn't, you know, gay or anything like that. She had no fear of that because I didn't like them. I was against 'em. I thought they were sick and everything, and weak. I openly told her all of this, but it was almost as if I was trying to tell her something, that I needed her, that I wanted help from her. I think if she would have been stronger, that this thing would have never gotten loose.

JG: We did a lot of socializing together. We would go out a lot. We bowled together in a league, and stuff like that.

JG: Politics is power. The feeling of being important. The feeling that they trust you. I'm a power person. I enjoy power. But you gotta work your ass off, and that's what I did with my customers and business. About the middle of '73, I decided to go into decorating and everything.

[investigator]: What was the name of your company?

JG: PDM.

[Investigator]: What does it stand for?

JG: Pretty damn messy, Polish Daily Maintenance, whatever you wanna call it. I found a lot of good in young people working. It's just that they had to have somebody that was understanding. To a lot of them, I was almost like a father to 'em.

JG: So the...there I am, I have Carole and the two kids in the house. No, I was my own boss. I was working hard, working long hours. Having the big party at the house, being involved with the Democratic Party and everything. I was running myself ragged. My dad said he created the drive. This "incestual" need of having, you've got to do better. You've got to do better than everybody else. You've got to work harder than anybody else. I'd also think it was, "I'll show you that I can do it, even though you told me that I can't do it, but I'll show you I can do it".

JG: There is a right way, there's a wrong way, and there's my way. You have to have organization. You have to have leadership. And you have to be able to not demand respect, but command it. And the same thing when Mrs. Carter came. They were trying to tell me how to do things. I didn't give a damn who they were. I enjoyed the limelight of being involved in something. And consequently, I used to involve myself with a lot of stuff. Clowning and... and appearing in at least 10-15 parades as a clown.

JG: I clowned for the Democratic Party, and I used to be in a lot of parades. I enjoyed it. Yeah I wasn't getting paid for it. I just enjoyed it. To go visit, like, older people and old people's folks home, or to see crippled children. It's almost like the feeling you get out of coming out of church on Christmas Eve. But if I was in a bad mood, it was bad for me to be a clown. Because some of those kids can be little bastards, you know? You know, you want to grab 'em by the cheek instead of just... You want to whack the shit out of 'em [chuckles]. When you clowned, you're hiding your image. There are things that you could do that you wouldn't do as a person. Clowns can get away with anything. Clowns can get away with a murder.

JG: What, do you want me to rationalize it and explain it to you? Okay, Greyhound bus boy is number one.

JG: That New Year's Eve, Carole and I went out to the house, jumped into bed, got it on, and we brought in the New Year's together. Then I took her home. I think I slept all that day. At one o' clock in the morning, I went down to the Greyhound bus depot. I drove around the block and pulled up by there. That's where I picked him up. So I asked him "I'm not doing nothing. Want to go riding around? I'll show you the sights". He didn't have to leave until noon the next day. So we started riding around, and we talked in general. We also talked about sex. I asked him if he'd ever gotten into it with a guy. We were drinking... talked further about sex. We both got into oral sex, both ways. I told him he could sleep there, and we'll get up and I'll drive back down to the bus depot before noon. I went and laid down. Something startled me. I woke, and when I looked in the doorway, he had a knife in his hand, and he was coming at me. So I jumped up, and I wrestled with him. We...we were struggling back and forth. I believe I stabbed him a couple

of times. Four or five times in the chest. I didn't know whether I should call the police or... or what. I was afraid that it would sound bad. So, I opened up the crawl space, and I proceeded to dig a hole and bury him right there. The next day after that, I was with Carole, and nothing ever happened anymore. That was just, uh, a nicely kept secret. I don't think that I had another sexual relationship with a male until 1974 or '75.

JG: Carole and I were fighting over sex. It was just that I was tired. Working seven days a week, you're tired. You just don't wanna do it. Then she was accusing me. Why'd I have young boys working for me and all this. Was I doing something with the boys? I said, "No. ". I was being accused of it all the time, so I just finally said "Fuck it, I'm accused of it so goddamn much, I might as well go out and do it," which I did.

JG: Tony Antonucci. I was horse playing with him. You know, just...just teasing him. And he really got violent about it. He got mad about it. But you know, the strongest feelings I had for any of 'em was Butkovich. John Butkovich came to work for me. Very naive kid. I treated him on a father-son relationship. Also got into a sexual relationship with him. Him blowing me, me blowing him. It was one or two o' clock in the morning. We drove all the way out to my house. We drank, we smoked a couple of joints, then he starting to get belligerent. He was quitting, and he was pissed off. So the handcuffs were right there at the bar. I slapped the handcuffs on one arm, then I wrapped his other arm. I handcuffed it. As I get the handcuffs on I said "Now I see you're not gonna fight with nobody". The next thing I remember is I woke up in... in bed. I walked in there and the first thing I come found was his feet. He still had the rope on his neck. He was dead. I didn't know what the hell to do. I went out to the garage. I dug... I dug the hole as big as I could. I pushed him in it and then I cemented it over.

JG: After I got away with the first, I just kept getting away with them. That's why I didn't stop. After Butkovich, there was a change in the marriage from that point forward. Carole asked for a divorce in '75. She got the divorce in February of '76 and moved out. It was an unhealthy situation because people in the neighborhood were... were making remarks about me. I would go out drinking, and I know I was cruising down at the park.

JG: Generally, I looked for young, clean-cut, virile looking. I felt that I would probably have the upper hand or the fatherly image over 'em. In other words, the innocent ones. Those were the ones I'd pick up. When you're busier than hell, you want to satisfy yourself more. Could it be that, through seeking out different people for sex, that I developed a hatred for 'em? You bought 'em for an hour, you bought 'em for two hours, you bought their body to do what you want with it. They're, to me... they're not a human being. It's like you going to the store. If you buy something, you bring it home, and you decide you don't like it and want to break it, it's yours to break 'cause you paid for it.

JG: Same thing of the corpses and storing them in the basement. It was a hiding place. It was a secret place. Those are my bodies. That's where I wanted to keep them. They had no right to touch 'em. I got a black car, which looked like a squad car, but I never impersonated a cop and never said I was a cop. However, there was occasions when I picked up people, and they would say, "You're a cop, huh? I'll do anything you want. Just don't bust me. I got a lot of free sex just by letting them plant their own seed and letting them grow it.

JG: I was horsing around with the handcuffs. I said, "Put 'em on. I'll show you how to take 'em off without the key". I said "It's mind over matter. You can take 'em off. After I get the handcuffs on, he says, "How do you get 'em off? ". I said "You don't. You need the key". Take a rope, tie it around your wrist, just with a slipknot. Okay, now when you put the first slipknot in, then lay a pencil on it, then put another slipknot right over it. Now take the stick part and turn it and see what happens to your wrist. Once you put a rope around their neck and turn it two or three times, it gets tight. Then after they start to get excited, they fucking pass out. You got the son of a bitch. He can't do a fucking thing to you, you know that? And then you just leave 'em.

JG: Want to know something that seems funny right now? I've had a couple of visions. There's a road that leads to nothing. I picture the goddamn bank of the river where the road ends. It's like going up a ramp of a bridge and then there's water. I can see something going into the water. There's something in the river. Just leave Piast where he's at. Let's assume he's under the water.

JG: Goddamn, stop and think how stupid was that. Everybody'd seen me in the store and knew the kid was in the store. I leave the store. The kid disappears. What else can you assume? When I was driving away, this kid came running up to me. Asked if he could talk to me about a job. I told him I didn't have time. He said, well, he would ride with me. He was off of work. So I got in the truck, went back to my house.

[Investigator]: Was he handcuffed?

JG: Yep. I put the rope around his neck, and I said, "See, it's loose, right? ". He said "Yep. " And I took the... uh, the stick, put it in there and then put the other knot in it, I believe. Then the phone rang. I took him off my bed, carried him up into the attic, and got him out of the way so I could go to bed. It's like when you clear the bed off to go to bed, a whole bunch of stuff just laying there. When police wanted to talk to him (without knowing about the murders)^[11] JG:

I thought, "That fucker's up in the attic. " Jesus Christ, I could have got my ass in a jam. If they would've searched the house then, they would have found him in the house.

JG: So there's still one missing from the river, and that being Robert Piest. And it could be they're looking in the wrong river. You know? It could have been in the lake. I don't know.

[Amirante]: Think hard. You told me you killed a lot.

JG: Oh shit, yes. And I don't know why I told you. I don't even know if I killed them. I don't even think I killed any of 'em. And I'm not denying it. I'm in a... in a hell of a mess as it is. Whether I deny it or not, it don't make no difference. Don't you understand that?^[SEP][Amirante]: No.

[Investigator] All right, let's go back, all the way back, John, to when you were younger. What's John Gacy the kid like?

JG: I was always building, always wanting to do something constructive, nothing destructive. You know, like... like a lot of kids would like to throw stones or break windows and... shit like that. No, I was more interested in how the flowers grew. I'd rather sit and listen to The Nutcracker Suite or Beethoven's 5th or Tchaikovsky's music. You know, some of the greats. I wasn't a normal, run-of-the-mill kid. So, consequently...I guess I didn't have the macho image. You know, the sickly little, uh, bookworm. My dad's attitude was that I was dumb and stupid and I would never amount to anything. I just could never please him. My dad was also Jekyll and Hyde. When he was sober, he was, you know, the nicest person you'd want to be around. My dad would drink, and when he drank, he was belligerent and stubborn. And if us kids did something wrong, you got the back of the hand. You didn't just get no lecture from him. To my dad, the basement was a sacred place. It was a hiding place for him. He had locks on every goddamn thing. He even had a sign "Keep your gooddamn hands off this" or "Keep the fuck out of the basement".

[Investigator] How did your mother react when she found you had taken her underwear?

JG: She made me wear it, and she punished me with it. She said if I ever get caught with it again, she'd make me go down the street with it on. It was punishment. You can't say you're sick 'cause you've got a physical problem or a mental problem. You got to look at it, was I doing some of it deliberately or intentionally to draw sympathy? Or understanding or recognition that I'm existing? Even though I wasn't healthy as a kid, I was still there, and I wanted attention.

[Investigator] Are you getting scared?

JG: No, I'm not scared.

[Investigator] Because that's perfectly normal.

JG: But I'm not scared. I just feel that I'm being cheated again in my life. If you commit a crime, you should know you did it before you go on trial for it. But if I don't even know and you're gonna go into court and argue a case that we're not even sure I committed, then it's heavier for me to handle.

JG: You know, the other night, I had a dream, which was crazy. The Essex hotel where the jury is had a fire. And five people died. Five from 16 leaves only 11, which means it would have been no jury.

[Investigator]: They say if you think about your dreams, you can figure 'em out.

JG: Well, is it... am I trying to tell myself that I don't want the end to come?

[Investigator]: That's a possibility.

JG: You certainly wouldn't let 11 make a decision, would you? That's the first time I've ever had any dream like that or anything about the case, about any of the victims, or about anything in the past.

JG: I can handle Egan, and I can... I can stomach Sullivan. Kunkle, I can't stand. Just an egotistical bastard. And Kunkle is bisexual, the prosecutor. Leather and a motorbike.

[Investigator] How did you know?

JG: Because I have seen him at the bar down at Illinois and Clark Street.

[Investigator] Did he see you?

JG: How the fuck would he see me? He wouldn't know who I was. I didn't know who he was either. You just... you put the goddamn leather jacket on him, the leather pants on him, and you know who the hell it is exactly. The one fucking time I was in court, I was pissed enough to tell him, "Get that bisexual off the goddamned case".

[Investigator] What is the major thing that... that's upsetting you so much?

JG: Because I don't know what the fuck I'm supposed to be doing in that courtroom. And they haven't told me. Do I stand up and fight when I think I'm right, or do I just keep my fuckin' mouth shut all the time?

JG: Mother was a good witness.

[Investigator] Yeah, she was good. She acted right from the heart.

JG: uh-uh.

[Investigator] A very good witness.

JG: Yeah.

[Investigator] So tomorrow's doctor day?

JG: Yes, tomorrow's a doctor day.

[Investigator] That's with all the doctors that have been working with you.

JG: Judge told the jury to disregard the remarks made by the witness and the attorneys, but what the fuck have you done? He planted that one seed that you didn't want planted. And that is, if you find him not guilty by reason of insanity, that he will go free.

JG: Sitting there every day, I've enjoyed it. I've been in the limelight. I like being the center of the attraction, but I think I earned it too.

[Investigator] How?

JG: Nobody had the guts to pull off what I pulled off and got away with it. If...If I... If I won the case, I could sit there and laugh...[laughs] for a fucking hour. "You stupid son of a bitch". [laughs] "I outsmarted you again".

JG: I said, "Sam", I said "You got to understand one thing." I said "You guys went up against a brick wall." "You weren't fighting my case, you were fighting society, the entire State of Illinois".

[Investigator] Do you feel any relief now that it's over with, John?

JG: How can you feel relief for something you still don't understand? You know, everybody seems to think that... I haven't got the proper affect for it. Well, maybe I don't.

[Investigator] How should you feel?

JG: You know, was I... Because they say I'm guilty, I'm supposed to feel guilty now? I don't. I have no remorse.

JG: If you want to charge me with anything, charge me with complicity in two of the murders.

[Reporter] Just two?

JG: That's all I know about. Mark my words, I'm gonna get out, and when I get out, I'm gonna settle the score.

[Investigator] You're gonna get out?

JG: I am going to get out.

JG: Hey, I got news for you. I killed 33 times. You're only gonna kill me once. [chuckles]

Gacy outsmarted 'em again. [hacking laughter]

[Investigator] If you had your life to do over again, is there anything you'd want to change?

JG: I would think if it was explained the way I wanna explain it...

Transcript of John Gacy's interview with Walter Jacobson

The interview is based on an audio file sourced from the YouTube video available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mmpc5P9urlU&t=353s>.

JG: People don't wanna know the truth and the honesty of it, if they want to be convinced or brainwashed into what they believe, then fine, then go ahead and kill me. But vengeance is mine, said it the Lord, because you will have executed somebody that didn't commit a crime.

— Those are the words of John Wayne Gacy, pleading innocence from death row at Menards State penitentiary, 13 years after being convicted of his crimes, the most notorious serial killer of our time—

JG: When they paint the image that I was this monster who... who picked up like these altar boys along the street and swatted them like flies, I said, this is ludicrous.

— But the jury didn't find it ludicrous after barely two hours deliberation, its verdict was "murder by Gacy", 33 times. 29 bodies buried in that house of his on summerdale, a crime of horrendous proportions, in the crawl space underneath bodies covered with lime and encased in plastic. Dug up a few days before Christmas and carried into the december cold one after another after another. But despite all this evidence, he says he has proof he didn't do it. Here's one of dozens of examples of what he calls proof. —

JG: I've taken, uh, 5.5 hour, 3.5 hours of truth serum, and under, under sodium amytal, the maximum amount that I could have, it shows that I have no knowledge of the crime whatsoever. Never have had.

— But this is where his attempt to change history, which is what he thinks will get him a new trial, begins to break down. There is no proof anywhere that he ever took truth serum. Now it's not only a matter of physical evidence, it's a character issue as well. Many times during our interview he tried to portray himself as a good guy, an ethical hard-working family man. Here's how he describes himself as a father —

JG: Loving and caring. I've always looked after my children, even now.

JW: What kind of values do you remember imparting to them?

JG: The kind of values? ^[17]_[SEP] JW: Were you strict with them too? cause your father was...

JG: No, not as, no, not as strict as... no. A lot of things that my dad did, I refused to do, because, I don't, see, I don't believe in hitting, hitting children. I don't believe in, in, in, uh, spoiling a child either. My, my values are, are such...

JW: This is crazy, crazy...

JG: That if you give enough love to your children...

JW: you are accused of murdering 33 kids, and you say you didn't believe in hitting. I mean...

JG: well, anybody that knows, you see, first of all, you're basing... You're basing this garbage on what you've heard of me.

— And what the jury said, and what the courts of appeal have said, and the prosecutor who put him in jail says Gary is a ruthless and sadistic killing machine. William Knuckle, former prosecutor: "he's responsible, he knew exactly what he was doing, he planned it in advance, he carried it out and he enjoyed it". And he admitted it, in fact boasted of it, to the police. But now, 14 years later, he's denying it and talking to me about it. What does prosecutor Knuckle think of that? William Knuckle: "he's a desperate man, he's going to die in two or three years. He's going to be executed, when the law is finally carried out, and he'll clutch at any straw". Two and a half hours of clutching at straws, cunning and manipulative denials. But if you listen carefully, you catch him slipping up about John Buckovich for instance, his second victim.

JW: What happened to, what happened in the Buckovich case? Where was he picked up and how did he get to the house and what happened with him?

JG: I don't want to go in, I don't want to go into the other, uh... the five that I know about. Just take it that I didn't... Buckovich is not one that I killed, so I don't know nothing about him. The little bit that I know about him is that he was an employee of mine. See, when, when you look about this recall business and, and...

JW: I'm not a prosecutor, John, but you just said...

JG: I know you're not. But wait a minute...

JW: Buckovich is not one that you killed. Which suggests that maybe, in fact, there were others that you did kill.

JG: Oh, Okay, I'm, I'm sorry if I led you to believe, no. Strike it, then. That is wrong.

— But it's too late to strike it. There are others he killed. Children he lured into his home anyway, who didn't get out alive. When he was arrested he told the police what he did and how he did it, with a rope that he used as a tourniquet. Now he says he didn't do it, and shows me his rope trick to explain how the police misunderstood. That, and more, of what he's twisting into his pleas of innocence, tomorrow. —

— Linda, Gacy is, if you noted, I think quite accurately a minute ago, a man who was found guilty of all those murders and of being plenty sane enough to have committed them very quickly. The jury acted in fewer than two hours. There were half a dozen pieces of evidence that were just overwhelming, but Gacy now says that he refutes that evidence, and all he's owning up to is having some knowledge of just five of the murders, and direct knowledge of even fewer than that. —

JG: If you want to charge me with anything, charge me with complicity in two of the murders.

JW: Just two?^{TSEP} JG: That's all I know about it.

— That's his story, that he didn't kill anyone. Just an accomplice he says and that he helped dispose of two. One of them, Robert Piest, who was 15 years old when he went to the house on summerdale. Gacy owned a construction company, and invited young Piest to apply for a job. —

JG: Robert Piest was killed by another individual in my home.

JW: How did he get to your home?

JG: Uh, he was transported to the house by another.

JW: How did the other, whoever he was, killed Robert Piest?

JG: I believe he was strangled.

JW: You were there, right?

JG: Not during the crime, but I was there afterwards, and I watched the removal of the body.

JW: And what happened to the body, afterwards? was one that was, that body was put into the river...

JG: It was taken to the river, it was taken to the river and dumped in the river.

JW: Did you help do that?

JG: Yes. I'm, I'm in complicity with that.

I've always, I've always contended. Don't, don't look at me as an innocent babe of the woods.

— Not for a second would I look at John Gacy as a babe in the woods. He may be admitting now only to being an accomplice, but 13 years ago when he was arrested he confessed almost everything. "You have all the bodies", Gacy said, and there was even a killer map showing where 27 yews were buried. And in fact, he led police to his garage, and sprayed orange paint on the concrete, to mark the spot precisely where a body was found. Now he says he was simply marking a spot where some new concrete had been poured. —

JG: Uh, in regards to going out into the garage. Yes, I know I went to the house and yes, I know I walked in the garage and they asked me where the last section of concrete was poured. Okay, I said, there's the last section where the last section of concrete was poured. Okay. They are the ones that took the orange can of paint and said, here, put a mark there. So I put an X there.

JW: So the paint was not to identify the place of burial.

JG: No, no, it never was.

— But according to authorities who were with Gacy that morning, he made more than just an X on the floor. William Knuckle: "He sprayed a stick figure with the orange spray can in the garage, not just a mark, a stick figure, showing the orientation of the body. Right underneath that stick figure, exactly where he drew it pointed in the direction he drew it, was the body of John Butkovich." And then there's the Gacy confession about how he killed his victims, strangled them with his now infamous rope trick, that police say he demonstrated to them with a rosary bead. He says he was simply discussing knots in general. Catch his sense of humour. —

Interviewer hands shoelace to Gacy

JG: shoelaces, huh? You're in trouble now. [laughs] Aren't you afraid of sitting that close to me? What the hell? Oh, this is too long. I just don't need it this long. Okay. I had a rosary, which I carried in my pocket. I've always carried a rosary. It was my communion. Uh, rosary. They said what, what kind of, uh, a knot do you use? I said, what do you mean knot? when I tie things up, I says, uh... depending on what I'm using it for, I says, the only thing I ever learned was from Boy Scouts is a tourniquet knot. He said, well, show us what that is. So I took, at that time, and again, it's together. But in order to demonstrate it here, I took the rosary and I said, well, here you, you put it around. This is hard trying to do this. Why don't you put your hand out? Okay, here. What I told him, I says, here, all you do is you wrap it around, you put one knot in it. And I said, then you put a second knot in it. Okay? I said, then you take a stick and stick it in here and you just turn this and I says, it causes a tourniquet. I said, that's the only night I ever learned.

— Precisely, the kind of knot found on the ropes, wrapped around the necks of the victims found under the house on summerdale. And there was other compelling evidence including wallets and rings from the victims found in Gacy's home, that leave no doubt whatever he was the killer. But what is it that made him do what he did? A look at the mind of a serial killer, tomorrow. —

- There are personality traits that are common to mass killers including arrogance and cunning and enough cleverness to kill many times without getting caught. John Gacy has all those traits and there's some. He was a Kentucky colonel and a husband and a father of five children, and an actor, dressed as a clown. John Gacy loves clowns. —
- JG: To me, clowning was a way of relaxation for me. You regressed into childhood. You were able to relax and you could be goofy if you wanted to. And still you had the facade of your face being covered.
- The clown suit hid his face, and his evil crimes as well. Even today, on death row, he's painting portraits of himself as a clown. The 33 flavors clown and the convicted killer of 33 can't help but chuckle at the irony. —
- JG: I used to do clowning, and I don't know if you want to mention the name, for an ice cream company in Chicago, who had 33 flavors. I used to...[laughs] I'm serious, Wrestler ice cream company. I was their contractor and I was also their clown. And Pogo the Clown was the clowning that I did for charity hospital work, for the Democratic Party, and that and Pogo the Clown was originally. Pogo comes from being Polish and on the go all the time, so it's Pogo.
- On the go for democrats as Norwood Park committeeman, a visit with Rosalind Carter, the first lady during the Carter administration. Gacy right here is hiding the fact that there are bodies buried under his house. He's the great deceiver. —
- JG: I always felt that service community and community service to others. You know, in my religious background, I felt if you serve other people, it'll come back to serve you. You know, I've always believed that way with generosity.
- So if he looks for good and he's generous, why'd he kill 33 people? Nobody knows, but the psychiatrists talk about how obsessive and meticulous he is, enough to kill repeatedly and to stack his victims in a careful and ordered manner, like cordwood under his house. Even now he's obsessed and meticulous with his life. —
- JW: What's your life like?
- JG: Day to day. I live a day to day.
- JW: What do you mean?
- JG: If you want to know what my life is like, I log it every day. For the last 12 years, all you got to do is ask. I can tell you everything. I can tell you the first meal they served me here. Because I do it daily.
- JW: What do you do all day?
- JG: Every phone call, every, every thing that I do every time an officer is around me, is logged. Every movement that I make is in the book here.
- And he and his lawyers have a log on his victims too. Everything they did before they were killed. —
- JG: You know, when I tell you I've got background information on it. We took each, each one of them by, uh, we took each one of the victims. And this is, this is by, by their names or by their indictment numbers. And what we did with each one of them, we did profile sheets on them. We wanted to know wh, what this kid was into, what his background was.
- Chicago psychiatrist Daniel Yohanna of Northwestern University spent a few hours this week screening the interview: "He's very attentive to all details and so he's sort of, that's the way he operates. And that's how, that's how people like him are able to cover up these, do these crimes and cover them up. Because they are well planned and organized". One thing that John Wayne Gacy could not plan was the way he got that way... —
- JG: My dad was domineering, in the fact. He had a different set of values, but also very stern individual. My dad drank a lot, when he drank a lot, yeah, he was abusive to my mother and to me. But I never swung at my dad because I loved him for what he stood for.
- Maybe that's where it began to go wrong for John Gacy. He doesn't know, nor does he seem to care. He loses himself in his paintings. —
- JW: Why the skeleton?
- JG: This was done by request. Somebody requested a skull clown. And, uh, mostly the punk rockers and, and the undergrounders like that stuff there. This is Christ as I see him in myself. And it's monolithic because Christ, to me, is monolithic. He, he's all things to all people. This here is the, uh, the Hi-Ho series, and that is, uh, self-explanatory. It's the Seven Dwarfs, and they've always stuck to me as, as a great child painting. And so I've done a series of Hi-Ho series paintings. And this is the 1991, this is called Hi Ho Around the Campfire. It's, it's an original work. Walt Disney is a mentor for me, because I've, I've always enjoyed his creativity and the, the Seven Dwarfs, if you actually look at all the faces, they represent, uh, they... the seven different moods that most people can get into.
- Moods are important to John Gacy, he has so many of them himself, angry ones mostly toward his father and his victims and especially it seems toward the victims families, who are constantly reminding him of his crimes. As callous and as cunning as he is, John Wayne Gacy talks about his victims, tomorrow at 10. —
- John Gacy talks about his victims like so many numbers on a scorecard. He seems to have no feelings whatever about them as human beings. But look at them and you see 33 children who lived and loved and were loved. John Buckovich

was 18. Michael Conan was 17. Randal Referred 15. Why them? there's no logical explanation for why them, any of them. Several were runaways from broken homes, 14 years ago when John Gacy was preying on families that split apart. Today, in his arrogance, he lectures them. —

JG: And nowadays, do you realize by 1993 that 50% of the American families will be single parented? and that shows a breakdown in the church in not being able to hold families together. And for this reason, children run away from home and seek love in other places and wind up in trouble.

— “And wind up in trouble”, that's Gacy's view of things. Kids get in trouble because nobody cares about them. Gacy got in trouble when after 32 victims he strangled Robert Piest, an all-American clean-cut local kid whose disappearance attracted police. Such carelessness is typical of a serial killer. Robert Ressler, serial killer expert: “By the time they've committed 10 or 12, they're very very laid back, but by the time they commit 15 or 20, they start getting careless.” If it sounds familiar it's because yo've heard the expert say it about Jeffrey Dahmer. Gacy dislikes the comparison. —

JG: What do I think of Jeffrey Dahmer? I don't know the man personally, but I, I'll tell you this, that's a good example as to why the insanity doesn't belong in the courtroom. Because if Jeffrey Dahmer doesn't meet the, the requirements for insanity, then I'd hate like hell to run into the guy that does. Beyond that...

JW: Do you feel that...

JG: uh, I have no comment on Jeffrey Dahmer, because I'm not Jeffrey Dahmer, and I would not, uh, whether it's Berkowitz, whether it's Bundy, whether it's, uh, Williams, uh, Wayne Williams down in Atlanta, or any of the others or Charlie Manson, see. I don't comment about other cases for the simple fact is that I wasn't there.

JW: Do you feel somewhat of a kinship with some of those people?

JG: No. God, I hate, I hate that when they put me in the same club with them.

— That's precisely the club that John Gacy belongs in. And the pain felt by Dahmer's victims is still felt 13 years later by the families of Gacy's victims. Delores Neider, mother of victim: “When you have a child taken out of your life, it is like a little piece is taken out of your heart. You just... you can never forget it. Everything keeps revolving back to the day when he did this, or he did that and we reminisce”. Delores Neider, courageous mother still in the same house on the Northwest side of Chicago. Thirteen years remembering Johnny, who was a marine, and then studying to be an accountant. Like others, he went to Gacy's house for a job and never came back. About which John Gacy expresses no remorse whatever. On the contrary, he says he's a victim for being found guilty. The 34th victim. And he says the families are victims because they don't know who the real killer is. —

JG: I'm not only the victim here, I'm, I'm, I might be the 34th victim, but there are other victims to this crime, and that is the families. Because if I know that I didn't commit the crime, then I have been given the injustice, and so has the families. And nobody gives a damn about the families.

— As though he cares. Which clearly he does not. And when the families insist that John Gacy pay for his crimes with his life, his real feelings come out. —

JG: That one mother that gets on television all the time. Who thinks I should be given 33 injections? I think she ought to take 33 valiums and go lay down. She goes on Geraldo show and all these other shows talking about, uh, I think it's Mallory, I think is the name. Her marine son, her marine son of her, her marine son was so great. Then what the hell did he run away from home 12 times?

JW: It's not enough for him to be murdered.

JG: I know that.

— He's also lying. John was not a runaway. And as to Gacy's snide remark about the Valium...^[SEP] Johnny's mother: “Well... Walter it's hard for me to comprehend that Gacy has the right to say something like that about me, because of the fact of what he did. What right has he to...”

Reporter: “say anything about you at all. ”

Johnny's mother: “right. Right. ”

John Gacy now faces death by lethal injection tomorrow night we'll hear what he has to say about that. In fact, Gacy is now talking about many things. He says for example that there were accomplices in his murders. —

JG: Had this case properly been investigated, I think you would have had, there should have been four indictments. A minimum of four indictments. And I say that sincerely.

— And he names names, tomorrow. —

— It was the house on Summerdale that he buried 26 of the 33 bodies, it was his home and his office as well, and he now says there was so much going on inside that house, that any number of people could have been involved. —

JG: See, there... there's a misconception of what the, the house on Summerdale is. It's not a house where you work 9 to 5 and come home, and it's, it's like a house where you live in. The living room was, was a major, was the private office section. One of the bedrooms was a terrarium. The kitchen was more like a... a fast food kitchen.

— He's painting a picture of a busy place but conveniently omitting the crawl space, which he divided into plots like a cemetery numbers 1 to 26, six feet by about three feet and a foot and a half deep. That was under the house. Up above 8213 West Summerdale was not only where Gacy lived as he says, but headquarters for his company PDM construction and a flop house for PDM employees, upon whom Gacy is now laying the blame for the murders.

JG: We have always contended there was, there's others involved. At the t, at the time, at the time of my arrest, uh, there was f...four other suspects: three of the suspects that we knew, that they knew then, was, uh, Michael Rossi, David Cram and Philip Paskey, all employees of PDM contractors, all with keys to the house on Summerdale.

— And they had friends, Gacy says, and friends of friends as he weaves for me an alibi. There was Michael Rossi for one, who worked for PDM and actually lived there during the time of the murders. Gacy and Rossi socialized in the house with Johnny Zeke, victim number three, the night he was murdered. —

JG: I met him the night he was killed because I met him with Michael Rossi. I had a drink with the two of them, and then I left and when I next seen the individual, he was dead.

JW: Where did you see...

JG: Why didn't I say something about it? Because it wasn't my business and I stayed out of other people's business.

JW: Where did you see him dead?

JG: in the house on Summerdale.

JW: And did Rossi tell you who had killed him?

JG: No, Rossi didn't say nothing. Rossi was sleeping on the couch. I, I just left.

JW: And how did he get buried? Do you know?

JG: he was buried in the crawlspace. When I come back, he wasn't there. So, Walter, that's your guess, as to who put him in the ground and that.

— Gacy finds a corpse in his living room and doesn't say anything because it's not his business? well, if you don't believe that, he has another story about being so high on drugs he didn't know what he was doing. —

JG: No, I started back in 1984. I started taking ten milligram of Valium, and by the time 1978 came around, I was doing 130 milligram of Valium. But then I was moving 80 jobs a year, and I was working 16 to 18 hour a days, and I, I just had to have something to take the pressure off.

— So the next thing people wonder, is what about the smell in the house, of decomposing bodies. Gacy has a Lhasa Apso story for that. —

JG: When I was arrested, uh, they claimed, well, there was a putrefied odor in the house. And I contend that was a lot of hogwash, too, because one Officer Schultz, claims on the 18th or on the 19th that as he came into the house, we had come into the house and my little Lhasa Apso was in the house. And of course, he had been locked in the kitchen, you know, all day. Well, a little puppy, he piddles, see. And while he's piddling and while he is, uh, doing his business on the paper in that, you can imagine what it smells like if you go into a closed room. And when the heat came on, as soon as the heat come on, and give you, you know, that strong feces odor.

— Or if not the dog, maybe just the house itself. How about the sump pump? —

JG: You know, I found it as odd when we bought the house, that a house with a crawl space would need a sump pump. But then I learned the first time it rained, that this ground gets wet under there, and the, and the crawl space actually floods up to a foot deep in water. And then as it recedes, it puts out a musty odor. There was always a muddy, musty odor in that house.

— These excuses and the ones we heard all week are the bases for Gacy's appeals, which are expected to go on for another two years maybe three, before his death sentence is carried out. What have 13 years of thinking about that done to John Gacy? Nothing, he says. Nothing at all. —

JG: I'm just as lovable and jokaable as I was back then. You know, I don't, I don't sit around worrying about the death penalty or things like that, no.

JW: how could you not?

JG: If you believe you've lived your life the right way, then you do not have nothing to fear, in my case.

JW: aren't you worried about facing God?

JG: No. I'm fairly comfortable with him. I've been a the, uh, at the Catholic services. I'm the server, for the priest, for the last ten years. I have no qualms about doing that. I've had confession, I have communion, and I am, I am at peace with myself.

— That's what he says, that he's at peace with himself, but he seemed to be to me to be highly agitated and very frightened about death. He says he's religious, so how could you not be afraid of death or what will happen to him after death? Clearly John Gacy is afraid enough to be doing whatever he can to avoid his execution, making up new excuses denying his involvement, trying now to involve others. Anything to open his case and prolong his life. But even the facts of the case, no matter what he does, it won't be enough. —

Transcript of Defense Diaries, Season 1: The Gacy Tape, podcast by Bob Motta

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Clip 2, ep. 6.

R: Did you ever try to figure out in your own mind what was happening to you?

JG: See, cause, ya know, like, in my own nei... in my own neighborhood, or even along the streets, er, er, like, Montrose, or Lawrence, or anything or even anywhere in Norridge, if I seen hitchhikers or that, I would not pick up nobody around my house. I would not pick up nobody in my own neighborhood.

R: Did you ever, during the course of your days, did you think about the bodies under your house, did you think about what you probably had done, even though you didn't remember specifically, was it on your mind a lot during the day?

JG: None of it was. The only, alright, once, once the burial was done there, there was no number count, there was no nothing in my mind.

R: Did you ever reflect back?

JG: No.

R: Well, when you would go out, did you think that maybe this was going to happen again?

JG: No... never thought about it. Yeah but, ya know, see like, what you're saying. How can you think about something that you don't even know that you did?

R: But you knew a body was there. You knew the body was there.

JG: Yeah well all along all I was doin' was concealing bodies, but I I don't I don't know anything about killing.

R: But do you, what was your thought, did you think from day to day about these bodies under your house? Did you want to stop yourself somewhere? the probability that you killed them was there...

JG: Yeah.

R: And yet you'd go out again, you wouldn't think about it during the day, you'd go out and didn't it cross your mind that it was going to happen again?

R: These trenches that were...

JG: After, after, after a burial I would think about "Holy Christ, ya know, this shit is happening again... and I, and I gotta stop it. Ya know, but but not while I was going out, no because I didn't even think about it. Because look how many times I went out and I picked up people and went sometimes to their homes or to their apartments or something like that and I had sex with them there. Sometimes at my place. Ya know, here again, like that, that, that 300 to 500 in the last so many years or even so like it could be even as many as thousand over the last three years, but the thing of it is is that all of them weren't brought back to my house, some of them were broads too.

R: Is it conceivable that some of the bodies under the house are women?

JG: It's possible, but I don't know.

R: When all of this was going on, how did you feel when you knew there were bodies under there? I'm trying to figure out...

JG: How the hell can you feel about something that you don't do? How can I have feelings about that, once they were in the ground they weren't my problem. They weren't, ya know, you don't understand...

R: You didn't worry about it.

JG: How can you worry about something that you don't, you completely blanked out of your head.

R: Did you ever want to talk about these bodies under the house with anybody?

R: What about the trenches, you knew why the trenches were down there didn't you? I mean, you knew that bodies were going to be put in those trenches, didn't you John?

R: What did you think those trenches were there for?

JG: We had dug them for, the drainage tile. I was gonna work on the basement because like I told ya ya know here, here in January here when the snow season slowed down, I was gonna have the whole basement completed cemented under with 27 yards of concrete, 28 yards. Four truckloads of concrete with blowers, blow the concrete under there and just put a bed of concrete under the whole goddamn place, a foot thick.

R: Was that going to be to conceal what was down there?

JG: No, because I was getting ready to build a second floor on the house and I didn't want the odor in the house no more. Why would I spend money to redo the house and fix up the house? I had mixed emotions, I had two things in mind: one, if I sold the house, I wanted the whole goddamn basement solid concrete under there, because there would be no

odor in the house, and the house would be easier to sell; secondly, if I was building up higher in the house, and the old duct work system and everything was gonna be torn out, there was no reason to have a crawlspace under the house. I had thought that if, if I had tarred along the walls and filled it up with concrete, that the natural spring or whatever was underneath that house, that the fucking sump would have to go under other houses or or the seepage would have to stay on the outside of my foundation and not underneath my house. That was the prima facie reason. It wasn't, I wasn't filling, I wasn't going to concrete the basement to to hide bodies or anything like that because it didn't enter my mind that these holes had been dug and that those, those burials were there. It did not, it did not enter my mind... that I was concealing anything. I was, I was cementing it for reason of odor, plus thinking of going up with the house higher.

R: This odor was from the clay or was it a putrefied odor?

JG: From the clay, no, not putrefied, how the hell could the odor be in the house, hell, you'd have to ask my mother, when we first moved in the house, there was an odor in the house. And that was back in '70, 71, and there was many discussions with Ed Greeks next door and he had a pump under his house, the guy across the street, Witsokolowski, lived over there, he had a pump under his house.

R: Did you ever want to tell anybody about the bodies under the house

JG: No

R: Did you ever want to talk to your mother, sister, priest?

JG: I told you.

R: Are you a religious person? were you...

JG: Do I believe in God? Yeah I believe in God.

R: Were you active as far as participating?

JG: When I was younger yes.

R: No within the last few years

JG: No. Not active in religion at all. I believed in God, I would consider myself an emotional type person, religion-wise ya know, it's a moving thing. I felt that I was doing my own thing with mankind by helping others, doing a lot of civic type work and working with other people I, I don't basically, I felt sorry for people, I was an easy going person, anybody, ya know, after you were around me for awhile, you'd know I was gullible enough to get around. I'm easy to get around. Because...

R: You never went to confession or anything like that during the past few years have you?

JG: Uh, not, not confession, nor communion.

R: Did you ever feel any moral repercussions as a result of having these bodies under your house? Was there any...

JG: Why would I? The, the people that were killed were homosexuals...

R: You hated homosexuals.

JG: They were bad people to begin with.

R: You hated them.

JG: I don't hate nobody.

R: Did you hate homosexuals?

JG: I disliked 'em. No I don't hate nobody, I disliked them, yes. I don't I don't care if anybody engaged in, I'm a liberal thinker, I don't care what anybody engages in and I don't sit in judgement on anybody, ok? If anybody does anything under consenting view, I, I see nothing wrong with it. I think a person that molests a small child, they, they should, uh, castrate 'em, that's my feeling on, uh, sexual abuse of children or something like that, I didn't like anything that had pain involved, I didn't like anything that was...

Transcript of Defense Diaries, Season 1: The Gacy Tape, podcast by Bob Motta

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Clip 1, ep. 1.

Q: What about drugs, were you taking any drugs?

JG: No not that I know of.

Q: Okay then what happened?

JG: He said he had time to kill. I said well, if you want, I said I'm just screwing around, if you want a ride you can ride with me; and then we started riding around uh, I believe I started the conversation asking him if he had ever gotten into sex or ever gotten blown or that. Would he like to get blown, he said yes. I says well have you ever been blown by a guy and he said he didn't seem to think there was anything wrong with it.

Q: I want to ask you something, is there anything that you remember specifically about picking him up, the car, anything specifically that we can tie a date into? do you remember the car you were in?

JG: The only, the only chronological order that I can give you is the date from his dad, it had to be right after New Year's cause I know...

Q: Now remember what I told you about assumptions John. You're assuming you were in that green station wagon right?

JG: I think that's what kind of a car I had at the time.

Q: Do you remember specifically? right now, do you remember?

JG: No, I was...

Q: Do you remember getting out of the car and talking to this guy?

JG: The reason, the reason why is I had several green Oldsmobiles, then I think I had one blue one and then I got the black one.

Q: So you're reconstructing this?

JG: I'm trying to reconstruct it.

Q: Do you remember specifically getting out of the car and talking to this guy?

JG: No it just as possibly could be that I was still sitting in the car and he came up to the car.

Q: You don't remember?

JG: I don't, I don't know.

Q: Didn't you mention to me on a prior occasion that he had a key to a locker?

JG: Yeah in his pocket.

Q: Did you remember that specifically?

JG: Yeah because I uh that was after he he was dead that it was in his pants pocket.

Q: OK, I want to hear the rest of the story, about the guy. You started talking about sex and then what happened?

JG: We went out to my house. He said he was hungry. Something about being hungry, that he didn't mind getting into something like that, but he was hungry. He came out to my house and I fixed him something to eat. Then we sat around eating and I think we had a couple drinks. This had to be around I'd say 2:00 in the morning.

Q: So the two of you were having drinks then?

JG: Yeah I I I think I I drank.

Q: And he was there with you?

JG: Yes, all the time he was. Then we went to the rear bedroom with the green carpeting in, which would be the back bedroom, not the, the present one, which is the master bedroom, the red carpeting...

Q: Is there any reason you went to the bedroom and you didn't do it in the living room or somewhere else in the house?

JG: I don't know. We went into a bedroom where there was twin beds...

Q: That sticks out in your mind, you remember that?

JG: Yeah, there is, there was twin beds in the room, because that was my room. The front bedroom was my mother's at the time, see, and she had a double bed. But we went to the room where there was twin beds cause I... oh I don't know, I'm assuming maybe I thought that my mother might come home in the morning and that's why we were in my bedroom because she could go in one bed and I could go in the other. We we both got into oral copulation, after it was over, I think I just fell off to sleep.

Q: Sleep?

JG: Yeah I had to, cause I was, I was laying in bed and I and I woke up and I seen him coming in the room with a knife in his hand.

Q: Where were you when you woke up?
 JG: In bed...
 Q: Which bed?
 JG: My bed, the one farthest, closest to the window.
 Q: Where did you have sex?
 JG: In the same bedroom, on the other bed, the one he was sleeping in. Either that or after we had the sex, we both, he went, he laid down on the extra bed and I laid down on.
 Q: What knife was it a concealed knife, what kind of knife was it that he had in his hand?
 JG: From the kitchen, the knife that I cut the, the sausage with.
 Q: Where was that knife?
 JG: Laying on the counter in the kitchen.
 Q: And he was just coming at you with that knife?
 JG: Yeah.
 Q: Did he say anything?
 JG: No I cause I think I startled him.
 Q: Where was he when you first saw him with the knife, how close to you was he?
 JG: About two feet from me.
 Q: Almost right on you?
 JG: Yeah.
 Q: Almost touching you, over you on the bed?
 Q: Is it possible that you weren't waking up from a sleep but you were waking up from a stupor, that you had been unconscious?
 JG: That's possible, I don't know.
 Q: Did you get violent with this guy during sex at all?
 JG: Nope.
 Q: Is there any reason he'd come at you with a knife that you can think of?
 JG: The only thing I can think of, the only thing I...
 Q: Anything that happened the night before?
 JG: No. We had oral sex and and after after it was over we both were, ya know, you're tired.
 Q: What was he wearing when he had the knife in his hand coming towards you?
 JG: I think all he had on was his Levi's.
 Q: What did you do?
 JG: I jumped up and I wrestled with him in the bedroom and pushed him out of the bedroom into the hall and then from the hall into the front bedroom.
 Q: Where was the knife all this time?
 JG: In his hand, I was holding his one hand and uh I got slapped from him and I got, then, I was able to knock him down and knock him off his feet.
 Q: Where were you slashed?
 JG: On the, uh, left wrist.
 Q: How were you holding him? his arms? were you holding his arms?
 JG: Yeah I grabbed his arm...
 Q: Let me ask you something, as you saw the knife coming down on you, you didn't have his arm already, you grabbed it as you were...
 JG: Yeah well when I flew out of bed I knocked him off his feet. I wrestled him all the way into the, to the front bedroom. There, and uh, he uh, I think I while I was wrestling with him was when I got stabbed cause that's what made me mad, cause I took the knife I think I stabbed him in the chest four or five times.
 Q: How did you get the knife from him?
 JG: Well after I knocked him off balance, uh, I pounced down on top of him.
 Q: And you said that after you knocked him off balance you were holding his arm and he slashed your wrist.
 JG: Well yeah cause he come down with the knife.
 Q: Well how did you get the knife out of his hand?
 JG: Well when he lost balance and I knocked him over when I fell on top of him when I fell on top of him then I took it from his hand.
 Q: This was in another bedroom?

Q: In what position were you on top of him?

JG: Well my knees were into his stomach and chest, grabbed the knife from him and...

Q: This is after you had wrestled into the other bedroom. Then he fell down and you were on top of him.

JG: yes.

Q: Did you have clothes on then?

JG: Did I have clothes on? I think just underwear.

Q: Did he have clothes on?

JG: Yeah I I think he had his Levi's on, just his pants, no shirt, no shoes or socks.

Q: So was he dressed to leave at that point?

JG: No. Cause he came I think he was saying that he was sorry, he was sorry he didn't mean to, that he wasn't gonna hurt me or, I don't know.

Q: You stabbed him four or five times?

JG: Yeah.

Q: Did he appear to die immediately or was he still alive breathing or did he appear to be lifeless after the stabbing?

JG: No, I think after the first or second stabbing all you could hear was the gurgling of blood in his lungs or something, I don't know.

Transcript of Defense Diaries, Season 1: The Gacy Tape, podcast by Bob Motta

This text was copied from the sources available online at <https://defensediararies.com/gacy-transcript>.

Clip 4, ep. 1.

JG: We drank some more, we smoked a couple of joints. I think the handcuffs were behind the bar. And then he started talking again about that he was going to kick my ass. Cause he was telling me about his problems with his dad and that he needed the fucking money. And I said “well that’s fine, who’s gonna pay for the goddamn carpeting?”. He said “we’ll just go in and tear it out of the apartment and shit like that” and I said “fuck no, you’re sticking me for 325 dollars and then you want me to give you a check for 150 dollars?”

Q: What’s the 325 dollars? What was the argument about initially?

JG: He had left because he had gotten into it with his dad and his dad took the apartment away from him. With his dad taking the apartment away from him, now meanwhile, the day before he had just gotten into a fight down on Halsted and Ohio Street, no, not Halsted and Ohio, Halsted and Clinton or somewhere in that area, they had gotten into an argument, in fact, they beat up somebody with a pool stick.

Q: They, you mean him and his friends?

JG: The Puerto Rican buddies of his, yeah. And uh, he wanted to get out of town because they were gonna come and get him. That’s why he wasn’t going home. His dad had kicked him out of the house, his dad had kicked him out of the apartment, told him that he was no good and all that shit and wanted to get rid of him. Ya know, just “get out”. I said well, somebody is gonna have to pay for the carpeting. He charged the carpeting to me, ya know, and then his father took the apartment back from him to rent it out and then he was gonna not pay for the carpeting, which was 325 dollars. He had a check coming of, I believe, 125 dollars to 150, somewhere in there. He wanted his check and he said I could get the carpeting back from his dad. I said “like hell then I gotta go argue with your dad”. Then he got into an argument with me. That’s what the argument was over. The same argument was expressed to his dad and his dad knows it, he even says that today. John knew he couldn’t get his check until he paid the 325 dollars, cause I told his dad. Then his dad says “well - this was after John disappeared - he says “the hell with John make the check out to Marco Butkovich”. I says “like hell I am, are you going to pay me for the carpeting first or I’m gonna take the carpeting out”. He says “No you’re not, you’re don’t take no carpeting out”. You know, in his broken English.

Q: So when you got back to the apartment then...

JG: No we went to my house.

Q: I mean, your house, I’m sorry.

JG: We were drinking and we got into a fight and then he felt like he wanted to fight again. So we were fucking around arguing back and forth and uh, I talked him into putting the handcuffs on. Once he got the handcuffs on I pinned him down and told him, I said “Now you might as well settle down and get it straight for once and for all because I am not gonna give you your check”, I says “I don’t give a shit what the hell you do”. And then he said “let me up, let me up”, and I said “I ain’t letting ya up until I get done explaining it to you”. I said “You know goddamn well you owe me for the carpeting, you’re not getting your money until I get mine”. And then he told me that if I didn’t let him, or if I wouldn’t let him up he’d kill me. He threatened to kill me. He said “If I get loose, I’ll kill you”. He says that he had nothing to lose. I says “If that’s the way you think, then it’s either you or me”. I’m assuming from that point forward, I don’t remember, if I killed him or I just left him on the floor there. I do know that he was dead.

Q: When do you remember him being dead?

JG: Around 6:30 to 7:00 in the morning when I came out of my bedroom. He was still laying on the living room floor.

Q: Did he have his clothes on?

JG: Yup.

Q: Were his hands still handcuffed?

JG: Yup.

Q: In back of him or in front of him?

JG: In back of him.

Q: But he was dressed?

JG: Yeah.

Q: How was he dressed?

JG: I don't know how, I don't know if they found him with his clothes on or off, cause I don't know if I took his clothes off to bury him or buried him with his clothes on.

Q: How was he killed?

JG: There was a rope on his neck.

Transcript of Defense Diaries, Season 1: The Gacy Tape, podcast by Bob Motta

This text was copied from the sources available online at <https://defensediararies.com/gacy-transcript>.

Clip 1, ep. 6.

Q: What I mean to say is, the first hole you remember digging out of those five you dug, was there already digging down there, had Rossi dug down there already, had Cram dug down there?

JG: Yeah.

Q: So we can assume then that this was after Szyk when you dug?

JG: Uh-uh.

Q: After the time that Rossi knew what was going on?

JG: Yeah.

Q: How did you feel...

JG: I would think that, ya know, Rossi had dug down there before, before uh... Rossi had dug down there before Szyk died.

Q: For the purpose of tile?

JG: Yeah. Ya know, I don't know who come up with that idea that it was tile. Cause I don't know if it come out in conversation or or if it was because of my uncle asking what we were digging for down there?

Q: Do you think it's possible that the digging was simply to bury people?

JG: Yeah. Sure, it's possible. We, we never although I, why, why wouldn't I just let a plumber go down there too though? And not telling him that I, ya know, I wanted to dig where the boozey belt was and I wasn't afraid of him digging.

Q: Dig where the what was?

JG: The boozey belt that comes in from the front, because I thought that there was something wrong, why did I I have never let anyone figure out why the hell the goddamn ground holds such, so much water. You could dig a foot down you could go down in the crawlspace and dig a foot down and then as you dig the foot down, leave it stand two days and that hole would be filled with water. Like a natural spring under there.

Q: Do you remember any other specifics from any other of those five that you dug? Picking them up, bringing them home, the killings?

JG: I would, I, I think that I recall something about uptown area. Around Montrose, Montrose and Clark, somewhere in there... picking up somebody, but I, I think he was 22 or 23 years old but I don't know, I don't recall.

Q: How did you feel the next morning when you woke up and you found Godzik dead? What was your initial emotional response?

JG: Just to throw him down in the crawlspace. Get rid of him.

Q: Did you question yourself as to why it was done?

JG: Nope.

Q: What about Szyk? When you woke up, oh that was when Rossi was there...

JG: I don't, uh, with Godzik, I felt a little upset about it, because I even wanted to help with, with his mother. I even volunteered to help.

Q: Do you remember feeling remorse for any of this? What was your most overwhelming feeling? Fear? Remorse? You wanted to get rid of it and put it out of your mind, cover it up?

JG: See but once you bury somebody then it was already gone. There was, there was no feeling to, Bob, in fact for the most part ya know, even like today, I don't, I don't believe I killed anybody. But yet I know I did, or I took part in it.

Q: When you found the body the next morning did you ever think "Well Jesus there's already three down there or there's already seven down there". Did you ever, do you have a count in your mind? When you were going to go out drinking the night before, did it ever...?

JG: No, you want to know something, I think in fact, the one, in fact the one time I dug down there, I uncovered a body
– INTERRUPTED

APPENDIX B

Transcript of Ted Bundy's interview in Glenwood Springs

The interview is based on an audio file sourced from the YouTube video available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=USYpjIW1jZo>

TB: We got to wear jeans and blue shirts. [laughs]

BG: Blue shirts?

TB: Yeah [laughs]

BG: Has your family been up to see you?

TB: Um, not as yet. It's a rather expensive trip. Yeah, and Aspen is an expensive place to stay.

BG: Your mom's off in Washington.

TB: Yeah. Can we start?

BG: Pardon?

BG: First of all, I guess I should just ask how are you doing up here?

TB: So it's a short question deserving a long answer. Uh, I'm doing well, I feel good, yeah. Working hard on my case.

Uh, I need a lot more sun and a lot more fresh air. But other than that, I'm doing okay.

BG: Do you get fresh air? Sun? Do you get out?

TB: Well, I get to go to the library [laughs]. It's a 50 yard walk from here. Across this... across the parking lot to the library. And that's my fresh air.

BG: Did you have more freedom at the Utah State Prison?

TB: [laughs] Well, uh, when I was in...on the main line, as I say, a medium security had a lot more freedom. You bet.

Uh, big yard to walk in and, uh, basketball court and handball court, you know, in... Your standard, medium security life in a prison is, is a fairly decent existence, relatively speaking, to a county jail. County jails are, by and large, pretty confined and, uh... inhibiting sort of places.

BG: Why did you decide to defend yourself?

TB: I began thinking about that way back in Utah. Um, I had a year to study criminal law and action, and I have a lot of strong, I have a, I am a very biased person and I have a lot of strong opinions about how things should be done. And when I came here, I think that my opinions were established at the point where the method that my attorneys wish to impose here and my own did not agree, and we couldn't coexist, and theirs were right for them. And mine are going to be right for me. I'm very, I have the greatest amount of confidence that, at least in the preparation stage, that my ideas will work. And believe me, I'm not standing here alone. I'm just called a half a dozen attorney friends of mine today. Every day I get input. Every day I ask questions. Uh, but the reason I went on my own is because I just felt it was time. I felt it was right. I wanted to get involved. I wanted to become a part of my defense because I am such a part of it. I mean, I obviously am going to bear the consequences. So why not bear the responsibility of, uh, of seeking my own acquittal and, uh, sustaining my own innocence?

BG: Ted, when you left Salt Lake, when you were extradited, you issued a statement saying you feel that everything will turn out all right, that you are innocent. Do you still feel that?

TB: [chuckles] Uh. Bet. Yeah, more than ever. Uh. Of course. Uh, you can't help but become an advocate for yourself when you're so involved in the case and being a good defense attorney. And I'm not, again, I'm not pretending I'm an attorney, but. But being putting yourself in a position of being your own counsel, it's that positive psychology, you're going to do it. You're going to do it because you're right. You're going to do it because the person you're representing is innocent. It just happens to be, in this case, I've got a lot at stake, and the person I'm representing is myself, and I'm working all the harder. Yeah, I feel good about it. And yes, I feel that I'm right. And yes, I feel I'm going to make it. No doubt in my mind.

BG: There's always one thing that amazed me. As you know, I covered your trial and I was there every day. When you, uh, when the judge found you guilty of second degree kidnapping, you never showed any emotion.

TB: [laughs] Yeah.

BG: And for somebody who believes he is so innocent, why was there no emotion?

TB: [laughs] My attorney, John, John O'Connell in Salt Lake and I have always mused over just how I should behave. What's the right way for Ted Bundy to behave and make sure that people get the right impression? And I just behave the way I feel is right. Okay, let me take the day of March 1st, 1976, the day that the judge rendered his verdict in my case. First, I didn't show any emotion because you know, what am I supposed to do? Am I going to jump up on the table? Am I going to scream? That's what I felt like doing. I heard my mother cry [laughs]. Uh, it's an emotional time. I don't even like to think of that day. But I wasn't going to give these people who went out and built a case around a nonexistent eyewitness, an eyewitness identification that was built by the police.

I wasn't going to give them the satisfaction of seeing me break down. And sure, I'm mad. I'm showing emotion right now, because inside I'm mad. Uh. But I've kept it together because there's no point in destroying myself. I have got to keep myself together. I have got to stay calm. I've got to keep my presence of mind. Because as long as I do that, I'm going to beat these people. And that's the way I feel. Uh, I showed no emotion, I felt emotion, believe me. Now [laughs] the irony comes here. When Carol Daronch, the kidnapping victim from Utah, came to testify in this preliminary hearing here, I was beside myself with rage. Uh, she is turning into a professional witness, as far as I'm concerned, she is a prosecution witness. And when I heard her go through that routine that I had heard three times before, I had restrained myself every time. I couldn't do it this time. And I told my attorney, I says, I'm going to get up and I got up and I pointed at the judge and I pointed at her, and I said "She's lying she has lied three times before, and she's lying now. And I felt it. And he pulled me down. He says, listen, he says, "You can't do that" and I says, okay. But I had to do it once, for once I had to do it. And do you know something? People say Ted Bundy didn't show any emotion. There must be something in that. I showed emotion. You know what people said?

See, you really can get violent and angry. Uh, there's no white right way for me to act. I act, and I don't care what people think about how I act. I act according to the way I think is right and best for me at the time. And I'm not going to try to please people or impress people because, quite frankly the amount of bias and and prejudice that surrounds me, as a media image, I can't begin to tear down. Not with this interview or 100 interviews.

BG: Ted, do you believe... I'm a person from the media, other people here... Do you believe that we created you? That it's our fault that we created this image of the mass murderer? Is that what you're saying to us?

TB: [laughs] Um, well, I think in the course of doing your job, you did. Not out of... not in a malign way. Not, not, not in a personal vendetta against me, but in the course of, of, of publishing the material, uh, and broadcast the material coming out of the Salt Lake County Sheriff's Office or the Salt Lake County Prosecutor's Office, you began to plant the seed in people's minds. Now, that may be your constitutional right and duty, as well as, you know, your livelihood.

Uh, but I think in the process, you did create a media image of me, uh, that's far beyond, you know, the reality of me.

BG: Has John O'Connell called the Bundy monster?

TB: That's what he called it. And we ought to... I suggested that, John, we ought to get Mattel to make little dolls that walk and say, "I'm the Bundy monster" [laughs].

BG: Uh, so let me ask you this. You totally believe you're innocent.

TB nods

BG: Uh, I'm not questioning that. My question to you is, how did it come to be that Ted Bundy could be involved in some of these things and has now been charged, convicted, convicted once, he's now facing first degree murder charges and, as you know, is being suspected in other murders. How Ted Bundy come out? Where did he come from?

TB: That's a very long story. And I can't, really can't... If I knew the answers to that question, I wouldn't be sitting here right now. I'd be back in Salt Lake with a new trial. And one day I'll have those new. One day I'll have those answers, and one day I'll have a new trial. Okay? But I don't know why. Okay? I, I can't begin to understand why. I know that... that there's a lot of, uh, police ego on the line. I know that a lot of men in the detective division in Salt Lake County Sheriff's office jobs are on the line. I know that it's... a long time ago, it seems to be an issue as to whether or not I was innocent or guilty. The issue is now, is can we pin it on it? Can we, can we follow through and maintain our reputation as law enforcement officers? And I'll tell you, as long as they attempt to keep their heads in the sand about me, there's going to be people turning up in canyons, and they're going to be people being shot in Salt Lake City, because the police there aren't willing to accept what I think they know, and they know that I didn't do these things. And... excuse me.

BG: Okay, then how do you exist every day? How do you keep your sanity?

TB: [smiles] Well, uh.

BG: Or are you keeping your sanity?

TB laughs

BG: You're a young man. You're intelligent, obvious... obviously. How do you stay in that little cell and, um, stay sane?

TB: They gave me a year's training course in that, uh, from March 1st of '76 until I was, uh, extradited to Colorado, I was locked up. I had a lot of time to work on being locked up. Uh, it wasn't easy at first, but now it's easy. I mean, they made me hard inside, and I can spend time in there. I don't like it. I'll never like it, and I'll never accept it. But I can deal with it because I know how to, how to, let's say.

BG: Have you trained your mind?

TB: Trained my mind... is that. Yeah. That's the word I was going to use. But it's not exactly training your mind, it's just creating your own environment in here. Okay? And not looking at the ceiling and not looking at the wall and not thinking about the outside and not anguishing over the fact that you've lost your freedom, but simply... *inaudible*.

TB: I mean, I live 24 hours a day in that thing, sitting in the library.

GB: What did you say? 6 by 12?

TB: 6 by 12, 6 and a half by 12.

TB: Somebody talks to me. They're locked up. They're punished here, you know, they're told "You do not talk to Bundy here". I don't know why. I don't know why they're so paranoid.

[Interviewer] How does this compare to there? To the Utah State Prison?

TB: [laughs] It's a good deal, smaller. Uh, I can't I, couldn't give you any exact figures, but I suppose if I was in medium security and it... Utah State Prison, you'd have several acres to roam around in all the, all the blocks, the gymnasium, industries, area and whatnot. Even in maximum security we got to go outside, go to the weight room.

[Interviewer] Uh, what time do you get up?

TB: 6:30.

[Interviewer] Exercise?

TB: I walk, uh, about two miles a day inside, 880 laps [laughs].

[Interviewer] I haven't been following your case that closely, but you'll have to agree you're the target of a great deal of mystery. And you said earlier a "macabre interest".

TB: uh-uh.

[Interviewer] Why?

TB: Why...

[Interviewer]: Well, you'll have to admit there's a there's a hell of a lot of circumstantial evidence, at least circumstantial. It seems to somebody who has read simply read the newspapers and articles.

TB: No, I won't admit that [laughs]. No, there's, uh, uh, I don't call it... It's not circumstantial as far as I'm concerned. And I, I don't really know exactly what you're referring to, and I don't really want to discuss it, but it... I don't care what anybody says or, or the, uh, the suspicions anyone harbors on the basis of that misinformation. And indeed, that's what I call it, "circumstantial information", perhaps, but "misinformation", as far as I'm concerned.

Uh... a lot of people trying to pin a lot of stuff on somebody because, uh, you know, it's convenient, but, uh...

[Interviewer]: You think you've been set up?

TB [laughs] Well, I don't think there's any broad scheme. Uh, but I think one begins to, I would have to infer that, uh, based on some of the police activity, I think following November of '75, you'd have to say that there was a general, uh, design amongst police officers in several jurisdictions to, to do whatever they could. And I think a statement recently made by a sheriff in Utah, uh, Utah County, I believe, he said that he walked out on some of those meetings because it was just clear that they were just, they had one thing on their mind and they were going to do anything to prove it.

And I think this trial will show exactly what they've done. Uh, I'm not going to sit here and say people have perjured themselves, but I think that'll come out.

[Interviewer] Are you angry?

TB: Sure, I get angry. I get very, very angry and indignant. Uh, I don't like being locked up for something I didn't do. And I don't like my liberty taken away. And I don't like being treated like an animal. And I don't like, like, people walking around and ogling me like I'm some sort of weirdo, because I'm not. Uh, you know, I'm perfectly happy with the person I am. And I've always been. There's not a... I mean, I yeah, I don't pay my telephone bills on time and I don't write my mother, uh, as many letters as I should.

There are all kinds of things I can improve about myself, but a weirdo, no. This... I feel good about myself. I'm happy with myself.

[Interviewer]: You don't change. You stay. Ted Bundy, 24 hours a day.

TB [laughs]: Well, uh, gee, that name sounds funny. You know, I hear Ted Bundy in so many different contexts... I stay me. Okay? I've matured in the past year. Believe me, I've grown in the past year. And I've learned a lot of things about myself, in the past year. Being in prison, going through a kind of hell. Matured as a person. And I think it's done good things for me. Uh, my only misgivings is that I might never be, might never be in a position to apply it, you know, on the streets where I'd like to apply it. Yeah.

[Interviewer]: Uh, do you ever think when you're in that cell about the possibility that you could one day face a firing squad?

TB: They don't have firing squads in Colorado. And I don't think that in any event, uh, that I ever think... I don't think about it, honest to God. And I, and I've been asked that question before, and I'm going to give you a pat answer, if you don't mind. When you... did you fly over here from Utah?

[Interviewer]: Yes.

TB: Did it worry you all the way over, that you might be killed in a car, in a in a plane crash?

[Interviewer]: No.

TB: Did you think...are you thinking about it now? Going back? Same here. I think I stand up as much chance of dying in front of a firing squad or in a gas chamber, as you do being killed on a plane flight home. Let's hope you don't [laughs].

[Interviewer]: But so you don't lie awake at night thinking about it?

TB: Not a moment. Honest to God, not a moment. Because it's not going to happen. And, uh, in the, you know...

[Interviewer]: Are you going to be a free man? I mean, do you think that about being a free man?

TB: Sure. Yeah.

[Interviewer]: And you think when I say there is circumstantial evidence that that I'm... in left field, there isn't circumstantial evidence?

TB: I know there isn't. You're dealing in the outside. I'm on the inside, okay? I mean, you, you have access to information, but I'm on the inside. Uh, I know what's there, and I know what isn't there. I've seen the files and I've heard the reports, and Lord knows, I'm the first and foremost person and has the personal, intimate knowledge that it couldn't be me. That it's not me, that I'm innocent. Okay? Dealing from that on out, I know exactly what's what you know? And, uh, when you tell me the circumstantial evidence, I'm not going to argue with you. Uh, lucky it's just. Let's just wait and let's just let it come out in court and let's let it be examined in open court, and I'll lay my money on me. You know, that's the way I feel.

[Interviewer]: Do you think about getting out of here?

TB: Well, well, legally. Sure.

[Interviewer]: With the rumors that have gone on about you and you're more aware of them than I am, how have you been treated in prison by other inmates?

TB: Well, I think you maybe...

[Interviewer]: Has it made your life more difficult or more dangerous being in prison?

TB: I think you may be more aware of the rumors than I. For this reason, I have heard a lot of talk. And there might be an inmate X who says, you know, Bundy's this and that kind of person. But, you know... when I'm confronted person to person by these people, or by people in general, I have never, I have never been accused, I have never been assaulted, I have never been verbally abused. And the reason is 'cause I hold my head high, I have fully, I believe in myself, and I treat every man with the respect that he deserves. And that's the way you get along in prison. One of the many ways you get along in the joint, is that you treat a man with respect, that you don't try to, to, to hustle somebody, uh, that you come across straight to them. One of the first things you learn... that if you're a straight con and you keep your mouth shut and, and, and... you keep tight with good people, you're going to stay out of trouble. That's just... And yet it doesn't make any difference what you've done.

[Interviewer]: What happens if you're in prison five years and nothing like what has happened in the past happens again?

TB: What do you mean?

[Interviewer]: I mean, any of the things that you have been accused of, and you went by innuendo, by rumor, by the police departments or whatever? What if there are no killings and there are no kidnappings?

TB: It's already happened, hasn't it? I've heard some reports. I... you know, I remember the incidents between, between 5 and 8, which are similar to the ones which the police have had the nerve to try to associate with me. It's going to continue to happen in Salt Lake and Utah until those police start to wise up and start... stop counting their chickens before they hatch. I think it's a terribly dangerous mentality to try to pin something on somebody who, who they might, who they believe there's a possibility that couldn't have done it. And as long as they believe that, they're not going to find the right man. And the man who, who kidnapped Carol durante is going to continue to be free. And not

only her, but every other young woman in the Salt Lake Valley is going to, is going to be threatened by that person or persons. And it's happening today, and it's going to in the future.

[Interviewer]: What do you think about in your mind? What do you conjure up about the man that they're after, or the real man who did these things

TB: Man or ma'am? Persons to persons, I don't know, I really have... I can't even begin to understand the mentality. I don't understand the motivation, I don't understand.

[Interviewer]: Do you ever feel like you'd like to escape?

TB: [laughs] Let me preface any answer to that remark. Uh, by giving my feeling about jails. Somebody asked me... that question has been asked me before. I mean, would you want to escape? and have you planned to escape? And if my attorney was here, he'd say, I object, Your Honor. Uh, uh... [laughs]. Mr. Bundy is being asked a question, and attempt is being made to ask Mr. Bundy to incriminate himself. Uh but... [laughs] let me try to get my way out of that one. The Utah State Prison, as you know, is surrounded by several barbed wire fences and, uh, and has many, many guards and towers and they've got dogs that run around there and they've got bars in the cells, uh, and they've got count procedures. And what do you think that's all for? That's to keep the men in there.

Now, does anyone think that if they took those fences down and took those dogs away and those guns away, all those guys would stay? Sure they'd go. The very reason for prison, the very assumption about those bars and all that barbed wire is that if there's not there, those guys are going to leave. And I swear to God, every man in that prison, at one time or another thinks, about going, wishes he wasn't there and wishes he could fly over those fences. I've dreamed about flying over those fences. I've dreamed about climbing over those fences and tunneling under those fences with every other man in there. I've dreamed about being free, because I don't like my liberty being taken away. And no man does. Some men in the Utah State Prison become institutionalized because, because they've been so brutalized over the years they don't want to think about the outside.

But most every man, when he first goes in there dreams and thinks and, and conjures up all kinds of ideas of freedom. But the real difference, the real measure of a man in prison, as far as escape goes, is the difference between hitting that fence and not hitting that fence, between getting shot at and not getting shot at, and having the guts to do it, and not having the guts to do it. You might be able to open those gates at the Utah State Prison, and 80% of the guys wouldn't leave. They'd be afraid to get back out into society. They'd be afraid of being shot or getting another, another beef put on them. Okay? But some would. All I'm saying is I'm no fool. I don't like being locked up, and I don't think any man does.

[Interviewer]: You talk about getting out. Do you ever worry about what some of the parents of some of these women who think you are guilty, that they might come after you?

TB: I don't worry about it. Uh, there are crazy people anywhere. I've been told that, uh, you know, the parents of these, of these girls are fairly decent people

I don't know, and I really feel for them, because apparently they've suffered some, an incredible tragedy in their lives. The loss of a loved one is is... probably, probably the most extreme kind of loss you can suffer in this life. And I say I feel as much for them as anybody can, uh, not having gone through that myself. But as far as worrying about that, hey, if, if, if someone's crazy enough and nutty enough, do something like that. I can't stop them. There's nothing I can do.

[Interviewer]: You are not guilty.

TB: I am not guilty [laughs]. Does that does that include the time I stole a comic book when I was five years old? [laughs]. I am not guilty of the charges which had been filed against me.

[Interviewer]: And the allegations...

TB: And the allegations [laughs].

[Interviewer]: And the rumors...

TB: And I don't know all of what you're speaking about. Lucky. It's too broad and I can't get into it in any detail. Uh, but I'm satisfied with, with my blanket statement that I'm innocent. Uh, no man is truly innocent. Uh, I mean, we all have transgressed in some way in our lives. And as I say, I, I've been, uh, impolite and, uh there are things I regret having done in my life. Uh, but nothing like the things I think that you're referring to.

[Interviewer]: Have you ever physically harmed anyone?

TB: Ever physically harmed anyone? No, no. You know, uh, again, not in the context I think that you're, you're speaking of. Yeah.

TB: [...] I noticed 2:00 in the morning, I had to go to bed. I developed that technique in maximum security. I became, I found the best way to make time pass is, first of all, you come up with a schedule that you try to meet, and schedules

are made to be broken. But the process of breaking the schedule, you never make it. You know, you always hustle to make that schedule and time just zips away.

[Interviewer]: You became a typist.

T: No, not at all [laughs]. Uh, I, uh, they wouldn't give me any correction fluid, so I produced little papers [laughs]

TB: [...] Built in 1887, it used to be down here. It's, uh... I can't begin to describe. It's dark and damp and drafty. Uh, and it's... I think that's it's a bad trip.

[Interviewer]: So you were glad to come out here. You were more glad to come down here.

TB: No, no, no. Six of one and a half dozen of the other. You know, down there. I could talk to prisoners. We had three meals circulated around. My cell wasn't locked, okay?

[Interviewer]: It wasn't locked?

TB: No. I was out with everybody 24 hours a day. Nothing bad happened.

[Interviewer]: Until they brought Claudine down.

TB: Well, you know, she came in.

TB: Yeah. For sure. I've already qualified for the third degree. Oh, come on, guys. Yeah, I know more about... my class is graduating in about a month, in law school. Uh, I'll bet you I know more about law than any of them.

[Interviewer]: How does it feel that they're graduating?

TB: That pisses me off. Now, that does piss me off [laughs]. That does piss me off.

Transcript of Conversations with a killer: The Ted Bundy Tapes

The text is based on multiple audio interviews available in the Netflix documentary.

TB: It is a little after nine o'clock in the evening. My name is Ted Bundy. I've never spoken to anybody about this. But I am looking for an opportunity to tell the story as best as I can. I mean, I'm not an animal and I'm not crazy. I don't have a split personality. I mean, I'm just a normal individual.

TB: Yes I intend to complete my legal education to become a lawyer, and be a damn good lawyer. Then I have a great model over here, so I think things are gonna work out. That's about all I can say.

TB: Testing one, two, three, four, five.

SM: That going okay?

TB: I'm getting a red light. Blink, blink, blink. Record.

SM: That means it's recording.

TB: Oh. It's blinking. It's not on permanently.

SM: Yeah, well... It should blink in response to the voice.

TB: Blink-blink. Oh, I see.

SM: Can I have a cigarette, please?^{1:17}_{SEP} TB: Oh, sure, go right ahead.

SM: Thank you.

TB: They're good for you.

SM: They are?

TB: Only cause mild forms of cancer.

SM: Right.

TB: Our house was on Sheridan street, in Tacoma. Second house from the corner on the west side of the street. Moved there, I would guess, about 1951. Yeah, I remember Warren Dodge, one of my childhood buddies. We both went to football practice in the playfield across from the tavern and then we fished at the pier just across the railroad tracks from the tavern. I'm particularly fond of looking at things in a chronological way. Times, dates, places. People perceive me differently from how I perceive myself. And I need to give others a chance to know what was really going on, what it was really like for me.

SM: We know that Healy went to bed and was never seen again... I think we've got to try to think in a more narrative kind of way about the crimes, with which you have been connected.

TB: I don't, I don't know. I'm... My initial reaction is that I don't think that I can.

Back to childhood

TB: Boyhood on Sheridan Street was not an unpleasant one. I remember those days of roaming with my friends, the adventure, the explorations. Those were the days of frog hunting and marble playing. First grade I was somewhat of a champion frog catcher. I mean, I was a frogman. Prided myself on my ability to spot that pair of bulging eyes... which would bob just above the surface of a murky pond.

I never lacked playmates in those days. There were always more than enough kids around to do something with. They seemed to be everywhere.

TB: I did well in academics, I ran for high school office. Most of my close friends, we would play football. I went out for the track team, went skiing every weekend. I was one of the boys. Some people perceived me as being shy and introverted. I didn't go to dances, I didn't go on the beer drinking outings. I was a pretty, you might call me straight, but not a social outcast in any way.

MM: Uh-uh.

TB: It wasn't that I disliked women or were afraid of them. It was just that I didn't seem to... have an inkling as to what to do about them. I honestly can't say why. Everybody's fascinated with the notion that there is cause and effect. That we can put our finger on it and say, "Yes, his father beat him when he was a boy. We could see it when he was a kid". That's bullshit. There's nothing in my background which would lead one to believe that I was capable of committing murder.

MM: Absolutely nothing?

TB: Absolutely nothing.

MM: The disappearance of Georgann Hawkins is an interesting case for the fact there's no evidence, at all. She might be an interesting one to discuss, what do you think?

TB: Well, I don't know about, uh... the Hawkins case, from what I know about it, it is unusual because she was in a neighborhood where she would have a lot of acquaintances but I don't know. About university

TB: At the University of Washington, I was a nice, presentable, affable young person. I compensated a lot for what I consider to be my most vulnerable aspect, my introversion, by being seemingly aloof and arrogant and intellectual but nice and tolerant and that kind of stuff. I had to sit down one night and say, "This is what I want to be".

TB: The relationship I had with Diane had a lasting impact on me. She's a beautiful dresser, beautiful girl. Very personable. Nice car, great parents. So, you know, for the first-time girlfriend, really that was not too bad. We spent a lot of time driving around in her car. You know, making out in the car. Mumbled sweet nothings into each other's ears and told each other how much we loved each other. And she inspired me to look at myself and become something more.

TB: I've always been anti-union, anti-boycott. I guess that kind of labels me as somewhat of a conservative. I just wasn't too fond of criminal conduct and using anti-war movements as a haven for... for delinquents who liked to feel that they were immune from the law. I did speak out against these radical socialist types who were just all for trashing the buildings, and destroying the university.

TB: The reason I love politics and was just drawn to it from the very beginning was because here was something which allowed me to utilize my natural talent in politics and also my assertiveness. And a social life. I mean, the social life came with it. You were, you were set, you know, you went out to dinner with people and they invited you to dinner, this is where they were, they took you to drinks and they... and there I was, a life that had been missing for me. During that campaign, I got laid for the first time. I got laid in Walla Walla.

Ted Bundy, Republican gubernatorial candidate, was accused of political spying

TB: It's hard for me to believe that what I did is newsworthy. My part in the campaign was so insignificant, I'm embarrassed that I should be getting this publicity from it. Really embarrassed [laughs].

TB: When I met Marlin, I was attracted to him because his wife could cook good sushi. And, uh, they were very nice people.

TB: I felt like I'd failed, not only myself, but even my teachers and instructors at the university. I was just absolutely out of control of my life. I didn't know what I was going to do, didn't even know where I was gonna live. Didn't even know how I was gonna support myself.

TB: I experienced any number of insecurities with Diane. There were occasions when I felt that she expected a great deal more from me than I was really capable of giving. I was not in a position to take her out and squire her around, uh... in the manner in which she was accustomed. But... or buy her clothing or, you know... I think I was coming apart at the seams. Maybe she saw it, and maybe didn't understand, you know, what I was going through. Throughout the summer, Diane and I corresponded less and less and then Diane stopped writing, and... and I started to get fearful about what she was up to. I had this overwhelming feeling of rejection that stemmed not just her, but... everything. The tail end of that summer is a really blank, I mean, it was a nightmare for me. In there somewhere was a desire to... have some sort of revenge on Diane. But toward the end of the summer, I'm serious, I just... It's blank. I don't know what the hell I did.

TB: The record-keeping operation of the King County police agencies in general was just horrendous. I had this connection with law enforcement there. I worked for the Seattle Crime Commission. I did some work, on these crimes against women... uh, issue, particularly rape...to study this and make some suggestions to the Seattle police on how they can prevent rape.

What I discovered, the discovery I made, was that they had well-intentioned people, but they didn't know what they should do.

TB: Why and how an individual would select women as victims of a brutal crime is not entirely clear to me. I've always preferred women to men. Uh, I probably have 60% women friends, close to 40% men friends. It's always been divided that way. I enjoy women.

TB: I loved her so much. It was destabilizing. She was from a Mormon family. She was from a wealthy background. She was somewhat meek. Liz had a child that she had to raise alone for a time. She was new, and this was a whole new...dimension to live that I had never seen before. I felt such a strong love for her. But we didn't have a lot of interests in common...like, politics was something I don't think we had in common. She liked to read a lot, I wasn't into reading. I wasted a lot of time. And the other problems that I would experience, like... not being able to make my genuine feelings for her come out, whether it's fixing a special dinner or going out, or bringing flowers or taking out the garbage, changing the sheets or doing the laundry. On occasion I would experience this fit of, you know... guilt as it were, and I would vacuum, and I would straighten up and wash dishes or fix dinner or do something. The area where I really failed would be not opening up my whole life to her. Don't know what I was hiding. Maybe I was just trying to preserve the, uh, Ted Bundy devil-may-care attractive bachelor image. I was terribly jealous of her. I used to agonize about losing her. I used to just torture myself. And I did a lot of dumb things.

SM: I need to be reassured that you and I are going ahead in good faith, I guess. Which is, you know, under the terms that we agreed, that were what is known about the incidents themselves. Can you do that?

TB: I don't, I don't want to talk about that right now. This is the defect of history.

SM: Yes.

TB: That historians have to deal with. I guess we're all historians. I mean, talk about fiction. That's what history is.

SM: Uh-uh.

TB: You never know whether historians, for one reason or another, well intentioned or not, are creating things that they wish had happened or thought happened or would like to have happened. Uh, because it satisfies their own preconception of what they think the history should have been.

TB: Well it's not an easy question but... I think we can... speculate. We can generally describe manifestations of this condition of this person's being skewed toward matters of a sexual nature that involve violence.

TB: You go to the mouth of any great river and pull out a handful of water that's flowing from it and say "Where did it come from?"

SM: Uh-uh.

TB: To trace it back, okay? And this is what we're dealing with here... we're talking about microscopic events as it were and indistinguishable undetectable events. The melting of a single snowflake as it were, okay? The advent of Spring and the combination of other forces perhaps, and the ultimate result that we appreciate which is the river itself.

TB: We're now talking about the development of...like, well behavior, murder. Okay, well, what caused what kinds of mental functions aberrations lay at the base of it, and how did they... where were they given birth? Where did they result? What were they the result of? And it's difficult... to trace it back and say "This is what happened". Perhaps this person hoped that through violence, through this violent series of acts, with... with every murder leaving a person of this type hungry. Unfulfilled. But also leave him with the obviously irrational belief that he... the next time he did it he would be fulfilled. And the next time he did it he would be fulfilled. Or the next time he did it he would be fulfilled.

TB: A person of this type chooses his victims for a reason. His victims are young attractive women. Women are possessions. Beings which are subservient more often than not, to males. Women are merchandise. From the pornographic, through Playboy, right on up to the evening news. So there is no denying the sexual component. However, sex has significance. Only in the context of a much broader scheme of things. That is possession, control, violence.

TB: Now let's consider the possibility that this person suffered from some sort of acute onset of a desire that resulted in killing young women. How do you account for it? The early manifestations of this condition, which is an interest concerning sexual images. Your standard fare that you'd see in the movie house or in Playboy magazine. The interest becomes skewed toward a more specialized literature, some of it pretty grotesque, which would preoccupy him more and more.

SM: When does this individual first act out?

TB: It would reach a point where the anger, the frustration, the anxiety, the poor self image, feeling cheated, wronged, insecure... he decides upon young attractive women being his victims. One particular evening, he was driving down a fairly dark street, and saw a girl walking along the street. And parked his car and ran up behind the girl and she heard him, she turned around, and he brandished the knife and grabbed her by the arm, and told her to do what he wanted her to do. Let's say he placed his hands around her throat just to throttle her into unconsciousness so that she wouldn't scream anymore. When the need of that malignant condition had been satisfied through sexual release, he realized that he couldn't let the girl go. So killing, to a degree, will become a way of destroying evidence. But the act of killing becomes an end in itself.

TB: After Lake Sammamish, they were working from a list of hundreds upon hundreds of leads. So the emphasis becomes on don't get caught. Then it becomes a matter of disposing of the problem... without leaving any, uh, evidence. I suppose they could be faulted for not... actually coming out and talking to me, but on the other hand they can't be faulted. Which one are they gonna pick, the law student with no criminal background or are they going to go after the guy with the... arrest record for robbery, or you know, the types? The real weirdos. People don't realize that murderers do not come out in the dark with long teeth and saliva dripping off their chin.

TB: I loved Utah. I decided that I was moving down there in September of '74. Hopped on the interstate going south toward Provo. All of a sudden I felt, I felt almost euphoric. I just looked out the window and watched the scenery and... dreamed and reminisced and... generally maintained a real good feeling I had all the way into Utah. We were dealing with an individual whose primary concern is not to be detected. The individual's modus operandi was moving large amounts of distance... in an attempt to camouflage what he was doing. And that he was also able to take

advantage of the anonymity factor. He's probably so caught up in living a dual life that... he'd been enmeshed in that continuing cycle of trying to maintain a normal life. He would modify his behavior to make him a sound, stable, law-abiding individual.

MM: What do you think can be surmised about Taylor Mountain?^[SEP]TB: About the Taylor Mountain crime scene? We can make a reasonable guess... that this individual was clearly trying to cover up his crimes. When a body was left there, the animals in the area were doing, you know, his work for him. And he would continue to go back there simply because he had his own garbage disposal.

TB: The inherent shortcomings of law enforcement make the detection of crime and the solution of crime an extremely difficult process. Defects in our system of law enforcement permit the individual to get away with it.

TB: It was a freak occurrence that brought me in contact with Hayward at two 'o'clock in the morning. We're talking about luck. People built a case around a non-existent eyewitness. Eyewitness identification was built by the police. But I kept it together because there's no point in destroying myself. I have got to keep myself together. I've got to keep my presence of mind. Because as long as I do that, I'm going to beat these people.

[reporter] You mentioned that it was, uh, an education for the justice system. How do you feel about the justice system in general based on your experience?^[SEP]TB [laughs] Well, I'm sure it works and you've gotta have faith it'll work or else you'd be reduced to some kind of mumbling idiot.

[reporter] Does that mean, uh, ultimately you want to get involved in the criminal justice system?

TB: well... [chuckles] Uh, a funny thing happened to me on the way to labor law class one morning. I got two weeks in the spa on the third floor up here. And yes, I intend to complete my legal education to become a lawyer and be a damn good lawyer. Uh, I think things are going to work out. That's about all I can say.

TB: When Carol DaRonch came to testify, I was beside myself with rage. Uh, she is turning into a professional witness as far as I'm concerned. When I heard her go through that routine, I got very, very angry and indignant. And I got up and I pointed at the judge and pointed at her and I said "She's lying. She's lied before, and she's lying now". There is no right way for me to act. I showed emotion. You know what people said? "See? he really can get violent and angry". And I don't care what people think about how I act. I act according to the way I think is right and best for me at the time.

On the psychologist making his mental evaluation

TB: The psychologist, well, he was an asshole, but there must be uh, some better words to describe that kind of mentality. I, I probably spoke to him more often during the time I was at the Utah State Prison than any other prison official.

TB: Most of my close friends, we played pee wee football. I later went out for the track team. I did well in academics. Never had any trouble. Not even a suggestion of trouble.

TB: This, of course, this illegitimacy issue is... for the amateur psychologist it's the thing. I mean, it's so stupid. It just bugs the shit out of me. I don't know what to do about it. How many people are in fact, find out that they are illegitimate or even adopted, at a later age? It's normal. The prison psychologist hoped so much that he himself would be responsible for opening Ted Bundy up for the world to see... what was ticking inside Bundy's obviously devious mind.

TB: I was in the visiting area of maximum security at the Utah State Prison with Bruce Lubeck. Bruce and I had been talking for no more than 15 minutes when the steel doors to security slid open. And into the room walked three men. They approached me and said "Mr. Bundy we have here... the warrant for your arrest for the murder of Caryn Campbell in Colorado".

TB: I don't like being locked up. I don't like my liberty being taken away and I don't like being treated like an animal, and I don't like people walking around and ogling me like I'm some sort of weirdo, because I'm not. Uh, being in prison... going through a kind of hell... matures a person and I—I think it's — It's done good things for me.

TB: As the months and weeks wore on into spring, I think that one opportunity after another passed, and I became more and more impatient with myself. I psyched, psyched, psyched myself up for weeks. And literally, it took, it took weeks. I began jumping off the top bunk in my cell in Garfield County jail. Jumping again and again and again off the top bunk to the floor to strengthen my legs for the impact. I measured, mentally measured the distance from the corner of the courthouse to the alley and from the alley to the riverbed and from the riverbed to the mountains. And I measured my cell and ran those distances. I ran those distances again and again. I practiced how rapidly I could change my clothes from my courtroom attire to my shorts and... I, uh, got a haircut... so that I had a different appearance. Finally I stood right before it. I hesitated. You cannot believe the thoughts that flipped through my mind. I could be free. The windows were open and the fresh air is blowing through and the sky was blue. And I said "I'm ready to go", and I walked to the window and jumped out [laughs].

TB: I remember the beautiful, clear morning. The mountain top shining with the first rays of... the summer morning's light. I remember psyching myself all the way up, saying to myself again and again "You must go. You must go. You must go. Don't hesitate, don't stop, don't stop". It certainly did cause a furor. They didn't know where in the world I was. And I was feeling really good. I had nobody helping me, I had no money, I had no nothing. I just ran right up into the mountains and managed to find a cabin. If I could've kept on hiking I would have been long gone but a very cold sleet and rain storm hit me and I got very cold and went into a state of shock. Three, four days of high altitude and cold got to me and my mind got weak. I was just totally disoriented. It was like an experience I had never known before. That night I went and walked back into Aspen because I was cold and hungry. And I just said "Well, let's just see what happens". And a fluke actually, they stopped me.

TB: I know of course the officers believed that I would be depressed. Dejected as well as... in a state of physical exhaustion. And that... the inevitability of it all would shake me and that I was just a... a rotten tomato ready to burst. And... and all it would take would be this extraordinary circumstance to open me up. But my exhaustion notwithstanding, they were barking up the wrong tree.

TB: How you doing?

Psychologist: Doing pretty good, Ted. How you doing?

TB: Uh, well, quite well, quite frankly, yeah. There is still the scars from the blisters on my feet. I'm sitting here barefooted. [laughs] From running around in the mountains. Extraordinary experience.

Psychologist: They treating you pretty good?

TB: Uh, they have developed this paranoia about me, like I am going to escape or something [chuckle].

Psychologist: I can't imagine where they are getting that.

TB: Yes, exactly [laughs]. You know we haven't really, you know, talked personally, obviously, since the latter part of January.

Psychologist: Yeah, right.

TB: Well, the impressions of all that you have been hearing about me and you know, the...

Psychologist: Okay. How do you mean?

TB: Well, like, the escape and everything like that. I wonder what your impression of that was.

Psychologist: uh, I had mixed impressions. I was wondering if you were really getting uptight. And the pressure looked like it was on. In your mind, what was happening?

TB: Well...

Psychologist: What was the reason for...

TB: I just got sick and tired of being locked up and I had, over the months, I had noticed a number of opportunities to just walk right out. Just longed for freedom for so long and now I'm like, like I was living my ultimate dream. It was just an incredible experience.

TB: This kind of boldness that we see from time to time from this personality, uh, it's probably just being willing to take the risk. Or perhaps not even seeing risk. Just overcome by that boldness and desire to accomplish a particular thing. I think we can say that he, he felt almost as if he was immune... uh, from detection, as if he were in a dimension that he just kind of, like, could walk through doors. That he had some supernatural powers. That no matter how much he fucked up, nothing could go wrong.

TB: The FBI knows that people are creatures of habit...that we have our little things that we like to do. And they just wait for a person to assume those habits again. The person has to examine his life and say "what parts of my life are distinctive?" and then change them. Creating an identity... is, is not terribly difficult to do at all.

TB: That day in Pensacola had been one of the best I'd spent. It was sunny, I'd gone to the ocean, laid on the beach. And I said to myself— I remember saying this to myself that day, "Boy you've got it whipped", you know? This is the way to start out 1978, laying on the beach in the Gulf of Florida. And just laying there in the sand and getting a bit of a tan. I mean, I was super confident and I was just — just feeling really satisfied with the way things were.

When he gets caught in Pensacola

Judge: Are you acquainted with or are you familiar with the charges against you as outlined by the state's attorney?

TB: I would like the court to, uh, list them again. I don't believe I picked everything up from the state's attorney.

Judge: This is for possession of stolen property, an automobile, possession of a stolen television, possession of stolen credit cards on 21 accounts, possession of stolen tags, that is automobile tags, battery of a police officer and resisting arrest with violence.

TB: I was being interrogated by the police in Pensacola. And I have no way of measuring... on a scale of one to ten, or one to a hundred even what — what the traumatic effect on my mind and body was. And I said I wanted to talk to somebody. Just someone to talk to— I needed a friend, I needed somebody close. I didn't want a cop or an attorney,

I was sick and tired of cops. I needed somebody there. Somebody to talk to. Somebody to settle me down and to help me get over this... reaction I was having being back in custody.

Reporter: Why Florida in the first place?

TB: It was the very opposite end of the country from the Pacific Northwest. Not that I disliked the northern climate, but I didn't have the clothing and it was... It'd just be harder to get around and to live in a cold climate when you didn't have any money. I didn't know anybody in Florida, and I thought the likelihood that Florida would know anything about Ted Bundy was remote.

TB: Gentleman, I'm not gonna be paraded for Ken Katsaris' benefit. What do we have here, Ken? Let's see. Oh it's an indictment? All right. Why don't you read it to me? You're about up for election aren't you? This is how you got it, didn't you? You told me, that you were going to get me. He said he was going to get me, okay? You got me indicted. It's all you're going to get. Just read it. Let's go. Very good. My chance to talk to the press. I'll plead not guilty right now. Can I talk to the press when you're done? Is that my copy?^[L]_[SEP] Katsaris: No it's not.

TB: Do I get a copy?^[L]_[SEP] Katsaris: We have your copy.

TB: Can I have a copy?

Katsaris: how about the case? You get that.

TB: Can I talk to the press?

Katsaris: I mean, you had your chance.

TB: You've displayed the prisoner, now I think it's my turn. I've been kept in isolation for six months, I've been kept away from the press, I've been buried by you, you've been talking for six months, I think it's my turn now. All right?

Katsaris: We got a court order that there won't be any press interviews.

TB: Sure there won't be any press interviews. You've given them up. I, I'm gagged, you're not. I'll be heard.

TB: It ceased to be an issue whether or not I was innocent or guilty. The issue now is, "Can we pin it on him? Can we follow through and maintain our reputation as law enforcement officers?" The police aren't willing to accept what I think they know, and they know that I didn't do these things.

TB: He came into my cell and he said, "Ted, I don't like the way this prosecution against you is shaping up.". It was his sincerest belief there was no way I could be found not guilty. "They made the proposal" he said. "An offer was made for you to make a plea in exchange for a life sentence". And it bothered me, because I felt like he was conceding that I was guilty and all he was there for was to save my life. I was under a lot of pressure. A lot of pressure. I don't think I've been under so much pressure that I can recall. A lot of pressure to take it. I mean I'd be the last one to say I want the death penalty. I don't. I mean, I would lay awake at night worrying that this was going to happen to me.

TB: In that room full of law enforcement officers and... Katsaris and the head of the state patrol sitting right up in front, uh, in front of God and everybody just looking like cats that had just swallowed the canary.

TB: It's my position that my counsel, one, believe that I am guilty. Two, that they have told me they see no way of presenting effective defense, and on no uncertain terms they have told me that. And three, that they see no way of avoiding conviction. Your Honor, if that does not raise itself to the level of ineffectiveness of counsel, I don't know what does.

TB: I skewered Mike. Pretty rigorously. And I at no time ever, did I intend to plead guilty to anything.

SM: You've got a sense of drama, Ted.

He became co-counsel.

Reporter: You gonna try for another attorney? Are you gonna represent yourself, or are you gonna get another attorney?

TB: I'm staying with the man I know best right now, and that's me.

TB: I was really in control of myself. I really felt good. There was just no problem. The new and improved Ted Bundy.

Reporter: How you doing?

TB: Aren't you getting tired of Florida?

Judge Cowart: Specifically, what do you seek, Mr. Bundy?

TB: Well, specifically, Your Honor, I'm seeking... daily outdoor exercise. The light source is totally inadequate to read by. The only way one can read in that cell is to hold the document outside the bars and read the document in the available light that filters from the light source outside the cell.

In court:

TB: You testified here this morning that you recall arriving at the Chi Omega house at approximately 3:26 a.m.; then, to the best of your recollection, step-by-step if you can, officer, what did you do next?

Testimony: I went in room 4 and there was a, I observed a young lady laying on her right hand side basically face down the sheet pulled up. Initially I observed a puncture wound... through the nipple on her right breast. When the sheet was pulled off, she was moved to the floor, I observed a bloody mark on her right buttocks.

TB: Did you touch Miss Bowman?

Testimony: No sir I didn't touch her body I lifted the covers back so that I could observe.

TB: And can you describe what you saw when you lifted up the covers? As much detail as you can recall. If you need to use report, please feel free to do so.

Testimony: She was lying basically face down. There was a considerable amount of blood around her head. There was what appeared to be a nylon stocking netted around her neck. Her head was bloated, discolored, one of her eyelids was raised, her eyes appeared a little glassy.

TB: Can you describe the exact position as best as you can recall, of Miss Levy's body as you saw it when you first entered the room? Recall the position of her arms.

TB: If we recognize that the person of this type could receive gratification in the act of killing itself, it's reasonable to assume at a later point he might dwell on that, because it fits into the — it might fit into the fantasy structure.

Reporter: are there any dates set on any other trials?^{7,11,17}_{SEP} TB: Pardon me?

Reporter: Even with acquittal?

TB: Yes, well... You know, if I was a football coach, I'd say you don't— When you're in the first game of the season, you don't start looking for the Super Bowl.

On his teeth matching the bruises on victims

TB: I mean, I felt the tide turn right there. They may have been somewhat ambivalent up to — in the State's case up until the point when the State's witnesses testified. And then our failure to effectively refute that, I think was, was very significant to the jurors. I was feeling embittered and — and, uh, persecuted. I couldn't endure this — this humiliation. I had to make a statement.

I'm not going to try to please people. I hold my head high. I believe in myself. Dealing from that on out, I know exactly what's what. And Lord knows I am the first and foremost person who has personal, intimate knowledge that it couldn't be me, that it's not me, that I'm innocent. And I'll lay my money on me.

TB: They refuse to perceive me as being anything that approaches being normal. They don't understand me. They don't really understand me. They are missing, you know, a very important point I guess.

TB: I don't really feel like I have any really... acute insights or observations... analysis to add to... what's happened this afternoon. I am tired... sad. And even now I am both fascinated with and angry at myself, for falling into that role.

TB: I don't feel guilty for any of it. I feel less guilty now than I've felt at any time in my whole life. About anything. I mean, really. And it's not that I've forgotten anything or I've closed down part of my mind or compartmentalized. I believe I understand everything that I've done. I am in the enviable position of not having to feel any guilt. And that's it. Guilt is this mechanism we use to control people. It's an illusion. It's a kind of social control mechanism and it's very unhealthy. There are a lot of guys heavy into drugs up on death row. I smoked a lot of weed and I have never in my life been so fucked up. I don't like the dope that just gets you mildly giddy. I mean, when I smoke dope, I like to hallucinate a little bit. I'm gonna bring some dope down here sometime, and we'll just smoke it. And Valiums and alcohol.

TB: If you wanna interest someone, let's say, in, in the screenplay rights, the movie rights, film rights, news articles about me, the Rolling Stone stuff, the New Times stuff, the New York Times magazine. As a media event, to touch people throughout the country... because people throughout North America, really are — to one degree or another, know about Ted Bundy.

TB: As he came up behind her, she heard him, she turned around and he brandished a knife. And let's say, he placed his hands around her throat.

TB: I knew I wasn't crazy, insane, or incompetent or anything else. I was insulted by even the suggestion by my attorneys that we should consider the defense. They knew damn well I wasn't crazy.

TB: I'm at the point finally where I see that I'm going to have to... tell you and others everything I know in regard to so-called unsolved cases. I'm the only one in possession of this information, and that's just the way it is. To do a proper job for everybody, I mean, I'm going to need some time.

Reporter: You've been involved in how many homicides?

TB: Well, we came up with 30. I mean, we added up. It's late at night like you said, but I think that's a fairly close figure.

Hagmaier: would you just try to summarize what states they were in and what periods of time?

TB: I just really will summarize it, uh... California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Utah, uh... Colorado and Florida, between 1973 and... 1978.

Hagmaier: Of the 30 that you were involved in, can you — you have an idea of how many were actually buried?

TB: Well, that's a good question. Gee, ten?

Hagmaier: Ten burials of the 30...

TB: That's roughly, I mean, I just — I guess.

Hagmaier: Ok. In a couple of the cases and I am not sure how many, but you opted to sever the heads from the victims.

And how many were there, do you recall, of the 30 that...

TB: Perhaps half a dozen.

TB: Can you — can you hear that?

Keppel: I can hear you.

TB: Oh okay. I just said that the Hawkins girl's head was severed and taken up the road about... 25 to 50 yards. And buried in a location about ten yards west of the road on a rocky hillside. Did you hear that?

Keppel: yes.

On the day of his execution

TB: Vengeance is what the death penalty really is. Really, it's a desire of society to take an eye for an eye. And I guess there's no cure for that. That's a society's problem. Maybe we should find a cure for society's problem.

TB: We want to be able to say we can identify these dangerous people. And the really scary thing is you can't identify them. People don't realize that there are potential killers among them. How could anyone live in a society where people they liked, loved, lived with, worked with and admired could the next day turn out to be the most demonic people imaginable?

Transcript of Ted Bundy's interview with James Dobson

The interview is based on an audio file sourced from the YouTube video available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kvd9En-Pens&t=1498s>.

JD: Ted it is ... about 2:30 in the afternoon. You are scheduled to be executed tomorrow morning at 7 o'clock (if you don't receive another stay). What is going through your mind? What thoughts have you had in these last few days?

TB ... I won't kid you to say that it's something that I feel that I'm in control of or have come to terms with, 'cause I haven't. It's a moment-by-moment thing. Sometimes ... I feel very tranquil, and other times ... I don't feel tranquil at all. Uh... what's going through my mind right now is to use the minutes and hours that I have left as fruitfully as possible, and ... to see what happens. It helps to, to live in the moment, in in the essence that we use it productively. So right now I'm feeling calm ... and in large part because I'm here with you.

JD: For the record, you are guilty of killing ... many women ... and girls.

TB: Yes, yes, that's true.

JD: Ted, how did it happen? Take me back. What are the antecedents of the behavior that we've seen? So much grief, so much sorrow, so much ... pain for so many people! Where did it start, how did this moment come about?

TD: ...That's the ... question of the hour and... and one that not only ... People much more intelligent than I have been working on for... for years and one that I have been working on for years and trying to understand ... it ... (laugh) it... it is there enough time to explain it all ? ... Uh, I don't know ... I think I understand it though, I understand what happened to me ...uh... To the extent that I ... I... I can see how certain feelings and ideas have developed in me to a point that I began to act out on them. Certain very violent and very destructive feelings ...

JD: Well ... Let's go back then to those roots ... First of all, you, as I understand it, were raised in what you consider to have been a healthy home...

TB: ...Absolutely...

JD: ...You were not physically abused, you were not sexually abused, you were not emotionally abused....

TB: No, in no way. I ... and that's part of the tragedy of this whole situation is... Because ... Uh... I grew up in a wonderful home with two ... dedicated and loving parents, and one of five brothers and sisters. A home ... where we, as children, were the focus of, of my parent's lives. Where we regularly attended church... Two Christian parents ... they did not drink, they did not smoke, there was no gambling, there was no physical abuse or fighting in the home. I'm not saying this was ... "Leave it to Beaver"...

JD: One perfect home ...

TB: No, I don't know that such a home exists, but it was a fine, solid Christian home. And nobody, uh ... I hope no one will try to take the easy way out, and try to blame or otherwise accuse uh, my family of contributing to this ... Because, I know, and I'm trying to tell you as honestly as I know how, what happened. And I think this is a message I want to get across. But as a young, a young boy (and I mean boy of 12 or 13, certainly), uh, that I encountered, outside the home again, uh in ... uh, the local grocery store and the local drug stores, the softcore pornography (or what people call "softcore"...). ... Uh, but as I think I, I explained you last night, Dr Dobson, in an... anecdote ... that as young boys do we explore the back roads and ... the sideways and byways of our neighborhood, and oftentimes people would dump ... the garbage and whatever they're cleaning out their house and from time to time, we come across pornographic books of a harder nature than ... a more uh, graphic, you might say, a more explicit nature that we would encounter, let's say, in your local grocery store. And this also included such things as, let's say ... detective magazines and...

JD: Those that involve violence.

TB: Yes, yes. And I...and this is something I think that I want to emphasize, as the ... the ... the most damaging uh ... kinds of pornography - and my, again I'm talking from personal experience ... uh, hard, real, personal experience - the most damaging kinds of pornography, are those that involves violence and sexual violence. Because the wedding of those two forces - as, as I know only too well - brings about behavior that is just ...

JD: Hum.

TB: ...it's just ... too terrible to describe.

JD: Walk me through that. What was going on in your mind at that time?

TB: Okay, before we go any further, I think, and it's important to me... the people ... the people believe what I'm saying, to tell you that, that I'm not blaming pornography. I'm not saying it caused me to go out and do certain things. And I take full responsibility for whatever I've done and all the things that I've done. That's not the question here. The

question ... and, and the issue is how this kind of literature contributed and helped mold and shape the kinds of violent behavior.

JD: It fueled your fantasies.

TB: Fueled ... Well, in the beginning, it fuels this kind of ... thought process. Then, at, at a certain time, it is instrumental in what I would say crystallizing it, making it, making into something which is ... almost like a separate entity inside. And that, in that point you are at the verge, I was at the verge of acting out on this, on this kind, this kind of fantasy.

JD: Now, I really want to understand that. You had gone about as far as you could go in your own fantasy life, with printed material, and you made ... or printed in video or films ...

TB: Films... magazines ... whatever.

JD: ...and then there was the urge to take that little step, a big step over to a physical event.

TB: Right, and it happens, it happened in stages, gradually, it doesn't necessarily – not to me, at least – happened overnight. My experience with, I'd say, pornography, generally, but with pornography that deals on a violent level with sexuality, uh is that ... once you become addicted to it (and I look at this as a kind of addiction) like other kinds of addiction, of addiction you keep ... I would keep looking for more potent, more explicit, more graphic kinds of material. Like an addiction, you keep craving something which is harder, harder, something which ... which ... gives you a greater sense of uh excitement, until you reach the point where the pornography only goes so far, you reach that jumping off point where you begin to wonder if... if maybe actually doing it will give you that which is just beyond reading about it and looking at it.

JD: How long did you stay at that point before you actually assaulted someone?

TB: Well, yeah, you see ... uh. That is a very delicate point ... in, in, in my own development, and we're talking about something ... we're talking about how to reach the point or a... a grey area that surrounded that point ... over course...

JD: ... You don't remember? How long ...

TB: Well I, I would say ... I would say a couple years. And ... What was... I was dealing with there was ... very strong inhibitions against criminal behavior or violent behavior, that had been conditioned into me, bred into me in my environment, in my neighborhood, in my church, uh ... in my school. Uh, things which said "no, this is wrong", I mean, this, even to think of it is wrong, and certainly, to do it is wrong. And you're on that, well I'm on that edge, and this, the last ... I might say, the last vestiges of restraint, uh the barriers to actually doing something were being tested constantly, and assault, assailed ... uh through the kind of fantasy life that was fueled ... largely ... by pornography.

JD: Do you remember what pushed you over that edge?

TB: Well ...

JD: Do you remember the decision to "go for it"? Do you remember where you decided to throw caution to the wind?

TB: ... Again ... When you say "pushed", I don't, I, I know what you're saying, and I don't want to infer again...

JD: Yes, I understand ...

TB: that I was that I was some helpless kind of victim, and yet ... we're talking about an influence which ... (that is the influence of violent ... types of media and violent pornography), which had a ... was an indispensable link in the chain of behavior, the chain of events that led to behaviors, to the assaults, to the murders and what ...and what uh...It's a... It's a very ... difficult thing to describe ... uh, the ... the sensation ... of the ...of the, of, of reaching that point where you ... where I knew ... that ... that... it was something had, I'd say snapped, that I knew that uh, that I couldn't control anymore. That these barriers that, that I had, had been ... had learned as a child, uh that had been instilled in me ... were not enough to hold me back with respect to ... seeking out and, and harming somebody.

JD: Would it be accurate to call that a frenzy, a sexual frenzy?

TB: Well ... yes, that's one way to describe it – a compulsion, a ... building up of this destructive energy... Again uh... Another fact here I haven't mentioned is the use of alcohol. But I think that ... what alcohol did, in conjunction, let's say, with my exposure to pornography, was alcohol did reduced my inhibitions, at the same time, uh as the... as the fantasy life that was fueled by pornography, uh eroded them further.

JD: In your early days, you were nearly always about half drunk when you did these things ... is that right?

TB: ... Yes ... yes ...

JD: Was that always true?

TB: ... I ... I would say that that was generally the case ... almost ... [inaudible]

JD: If I can understand it now, there is this battle going on within. There are the conventions that you've been taught, there's the right and wrong that you learned as a child, and there is this ... this ... unbridled passion ... fueled by ... your plunge into hardcore violent pornography. And those things are at war with each other.

TB: Yes ...

JD: And then with the ... alcohol diminishing the ... the inhibitions ... uh, you let go.

TB: Well ... yes ... and, to, you can summarize it that way, and that's accurate certainly. And ... it just occurred to me that ... some people would, would say that, I... "I've seen that stuff and it doesn't do anything to me!". And I can understand that... I ... Virtually, everyone ... can be exposed to so-called pornography, and while they're aroused to it to one degree or another and not go out and do anything wrong.

JD: Well, addictions are like that: they affect people more than they affect others. But there is a percentage of people affected by hardcore pornography, in a very violent way, and you're obviously one of them.

TB: That was major component, and I don't know why I was wrong...vulnerable to it. All I know is that ...that it ... that it had an impact on me ... that was just so ... central to the development of the violent behavior that I engaged in.

JD: Ted, after you committed your first murder, what was the emotional effect on you? What happened in the days after that?

TB: ... (sigh) ... Again this... please understand ... that even ... all these years later, it is very difficult to talk about it and... Reliving it ... through talking about it is... is difficult to say the least, but I want you to understand what happened. It was like coming out of some kind of horrible trance or ... or dream. Uh I can only liken it to ... after ... (you know I don't want to overdramatize it) ... but to have been possessed by something so awful and alien, and then the next morning wake up from it, remember what happened and realize that, basically, in the, in the eyes of the law certainly, and in the eyes of God, you're responsible. And ... To have to wake up in the morning and, and realize what I had done in ... with a clear mind, and all my essential moral and ethical ... feelings intact at that moment ... uh ... absolutely ... horrified that I was capable of ... doing something like that.

JD: You really hadn't known that before?

TB: uh, There is just... absolutely ... no way ... to describe... First ... the brutal ... urge to do that kind of thing ... and then ... what happens is once it has been more or less satisfied, and, receded you might say, or spent, that, that sense, that kind of energy ... level recedes... and basically I became my, myself again. And I want people to understand this too ... I'm not saying this gratuitously, because it is important that people understand this: that basically, I was a normal person. Uh ... I wasn't some guy hanging out in bars, or a bum. Uh, I wasn't a pervert in the sense that, you know, people look at somebody and say, "I know there's something wrong with him" and just tell! ... I mean I, I was essentially a normal person. I had good friends, I ... I led a normal life, except for this ... one ... small, but very potent and very destructive segment of it that I kept very secret, very close to myself, and didn't let anybody know about it. And part of the shocking horror for my dear friends and family was when, years ago when I was first arrested was that they just... there was no clue!

They looked at me, and they looked at the, you know, the all American boy, and I ... I mean, I wasn't perfect ... but this... I want to be quite candid with you I was... I was okay, okay? Uh I was... and the basic humanity and and basic spirit that God gave me was intact but ... unfortunately became overwhelmed at times ... and people need to recognize ... that it's not some kind of... Those of us who are ... who have been ... so ... much influenced by ... violence ... in the media, in particular, pornographic violence, are not some kinds of inherent monsters. We are your sons and we are your husbands and ... we grew up in regular families, and pornography can reach out and snatch a kid out of any house today... it, it snatched me out of my ... it snatched me out of my home twenty... thirty years ago. And as diligent as my parents were ... and they were diligent in protecting their children ... and as good a Christian home as we had, and we had a wonderful Christian home ... There's no protection against the kinds, the kinds of influences that there are loose on the society that tolerates ...

JD: Hum ... you feel this really deeply don't you? ... Ted, outside these walls, right now, there are several hundred reporters ... that wanted to talk to you ...

TB: ... Yeah ...

JD: ... And you asked me to come here from California because you had something you wanted to say. This hour that we have together ... is not just ... an interview with a man who is scheduled to die tomorrow morning. I'm here, and you're here, because of this message that you're talking about right here. You really feel ... that hardcore pornography, and the doorway to it, softcore pornography, is doing untold damage to other people and causing other women ... to be abused and killed the way you did.

TB: Listen. I'm no social scientist, and I haven't done a survey, I mean, I, I don't pretend that I know what John Q. citizens [i.e. "man on the street"] think about this. But I've lived in prison for a long time now, and ... I've met a lot of men who were motivated to commit violence, just like me. And without exception, every one of them was deeply involved in pornography, without question, without exception, deeply influenced and consumed by addiction to pornography. There's no question about it. The F.B.I.'s own study on serial homicide shows that the most common interest among serial killers is pornography.

JD: That's' true.

TB: And it is, and it's real! It's true!

JD: Ted, what would your life ... have been like ... without that influence? ... (sigh) ...^[SEP] You can only speculate.

TB: Yeah ... Well, I know it would have been far better (laugh) not just for me ... and ... it's ... (laugh) excuse me for being so self-centered here, it would have been a lot far better for me and lots of other people, I know that lots of other innocent other people - victims and families... it would have been a lot better, there's no question but ... it... it would have been a ... a fuller life, certainly a life that ... would not have involved - I'm absolutely certain - would not have involved this kind of violence that I have been ... that I have committed...

JD: I'm sure, Ted, that if ... If I were able to ask you the questions that are being asked out there ...

TB: uh ...

JD: ...one of the most important, as you come down to perhaps your final hours: "Are you thinking about all those victims out there and their families ...

TB: ... Well ...

JD: ... who are so wounded?" You know, years later, their lives have not returned to normal, they will never return to normal.

TB: Absolutely...

JD: Are you carrying that [inaudible], that way? Is there remorse there?

TB: ... Again... I know that people will accuse me of being self-serving, but we're beyond that now, I mean ... I'm just telling you how I feel ... but ... through God's help, I've been able to come to the point where I ... (much too late! but better late than never) ... feel the hurt and the pain that I am responsible for ... Yes absolutely! In the past few days, myself and a number of investigators have been ... talking about unsolved cases ... murders that I was involved in ... and it's hard to, it's hard to talk about all these years after because it revives in me all these terrible feelings, and those thoughts that I have ... steadfastly and ... diligently dealt with, and I think successfully, with the love of God ... and yet it's reopened that and I felt the pain ... and I felt the horror again of all that ... and I can only hope ... that ... those who I have harmed ... those who I have caused so much grief ... even if they don't believe ... my ... expression of ... sorrow, and remorse ... will believe ... what I'm saying now ... that there is loose in their towns, in their communities ... people, like me today ... whose dangerous impulses are being fueled, day in and day out ... by violence in the media in its various forms - particularly the sexualized violence. And what scares me - and let's come into the present now, because what I'm talking about happened thirty ... twenty/thirty years ago, that is, in my formative stages ... And what scares and appalls me, Dr Dobson, is when I see what's on cable T.V. (laugh)... some of the movies ... I mean, some of the violence in the movies that come into homes today, with stuff that they, they wouldn't show in X-rated adult theatres 30 years ago. This stuff ...

JD:... Is that slasher movies that you're talking about?

TB: ... that stuff is, I'm telling you from personal experience, the most that is graphic violence on screen, particularly as it gets into the home to children who may be unattended or, or unaware that they may be a Ted Bundy who has that ... that vulnerability, to that, that predisposition to be influenced by that kind of behavior ... by that kind of a, of a movie, that kind of violence. There are kids sitting out there, switching the TV, dial around and come upon these movies late at night ... or I don't know when they're on, but they're on! And they keep watching ... it's scary when I think what ... would have happened to me if I had seen ... that was scary enough! I mean I just ran into stuff outside the home ... but ... to, to know that children are watching that kind of thing today ... or can pick up their phone and ... dial away for it or send away for it ... uh ...

JD: Hum ... can you help me understand this desensitization process that took place ... What was going on in your mind?

TB: By desensitization, I'd describe it ... in specific terms is that ... each time ... I'd harm someone, each time I... killed someone ... there had been an enormous amount... especially at first ... enormous amount of, of horror, guilt, remorse afterwards, but ... then ... that impulse to do it again would come back even stronger ... Now, believe me, I didn't ... the, the unique thing about how this worked, Dr Dobson, is that I still felt, in my regular life, the full range of ... of guilt and remorse about other things ... and regret and ...

JD: Do you had this compartmentalized?

TB: ... This compartmentalized, very well focused ... uh ... uh very sharply focused area where I ... it was ... like a black hole ... it was like a, you know, like a crack, and everything that fell on that crack just disappeared ... Does that make sense?

JD: Yeah it does ... hum ... One of the final murders you that committed in the course ... apparently, was the little Kimberly Leach which was 12 years of age ... hum ... I think the public outcry is greater there because an innocent child was taken from a playground. What did you feel after that? Was there ... Were there the normal emotions three days ... Where were you, Ted?

TB: I, I can't really talk about that right now. That's ...

JD: That's too painful.

TB: I would like to ... uh, I'd like be able to convey ... to you what that ... that ... experience is like, but I can't, I won't be able to talk about that.

JD: Mmmh okay, okay...

TB: I can't begin to understand ... well, I can try ... but I'm ... I'm aware that I can't begin to understand the pain ... that ... the parents of ... these children that I have ... and these young women that I have harmed feel. And I can't restore ... really much to them, if anything. I won't pretend to, and I don't even expect them to forgive me. I'm not asking for it. That kind of forgiveness is of God; if they have it, they have it, and if they don't, well maybe they'll find it someday.

JD: Do you deserve the punishment the state has inflicted upon you?

TB: Haha ... That's a very good question. I'll answer very, very honestly. I, I don't want to die; I'm not gonna kid you. I'll kid you not! Uh ... I deserve, certainly... the most extreme punishment ... society has, and I deserve ... And I think society deserves to be protected from me and from others like me. That's for sure. ... Uh I think ... What I hope will come of our discussion is I think society deserves to be protected from itself. Because, as we, as we have been talking, there are forces at loose in this country, particularly, again, this kind of violent pornography, ... where, on the one hand, well-meaning decent people will condemn the behavior of a Ted Bundy while they're walking past a a magazine rack full of the very kinds of things that send young kids down the road to be Ted Bundys. That's the irony. We're talking here, not just about ... more, we're talking, I'm, what I'm talking about is going beyond retribution, which is what ... people want with me. Going beyond retribution and punishment. Because there is no way in the world that killing me is going to restore ... those beautiful children to their parents and and and... correct and and and and... soothe the pain. But I'll tell you: there are lots of other kids playing in streets around this country today who, who are going to be dead tomorrow, and the next day, and the next day and the next month, because other young people are reading the kinds of things and seeing the kinds of things that are available in the media today.

JD: Ted, as you imagine, there is tremendous cynicism about you on the outside, and I suppose, for good reason...

TB: Mmmh.

JD: I'm not sure there's anything that you could say that people would ... believe, that some people would believe ...

TB: Yeah!

JD: ...And yet you told me last night (and I have heard this through our mutual friend, John Tanner) that you have ... accepted the forgiveness of Jesus Christ and are a follower and believer in Him. Do you draw strength from that, as you approach these final hours?

TB: I do. I can't say that being in the, the Valley of the Shadow of Death is something that I've become all that accustomed to, and then I, you know, and then I'm strong and nothing's bothering me. Listen, it's no fun. ... it's, it's, ... you know it's, it's kind of lonely, and yet ... I have to remind myself that every one of us will go through this someday in one way or another...

JD: It's appointed unto man.

TB: and countless, uh millions who have walked this earth before us have, so this is just an experience which we all share, you know.

APPENDIX C

Transcript of David Berkowitz's interview with Larry King

The interview is based on an audio file sourced from the YouTube video available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gCGF6W_NAV8&t=80s.

— Tonight, the Washington area's long nightmare is apparently over. What makes someone become a mass murderer? We'll take you inside the head of a serial killer.

Thanks for joining us. The events of the last few weeks in Washington have reminded many of us about the Son of Sam. David Berkowitz began his killing spree in the summer of 1976, and throughout the next year, he killed six, wounded seven and terrorized an entire city.

Berkowitz is currently serving sentences that add up to over 300 years, and while in prison, he says he has found God, counseling and ministering to other prisoners. In a letter about recent events in Washington, Berkowitz responded with dismay and unique insight. He writes: "I feel that I have been feeling this person's anger and rage toward law enforcement."

It's that type of perspective that brought us to this decision to replay our 1999 interview with David Berkowitz. It was conducted at the Sullivan correctional facility in Fallsburg, New York.

LK: We're at Sullivan Correctional Facility in Fallsburg, New York. It's about hundred miles north of New York City, off the New York thruway. We're with David Berkowitz, the convicted "Son of Sam" killer, who is spending, you have been here how long in this prison?

DB: Uh, about 12 years.

LK: Attica before that, right?

DB: Uh, Clinton before that.

LK: And then Attica.

DB: And then Attica. It's been 22 years altogether.

LK: Do you ever adjust to... I mean, you have to, you have no choice. But how do you adjust to this kind of, for want of a better term, bleak living?

DB: Larry, prison is not easy, but over the years, God has given me a lot of strength and a lot of hope to make it and to endure, to survive. He has brought me, he's done some miracles in my life, and he's brought me through a lot of things that maybe others would not have survived.

LK: If not for that, you don't think you'd be sitting here?

DB: No.

LK: Of course, you're going to be here the rest of your life, right?

DB: That's right. I'm doing consecutive life sentences totaling more than 300 years.

LK: You have parole eligibility, but that's very doubtful, right?

DB: As I understand it, actually I have my parole papers here: well, really the commitment papers. And as you can see, I'm doing consecutive sentences, which run right after the other. So one life sentence overlaps the other, and really that, what that means is basically it's translated as life without parole.

LK: How does it -- what do you do with something like that?

DB: Larry, believe it or not I have learned to just be content and accept the fact. There are things that happened in the past that I deeply regret with all of my heart, but I know that I can't change those things and I have to accept the punishment that was meted out to me. And God has just given me the strength to endure from day to day.

LK: Let's discuss it all.

DB: OK.

LK: What kind of living condition do you have here? Do you have a roommate? Do you have a cell mate? What do you live like?

DB: I have my own cell. Some of the inmates are double bunked, which is something they started several years ago. But most of the men here have their own cell.

LK: And this is maximum security, right?

DB: Yes, this is maximum security.

LK: How many hours a day can you go out of the cell?

DB: Well, because I work and go to chapel and so forth, I can still spend a good portion of my day outside of the cell.

LK: New York State's pretty liberal, right? You could have visitors every day if they wanted to come see you.

DB: Yes, yes.

LK: Unlimited phone calls?

DB: Well, in certain time restrictions, but you can make a lot of phone calls.

LK: Television?

DB: Uh, they have televisions in the day room, but I'm not a TV watcher.

LK: You don't watch?

LK: What do you have in your cell? How big is the cell?

DB: I guess a little bigger than an average-sized bathroom in a home. And there's a bunk and a little table and a little locker and so forth. I have my typewriter, my books and so forth.

LK: How about eating? Do you eat in a group?

DB: Uh, I eat in the day room area. There's a day room area all the guys in the cell block eat.

LK: How do they treat you generally?

DB: Oh, I get along with the guys, thank God, pretty good. Over the years, as I said, God has worked miracles where men have pretty much accepted me and I'm no different than anybody else. I'm a member of the general population. And I come and go like everyone else, no special treatment. And for that, I'm thankful.

LK: How, how's the supervisor here? How are the guards? How are you treated by the prison officialdom?

DB: Well, I go by the rules. I don't have any problem...

LK: Would you say you're a good prisoner?

DB: I go by the rules, yeah.

LK: What kind of work do you do?

DB: I work in the mental health unit. It's called intermediate care program. And I'm there as like a peer counselor for the men that have emotional problems. Every morning, Monday to Friday, I go over there to work with those guys. And that's really a challenge, and I enjoy doing that very much.

LK: You do counseling?

DB: In a sense, yes. It's in an unofficial capacity. I'm kind of like a combination chaplain, counselor, guidance counselor and just a friend to those guys.

LK: Is this garb that you're wearing, is that official prison garb?

DB: Yes, it is.

LK: Because you expect to see stripes and a number that doesn't exist?

DB: No. Not anymore. It's just green clothing, though, drab green, but this is part of the prison uniform.

LK: Can you tell us what happened to your neck? It's so obvious. That's a nasty scar.

DB: Yes, in 1979, another inmate, I guess to make a name for himself, tried to take my life. And he stuck me when I wasn't looking with a razor and opened up the whole side of my neck. And it was a miracle that I survived. When I went down to the prison infirmary, I walked down there on my own and I didn't really lose much blood. So I could just walk down there. And they sewed me up.

And you know, the doctor there said it's a miracle you survived.

LK: You walked down with that...

DB: Right, yes. It was a miracle. And after that I was fine, and just went back to my unit and like nothing happened. And I believe at that time God had protected my life.

LK: What did they do to the guy?

DB: Nothing, because I didn't...

LK: You didn't press any charges?

DB: No, I didn't press any charges.

LK: Did you get to see him after that?

DB: Well, he was in a different place, you know? So they moved him on. But I didn't, he didn't get any trouble. Some, it was a nightmare I like to forget, you know, years of Attica and going through those struggles.

LK: Attica was the worst?

DB: Right.

LK: Much worse than here?

DB: Yes.

LK: Did you ever, didn't you try once to take your own life?

DB: Yes, there were several times that at the beginning, when I first came to prison, I was very suicidal. And I saw no hope in living. I was disgusted with my life. I was angry at a lot of people. I felt betrayed, confused, and I saw no hope. So there were some times when I did try to commit suicide.

LK: Isn't that almost impossible to do in prison, though?

DB: No. No, I've known a number of men who...

LK: You had a plan?

DB: I wouldn't say I had a plan. I just felt driven. There was just so much in me that was driving me to destroy myself at the time. But again, God had his hand on my life and said: You're not; you know, David, you're not going to die. You're not going to ruin your life anymore.

LK: There's lots to talk about with David Berkowitz, and we'll continue on this edition of LARRY KING LIVE right after this.

—Throughout the past year, the people of this city had seen many faces of the "44 Caliber Killer" in a series of police composite sketches. Not one of his victims saw the "Son of Sam" smile. But as David Berkowitz was led into police headquarters early this evening, he broke into a macabre grin. For everyone else in police headquarters, there was good reason for good cheer. The police were convinced they had finally bagged the Son of Sam.

The infamous .44 caliber bulldog revolver found in his car was rushed to ballistics. Within hours, the experts were sure it was the same weapon used to kill Stacy Moskowitz.

LK: We're back at the Sullivan Correctional Facility in Fallsburg, New York. I'm Larry King with David Berkowitz. You confessed to these crimes, right? So there was never a trial?

DB: Right, I just wanted to end it, and I was just so distraught. I just confessed and pled guilty and got it over with, and - just wanted to get out of that environment.

LK: I'm not going to dwell on it, but let's cover some of those bases. I want to get into the film and your life now.

LK: But for people watching, especially younger people who don't know, why first, what was it like to kill someone first time you killed someone? We all wonder about something like that. What was it like?

DB: Larry, I don't dwell on that much, and I don't dwell on it at all. It was a horrible thing. It was a horrible thing.

LK: You hated it while you did it?

DB: Yes, I felt that, looking back, I mean, I know that God has healed so much of my life and healed those memories and everything, and I'd do anything if I could go back and change it all and have prevented it from happening.

LK: Has he healed you enough to look at it dispassionately?

DB: Yes, but it's still very painful. And it was a...

LK: Do you know why you were killing? I mean, we've heard about your statements, but people who may not know this case, you feel you were sort of satanically involved?

DB: Yes, I was. It was the worst mistake of my life, a whole series of events happened that just seemed to be by fate, and...

LK: When you say a "mistake," what mistake did you make, before killing?

DB: Getting involved in things. I was lonely. I was looking for companionship. I wanted I just got out of the service. I did three years in the Army, I was honorably discharged, and I wanted to start a life. I enrolled in community college.

LK: Living where?

DB: In the Bronx. I got my own apartment. I had saved up some money from when I was in the service, and I just wanted to start my life, you know, coming out. And friends had move away, and I didn't know anyone and...

LK: How old were you?

DB: Twenty-one at the time. And...

LK: So you went to school. Did you have a life? I mean, were you dating girls? Did you work?

DB: Well, I was dating a little bit here and there, just very, very casually. I wouldn't really call it even a date. But, you know, I had -- but the hours I had, I was going to school in the Bronx full time, I was working at night as a security guard at the time. I had no real social life, you know? Just trying to get...

LK: And you got mixed up with some people?

DB: Yes, I got involved -- and it was a very long process, and I look back with regret and...

LK: All right, to a young person that might be watching who might be affected by it, is this a kind of a cultish group or - what do you...

DB: I guess -- I guess you could say that.

LK: What -- what mistake did you make? What didn't you see that you should have seen?

DB: Danger.

LK: Was this a group of people?

DB: Yes. I was adventurous. I was just an arrogant person. I was lonely. I just always felt -- it's such a long story. It goes back, really, to childhood and the struggles I had as a child, many psychological problems growing up.

LK: Did you know something was wrong with you? I mean, like, when you were in the Army, did you ever have times when you say, I don't know what it is. I'm out of touch with reality, or I'm not in sync with other people.

DB: Yes, yes, right, that happened. It happened a lot. When I was growing up, I was so disruptive in school and had so many emotional problems, behavioral problems, that the school officials told my parents, you know, you're going to have to -- to keep David in school, you're going to have to take him to a child psychologist. They made some kind of arrangements for me to go, and I went for about two years once a week to Manhattan with my mom. She would take me there to just -- just try to deal with me, deal with the situations. I had very bad bouts of depression when I was a child. I was very suicidal.

LK: But you were getting help too, right? Or not?

DB: Well, they tried to help me, but, Larry, that didn't work. That...

LK: Didn't work?

DB: It was like a waste of time.

LK: Should you have been confined? Would it have been helped if you had gone to some sort of institution early?

DB: No, no, it wasn't like that. I could still function. I mean, I...

LK: In other words, people who were working around you, let's say, a guy who was another security guard, would have no knowledge of this, of what was going on inside your head?

LK: What finally spun it off?

DB: There was a lot of pressures and a lot of decisions and a lot of bad choices. I felt at this time I had, regrettably -- I mean, I look back with just regret. I just -- at this time I had made a pact with the devil, I had allowed this satanic thing to control me, and I felt these paranormal powers. I know that sounds so hard to understand, you know, bit that's...

LK: Explain it to me. I'm open.

DB: ... that's what was -- that's what was happening, and I felt somehow invincible. I felt that I had this power and I was, unknown to me, I was slowly being led down a path of of destruction and...

LK: Did it give you a high? In other words, what was the plus for you? There had to be a plus, what did you get out of it?

DB: Nothing, nothing.

LK: So you were not happy when you were doing this?

DB: No, no, I just felt like a brain-washed robot.

LK: Really.

LK: What is that like?

DB: I just felt I had no mind. I just felt something else was controlling, controlling me...

LK: And you took it through a dog?

DB: No, no, that was...

LK: What was that?

DB: That was just, I'd rather not talk about that. That was just a bunch of...

LK: I'm not going to pressure you, but there were pressures on you.

DB: Yes, sure, there were pressures.

LK: You were hearing from sources outside of yourself?

DB: Not in that psychological way, but it was a satanic thing. It was...

LK: Why do you think it took you to take a life of some one? Why do you think it took -- I mean, there are a lot of people in cults and a lot of people who do weird things. Why did you do what you did, do you think?

DB: At the time, I was misled. I thought that what I was, what I was supposed to do. It was the stupidest...

LK: You thought what you were doing was right?

DB: It was not right, but that somehow this had some kind of plan.

LK: Compulsion?

DB: No, it wasn't that. It was just more complicated than that.

LK: All right. What was it like to read about yourself? In other words, "there is a killer loose in the city"?

DB: I didn't relate to that.

LK: Didn't?

LK: Didn't buy the papers every morning?

DB: I saw them, but it was like something else, like, you know...

LK: You didn't say, that's me.

DB: No, I didn't, no.

LK: So there was no plan on how I'm going to get away with this?

DB: No, no.

LK: No plan to deceive?

LK: Maybe wanted to get caught?

DB: Yes, I wanted to get out of that, definitely. I just said, oh, God, you know -- I didn't even believe in God at the time.

I was just a real mess. You know, I'm very ashamed for that. It was so stupid. It was such a waste of life, and I think of the people that lost their lives over this, and, and it was about nothing, you know? It was just, you know, just a...

LK: You think God, your God, has forgiven you?

DB: Yes, I know he has. It was a long process to understand that, but I came to terms with that. I I know that his word has promised that he's forgiven me.

LK: We're going to get into that. We'll be right back with David Berkowitz right after this.

LK: We're back with David Berkowitz.

When when the movie came out "Son of Sam," which, by the way did not do well, did that surprise you? That it opened and then almost closed?

DB: Yes, that did. That did.

LK: You were quoted, I want to clear this up, you were quoted in "The New York Times" by a Mr. Harden as saying that everything there is about Spike Lee and his family, "I pray for Spike Lee and his family and his wife, Tanya, and his two children, Jackson and Satchel. God does not want me to be angry with anyone." Did you say that to Mr. Holden?

DB: Only in part. Actually, there was a misquote. I think Mr. Harden did a very fair job and the article...

LK: Harden, I'm sorry.

DB: Mr. Harden, Right, did a very fair job. He, you know, interviewed police officers, he interviewed a reporter, he interviewed some of the families of the victims. And, of course, he interviewed me, too. And I shared some of my feelings about the movie.

At the one part, I mentioned to him that I was following, as much as I can, about the making of that movie because I was, like, really concerned over these things that were happening. It was like this big storm was coming in my direction, and I had the feeling that this was all going to -- to whip up into a frenzy again with the news media, which it did in part for several weeks there in like June and early July. The media kind of went on a frenzy, the newspapers, and there was things every day. And I had feared that that was going to happen, so I had a lot of concern.

Concerning Mr. Lee's family, I was misquoted totally. I don't monitor anything about his family. I pray for them. I have absolutely nothing against Mr. Lee, and I never said anything bad about him it. I pray that God blesses him in every area of his life. I pray for many people. I'd never...

LK: Did you ever talk to Mr. Lee?

LK: Did you see the movie?

DB: No, no, I would not want to see that. That's not a part of my life. That's...

LK: Did you read the reviews of the movie?

DB: I saw some things, and, you know, pro and con, just mixed reviews. It just, like -- I just thank God that it wasn't the big -- this big storm that I thought would...

LK: I guess you're kind of glad that it came and went then in that sense.

DB: I'm glad that's out of my life, at least for a while, you know. I'm glad, yes, because, you know, it's, I've moved on from there. I'm not living in the past anymore. I have friends now.

LK: Prison friends?

DB: Friends on the outside, like God has given me a whole new life. This tragedy that happened 22 years ago, that's not part of my life anymore.

LK: You have friends -- let me discuss that -- you have friends on the outside?

DB Yes, sure.

LK: Who have come to know you since this?

DB: Yes, yes a lot.

LK: We'll be right back with David Berkowitz on this edition of LARRY KING LIVE. Don't go away. How did you make friends on the outside if you're confined to a prison?

DB: Over the years, Larry, my Christian testimony has been shared in many places, and a number of Christians who heard it or read about it were very blessed, and they would get in touch with me and a lot of friendships were formed.

LK: Why did you leave Judaism?

DB: Well, Larry, I haven't left Judaism at all. I feel that I'm totally Jewish. I was born a Jew, I feel I'm going to leave this world a Jew. I believe that Jesus is the Messiah of the Jews, and he loves the Jewish people. And I see myself now, before I had no interest in spiritual things or the spiritual things that I were interested in were bad things back then,

but today, I mean, I worship the God of Israel. I share from the Old Testament all the time. And I see myself as being a Jew...

LK: You did realize there were a lot of Jewish people very ashamed or embarrassed at your name, that Berkowitz, that there was a Jewish serial killer. Were you aware of that, that people took that almost personally?

DB: Probably. I don't, I'm not aware, but I'm sure that happened, yes.

LK: Because, I guess, the Jews have, you know, a certain moral code that they've set among themselves that this is an embarrassment.

LK: Do you feel sorry for that?

DB: Yes. The things that happened, there was a time when I was, like, no longer in control and...

LK: Do you have to forgive yourself, by the way? Is that part of this process?

DB: That was part of the process. I've learned that God has been showing me to forgive myself, because it's in the Bible that God, in the Old Testament and in the New, that God forgives sins for those who come to him through faith in Christ. And I did that. And I feel that God has completely forgiven me, and he's taught me how to forgive myself. You know, he's allowed my mind to be healed.

And it's been a long process. I've been a believer now in Jesus for 12 years.

LK: What do you say to those who say this is -- I think -- I'll give you a quote from the mother of your last victim, Stacy Moscovitz's mother -- that was your last victim -- said, "Show me one person that goes away for murder that doesn't turn to religion." It's utterly sick, she says, that people do that. You realize, of course, that there would be doubters who say, yes, the old conversion.

DB: Oh, sure. I'm sure there will be doubters. Many of the men who are in here in this prison are in here for violent crimes, including murder, probably a greater majority of them, and really only a fraction of those have ever turned to Christ or found, as people say, religion. It's not what people think. I wish more would come to faith in God. I wish more would begin to see...

LK: Was it a slow process for you?

DB: Yes, it was very slow.

LK: It was not some overnight message from above?

DB: No, it was a slow process. Another inmate had reached out to me 12 years ago. He came up to me and began to share his faith. We became friends, and in the space of maybe a couple of months he led me to a deeper faith in God. But I was under so much bondage. I mean, I was, my life was just such a total wreck that it, it took a lot for God to reach me in -- you know, took a lot for God to reach me.

LK: Are there days of doubt?

DB: There were days of doubt.

LK: None now?

DB: No, I don't have any doubts now.

LK: More in a minute with David Berkowitz from the Sullivan Correctional Facility in South Fallsburg, New York.
Don't go away.

Have you ever had to deal with relatives of the victims directly? Have you ever heard from them or spoken to them or had any contact at all?

DB: I did receive, in 1993, I did receive a long letter from a mother, of Stacy Moscovitz, and she wrote me a beautiful letter. She had seen saw a problem on "Inside Edition," which aired back then, and it really touched my heart. For many years I have been praying for her as well for all of the people that were hurt by this tragedy. And I did write to her a long letter, I think last year, and she received that well. But there's a lot of pain and hurt in their lives, and I wish I could sit down and talk with some of them.

LK: What would you say?

DB: That I'm sorry. And I know that wouldn't be enough.

LK: What else would you say?

DB: That I wish I could just undo it, all that happened.

LK: There is a young man living, right? He was blinded, right, but not killed?

DB: Partially blinded.

LK: Yes. Have you ever heard from him?

DB: He did make a statement through another news program, and I did have a chance to respond to that, because he had some misconceptions. I tried to say I was sorry, and it just tears me apart.

LK: Does it bother you that some people don't believe it? In other words, that in a Christian, a Judeo-Christian nation, which is based forgiveness, they don't forgive?

DB: It bothers me up to a point, sure, because I wish that others could experience the forgiveness that I know I've received from God: even though, I don't deserve it, I've never done anything to deserve it. I did what the Bible said. I asked God for forgiveness through Christ, and I know: His word says he's completely forgiven me. It took me a number of years to understand and to accept that for myself.

LK: Would you have been able to forgive if it were your daughter or wife?

DB: I don't know. I don't know. I pray everyday for those that lost loved ones. And I pray that God would touch their lives and allow them to heal as much as possible.

LK: Before we ask about what you do on the block -- and I know later you want to do a prayer, and I think that's essential that people see you do that. When -- after you would commit a crime and you would go back to wherever you lived, was there any remorse, any feeling of "this was wrong"?

DB: I knew it was wrong, but at the time, you see, when, when, when, when somehow, to me, when a mind is captured by Satan and the mind, that mind, you can't, you can't look at things and evaluate things in the right perspective. Something else takes...

LK: So I'm asking a logical question that you can't answer logically, right?

DB: That's right.

LK: Because there's no logic dealing with it.

DB: No, there isn't.

LK: So what would you feel?

DB: I was just empty. As I said, I was a blank. It was like a void, you know.

LK: Let's say you're out to dinner and someone would say, what do you think of this -- this killer loose? Oh...

DB: I don't remember what I felt back then, at that, like stuff like that. It was like I was detached from it. It was a terrible thing.

LK: Now you know killers, don't you? There are killers in this facility?

DB: Yes..

LK: People who've killed other people?

LK: You've talked to them?

LK: Is that what you do a lot?

DB: Sure.

LK: And you try to convert them?

DB: I try share the Gospel, because I know that, you know, Christ could help a person, Christ could change a person's life, and that's what I strive to do every single day as a minister. I mean, God had taken me a murderer, and I feel that he's made me into a minister, just like he's done to the apostle Paul.

LK: So you counsel them. Do you have much success?

DB: Yes, sure. With a number of guys, there have been guys who have come to a deeper faith in God. There have been guys when I know they've been depressed and struggled, a lot of guys have guilt. A lot of guys, when they come to prison, it's really, they go through a process of reflection over time where they see that they've thrown away their lives. They've destroyed their relationship with their family, and that's when the regret begins to set in. Guys begin to seek an understanding of why they're in the mess that they're in. And here's the chance to share the Gospel, because Jesus came, the Bible says Jesus came not for the righteous but for sinners.

And so here, you guys that are sinners like myself, and I say, hey, I want to tell you that God loves you, that he's got hope for you, that he's got a plan for your life. You don't have to walk around angry all the time. You don't have to be suicidal. God can give you a reason to live, a reason to get up in the morning.

And the guys, you know, take me seriously when I share. And there are other inmates too who are Christians who do the same thing. It's not just me in here.

LK: The guard outside, showing us in, told us that this is a very tough bunch in here...

LK:.. and these are not people you meet everyday?

LK: How do you deal with that? How do you deal with them? Those that -- I mean, do they ever hurt you?

LK: None?

DB: No. Some may not like my spiritual beliefs, but...

LK: Do they suffer remorse?

DB: Some of them, absolutely. Yes. They're human, like everyone else. And guys in here go through tremendous struggles inwardly. A lot of them, you know, play the macho role and keep things inside. But I know a lot of guys who cry on their pillow at night.

LK: We'll be right back with David Berkowitz right after this. Don't go away.

LK: We're back with David Berkowitz, touching some other bases.
 You were adopted, right?

LK: Is your father still living?

DB: My adoptive father?

LK: Yes. Does he contact you?

DB: Yes, we're in regular contact. He's a great dad.

LK: Was he a great dad when you were a kid?

DB: Yes, absolutely. I had great parents.

LK: What went wrong there, do you think?

DB: With my parents, nothing at all. They were the best. My mom, you know, she had passed away in 1967. My mother, Pearl, and my dad, who, thank God, is still alive today, they were the best parents a kid could have. I was an only child, and they, as, on, they were a little on the poor side, you know? My dad had to work six days a week, and they did a great job, you know, trying to...

LK: So you're not into blaming your parents?

DB: The problem, no, the problem was with me. I was just, I had a lot of emotional problems, which I know that broke their heart. I saw my parents, you know, break down and cry many times because they saw I was going through so many struggles, the depressions and not talking to them. They would...

LK: Did you ever find out who your real parents were?

DB: Yes, I did. Yes, I did meet my natural mother, and I did find out that my natural father had passed away in the early '70s.

LK: Did your natural mother have any problems that might give you a clue to any of the gene problem that might have occurred here?

DB: No, nothing like that at all. I did have a chance to meet her. She was also Jewish, just like my natural father. And she turned out to be a very nice person. I met her when I was, I think, around 22 years old.

LK: So the problem, David, was with you?

DB: Me.

LK: As in Shakespeare, the problem is with ourselves, right?

DB: Right, yes.

LK: OK. Did you get, by the way, did they have to medicate you when you first came?

DB: When I was first arrested and I was in Kings County, the prison ward there...

LK: In the hospital.

DB: ... they had given me medication. After I came upstate to prison and I was in Attica for a brief period of time, I was receiving medication. And then I, of course, I had some suicidal episodes, and I wound up going to a Marcy psychiatric center there for a little while.

LK: Are you in good health now?

DB: Yes, absolutely good health, thank God.

LK: Have you had any homosexual problems here, which is common in prison, is it not?

DB: No, I haven't, no.

LK: Is that surprising to you? Isn't that fairly common?

DB: No, not... that's...

LK: Is that overdone?

DB: That's overdone stuff from the media, yes.

DB: I mean, it happens here, but it happens everywhere, I'm sure. You know...

LK: Not to a greater degree here with...

LK: ... these men confined for great periods of time?

DB: No, no, no.

LK: All right, you counsel them. Do you get psychiatric counseling?

DB: No, I don't, no. The department...

LK: At all?

DB: No, the department of corrections has given me a clean bill of health. I'm a, as I said, in the general population I have no problem, no mental or emotional problems. Whatever I had in the past, God has completely and totally healed me of that.

LK: So what do you do for the people you counsel?

DB: I give them a lot of encouragement.

LK: They let you have private meetings with them all day, and how does it work? Give me your day?

DB: Well, I get up in the morning pretty early. I like to pray. I like to read my Bible, make myself a cup of coffee. And...

LK: You do that in your cell?

DB: Yes, right in a little thing you can warm up water. And then I start my day. I go to breakfast and programs. I have to go, I leave my cell block and go down to the unit there, the intermediate care program, I go to that block and I begin to just be with those guys. Those are the guys that have some kind of emotional problems, coping difficulties, and I spend the day with them.

LK: Is there a psychiatrist there with them?

DB: There is a psychologist, social worker, psychiatrist in the facility.

LK: Is it a room you're in?

DB: No, it's a regular cell block.

LK: A cell block. And you counsel them individually and in groups?

DB: We used to have a group Bible study that I did, but the doctor that allowed me to run it, he had moved on to another assignment. So it kind of dissolved. But I encourage the guys to go to the chapel. Basically, I empathize with them. I want to be a good listener. And I'll share scriptures with them.

LK: Do they ask you a lot about your past? Are they interested in Son of Sam?

DB: In here, most of the guys don't even talk about it. It's, guys don't ask me about that. Once in awhile, a guy will be curious and ask a question, but they say I don't really want, they see I don't want to talk about it, so they respect that. I thank God that, as I said, I'm like everyone else. Nobody fusses over me or guys...

LK: That's the way you want it.

DB: Right, that's the way I wanted it.

LK: Back with more of David Berkowitz after this.

KING: We're back with David Berkowitz.

So you will, you showed me this card. You'll take a piece of scripture and read it to the men?

DB: Right, see like what I do is sometimes, in a way, I help, I reach out to the guys. I'll take a scripture verse from the Bible and I'll share it with a guy. I'll give it to him. I'll say, let's say, Joe, you know, could you read that back to me? And we'll discuss that. It's like...

LK: Let's say you do Isaiah. Thou will keep him in perfect peace whose mind is staid on Thee because he trusts in Thee. Trust ye in the Lord forever, for the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength.

LK: You have the prisoner read that to you.

DB: Right. And then...

LK: And then you discuss what that...

DB: Right. Then we'll talk about it. Like I'll say, well, Joe, what does it mean? Now, these guys have some mental problems: coping problems; problems with suicide attempts, depressions and all that stuff. And I'll say, well, Joe, what does it mean to be in perfect peace and how is God going to keep your mind stable? And we'll discuss that. And then I'll say, well, what do you have to do? Does it come automatically? And he would respond, no, you know, you have to trust God. I say, ah, you see, there's the key. We have got to work on learning how to trust God, allow...

LK: Do you feel by doing this a sense of accomplishment? Do you feel that you have a purpose on this planet?

DB: Yes. God has shown me that he has given me a lot of purpose: not just even here in the prison but reaching out to youth.

LK: Do you read things other than things biblical? Do you read books? Do you...

LK: Are you open to enlightenment in areas other than just the church?

DB: Oh sure. I read all kinds of books. I'm not much on novels, but I read autobiographies.

LK: What do you do at night? You don't watch television. So after dinner, what do you do?

DB: Well, I have my time at the end of the workday. I can go to the chapel on nights we have Bible studies or services, or I can stay back on other nights and write letters. I read and so forth.

LK: Can you make, you can make phone calls, right?

LK: You have to call collect?

DB: Call collect.

LK: Visitors come how frequently?

DB: Well, they have visiting seven days a week in the daytime.

LK: You get a lot of visitors?

DB: Not a lot. Once in a while some people come up. I have a number of friends from the area who come by and visit.

LK: Do you ever think that someday maybe I'll be paroled?

DB: No. That's not...

LK: That's -- forget it.

DB: No. God -- I realize that because of what happened and the way the sentencing structure is I'll be in prison for the rest of my natural life.

LK: We'll be back with our remaining moments. We'll have a prayer as well -- stay with us -- after this.

LK: We're back. By the way, did you always act alone?

DB: Well, not really. Not totally like that.

LK: Were other people caught?

LK: They're still out there?

DB: Most have passed on. And...

LK: But they were involved in killing as well?

DB: They were...

LK: They got away with it?

DB: Well, no, they haven't gotten away with it and they won't. I, I...

LK: Do you think they're in hell?

DB: Some have lost their lives. And...

LK: Are you going to go to heaven?

DB: I know I'm going to go to heaven. I don't deserve it, but that's God's mercy, because that's the promise. You know, I know that the blood of Jesus has washed away my sins.

LK: What kind of prayer do you want to do for us?

DB: I'd just like to pray in general if that's OK.

LK: OK. We have a couple of minutes.

DB: Thank you so much, Larry, for, you know, this opportunity. And it says in Second Chronicles, Chapter Seven that the Lord is speaking. He says, "If I shut up heaven, that there be no rain, or if I command the locusts to devour the land or if I send pestilence among my people."

It says, "If my people, which are called by my name, shall humble themselves and pray and seek my face and turn from their wicked ways, then I will hear from heaven and forgive their sin and I will heal their land."

LK: Do you feel sad as to how you will be remembered?

DB: Yes. Because I have regret over that. I...

LK: Your obituaries will not have pluses in it, while you in your heart may have done lots of good for lots of people since all of this.

DB: Of course, I know because of my past they will always remember the bad. But God has had mercy on me and he'll have mercy on anyone who calls upon him.

LK: Are you a good person, David?

DB: I feel that God has made me a good person, a decent person. I was not always a good person, and there's a part of everyone that has a propensity to do bad. Even today, I know I could choose to do bad but I don't want to.

LK: Do you have bad thoughts?

DB: Bad thoughts or sinful thoughts come to everyone. But the Bible says that God makes a way of escape when someone has a bad thought, they can call on the Lord and the Lord will deliver them from that.

LK: Are there days that's real hard, though?

DB: There are days I struggle a lot. There are days I feel that sometimes everything is in vain, although I know it's not. And there are days when it just, I feel a heavy spirit sometimes, I really feel an oppression fighting against me. But I press on because I know who has helped me in the past, it's the Lord, and he will always help me.

LK: How old are you?

DB: I'm 46.

LK: And are you envious that I'll go out of here and you won't?

DB: No. No.

LK: David, I thank you very much for this hour.

DB: Thank you.

Transcript of David Berkowitz's interview from the documentary *The Son of Sam*

The interview is based on an audio file sourced from the YouTube video available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MAiHS-rpUuE&t=3548s>.

I'm really, um. I'm thankful for this opportunity to share a lot of things, you know, over the years, because the case, the so-called "Son of Sam" case was a very high profile and was reported around the world. And, and you know, so many people got involved in the thing. Uh, there's been so many misunderstandings and misinformation that have come down over the years. Uh, but I just want to tell my story in my own words. And this is David talking. I'm just talking now to share what's on my heart, what's on my mind, uh, to bring clarity to certain things. I can't talk about everything. I don't want to talk about the crimes specifically. There's no reason to. That's all been discussed before. Anybody who wants to learn about them can go on the internet or whatever and watch whatever they watch or read whatever they read. But for me, this is my story. This is David talking, uh again, 39 years in prison. And I'm I'm sharing my heart now. And you can take a leave, whatever I say. But, uh, I was born in 1953, in Brooklyn, New York, and, uh, of course, I didn't know it at the time, but I was, uh, adopted. I was adopted at birth, uh, by a Jewish couple, Nathan and Pearl Berkowitz, who lived in the Bronx. And the Bronx is where I grew up, even though I was born in Brooklyn, uh, several days or a week after I was born, while I was in the hospital in Brooklyn, you know, my adoptive parents, of course, picked me up. This was all prearranged, and they took me to their home in the Bronx where where I grew up; my birth parents.

I later learned that I didn't find this out until many, many years later, actually, when I was in my early 20s, that my birth parents, my mother's name was Rebecca Broder. She was a from a religious Jewish family, uh, living, you know, growing up in Brooklyn. And my dad's name was Joseph Kleinman. He was a, uh, an also a Jewish man and who had a family of his own, uh, my birth mother at, at, um, this is before I was born. My birth mother had at the advice of the family, not to she married a Gentile guy. Back then in the in, I guess the 1940s, and when this happened and again, this is before I was born, the rule of thumb was you married your own kind, and and especially if you come from a conservative Jewish family, her guess parents were, you know from Europe. They immigrated with so many others, they immigrated from Hungary to to the United States, when she was started dating an Italian guy, and it was a gentile, the family was very upset, but she knows he is a strong, a headstrong woman. She married him anyway and they opened up a fish store in what was then Williamsburg, Brooklyn. It was Falco's fish market, and, uh, they ended up having a child who later I would learn would be my half sister, Rosalyn. Now, I wasn't even born yet, so this is well before my time. But I'm giving you the background. And anyway, uh, within about a year or so after they married and after, uh, Betty gave birth to to my half sister, Rosalyn, this fellow Tony took off with another woman and was never seen or heard from since. The store, the little store went out of business and my mother was left to fend for herself.

Uh, some of the family stuck with stuck with her other family members, rejected her because she had betrayed the family. She was the proverbial black sheep of the family, having married a Gentile guy and upset her parents and made her parents sick. And on and on. The typical story that happens all the time, you know, it's not something shocking and it, you know, but it's sad. Anyway, she she tried to fend for herself. She had an apartment. She kept a small, modest apartment in Brooklyn, and she kept the name of her husband, Falco, because she was still legally married, even though by this time he had been gone for ten years. Because he had abandoned her, she had to have income in some way. So she was living on welfare and trying to raise her daughter as best as she could. She was a loving mom, a sweet person, and there was a real struggle for her. Over time, she met a man by the name of, you know, Mr. Kleinman, who, uh, saw that she was single and living alone and one thing led to another, and they ended up, uh, having, like, an affair. It's a common thing. And, uh, but he had his own family, and this affair lasted more than 20 years, actually. And the family, uh families actually knew about it. They eventually met the the wife met the the uh, mistress. And it was all very bizarre. Kind of like a Peyton Place type, uh, uh, drama, you know, a soap opera drama. But, uh, over time, over a number of years, as this relationship continued, uh, Betty, my mom, she got pregnant with me.

And so when she told, he told her her, uh, paramour, you know, her, her lover, Joe, he was a nice guy. He was a hard working guy. He had his own family. His family was doing very well. He provided for everybody. He was providing for her financially because she was... My mom was struggling, raising her daughter. Uh, Betty told him, Joe, I'm. I'm pregnant. Well, to make a long story short, he told her, listen, I don't want a child. We're not going to live with this. You know, you put the child up for adoption. And that was the thing back then. We're going back into the early 1950s. This was the way society went back then. This was the custom. You have a child out of wedlock, it's a shameful thing by society's standards and the family standards. And so she had the burden of of trying to figure out what to do with

me. Uh, come to find out, she had a lot of heated arguments with Joe while I was still in her womb. She had a lot of heated arguments with Joe because, you know, he would not budge. He was stubborn and said, uh uh, no, we're not having a child. You know, you get rid of this child and you put him up for adoption because that was a common thing back then. So she found out that, first of all, that through an intermediary, a couple that knew her, in her neighborhood, they told her listen we happen to know of a jewish family in the Bronx, a couple in the Bronx who were looking for a child.

They, they're they were in their 40s at the time, my, my adoptive parents and she, my both mother was also about 40 years old when I was born, she was about 42, if I remember correctly, which is a little unusual to have a child that late in life. But anyway, she, they somehow hooked up through an intermediary. She didn't really meet them, but they kind of just through the intermediary, uh, just, a caring woman who tried to be like a matchmaker. She, um, worked things out. And so the agreement was that when, when Betty was getting ready to give birth to me, she would go to the hospital and I would be born. And then, of course, she would have to leave. And then at a later time, a few days later, a week later, whatever, it was prearranged. The other couple, my adoptive parents would, would pick me up. And that's what happened. But but prior to that, uh, prior to that, uh, Betty and Joe, as I was the story was told to me later, uh, had a lot of battles over me while I was still in my mother's womb. And in 1978, uh, after I was arrested, my mother gave a story to a reporter which came out in Good Housekeeping. It was a lengthy story, and it was the story was titled "First Time Ever The Startling Story of son of Sam's Real Mother". And it's my mother, Betty Falco's story that was she still carried her married name, even though Tony was long gone and she had a maiden name, uh, Broder, you know, uh, but, uh, she told the story of how, um, she and and Joe used to argue and fight and one day she got so angry, she she jumped on on Joe's back and was punching him.

Now I want this child. I want to keep this child. I want to keep this child. And there was tension and and the point I'm getting at, uh, is that, uh, I years later, uh, I learned that, um through this couple, through this book that was given to me, uh, called God's Power to Change by, uh, John Lauren and Paula Sanford. Some friends just got me this book out of the blue. I wasn't familiar with these people, but they deal with, um, like, kind of like deliverances and and people that are oppressed with you know, uh, by, uh, dark spirits and people that go through struggles, depression, they get they get behind the, the nuts and bolts of, of why these things happen. And in a chapter called Death Wishes, I don't have time to read everything in a chapter called Death Wishes. It. They they've, um, people have discovered that even when a child is in the womb, the child can sense certain things that are going on loud noises and can sense rejection. It can sense emotional trauma that the child is not just going in there passively, but is is aware of the surroundings. Or it could be aware of agitate, agitating surroundings or happy surroundings, peace and serenity or noise and conflict. And this affects the child's development even in the womb. There's these scientific, the scientific studies that have proven this, that, you know, life doesn't just begin when the child leaves its mother's womb, but even in the in the stages of development, you know, and that maybe in the second half of the pregnancy that the child developing in the womb becomes more aware.

But if a person goes through, if a child goes through a lot of trauma, even while it's in the womb, it has an effect on the individual. And, uh, one of the things it's, um, let me just, just read this. I think people would find this absolutely fascinating. I just want to read a few portions from the book. It says in homes where children are long for and love, reception begins to heal first frights and nauseas even in the womb, when traumas surround and invade the womb, fighting and bickering, loud noises and hurtful emotions, the spirit of the child cannot overcome the nausea of general defilement. We all suffer by being in this sickened world. And then it talks about a child that you're dealing with rejection grows up with death wishes, have always does self-sabotaging behaviors and things like that. So I believe, and this is not an excuse for anything that happened. But I believe that even when I was in the womb, I began to experience trauma that affected me later in life. Now, as I was, uh, taken home by the Berkowitzs. And these were beautiful loving parents, you couldn't ask for better, better parents than the Berkowitzs. Uh, when I was about 4 or 5, and I lived in the Bronx on on Stratford Avenue in the Soundview section, that's where I grew up, uh, I don't know what the reason why, but I remember being in the living room and my parents wanted to talk to me about something serious. So I remember I was kind of nervous, and I was sitting there, I was about 4 or 5 years old at the time, and that's when my dad told me, and my mom was sitting on the sofa looking on, and my dad was standing up about, uh, 5 or 6ft away from me. And I was sitting on a chair or whatever.

And my dad says, we want you to know that, David, you were adopted. And I thought to myself, okay, I didn't really um, I don't really know what that is. And, and they explained that, uh, when you were born, your mom died while giving giving birth to you and that your dad realized that he couldn't take care of you, put you up for adoption. And so when we found out that you were available for adoption, we made the arrangements to adopt you, and we brought you home to us. I remember feeling very numb and very shocked because I'm trying to process all this. And again, I was just a

little child and I had a lot of questions. I asked about my dad, who's my dad, where's my dad and who was my mother, and they said they were very nice and sweet and soft spoken... I remember the serious looks on their faces and they said, "David, we don't know. We just know that your mother died while giving birth to you and that you know we took you in because we love you, the wanted a son and you're our son and we're glad to have you here. And while I received all that a a part of me as child thought my mom died? while giving birth? I'm saying what did I do wrong? did I do something that...

I mean I don't understand I don't understand what how child birth really worked except that a woman carried a child in the womb and then eventually the child came out, 'cause I'm only like four or five and I'm thinking "my mom died? I must have killed her. What did I do wrong? maybe..." I I asked like, "did I hurt her? Did I hurt my mom? Did I kick her? Did I come out wrong? Did I... something, did I scratched her, did I poke her? You know what happened?" He said "no, no no no. This these things happen. These things happen. And it's just a tragedy, don't you know?" But I was like, I remember thinking, oh this can't be. I, I don't understand. I hurt my mother. I don't even know who she was. I mean, I had no choice about the matter, but, uh, so over the years, I lived with the thought that somehow, some way, because my mother died while giving birth to me, that I was responsible for her death. I couldn't fully comprehend these things at the time. But this is where I was at, you know, mentally and emotionally. And I grew up thinking, oh, my goodness, my mom died because of me. I'm a bad boy. Look at me. I killed my mother. I did something wrong. And and then, uh, when he said to me, my parents told me, you know, your dad didn't want me. I felt like, oh, there's there's my dad is out there.

There's a... There's a father somewhere who who's maybe thinking about me. Maybe he. He wishes he changed his mind. He really wants me to come to him. Or maybe he's angry at me and he hates me because he's you, "you killed my wife, you know? How did you do that? You stupid kid? I'm going to get you". And I'm thinking he might hunt me down and try. Remember, I'm just five, six, seven years old growing up. Well, to make a long story short, this started a period of of really bad behavior problems for me. First of all, I was born, I didn't know until I was already in prison and much later in life, I was born with A.D.D., you know, attention deficit disorder and hyperactivity disorder. I was a wild, energetic, out of control kid, throwing my toys around, running up and down the room and, uh, growing up at my, I was a, uh, a thorn in the flesh to my parents. I drove them crazy. I'd be up at 5:00 in the morning, come out of bed, go to my toy box, pull out all my toys, wake up my parents. "What are you doing up so early?" And I just couldn't sleep. I was always running around, and. And that was the story of my life. And, uh, in school, I, because that ad was not really recognized at at the time. It was just seen as a behavioral disorder. Uh, I was constantly being, I constantly getting in trouble in school. I was a terrible student, disruptive, loud, running up and down.

I had so much energy that when school ended every day at 3:00, when I was in public school, 77in the Bronx, that's not the school is still there, but it goes by a different name. Now, when I would take my books and run home about five blocks to my house, run as fast as I could, I had so much energy. In fact, one day I even got hit by a car running across the intersection of Westchester Manor Avenue because the light changed and I was so busy running that the car hit me and it bumped me and I flew up in the air. Turned out I was okay, but I mean, my ADD got me into so much trouble and made school a living hell. I hated school. It seemed like some of the teachers hated me. I was a disciplinary problem. Uh, one of the teachers wanted to leave me back. And my mother, when I was in third grade, my mother had to go to school and plead with the school officials to give me another chance. And they, they overruled the teacher, and they allowed me to go to the fourth grade on a trial basis. And I somehow struggled with the help of my parents, my adoptive parents, to finish public school, then go on into junior high school where my mom, my adoptive mother, will die not too long after that from cancer.

I remember all the struggles I had now, not only in school, but my behaviors, but the things I did. The the wild tantrums I had when I was a kid was like a force would come in me and I would, I would throw myself on the floor and and have like, these wild fits and break up furniture. I broke all my toys every time I got a new toy, within a few weeks it was broken. Everything I did had a self destructive death wish type, uh, behavior pattern to it. And of course no one could ever understand why school officials, when I was in public school, they told my parents, listen, you got a problem child here. I don't know what their exact words were, but they met with them in private and said, listen, you have to take your child to a child psychologist if you want your child to finish school and stay in this public school. Uh, Mr.. Mrs. Berkowitz, you have to get try to get them help. So they made arrangements for me to see a child psychologist. And for two years, every Saturday afternoon, I hated it, on my day off from school, my mom had to take me to Manhattan to talk to a child psychologist by the name of Mrs. Sosnoff, uh, an elderly lady who was a nice lady, but of course, she's no longer alive, and I remember going there, the sessions lasted about an hour every Saturday during school, schoo year. And, uh, to try to iron out, you know, what was causing me all the problems. And of course, nothing was ever accomplished. Nothing was ever done. But it's satisfied the school officials that, okay, they're making

an effort. And in the end, eventually I managed to finish public school. Sixth grade went into seventh grade in junior high school and and on to high school.

And it really was my dad. I had so many learning disabilities because I couldn't focus or concentrate in school, I just couldn't I, you know, I managed to hang in there, but, I mean, I was truant a lot because I couldn't stand sitting in that classroom. And when I was in high school, I was truant a lot because by that time my mom had my adoptive mother had died and my dad was at work all the time. So I was a locked, locked, uh, latchkey kid. I had my own keys and you know, I was 13, 14 managing on my own. And, uh, anyway, it was it was a struggle. And I look back, it says all the times I had periods of tremendous depression, all the times I would think of killing myself. And there were times I would look out the window, and we lived on the sixth floor... And from my window I could see for miles and miles. It was really a great place to live in this part of the Bronx. And, um, I could never understand why I was so like that. It wasn't until years later when I finally understood, you know, that's it. I mean, it was like a time of enlightenment with just a light went off and I began to as I grew older and reflected on things, I lived with false guilt. I was punishing myself at all my self behavior paths my self-destructive and self-sabotaging behavior patterns were because I thought that I I had somehow done something wrong and caused my mother to die while giving birth to me.

So I grew up with this tremendous self of, sense of guilt that the woman who brought me into the world, somehow I caused her to to die. Because that's a tremendous, traumatic thing for a child to be told at the age of 4 or 5, "hey, your mom died while giving birth to you". Now, my parents, later on, I spoke to my dad about it and we talked and we, you know, I'm just kind of going through things very quickly now. But we talked about it. And, you know, my my parents, my adoptive parents met, well, that's what the experts told them to say to a child, you know, adoption was common back then when kids are born out of wedlock. And when you ever going to talk to your child about adoption, they're going to obviously have questions. The standard answer was "your mom died while giving birth". They never the so-called experts, never thought of the guilt that they would lay up on an individual by telling them something like that. And I had no conception of what was going on.

So little did I know everything, all the reckless things. I was so accident prone. I mean, I tripped over everything. I crashed into everything. I fell down steps, I rode my bike off the curb. I did all kinds of stuff. And, you know, it never dawned on me this. This was like a suicide wish. This was a death wish and action. My life was one big death wish. And, uh, I mean, I had many good times growing up, and a lot of times, you know, with friends and everything, but there was always that demon of, of, of, of, of guilt hanging over me, crushing my spirit, oppressing me, causing me to do things that I'd always get in trouble. Just when I started to do good in school, I'd find some reason to mess up. Just when I was behaving, I'd get into a fight with another kid in the block, anything to mess myself up. And it wasn't doing this consciously, but it was a I, a sense of I have to punish myself. I didn't consciously think that, but this was going on in my subconscious. I don't deserve to live. I don't deserve to live. This is my life is, you know, I just always put myself in predicaments where. And this was like to assuage my guilt, which I didn't even know I had, but that was a part of my life that was such a big part of my life. And so anyway, that was, I believe you know, that, spiritually speaking, that this type of the things that I experienced, the rejection and the, uh, confusion and the misinformation opened the door to to the entry of like, demonic control in my life because as a child, I, I did a lot of weird things. I craved the darkness.

I used to crawl under my bed, sometimes for hours, hiding in the dark. I used to tunnel my way into the closet, one of the, uh, clothing closets and just hide there. My mom used to think I was outside playing, and I'd be just in the dark, and I, you know, all my suicidal thoughts, all my wishes to die thinking about death. Now, I understand that this was probably all clustered around that. Well, years later, uh, after I got out of the Army, I did, um, I found out that there was an organization, uh, called Alma Adoptees Liberty Movement Association. And, uh, anyway, they helped people to try to, that have been adopted, to try to locate their parents or their families and, and vice versa, they help those who put children up for adoption and years later, want to find out how those kids are doing. They also. So it was it was a it was a very interesting group. And I went to some of their meetings, and I remember going there the first time we met in Manhattan.

And I just have to go through this quickly. I wish I could explain in more detail, but there's time limitations. Nevertheless. I joined this group and I was got out of it after I got out of the Army because I was searching for my roots. By this time, my dad had moved to Florida and all I had, although I had aunts and uncles and and other places out in Long Island, I, I never saw them very much so I was pretty much on my own and, um, working as a security guard and just trying to make ends meet, going to going to college on the GI, on the GI Bill, because I was an Army veteran at this time, having finished three years in the Army and being honorably discharged. Uh, anyway, um, I started to look up at that, the advice of these people, uh, how to find my original birth certificate, which was sealed by the court and they found out a way to get, to do that. And when I came, I came across in the records in Manhattan, in New York City,

the office of Bureau of Births and Deaths and this big, big building. Uh, I went through there searching, searching, searching like a detective.

And finally I found the name David Richard Falco. And when I looked at that name and I was about maybe 22 at the time, 21? I said, wait a minute. That's not a Jewish name, David. Richard Falco. I mean, excuse me. Richard. David Falco. Richard David Falco. I said, that's not a Jewish name. So I told my dad about it. I called my dad in Florida and said, dad, listen, I explained what happened. I says, I want to know the truth, what am I doing with the name Richard David Falco? That's not a Jewish name. Who am I? And my dad were very nice. My dad and I had a good relationship. He told me, he says, David, here's what happened. You were born out of wedlock and you know, that was hidden at the time. And, and and he and he sent me the original birth certificate. He kept it in a safe deposit box all those years. So he sent me the original birth certificate. And when I saw the name Falco, I was able to begin my search, when I found out my mother was alive. Because originally I was going to think about maybe trying to find my dad, but I didn't because I didn't think my mother was alive. Then I found out she never died. After all, that was just a that was a lie. You know, they meant well, but that was a lie. And so anyway, I... I found her and, uh, it's a long story how that happened. And we had a beautiful, beautiful meeting.

Uh, unfortunately, the media uh, turned that around to make people in the media have said, oh, it was a terrible reunion, we didn't get along. Nothing could be further than the truth. We had a love for one another. This was this. My mom, Betty, I'm talking about my birth mother. Uh, you know, having met her for the first time when I was about, you know, 21, 22 and finding out I had a half sister, two named Rosalind. I says I got, and she had nieces and, and, uh, her husband and I suddenly had a family. This was the most beautiful thing. These were the sweetest people. My mom was the sweetest lady. She was so apologetic. She says, listen, you know, I was just struggling... I said hey that's ok, she told me the whole story, this is how I know about Joe and the struggles she had, you know, carrying me, and things like that. But I turned out, you know, everything turned out to be okay; the crimes that happened later had nothing whatsoever to do with her, that was just... psychologists and college professors, and all these so called experts putting their opinions into things and making things seem like this way when they really would not...

[...]

Unfortunately I was going through many struggles, uh I got into Satanism, I was lonely, looking for friends peers I got into Satanism and I always had struggles with depressions and things. So I was very open and vulnerable. And in my, um, in the story that my mother, uh, gave in 1978, this is my birth mother. I know it's gets a little confusing. Um, it shows. It shows something that I never saw in myself before. And that was how I was breaking down mentally. This was at the time now of the crimes. This is when the crimes had started and things were going on. I believe that I was not only oppressed by the devil, so to speak, but also had very serious, you know, mental health issues. And because, um, now this is going back in in 1977, 76, 77. Uh, this is just from the article I'll just read a little bit... [...] Uh, that's me and my sister and mother, you know, my birth family, I found my birth family, Nat Berkowitz called Rosalind, Rosalind was my half sister, a very beautiful, loving woman. And he said he, Oh, the article said. *reads article* And you're talking about me *keeps reading article*. So here's my adoptive father in desperation, reaching out to my half sister, whom he never met, they just spoke over the phone, he reached out to her because he was so alarmed at my behavior. And this is going back, you know, 40 years, uh, when I was about 20, by this time, 23, uh, 23 years old. And, uh, the article went on to say *reads*. That's me, they called me Richard; Richard, That's me. That's me. See, my birth family called me Richard because they knew me as Richard David Falco. But my adoptive family called me David, and, you know, so that's why it's a little confusing, the changing of the names. And then it goes on to say *keeps reading*. My sister was saying he, you know, I seem so out of it; *keeps reading* that's me talking. And then the article goes on... shows me with something that I couldn't even see myself, how irrational I had become, how really schizophrenic and depressive. And really, my life was spiraling out of control mentally, spiritually.

Uh, I believe the reasons for this I was under increasing degrees of demonic control because at the time I was reading the Satanic Bible, I was, uh, I went to a park near where I lived in Yonkers, I went, uh, against wisdom, to move to Yonkers in the first place, to be near this park called Untermyer Park, where I had some friends there that were into ritual, Ritual Occultic stuff the park. It's a long story, but that park was was dedicated to to occult, uh, to occult things. Uh, the owner of the park was once a member of the Golden Dawn, he was, uh, the man who once owned the park before it became a city park. And it was his personal property, his huge, beautiful place with with all kinds of statues and all kinds of things, you know, dedicated to occult occultic stuff. Um, Untermyer Park, uh, was owned by Samuel Untermyer, who was also rubbed shoulders with Aleister Crowley. Aleister Crowley was one of the most evil men who ever lived, the father of Satanism and all on and on.

Well, anyway, to make a long story short, my life was really coming apart. I was my personality was disintegrating. I began to get be controlled by other entities that I opened myself up for. But I had a propensity for that all my life

because of the experiences I had in childhood, the trauma and everything, it did open up the door to demonic strongholds being set up in my life. And so anyway, um, the crimes happened. There was a tragedy. I was arrested, and I was so glad to finally be arrested because I was in such a state of torment. My life was truly a mess. I was I was able to work and function outwardly, but inwardly, uh, I was just in turmoil and I was not, I believe in my right mind. Uh, and when I was arrested, uh, you know, the police asked me. Oh, you're the son of Sam. I said, well, yes. And I was very respectful to them. You know, interestingly, how the story changes over time and you see all these embellishments that come in, uh, one of the things that keep getting said over and over again is whenever this thing is repeated, which is a lot, often when I was first arrested, you know, the police asked me, you know, "are you, uh, son of Sam?". And I said, "yes." And I was you know very cooperative and respectful to them but but I never said "so what took you so long?" and over and over again you read articles and all these professors and all these people always say they say "oh Berkowitz said well what took you so long?" as if I were teasing them but uh if I would had done that they would have beat me up pretty good because I would have been just you know you can't mouth off to an office like a wise guy, and they would have slapped me around.

The fact that everything went so you know peacefully showed that I never said that. In fact I asked a friend, Maury Terry, a journalist who had been following the case from the very beginning, I said Maury could you please check to see, from early reports that are in the papers or in the media, if I actually said so, what took you so long? He checked and got back to me a few weeks later and says, no, that's not recorded anywhere. That's just an embellishment that happened. And it it may sound like a minor thing, like, so what's the big deal of that one sentence? But it changes the whole, the whole pitcutre. Uh, it made me look like some kind of smart, smart alec or something like that. Another misconception that has come is the is the so-called Mona Lisa smile, because, uh, there were, you know, pictures of me taken by the media. And I had like, a smirk on my face. Some said, why does he have to smirk? And it's the reason was because I was, uh, I was embarrassed and I was afraid. I mean, I was I was arrested, and it was it was a nightmare, you know, uh, getting fingerprinted, getting booked, going to police headquarters where I was grilled by detectives for hours and hours. It seemed like the whole day. When they took me out of the precinct in Brooklyn, and they brought me before the public, they did this thing called the perp walk where they were, you know, they walk you through the streets. They purposely walked you around the block so everybody could look at your face. That was, that's still being done today. And there's a lot of issues with that. But nevertheless they took me on the so-called perp walk. But the detectives, by this time, there was nothing but hysteria in the city. It was a time of bedlam.

And the detectives told me, listen, we're going to we got to walk you... We got to walk you around. We're going to take you into another van to take you to police headquarters. I was in Brooklyn at the time, so they, took they said, listen the place is mobbed with people. You stay with us. We we think someone's going to try to maybe shoot you or something like that. If we push you to the ground, don't resist. Just fall to the ground. Now, I'm. I'm terrified because I don't know. I don't know what's happening. I've never experienced anything like this before. I've already been up for hours, without sleep, without anything to eat. So they take me out of the building and into this mob of nothing but flashbulbs. I'd never seen so many people, mostly media people, crowding around. It seemed like by the hundreds. If I remember correctly, my mind was in a fog, but I still remember. And they were watching me around the block and I felt it was just snapping pictures like crazy and yelling at me, and people were screaming in the background. Reporters, 20 at a time, were asking me questions and I'm like, I felt so embarrassed.

And plus, I was so scared that one of the things especially men do when they're embarrassed by something, they they they kind of like smile, like, you know, you do something dumb and some people would react, oh, man, I'm so sorry. Other times it'll be like, oh man, I messed up. So in... it was just a natural reaction to to have like a smirk on my face. But it wasn't... But the media and you know, other people have took that the wrong way to this very day there's... because they made it look like I'm laughing at people, but I wasn't, I was really just so overwhelmed with everything that happened, so embarrassed, so confused. And I was afraid that I, you know, I just. When you're afraid, sometimes you smile and say, okay, you know, whatever. And that picture has stuck with me all, all these years.

But it was just another misconception. Not that it means anything, but it just shows you how easy it is to to look at something and get the wrong impression. And all these talking head experts to this very day comment on this saying, oh, this, oh, that. And you know what it was? It was really about nothing but it it just that's the way it, it, it ended, you know. So anyway, you know, here I am today, all these years later, uh, ten years into my prison sentence, giving my life to Jesus Christ. And my life has never been the same since, uh, the Lord God has been with me. Uh, I grew up in the Bronx. It was a it was a great place to grow up, even though I had a lot of a lot of childhood, childhood depression and traumas and bad experiences in school. Uh, I was a rough, rough kid in the neighborhood, always fighting. But I had friends, I did good, I managed, I had a loving family.

My adoptive parents always stuck with me. And, you know, um, I, I survived, I survived. I I think the Bronx was the greatest place to live because, uh, from my window, I could see for miles. I lived on the sixth floor and I could see for miles. And sometimes I could stick my head out the window and look down the street on Stratford Avenue where I lived. And I could see across the Long Island Sound, which is a big body of water separating the Bronx from Queens. And at night I used to be able to see the lights from Shea Stadium, where the New York Mets played the lights when they had a home game, the lights would go up into the sky. And I remember always looking at that. I was like a real baseball fan growing up with the Yankees and the Mets and things like that. I had like in many ways, a normal childhood. So, uh, I have a lot of good memories. I rode my bike everywhere, uh, for miles and miles. Uh, my bike helped me to keep my sanity and work off all that. The hyperactive... I mean, I'll be pedaling my bike from morning till night. So, uh, my life has had its ups and downs, bittersweet adventures and things like that. And tragedy too, you know? You know...

[...]

You know, one another misconception is, of course, the big story about the dog, the talking dog. First of all, as I shared in, uh, the article that my mother gave to the Good Housekeeping back in 1978, where my sister also spoke. Uh, and I had a lot of, you know, mental health issues. I really was losing my mind. I had become schizophrenic. And, uh, I believe that was a result of the demons that were really inside of me and working. And I opened myself up to. But I had mental health issues all my life, a behavioral issues all my life, including the attention deficit disorder and hyperactivity, which back then as a child, you know, wasn't even recognized. You were just I was just seen as a nuisance and a disciplinary problem and somebody for teachers to scream at because of things which I couldn't control. I'm sorry. I just couldn't control that stuff. But nevertheless, my mental health began to deteriorate and at times I was hallucinating and I did during some occultic rituals use LSD as well as drink some wine.

So I had some maybe after effects of that. And I used LSD when I was in the army too. Not to make excuses, but this was at the time some of the things I was dealing with as, as a young man, you know, just trying to make it in life and, and just trying to survive and just doing things that young men usually do, sometimes without thinking, you know. Uh... It, because, because of the of, of, of the Satanism, one of the deities that I used to pay homage to was a deity by the name of Samhain, Samhain, which I used to call Samhain, spelled Samhain. Samhain. He was a druid druidic deity of druids which demanded human sacrifice. And because I used to seek communication with this, this demonic entity as dumb and crazy as it sounds, I. You know this, I regret this. This was a nightmare. But at the time, that's what I was doing. So I was calling upon this demonic entity, this druid spirit, and it was like he was reaching out to me. In my mind, I was really felt. I was really getting messages from him

I was reading literature, uh, from a church called the The Process Church of Final Judgment.

I was using some of that literature which was calling on, uh, to start anarchy and try to bring in the end of the world, so, so that Jesus could come back. It was it was a whole mixed up, twisted philosophy. But it was something that was, I believe, demonically energized the teachings which I was reading from also the Satanic Satanic Bible and other things I was trying to do, uh, at that time of my life of searching everything, these things became very real, and it was hard to distinguish reality from, from, from that and, you know, still struggling to make a living and work and pay bills. And even I was getting further and further behind. When I was arrested, I only had \$65 to my name, so I was on a collision course with death. Um, also, uh, about concerning the so-called dog, um, after I came to to prison because that became a big thing, you know, the, the media and everything went wild. The dog made them do it. Harvey the dog, which was a neighbor's dog named Harvey, had nothing to do with the the, uh, the the the crimes. It had nothing to do with the crimes.

But the media somehow I, you know, I don't know. They made it. Made it like the that dog was talking to me this and that. There was a time of a lot of confusion, but I was trying to let people know in a roundabout way, the way it was my fault too. But I was trying to let people know, no, this

Sam, Sam, the dog's name was not Sam. It was named Harvey. Samhain. Samhain was the deity that was communicating with me. And people could never make that distinction because they had no understanding of spiritual things. And I couldn't explain it clearly myself. My mind was a mess. So that's how that whole thing started. And when I got to prison, uh, you know, when you, when you're a new person in prison, especially when you have a high profile case like I did, you know, a lot of the guards, a lot of the inmates would tease you. You know, you have that kind of thing. Initiation phase where you're a new Jack coming into prison. I came to prison, uh, with multiple life sentences. I went to Attica prison one of the most dangerous and infamous prisons in the United States, because, uh, about 7 or 8 years earlier, they had a major riot where over 40 people were killed. And and so it had a terrible reputation. And, and it was a difficult atmosphere. And so I took a lot of ribbing from people about the dog. Sometimes guys would make barking noises. Some of the guards even just teasing me, would make barking noises. Oh, and you know, it's stupid,

childish stuff, but that's, you know how it is in that kind of life. And but it used to bother me so much and I got into a few fights over that. And, uh, one day I just. I said, thinking that it was kind of like a magical thinking. I think that I was thinking that if I just said, oh, there was no real talking dog or anything like that, that all the everything would just go away. So I said that to somebody or wrote that to somebody in the media and, um, it made it look like the whole story was made up. but it wasn't. I can't I it wasn't really made up. I mean, I there was an actual demon by the name of Samhain that, that I was communicating with. I regret to say that sounds very dumb, but at the time I really believed that stuff, you know? And I was really brainwashed and and I believe I was under a degree of hypnotic control. This is not to make an excuse for anything, but at the time of my life, that's how messed up I was. I still, even in mice, even when I was an addict, I still had some occult books that I was practicing rituals of myself. Very dumb and foolish things. But that's what I was doing, uh, in my ignorance and in my rebellion and just trying to survive. I only wanted to survive. So I figured that by saying, oh, there was no dog. I just made the whole thing up. The whole thing would go away. But really, it was confusion to begin with because there really wasn't a dog. It was a demon. But no one was able to make that distinction. And so for years, and even until today, there's been a lot of misconceptions about that. And that'll probably always be there because it's too complicated to figure out. People listen thinking, oh, yeah, sure. Uh, just, you know, but that's the way it was. It was just a, um, a lot of confusion. Yeah.

So the dog barking wasn't had nothing to do with anything.

Well, it was annoying at times because. But it was annoying at times

But it, you know, it wore me down, but the barking dog wore me down. And at times it was annoying and, uh, but that that. I'm sorry to tell us that it was your neighbor that had a barking dog.

Well, there was a number of them. This is this has been a thing even going back to the Bronx. But that the the the the, the, the barking dog had nothing to do with the crimes. That was just a once that got into that media cycle of whatever, it just got built up to some dramatic thing when really it was just, uh, the two stories got mixed together. Yeah. Right. Right. My communication with demons back and forth, which, uh, I was under a spell and again, that's not to make any excuse for anything, but that's the way the state of my mind was at the time. And then the actual barking of neighbor's dogs, which was annoying, but that was something altogether different. And it just melded together in one ball of confusion. And it's been that way ever since. A ball of confusion. And people don't know what to make of it. But you know, it's not a big issue anymore. I mean, it's just nothing, really. It's about nothing. But I don't know, for some reason, people become obsessed. They lock into that dog thing. And then and movies have been made about it and all kinds of books, novels, crime novels have that.

And so that's just part of the history that's be there forever. But the reality is that had nothing to do with the crimes that I was communicating, I'm sorry to say, with with demonic entities and my ignorance and my foolishness. And I was getting messages that I thought I was getting messages in my mind, you know, from from these entities and so forth. And so that was the real deal. And that's, you know. Well, I had, you know, even as a child, as you know, I've always been fascinated with like, dark things. And, uh, I believe that because, uh, of the experiences I had, the traumas I went through as a child thinking I caused the death of my mother for, uh, thinking that I have a father out there who hated me because I took his wife's life somehow, did something dumb and on and on and self-punishment and all these cravings for darkness and and, um, you know, that that followed would be all my, all my life, even as an adult I was, uh, as a teenager. And then even as an adult, I was fascinated by certain horror movies. Rosemary's Baby and other things all seem to. I was always drawn to those things, and it was, um, you know, coming to prison. It was same thing. I still had my occult literature, and it was just really a lost, a lost lonely soul.

And ten years into my prison sentence, as I'm struggling, you know, to survive day by day, along comes this fellow, uh, Ricky, Ricky and, uh, younger man. And he approaches me one day while I'm walking in the prison yard and he says you know, hey, um, your name's Dave, right? And I said, yeah. He says, well, my name's Ricky. And, uh, I'd like to introduce myself. I said, yeah, so what's going on? I looked at him suspiciously, because in prison environment, guys that don't know each other usually don't just walk up to one another. It's just a way of life in the prison. And he said, uh, listen

I know, I know about your case and everything, but, uh, I, I would like to just tell you that Jesus Christ loves you, and he's got a plan and purpose for your life. And I said, yeah, I was like, skeptical. I said, yeah, okay. I've heard that before, but there's no way God could love me. I've done too many things that are bad, too many things that are evil. There's no way God could forgive me. He says, no, David, you're wrong. God wants to forgive you. And he he sent me here to tell you that. And he's got a plan and purpose for your life. Uh, and I'm thinking like, oh, really? And, uh, he said, yeah.

He said, well, listen, I see you sometimes work out with the weights and sometimes you walk around. I'd like to just be your friend and maybe we can hang out together. You know, I'm new here, and uh, he had been doing time prior, you

know, in other prisons, but he was transferred here, so, uh, he seemed like a nice guy. And before you knew, we were hanging out together and we'd walk the yard together, and he began to tell me as the days went by that he was a Christian, that he gave his life to Jesus while he was locked up in another facility. And, uh, he would share a little of the scriptures with me, a little bit about his life. And we just, you know, paddled around, walked around and, um, and then he gave me a pocket Bible and he told me, Dave, I know you're Jewish, so maybe you'd like to read the Psalms. It was a Gideon Pocket Testament which had the, uh, Psalms in the back.

So you had the New Testament and the Psalms, and he says, look, I know you're Jewish, and I think you'd like to read the Psalms, and I so, uh, I started to read them and I started to read about King David. And because I like to read and I started reading about King David, and I saw all the struggles King David went on with his life, the pain crying out to God. And I kind of started to relate to that, uh, because I'm going through so much pain and trauma and, uh, and the story is so my story is so involved, so complex. You could never tell it in one sitting. It would take days, weeks, months to unravel the whole thing. Um, I'm reading the Psalms sometimes at night before I go to sleep and I find I start to cry, uh, you know, and and my. And I don't know why. But then one day, after I'd known Ricky, maybe a month, maybe a little longer, uh, because this was a long time ago.

Now, this was over 25 years ago now, um, I was reading Psalm 34, and I read this scripture, verse six, where it says, this poor man cried and heard him and saved him out of all his troubles. And suddenly, once again, it was around midnight. I was alone in my cell with my little reading lamp on, and I read that psalm and I started to cry, and I. I just shut off my light because I didn't want any of the other inmates in the gallery to see me crying. And I was again, we're all in individual cells, and I had this tremendous they got this tremendous urge to get down on my knees and to talk to God. And so I did. In the darkness of my cell, I got down on my knees on the concrete floor, cold concrete floor. And I like a little kid. I put my hands on the on the bunk at the typical prison bunk bed, and I just began to pour my heart out to the Lord, and I was crying like a baby. But I was talking quietly because I didn't want anyone else to hear me. But I was pouring my heart out to the Lord, and I was telling us, saying, God, Jesus, whoever you are uh, I'm so sorry for everything that happened.

I hurt so many people, I hurt my family, and I brought so much pain to people and on and on. I just poured my heart out to him, you know, crying as if I was crying for my mother when she died. And, uh, maybe I was on my knees 20 minutes, a half hour I don't know. And then I got up off my knees and I felt like a tremendous load had lifted off of me, and. And I just got on my bunk on top of my bunk and staring at the ceiling for a while, and I drifted off to sleep. Next morning I woke up and went about my business, going out to breakfast. The doors open and start the usual day in prison. And um, uh, a couple of days later, I met. I meet my friend Rick in the in the yard. And because we live in different cell blocks so we could only meet when we have yard time, recreation time in the yard, and we hang out and talk and maybe lift weights or walk around. And so we were that day. We were sitting on a bench at the end of the yard, and we're just sitting there talking, and I says, hey Ricky, guess what I did the other day? And he said, what did you do? I said, well, remember how you've been telling me, you know, to ask Jesus to forgive me of my sins and to come into my heart and things like that? He goes, yeah.

I said, well, I did that. And he looked at me. He was like, shocked. He goes you what? And I was I was surprised by his reaction. So I said, well, you know, you told me that, uh, to that I should ask Jesus to forgive me of my sins, that I should put my trust in him and and things like that. And I says, I did, and he says, are you serious? He was so excited. I you you tell on the level. And I said, well, yeah, yeah, what's the big deal? He says, oh man, he he jumped up. He jumped off the bench. He started jump up and down like a kid screaming, Hallelujah! Praise the Lord. I was so embarrassed. I said, Rick, what are you doing? What are you doing? He says, Dave, don't you understand? You know what this means? I said, what does it mean? He says, you've been born again. You've been born again. I said, I have. He says, yeah yeah, I and I didn't know what was going on. He was so excited. And he said, listen, I know you don't understand it right now, but one day you'll understand all these things. He says, you got Jesus in your heart now. And you, you mark my words. Your life is never going to be the same. So I says, oh, okay. But, you know, he was right. I mean, I couldn't I started to read the Bible. I couldn't put it down. I started to go to the chapel and the chaplain gave me a whole Bible, new, old and New Testament. It was like a study Bible as a gift, brand new study Bible, and I just couldn't put the Bible down. I would read it every chance I got, whenever I'd come from my work assignment or whenever I had free time and I was in my cell, I'd open up my Bible and read, and it really started a whole new life. I met other men in the chapel who, you know, were glad to see me and welcome me. And, uh, I began to fellowship with other Christians who were fellow inmates like myself and, uh, met the chaplain and spoke with him and prayed with him and the rest is history. More than, uh, about 27, 28 years have gone by since I was on my knees at one night asking Jesus to forgive me and to come into my life. Not even sure what I was saying, you know, not even sure what would happen. And, uh, Ricky was right. Well, shortly after that, a few months after that, you know, Ricky and I used

to go to the chapel together, but he transferred out one day. I went to the yard and I didn't see him. We were supposed to meet in the yard after our work assignments were done. He wasn't there. So I asked a couple of friends from his cellblock. Hey, you guys seen Ricky? He said, oh man, Ricky left the day before on a transfer. He's gone. I said, oh man, I couldn't believe it because he was almost finished with his time. He was only doing a ten year sentence and only had a brief period of time left to do so. He – INTERRUPTED

APPENDIX D

Transcript of Jeffrey Dahmer's interview with Nancy Glass

The interview is based on an audio file sourced from the YouTube video available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J3QNgHY9Bwk&t=2s>.

Reporter: For of all time today, an Inside Edition World exclusive: Jeffrey Dahmer talks about his obsession to kill and why he got away with it for so long.

The world watched in horror as the savagery of serial murderer Jeffrey Dahmer unfolded.

JD: It was almost addictive. It was almost, uh... A surge of energy.

Reporter: The nation was stunned by the magnitude of the crime.

JD: No one had a clue as to what was happening for, for over a decade.

Reporter: How could this shy child grow into a modern day monster?

JD: I started having these obsessive thoughts when I was about 15 and 16, and they got worse and worse.

Reporter: Today, another Inside Edition World exclusive: Nancy Glass talks to serial killer Jeffrey Dahmer.

NG: If you were out on the street now, would you still be committing the crimes?

JD: Probably. If this hadn't happened, there's no doubt I probably would be.

Reporter: Hello, I'm Bill O'Reilly. Thanks for watching this very special Inside Edition. How could a normal looking man with normal parents and a normal job commit some of the most brutal crimes the world has ever seen? Jeffrey Dahmer has never talked publicly about killing 17 people until now. Nancy Glass is here with a very chilling interview, and Nancy first set the scene for us. What impression does Dahmer give when you first meet him?

NG: Well, Bill, surprisingly, he is very articulate and when he is talking, you can see how he was able to manipulate his victims and how he was able to get away with it for so long. He also talks about his horrendous crimes in great detail, but in a very clinical manner, and you realize that none of it has touched him.

Reporter: Cold. Matter of fact.

NG: Yes.

Reporter: And Nancy, we'll be back in just a few moments with the first part of her interview.

JD: It was almost addictive, a surge of energy that wouldn't have to worry about, uh, any of their needs or anything. I just had complete control of the situation.

Reporter: He is 32 years old, and he is pure evil but you'd never know it by looking at him. But when you hear him, that's another story. His killing field was Milwaukee, and he got away with murder for more than a decade. But how could any of this happen? For the first time ever, Nancy Glass is here inside the world of Jeffrey Dahmer.

NG: So when I sat down opposite Jeffrey Dahmer for this interview, I wondered what he would tell me, how hard it would be to get him to discuss his horrific crimes. What I found was that he was very forthcoming. He volunteered details that may be difficult to hear. I began by asking what he wanted from the men he picked up.

JD: I had, uh, these obsessive desires and and uh, thoughts wanting to control them to, uh. I don't know how to put it, uh, possess them permanently.

NG: And that's why you killed them...
JD: Right, right. Not because I was angry with them, not because I hated them, but because I wanted to keep them with me. And, uh, as my obsession grew, uh, I was saving body parts such as, uh, skulls and skeletons.

— Jeffrey Dahmer is recalling his monstrous past almost two years ago in this little apartment in Milwaukee; police discovered the grisly remnants of one of the most horrible crime sprees in American history. Jeffrey Dahmer, an unassuming chocolate factory worker, would eventually confess that he had seduced, murdered and dismembered 17 young men. He even ate some of his victims body parts. He instantly became the center of worldwide media attention. A serial killer unmasked. There were protests and press conferences in Milwaukee, as people tried to understand how this could have happened in their midst. How did Jeffrey Dahmer get away with murder after murder for 13 years? How did a boy born into a hardworking, middle class family turn into the worst kind of monster imaginable? In this exclusive interview, we put those questions to Jeffrey Dahmer himself. We met with him at the maximum security prison where he is serving his sentence of 999 years. For the first time, he talks about his crimes and gives us a chilling look inside the mind of a serial killer.

JD: It's a process that doesn't happen overnight. Uh, when you, uh depersonalize another person and view them as just an object, uh, an object for pleasure instead of a living, breathing human being. Uh, it it seems to make it easier to, uh, do things you shouldn't do.

— The reason why Jeffrey Dahmer was able to get away with his crimes was because of just what you are seeing here. Jeffrey Dahmer is intelligent and articulate. That is what makes him so frightening. But if you listen carefully to his words throughout this interview, you realize it is a thin disguise.

NG: You do sound, though, like the kind of person who could have said to himself “this is wrong, I must stop”.

JD: I always knew that, that it was wrong, but uh... after the, the first... the first uh killing was not planned. I was coming back from the shopping mall back in 78. I had uh, fantasies about picking up a hitchhiker and uh taking him back to the house and having complete control and dominance over him.

— The Hitchhiker’s name was Stephen Hicks, he was just 18. Jeffrey Dahmer took him to his parents house. There, he strangled him with a barbell. He dismembered the body and hid it in a drain pipe. It was Jeffrey Dahmer who gave those details to the police in his confession.

JD: No one, no one had a clue as to what was happening for, for over a decade.

— During that time, Jeffrey Dahmer joined the Army and was sent to Germany. He was eventually discharged for a drinking problem and returned to Ohio. Nine years after Steven Hicks murder, the killing began again.

NG: What happened to you in the nine years in between that you were able to stop uh, that you were able to control yourself?

JD: It just wasn't an opportunity to, uh, fully express what I wanted to, to do. There was just not the, uh, the physical opportunity to do it then. And, uh, I started, when I moved to Milwaukee in 81, uh I started reading pornography, going to the bookstores. Um, eventually that led to, uh, frequenting the gay bars. And then I, one time I brought this young man back to the hotel room, the Ambassador Hotel. Uh, was just planning on drugging him, and, uh, spending the night with him. Had no intention of hurting him. When I woke up in the morning, he, uh, had a broken rib here. It was heavily bruised. Apparently, I had, uh, beaten him to death with my fists.

NG: And you have no memory?

JD: I have no memory of it. But that's what started the whole spree all over again.

— Dahmer says he snuck the corpse of his victim, Steven Toomey, out of his hotel room in a suitcase. Then he took it to his grandmother's house, where he cut up the body and put it in plastic garbage bags.^[1]

NG: When you kill these men afterwards, were you repulsed? Were you upset?

JD: No. It at the time, uh, it was it was almost addictive. It was almost, uh... uh, a surge of energy. Uh, I wouldn't have to, uh worry about, uh, any of their needs or anything. I just had complete control of the situation.

— But Jeffrey Dahmer was out of control. The urge to kill had overpowered him. As police later learned he wasn't satisfied with his victim's death. He wanted more.

NG: Why did you photograph them?

JD: It was my way of remembering, uh, their appearance, their physical beauty. Uh, I also wanted to keep some... If I couldn't keep them there with me whole, I... at least I felt that I could keep uh, their skeletons. And, uh, I even went so far as planning on, uh, setting up an altar with, uh, the, uh, ten different, uh, skulls and skeletons.

NG: And what was the purpose of the altar going to be?

JD: Uh, as a sort of, uh, memorial uh, a point where I could, I don't know, it's, it's, it's so bizarre and strange. It's hard to describe... a place where I could collect my thoughts, uh, and feed my obsession.

NG: when the bodies were still in your apartment, there was no time when you would see them and say, this is grotesque. What have I done?

JD: There were times. There were times, but a compulsive obsession with, uh, doing what I was doing overpowered any feelings of revulsion.

— This man, with a quiet, almost shy demeanor, became a master manipulator who was able to lure strangers he met at gay bars to his apartment. He was even able to calm the police into returning a 14 year old boy to him. After neighbors called 911, upset that the child was in the street naked and bleeding, Dahmer convinced the police that he and the boy were simply having a lover's quarrel. [...] After the police left, Jeffrey Dahmer murdered that boy. Konerak Sinthasomphone. This man says he had a near fatal encounter with Jeffrey Dahmer: “He wanted to take some pictures of my back. He hit me with a rubber hammer on my neck”. He was lucky to escape because by then the killing had become almost routine.

NG: Before you went out to pick up a man, was there any kind of ritual you went through?

JD: I'd go to the nightclubs, uh, drink, watch the, uh, the striptease shows. And, uh, if I didn't meet anyone at the bars, I'd, uh, go to the bath clubs and, uh, meet, meet someone there, offer them money and we'd go back to the apartment. Uh, have a few drinks. I'd have the, uh, the sleeping pill mixture already prepared. Person would drink it, fall asleep, and, uh, that's when they would be strangled.

— Watching the movie Exorcist three was also part of his ritual. It put him in the mood for murder.

JD: I felt so hopelessly, uh, evil and perverted that, uh, that I, I actually derived a sort of pleasure from watching that tape.

NG: Did you like feeling evil?

JD: No, no, I didn't, but, uh, I had tried to overcome the thoughts, and it worked for a while, but eventually I gave in.

— While Jeffrey Dahmer may say things today that make it seem like he understands what when on in his mind, he does not. All he can do is tell you what happened but he cannot stop whatever it is that drove him to kill in the first place.

NG: Do you still feel those same urges, do you still feel that compulsion, that obsession?

JD: I wish I could say that it just left completely, but, uh, no, there are times when I still do. I still do have, uh, the old compulsions.

Reporter: And coming next, as we continue, Dahmer talks about how his obsessions became more and more out of control.

JD: I was dead set on, on going with this compulsion, it was the only thing that gave me any uh, any satisfaction.

— Jeffrey Dahmer says as the time went on his mind he became more and more warped and yet he was clever enough to continue to elude police and lure young men to his apartment. We should warn you that the details are very graphic.

JD: I started having these obsessive thoughts when I was about 15 and 16 and they got worse and worse.

NG: What were your fantasies about?

JD: Uh, they were sexual fantasies of control, power, uh, complete dominance. They became reality.

NG: Was there pleasure in that fantasy?

^[11:55]^[SEP]JD: There was excitement, uh, fear, pleasure all mixed together.

— Jeffrey Dahmer fulfilled his fantasies by murdering and dismembering 17 young men. In time, his desires became more extreme, his deeds more grotesque. Listen to him talk about the most unnatural things in the most matter of fact of ways. That's when you realize that none of it has touched him.

JD: I was, uh, branching out. That's when the cannibalism started, eating of the heart and, uh, the arm muscle. It was a way of, uh, making me feel that, uh, they were a part of me- At, tt first it was just curiosity, and then it became compulsive. Then I tried to, uh keep the person alive by inducing a zombie-like state. Uh. By, uh, injecting, uh, first, uh, dilute acid solution into their brain or, uh, hot water. And, uh, it never did completely work.

NG: Could someone like you be stopped? Could you be helped?

JD: No, I was, I was dead set on on going with this compulsion. It was the only thing that gave me any, uh, any satisfaction.

— He became so warped by his evil impulses that he even took a victim's head with him to work at the Ambrosia chocolate factory.

JD: I kept the, uh, the mummified, uh, head and skull of one of the victims in, uh, a carrying case in my locker at work.

NG: Were you almost flaunting it?

JD: Yes, but that's how strong the compulsion was. That's how bizarre the desire was. I wanted to keep something of of the person with me.

— Jeffrey Dahmer exhibited some disturbing behavior early on. He began drinking heavily as a teenager dropped out of college, was arrested for indecent exposure, disorderly conduct and fondling a 13 year old boy. Tragically, one of his murder victims would be that boy's brother.

NG: Do you know what started it? Is there any kind of incident that you can remember?

JD: to this day I don't know what started it. And, uh, the person to blame is sitting right across from you. That's the only person, not, uh, parents, not society, not pornography. I mean, those are just excuses.

— His macabre 13 year crime spree finally ended when this man, Tracy Edwards, brought the police to the infamous apartment. Like the others, he had gone there with the promise of money.

“He was listening to my heart because at a point he told me he was going to eat my heart. At that point, I hit him, I, and I ran.

NG: What was the turning point for you that made you suddenly realize that you had done something terribly wrong, something you should be sorry for?

JD: It was, uh, the night of the arrest. I have no memory of what happened. Uh, during the six hours before, uh, the last victim ran out of the apartment. I heard a knock on the door, and the police were there, uh, with, with the last victim. Uh, they asked me where the key was to the handcuffs, and I was... My mind was in a haze. I sort of pointed to the bedroom, and that's where they found the pictures. And they. They yelled, “cuff him!” And I was handcuffed. And, uh, it was just the realization that there was no point in trying to hide, hide, uh, my actions anymore. The best route was to help, help the police identify all the victims and just make a complete confession. When it was revealed that most of the victims were black or homosexual, people in Milwaukee were incensed. Many felt that was why he went after them, and why the police didn't seem to care when their families reported them missing.

NG: Ten of your 17 victims were black. Were they racially motivated?

JD: It was not racially motivated. It was not, uh, sexual preference. It was just to find an obsession with, uh, the best looking young men I could find.

— While you just heard him say that his sexual preference had nothing to do with the killings. No, he has not come to terms with his homosexuality.

JD: Never understood it. There was no use trying to fight it because I couldn't rid myself of it. It was... It was too powerful and persistent.

NG: Do you dislike it?

JD: Yes. It's caused a lot of problems for me. A lot of conflicts and, uh, unanswered questions.

— The conflicts remain with him, and so do his compulsions. But in prison, he finally cannot act on his savage desires.

JD: Probably. If this hadn't happened, there's no doubt I probably would be. I can't think of anything that would have stopped me.

— Boy, does he come across as cold blooded. Did you see any remorse?^{[1][SEP]}NG: Well, he says he's sorry, Bill, but I'm not sure he knows what that means. Tomorrow he talks about how he dissociated himself from his crimes, and what lengths he went to to hide them.

NG: What do you want to say to the families of the victims?

JD: I had no intention of hurting them, I was extremely selfish, I was only thinking of myself.

NG: Why was it so easy, though, for you to hide it all?

JD: I bought security systems, uh, installed them myself in the apartment. I had, uh, a video camera in the corner of the room.

— He was home alone when an intruder turned her evening into a night of terror. She reached for the phone in a desperate call for help. But it was too late. Or was it? Oh, baby, it's cold inside edition today. What would you do if a thug broke into your house? Could you wide. It is one thing to read about his crimes, quite another to hear how dispassionately this killer talks about his grisly deeds. Nancy Glass joins us now to continue her exclusive interview with Dahmer.^{[1][SEP]}NG: Jeffrey Dahmer is now in jail, serving 15 consecutive life terms for his terrible crimes. Wisconsin does not have the death penalty. In prison he is getting therapy, but he says it hasn't helped him. He spends his time reading the Bible and volumes of mail. I asked him if he was afraid of what might happen in prison and he said no. What difference does it make if someone comes after him because he doesn't care if he lives or dies?

— He prowls gay bars, picking up men to seduce and murder. Jeffrey Dahmer says his desire to control and possess his victims drove him to inhuman acts on the living and the dead. He was a killing machine, out of control.

NG: How should you be punished?

JD: Well, there's no question that I, that I deserve the death penalty. I've, uh... I've wondered myself why I, uh, I don't have the death penalty. Uh, that, that's what I deserve. I deserve death.

NG: What do you think happens after you die?

JD: Right. That's the big unknown I thought of. Uh, I've had thoughts of suicide. Uh, but I just, uh, haven't been able to, uh, carry them through, so I don't know what the future will hold.

— In the past, Jeffrey Dahmer was very sure of what he wanted and how to get it. 17 young men would die at his hands. Later when he made this confession to the police, he included crimes too grotesque to repeat on television, too gruesome to be believed. Dismemberment, cannibalism and worse. And he was cunning enough to get away with it for 13 years.

NG: Why was it so easy, though, for you to hide it all?^{[1][SEP]}JD: I desensitized myself to it. I, I, uh. I don't know, I went to great lengths. I, I bought security systems, uh, installed them myself in the apartment. I had, uh, a video camera in the corner of the room, uh, installed locks on the doors, uh, sirens and stuff in case anyone broke into the apartment.

— And although his victims body parts were in the apartment when his father and stepmother came to visit, they detected nothing.

NG: They said it was absolutely clean. Perfect... How do you hide from them?

JD: Right. Everything was locked up, either in the freezer or in the, uh, file chest. And so there was no evidence laying in the, in the open. There was nothing abnormal about the look of the apartment.

— And he almost got caught after a 14 year old victim escaped into the street naked and bleeding. When neighbors called 911, Dahmer managed to talk his way out of trouble.

NG: during the incident where the police were called and the young boy was returned to you. That didn't wake you up at all. The police on your doorstep...

JD: They were... They were in the apartment. They were actually in the apartment. And there was a dead young man in the bedroom on the floor. I couldn't believe it when, uh, when it turned out that they they they didn't see anything. I just, I couldn't believe it. And yes, it did shock me, but not enough to quit. That's how strong the compulsion was.

— Jeffrey Dahmer describes the unspeakable with no emotion. It is as if he sees his victims as objects, not people. In fact, when he confessed, he remembered every horrific detail of what he did to them, but he couldn't remember their names.

NG: Do you ever think about your victims?

JD: Uh, I've often wondered why I haven't had uh, more more dreams or nightmares about what I've done. For some reason, it's like, it's it's blocked off from part of my mind. If I dwelled on the subject all the time, I would, uh, I wouldn't be able to function.

— Jeffrey Dahmer prefers to hide from the difficult truth about himself. That has always been his pattern. Even during his trial, he found a way to tune out.

NG: You were in glasses now.

JD: right.

NG: You didn't during the trial. Why not?

JD: I didn't want to. I felt uncomfortable looking anyone in the face. I didn't want to uh, see anyone's face clearly. It helped me disassociate myself from what was happening.

NG: One woman in particular really got angry. What did you think when she was doing that?

JD: I couldn't blame her a bit. I'm surprised there wasn't more of that.

JD: I had no intention of hurting them. I was I, I was extremely selfish. I was only thinking of myself, my own pleasure, my own, uh, perverted desires.

NG: You know, the families of the victims don't believe in your conversion or your sorrow...

JD: Oh, right. And, uh. Uh, if I if I was on the on their end of the table, I wouldn't be either. Ultimately, I'm accountable uh, to the Lord Jesus Christ. He, he'll be my final judge.

NG: Can your sins be forgiven?

JD: The Lord Jesus Christ shed blood is powerful enough to wipe out even my sins.

— When he had to deal with some of the terrible realities of his life, Jeffrey Dahmer's conversation would veer off into Scripture. Like many other criminals, he claims he has found God in prison, and his daily routine reflects his need to shut out the world.

JD: I usually wake up at 630 in the morning, go eat breakfast, and then, uh, sleep until noon, wake up for lunch and, uh, sleep until about 4:00 in the afternoon, eat dinner, and then spend the greater portion of the night watching TV.

— He is up all night because he cannot face the daylight and the monstrous crimes that put him behind bars.

JD: I try not to think too, too deeply about anything, because then I get depressed. Uh, I try to figure out why this happened. What, what started these thoughts in my head at such a young age. Uh, whether this has any, any meaning to it, or whether this is all just a horrible coincidence. You know, all the events in my life... I feel that I'm better off here than than I was on the outside doing what I was doing.

NG: You're glad you're in prison. I think it's best for everyone. Right?

— And you heard Jeffrey Dahmer say he wants to be punished. The victims families agree. They will voice their opinions tomorrow. And Jeffrey Dahmer talks about his early years and his family life. And finally, an expert on serial killers will tell us how this could have happened.

— Today, the victim's relatives speak out. I would like to ask him why he's on a suicide watch. And from day one, he's never tried to commit suicide. So I mean, get, you know, get a clue. He likes living just like my brother did. [...] For the past two nights, we have heard serial killer Jeffrey Dahmer explain why he did what he did. Dahmer makes no excuses. He feels he should be executed. But what about the families of his victims? What are they going through and what is their reaction to the words of Dahmer? Nancy Glass continues her exclusive interview. The building where Jeffrey Dahmer's crimes were discovered has been torn down. The grisly details of his killing spree have been revealed. He will be in prison for the rest of his life. All that remains is the question why did this happen?

JD: Had normal friendships in high school. But after that, I started in with the alcohol, drinking, a lot of solitary drinking and uh, really never had any close friendships after that, after high school, just, uh, sort of lived in my own, uh, thought life fantasy world.

— What created those twisted fantasies is a question many are asking. According to some experts, Jeffrey Dahmer does not fit the profile of a ritual murderer. The typical serial killer kills for the thrill, for the excitement. He wants to hear the victims scream and shout and try to get away. Northeastern University professor Jack Levin is a sociologist and criminologist who has studied hundreds of serial killers. He says what he saw in our interview surprised him. I think the very fact that he sedated his victims before he strangled them, which is the last thing that most serial killers would do, uh, gives us an indication that he may actually have felt guilty and that he did care to, at least to some extent, about his victims. He's a little bit different in a, in a number of, of ways. And the very fact that he necrophiled his victims

is, is a clue that he felt extremely rejected, abandoned, and he couldn't even have sex with his victims while they were alive. In most cases he had to kill him first.

NG: Were you molested?

JD: Never. Never.

NG: In your childhood, you have any memories of anything that you would associate with what you became?

JD: No. That's the that's the strange thing. I can't pinpoint any... Anything.

NG: So there was nothing in your childhood?

JD: No. No abuse, no physical abuse, no verbal abuse. It was a normal childhood in a good home. Something went awry in my thought life. Uh, I don't know why.

— He grew up on this quiet, tree lined street in bath, Ohio. Friends say the young Jeffrey Dahmer exhibited some unusual interests.

NG: Were you obsessed with dead animals? Is that true?

JD: I was interested in taxidermy in high school and experimented with, uh, preserving the bones of dogs and things like that. And, uh, whether that had anything to do with with the escalation of the crimes, I don't know.

— But by all accounts, his terrible crimes are far removed from his ordinary beginnings. His father, Lionel, is a chemist who taught his son how to play tennis. His mother, Joyce, was a housewife. The family split apart when Jeffrey Dahmer turned 18. A court order kept his father away from the house. His mother, who had been hospitalized for mental problems, left too. It was when he was alone in the house that Jeffrey Dahmer committed his first murder. “Let me put this in perspective. There are millions of people who get divorced. There are millions of people who have stepparents. And what does it do to them? Well, it doesn't make them kill it doesn't make them cannibalize. Um, I think we've got to understand that we might be able to explain part of this, but we're not able to predict who's going to turn out to be a serial killer”. Jeffrey Dahmer's father and stepmother, Shari, say when he was in trouble in the past, they tried to get him help. They were as shocked as everyone else to hear about his secret life. “The pain is watching the families have having to sit there and listen to the gory details. And yet, what do we say to these families out there who don't even have the child to bury in many cases? It's such a tragic waste and we can't do anything about it”. They say around them, Jeffrey Dahmer acted as if nothing was wrong.

NG: How did you live that double life? How did you go to work? How did you have a normal relationship with your family?

JD: When you try to keep a terrible secret like I was, it warps every other aspect of your life. But I managed to, uh, I managed to go to work, uh, conduct myself just like anyone else would.

Transcript of Jeffrey Dahmer's interview with Stone Philips

The interview is based on an audio file sourced from the YouTube video available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tfvTAxSJIE&t=768s>.

SP: I'm spending the last few days with your folks.

JD: Great.

SP: Talking about a lot of different things. Hey, you're lucky you came up on a day when there's no snow. It's snowing like crazy all weekend. Is that right?

JD: Yeah.

SP: How are things going here for you?

JD: Uh, slow and steady. Nothing, uh, nothing out of the ordinary, really.

SP: You've read the book?

JD: Yes. Yes, I read the book. Uh, uh, my dad sent it to me.

Uh, about last week and spent all night reading it. I was up all night reading. It was, uh, quite a surprise to me. Some parts of it are very interesting.

SP: In what sense?

JD: Uh, just, uh, some of the things that were revealed, uh, caught me off guard and, uh, just some, some very big surprises in it for me.

SP: What was it that caught you off guard?

JD: Uh, some of some of his insights into, uh, what he thought of me as I was growing up.

SP: All set? Everybody ready? Okay, let's take a. I'll take a deep breath. Your dad comes here to visit about once a month. But I get the impression that, that the two of you don't talk a lot about everything that happened, about the crimes in particular.

JD: No, we don't discuss that because it's been, it's been, uh, gone over so thoroughly in the papers and the media that, uh, there's just really no point in going in depth into any, in depth talks about it. We, we talk about, uh, our family, uh, home how things used to be, uh, what, uh, prison life is here is, like, here now. And, uh, try to keep, uh, things as as light and upbeat as possible.

SP: Is it hard for you to go back and talk about those things?

JD: Uh. No, not not the good things. In fact, it gives me a sense of comfort to talk about, uh, the few good times there were in the past.

SP: You say the few good times. Do you think of your childhood as having been profoundly unhappy?

JD: No. Not profoundly. My childhood wasn't... Wasn't, uh, filled with any any great tragedies or anything. There were good times and there were bad times. I think it was fairly normal.

SP: Jeff, do you remember your your earliest experience and earliest interest fascination with the inside of animals, where that came from?

JD: Uh, in ninth grade, uh, in biology class, we had, uh, the usual dissection of fetal pigs. I took the remains of that home and kept, uh, the skeleton of it. And I just started branching out uh, dogs, cats I suppose it could have turned into a normal hobby, like taxidermy, but it didn't. It veered off into... Into this. Why? I don't know. All I know is that I wanted to... To see what the insides of these animals looked like.

SP: Was there some pleasure in in the cutting open of the animal?

JD: Yes. There was no, no sexual pleasure, but just a it's hard to describe...

SP: A sense of power, a sense of control?

JD: I suppose that's a good way of putting it. Yeah. Yeah.

Father: I can sort of see a fascination for, you know, wanting to see or for looking at the insides of animals, say for the first time... after you did it one time what more is to be gained by looking at another dog's inside, the second or third?

JD: I don't know, I don't know, that's it, it became a compulsion and it switched from animals to humans. I I still don't understand it. I don't know why.

SP: What would you do with the with the dead animals, Jeff? You would pick the carcasses up from the road and take them back into the woods...?

JD: Take them back in the woods, uh, skin them sometimes. Uh, slit them. Slit them all the way open. Uh, look at the organs, feel them. There was a sort of a general excitement for me. I don't know why. It was... It was exciting to see.

SP: One of your dad's biggest questions is when you began to slip away, when you crossed over into this world of obsession or dark fantasy from which you just couldn't return. Can you pinpoint that? Is there a sense for when that really began to happen with you, Jeff?

JD: I think it was around age 14 or 15, started to have having obsessive thoughts of of uh, violence intermingled with sex. And it just got worse and worse. I didn't know how to tell anyone about it, so I didn't. I just kept it all inside.

SP: Do you have any sense for where that was coming from?

JD: No. I've talked with a few psychologists about it, they they have their theories but they don't have any concrete answers either.

SP: Do you have a theory?

JD: No, not really. I don't know where, where it came from. I probably will never know. But I, I never, I never dreamed that it would uh, become a reality.

SP: What was it Jeff that took you over the edge, do you think, and made you take this from the world of fantasy into reality?

JD: From 15 on I had this recurring fantasy of of meeting a hitchhiker on the road and, uh, of taking him hostage and and doing what I wanted with him. About three years later, I was 18 years old, driving home. Uh, I saw this hitchhiker about a mile from my house. Thought to myself should I stop and pick him up or should I just keep on going? I wish I just keep on, kept on going but I didn't. Turned around, picked him up and uh that's when, that's when it, the nightmare became a reality. It just seemed so bizarre to me that this obsession that I had been thinking about and wanting just, uh, all the, all the parts are there, and they make it possible to make it happen.

SP: What happened after you took him to the house?

JD: The house was empty. My mother was up in Chippewa Falls with her family, and my dad was living in a in a rented motel about five miles away due to the divorce. And I I had pretty much had the place to myself. I was drinking a lot during that time and just, uh, I don't know, looking for something to, uh, some way to find some fulfillment, some... some pleasure. And I acted on my fantasies, and that's where everything went wrong.

SP: This was the summer of 1978, when you took your first victim.

JD: Right. Once it happened the first time, it just seemed like it had control of my life from there on end. The second occurrence was 1984, roughly, and I met this guy at one of the, uh, bars downtown Milwaukee bars. We went back to the hotel, just planning on getting drunk. I had put some sleeping pills in his drink to render him unconscious, and, uh, was just going to spend the night with him. When I woke up in the morning, uh, my forearms were bruised and his chest was was bruised and blood was coming out of his mouth. He was hanging over the side of the bed, and I have no memory of beating him to death, but I must have. And that's when it when it all again.

SP: And once it started again, you found it impossible to stop...

JD: Right, that's when the obsession went into full swing.

SP: Did you ever tell yourself, I have to stop this, I must stop doing this?

JD: Yes.

SP: When it was going on?

JD: After, after the second time, it seemed like the compulsion to do it was too strong. And I I didn't even try to stop it after that. But after, before the second time, things had been building up, gradually, going to bookstores, going to, uh, the bars, the gay bars, bath clubs, when that, when that wasn't enough, uh, buying sleeping pills and using it on various guys in the bath clubs, it just escalated slowly but surely. And after the second time, which was, uh, not planned, it was out of control. It felt like it was out of control.

SP: Where did sex enter in to the killings, Jeff?

JD: It was a big part of it. My, um, my only objective was to find the best looking uh, guy that I could. Their sexual preference didn't matter to me.

SP: Did their race matter to you?

JD: No. Their race didn't matter to me. The first... The first two young men were white. The the third young man was American Indian. The fourth and fifth were Hispanic. So no, race had nothing to do with it. It was just their looks.

SP: Was there something sexual in the dismemberment of the bodies for you?

JD: As time went on, uh, yes. I did get, uh, there was a sexual part, part to that. Uh, I started saving the skeletons and preserving other parts, and, uh, one thing led to another. It took, it took more and more, uh, deviant type behaviors to satisfy uh my urges. And so it just spiraled out of control.

SP: Why the cannibalism?

JD: It made me feel like they were a permanent part of me. Besides, besides the just mere curiosity of what it would be like, it made them feel that they were a part of me. And it gave me a sexual, uh, uh, satisfaction to do that.

SP: Was it the killing that excited you, or is it what happened after the killing?

JD: No, the killing was just a means to an end. That that was the least satisfactory part. I didn't enjoy doing that. That's why I tried to, uh, create living zombies with, uh, muriatic acid in the in the drill. Uh, but it never worked. No, the killing wasn't wasn't the objective. I just wanted to have the person under my complete control, not having to to consider their wishes, being able to keep them there as long as I wanted. It's not easy to say that, but that's that's what the motive was.

SP: Where did that need for control come from? Do you have any idea?

JD: I don't know, maybe I felt uh, I had no control as a as a child or a young adult, and, uh, that got mixed in with my sexuality. And I ended up doing... what I did was my way of feeling in, in complete control, at least for that situation. Creating my own little world where I had the final say, uh, finding the best looking guy that I could and having total mastery over him for as long as I wanted. Lust played a big part of it. Controlling lust that, uh, that was the motive, right there.

SP: A lot of this came out in the course of the trial. Obviously, both of you sat through this. Have the two of you sat down and talked about these things before?

JD: No, not in depth.

SP: This is the first time you're talking about these things to your dad here.

JD: I've talked at great length with with, uh, psychiatrist, court appointed psychiatrists, psychologists, but not with my family.

Father: We learned, we learned everything at the trial and in the confessions and that sort of thing after the fact.

SP: The two of you never really communicated all that much, did you, father and son?

JD: Not on not on any deep, deep level. No. We talked about superficial things. Uh, never really had a a real deep heart to heart talk about what was going on inside our own minds. I was I was always a very private person. I didn't like to, uh, open up and share anything with anyone. Uh, I like to keep my thoughts to myself.

SP: Why do you think that was?

JD: Uh, because from about 15 years on up, uh, a great deal of my thoughts were uh, basically unsharable with anyone there. So I just closed myself off and put on a mask of normalcy.

JD: Right.

SP: He called it a father's story. Pretty simple title.

JD: Right.

SP: Not a simple story, though.

JD: No, not a simple story. Not one that was easy for me to read, but, uh, I'm glad he wrote it.

SP: Did it hurt? Was it painful to read?

JD: Yes, it was painful. Some parts of it were, uh for me, were even fun to read. There were there were good parts. It wasn't all negative.

SP: Was it emotional for you reading the book?

JD: Yes it was.

SP: Tell me, what kind of feelings did you have reading it?

JD: Uh, deep regret, um, sorrow... I guess those were the two main emotions.

SP: Is there anything in this book that you strongly disagree with?

JD: Uh, yes. I disagree with the description of me as as being so, uh, incredibly shy and introverted, because maybe that's that's the way my dad saw me because, uh, there was there was so much tension in the home that I really didn't, uh, feel like being up and, uh, happy a lot of the times. Uh, but with my friends in school, I had I had a good time. We had good you know, good social life. And so I wasn't so, so extremely reclusive and, uh, self-centered as a as it portrays me.

SP: Does it surprise you to hear Jeff say that he doesn't think of himself and never did as innately shy?

Father: It did surprise me. Uh, maybe my perception was, uh, accentuated to the extreme.

SP: But you do recall at age six that you became more aware of tensions in the home.

JD: Oh, yeah. That's that's the time I really, really remember, uh, noticing that things weren't quite right.

SP: So it wasn't so much innate shyness as it was wanting to withdraw from tension and arguments and problems in the House.

JD: That's how I saw it. Yeah. I, uh, sort of, uh, lived in my own little fantasy world when things got too heated in the household. And, uh, I carried that over for, for years, I guess.

SP: And was there violence in that fantasy world?

JD: No, no, not not not that, uh, not the type that showed itself later. No, it was just, uh. Just my own little world where I had control.

SP: Was was anger a part of it for you Jeff?

JD: I had some anger. Probably every kid has some anger, you know, about their childhood. Uh, it really wasn't... Wasn't a terrible childhood, though. You know, there were there were a lot of good times. It wasn't, uh, it wasn't a really terrible time.

SP: So, pat theories about you as a serial killer striking out to get back at your dad, for instance.

JD: No, that has no truth in it. The only motive that there ever was was to completely control a person. A person that I found physically attractive and, uh, keep them with me as long as possible, even if it meant just keeping a part of them.

SP: Did you know before you read this book that your dad had his own obsessions and fantasies that he had thought about, that he had dreamed of committing murder, that he had had an obsession with fire and with explosives?

JD: No, that's I don't think that's the type of thing one asks one's dad.

SP: Were you surprised to read that about your dad?

JD: Uh, very surprised, yeah. Uh, I didn't know what to think about it. Uh, I suppose everyone has their their secret thoughts, and. So it was somewhat of a shock.

SP: You feel grateful that your father wrote this book, or do you feel put off by it? I mean, I'm just curious about your overall reaction to it. Do you feel, uh, is the book an invasion, do you think, or is it...

JD: No, I know, I feel, uh, nothing but pride for him, for writing the book and having the courage to, uh, bare his soul when he didn't have to. He he didn't have to get involved with trying to, you know help me out and support me and be an emotional support for me. And I'll be grateful to him forever for it.

SP: Did you ever consider talking to your parents, to your dad, about homosexuality? Is that something you could ever raise?

JD: Early on, I really didn't know that much about it myself. All I knew was that it was something that, uh, was to be kept hush hush. Not, uh, talked about, not even thought about. So I just kept it all within me and never, never talked about sexual issues at all, really, with anybody.

SP: Do you think if you had been able to talk about that in a more open way with your dad, for instance, that it would have helped, might have broken this veil of secrecy and enabled you to keep yourself from going down that road?

JD: I don't know exactly what, if anything, would have ever kept me from going down that road. Talking about it, I don't think would have made that much difference because like I said, there were things going on in my head that I would have never opened up and talked about with anybody.

SP: Your dad says he never realized how deeply troubled you were because he just thought you were shy, the way he had been shy as a boy. Do you think the signs were there and he just missed them?

JD: No, I don't think so. Because, uh, I had thoughts, I had fantasies, but there was there was no outward show of of anything that was wrong.

SP: You were pretty good at keeping it all inside, right?

JD: I kept it inside. Didn't share any of my thoughts or emotions with anybody.

Father: So how would I ever know?

JD: No, you never saw any of it. As far as I know.

Father: I did not really hear from anyone about any of these activities. And that's what really strikes me now is if I would if I would have known, what would I have done about it? I think I would have done a lot about it.

JD: I feel it's, uh, wrong for people who commit crimes to try to shift the blame onto somebody else, onto their parents, or onto their, their upbringing or, or living circumstances. I, I think that's just a cop out. And, uh, my parents, my relatives had no knowledge of what I was doing. They're absolutely not responsible for any of it in any way. And, uh, I take full responsibility.

SP: But you understand, but you understand that what you did would lead your father to ask himself all kinds of questions.

JD: That's true.

SP: Where did I go wrong? Was there something I could have said or done to have prevented this?

SP: Did I in some way create or contribute to the terrible acts my son committed?

JD: I understand that I just get angry with other people who who think that they have a right to, uh, to somehow try to blame my parents for what happened. That's not right at all. No one has the right to do that because they're totally innocent. They had no knowledge of it, and that angers me.

Father: But parents just naturally... I mean, any parent that really cares, they just first of all say, gee, I feel guilty. You know, I there's just feelings of guilt. What happened? What did I do? What could I have done? And so that's a normal parental reaction.

SP: Your dad has wondered about all kinds of things, from the medication that your mom was on during her pregnancy, to the fact that you were exposed to violent arguments in the home from an early age, and continuing, to the possibility that he might have passed on some genetic propensity for obsession or violent behavior. Does any of that ring true to you?

JD: I can see why he'd wonder about those things, but as far as I'm concerned, they're all excuses. Because I didn't feel accountable to anybody. I didn't feel that I had to face what I had done ever. And so you have there comes a point where a person has to be accountable for what he's done. Can't go, can't go around making excuses, uh, blaming other people or other things. So I alone am the one who's responsible for what's happened.

Father: Let me ask when did you first feel that that everyone is accountable for their actions?

JD: Well, thanks to you for sending, uh, that, uh, creation science, uh, material because I always, I always believe the uh, the lie that, uh, evolution is truth. The theory of evolution is truth that we all just came from, uh, the slime. And when we when we died, you know, that was it. There was nothing. So the whole theory cheapens life. And I started reading books about how that show, how evolution is, is just a complete lie. There's no there's no basis in science to uphold it. And I've come to since, come to believe that, uh, that the Lord Jesus Christ is the true creator of the heavens and the earth. It just didn't just happen... And I've accepted him as my Lord and Savior. And I believe that I as well as everyone else, will be accountable to him.

SP: Growing up, did you feel that you were accountable to your dad or to your mom as the authority-figures in the house?

JD: Yes yes I did. I mean, they didn't let me run wild. They were, they disciplined me. And uh, so I felt accountable to them. But afterwards, after I left the home, that's that's when I started wanting to sort of create my own little world where I could be the one who had the complete control, or I didn't have to, uh, bow to anyone else's demands. And I just took it way too far.

Father: At that period of time, I had drifted away from a belief in a supreme being and I never, as a result, passed along the feeling that we are all accountable. In the end, he owns us. And that basic concept is very fundamental to all of us.

SP: You feel that the absence, at least for a while of a strong religious faith and belief...

Father: for some years

SP:... may have prevented you from instilling some of that in Jeff?

Father: That's right.

SP: Is that how you feel?

JD: Yes. I think it had a big a big part to deal, to do with it. I mean, uh, if you don't if a person doesn't think that there is a God to be accountable to, then then what's, what's the point of trying to modify your behavior to keep it within acceptable ranges? That's how I thought, anyway. And uh I've since come to believe that, uh, the Lord Jesus Christ is truly God, the Father, the son, and the Holy Spirit. They're the only true God.

SP: What do you remember about your parents arguing when you were growing up, and what effect that had on you?

JD: It was it was unnerving. Depressing, uh, made me angry sometimes. Uh, I'd leave the house, go out in the woods and sulk, brooding, you know, wondering why they had to, uh, have such a rough relationship. Uh, most of the time, they didn't seem to get along too well together. I never knew what the real, real underlying problems were. I didn't I didn't feel it was my place to ask.

SP: Did you blame one or the other, mom or dad?

JD: No, no I didn't. I was just frustrated that things couldn't be happier around the house.

SP: You just wanted things to be more peaceful, right?

JD: Right. I never saw any any real violent arguments as far as physical, uh, hitting or anything like that, but there was a lot of yelling, a lot of tension in the house sometimes.

SP: Well, one of the one of the chilling stories that your dad tells is about the box he had found. Can you give me your your perspective on that?

JD: Well, I had a box in my, uh, bedroom closet and, uh, it it, uh, contained the mummified head and and, uh, genitals of, uh, a young man I met in one of the bars down in Milwaukee. And it was a locked metal box. Uh, my dad, uh, one week came to visit and happened to see it. And, uh, we got into a bit of an argument because I wouldn't open it up. He, uh took the locked box down to the basement and was about to smash it open.

SP: What were you thinking as he was making his way downstairs to open the box?

JD: Well, I was outside and I was thinking, I've got to stop this from happening. Uh uh, I didn't know what I'd do or say. I didn't know what would happen. I thought, you know, it's all going to come crashing down now. And, uh, but the

box was never opened. Uh, not in my dad's presence. And so the, uh, the lies continued. The whole scenario just continued for years after that.

SP: Were there times when your dad may have been closer to discovering what was going on than even he knew? Times where you got worried that maybe he would find something out?

JD: the box incident was about as close as it came.

You know... that was just one incident. There were, there were others, but that was a particularly nerve wracking one.

SP: Are there others you can you can share? other close calls?^[177]^[178]^[179]^[180]JD: when, uh, when acidified, dissolved human remains were found... They weren't they didn't look like human remains anymore, but they were in the the trash bin outside in the garage. Uh, that was one incident. And I, a few others I'd rather not go into right now.

SP: Were you relieved to be arrested?

JD: Part of me. Part of me was. And part of me wasn't.

SP: Explain.

JD: Uh, part... I don't know, it's it's like, uh, I don't believe I have a split personality, but you know, the feeling where you're you're sort of glad about something. But on the other hand, you're not. That's that's how it was. I was it was a relief not to have to, uh, keep such a gigantic secret that I had kept for so many years. And once I saw that, I had no choice but to face it, I decided to face it head on and, uh, make a full confession. So I am glad that the secrets are gone.

SP: Your father told me that one of the reasons he wrote this book was in order to put down on paper what he has been unable to say to you in words, kind of reaching out to you. What do you want to say to him, having read this?

JD: I tell you, dad, I'm really sorry that this has happened and I love you a lot.

Father: I love you, too.

JD: I'm sorry.

Father: Don't be sorry.

JD: We, uh. We haven't always shown it a lot, but I do love him, a great deal.

Father: I love you.

JD: And, uh, without the without the support of my folks, uh, I don't think I would have come through this. We've opened up with each other a lot more now since. Since the trial and everything. There's no secrets to be, to be hidden away. You know, I don't feel that I have to keep any secrets from him. Uh, we've come to face what's real now. Instead of just glossing things over and talking about superficial things. So there's, there's a lot... There's a lot more communication between us.

Father: This book may serve as as a further bridge between Jeff and and myself. And just for that purpose, I regard it as valuable for me.

SP: You feel closer to your dad having read this?

JD: I feel that I feel closer in that, uh, I understand more how he was thinking, what his thoughts were, um, what what some of his motivations were. I'm glad he wrote it.

SP: Anything not in the book you want to say to him?

Father: I can't think too clearly right now. I'm feeling pretty emotional. Well, I think that a lot of things have been brought out in this interview that has brought us to a little bit deeper, just a little bit closer understanding as to how this all originated. And, uh, well, whenever I get emotional, my analytical side is, gets clouded and I can't express myself quite as much as well as I would like.

SP: Can you talk about the feelings you have? Are you feeling closed?

Father: I feel very close to Jeff and it's going to continue until our death. And I feel good about it.

SP: Do you think you'll ever have the answers you've been looking for about why, what happened and what role, if any, you played?

Father: Maybe not with... my primary, uh, question is the origins of it. And if something can be learned about that, it may help other people avert problems.

SP: Is it still there, Jeff? Does it ever go away in part?

JD: No it never... It never completely goes away. I'll probably have to live with it for the rest of my life. I wish it would go away. I wish I, there was some way to completely get rid of of the the compulsive thoughts, the feelings. Uh, it's not nearly so bad now that there, there's no avenues to to actually act on it. But no, it never seems to go completely away.

SP: So the thoughts still come to you...

JD: Sometimes. Yeah.

SP: Are you different, Jeff, in terms of how you think back on all of this?

JD: I would hope I'm different. Uh. I'm glad that I'm glad that I'm in a position now where I don't feel the compulsion to do these things. I'm glad that it's over. Any words I say to the to the victims families are just going to seem trite and empty. Uh, I don't know how to express the regret, the sorrow. Uh... That I feel for what I've done for their... For their sons. Uh, I can't find the right words.

After the interview at the prison, Dahmer casually showed us something a little unsettling. Just a point of interest that that's the type of box is that this is the type of box he wanted us to know. That box looked strikingly like the one his father had found the one Jeffrey had used to hide body parts. Thank you Jeff.

Transcript of Jeffrey Dahmer's interview with Robert Ressler

The interview is based on an audio file sourced from the YouTube video available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e4MuPMPb6YI>.

JD: I was visiting a friend's house, walking back, back home in the evening and these, I saw these three seniors from high school approaching me in the darkness. And I just had a feeling that something was gonna happen, and sure enough one of them took out a Billy club and wanked me on the back of the neck.

Ressler: Did you have problems with daydreaming or even concentrating in school?

JD: Well in Junior year that's when I started drinking so that was a problem.

Ressler: Where you ever called on account for that?

JD: A couple of times.

Ressler: Yeah and did you have problems as a result of that?

JD: I was punished for it yeah.

Ressler: were you pretty upset by that break up?

JD: I knew it was inevitable.

Ressler: Yeah.

JD: It was pretty obvious that it was beyond rescuing. Yeah I was upset, depressed, but there was nothing I could do.

Ressler: Yeah for sure.

Do you think that note throwing thing was kind of a catalyst kind of triple...

JD: Yeah. It seemed that way to me yeah.

Because that's when everything started falling apart again.

Ressler: What did that mean to you?

JD: It just was, just sitting there sort of throwing out a challenge to whoever, and sure enough it started falling apart.

Ressler: You didn't follow the guy, you didn't meet up with him?

JD: I didn't.

Ressler: After the ambassador one, was that, did you find that pleasurable, or was that... equally frightening?

JD: No. It was equally frightening.

Ressler: For what reason was that one frightening?^{SEP}

JD: Because it was totally unplanned, it was a total surprise to me that it had happened.

Ressler: That it happened, yeah.

What was the idea?

JD: It was just a way to exhibit control, the way I wanted it to look, and to accentuate the physique.

Ressler: Keppeing these photographs then was important to you as well?

JD: I'd use them for masturbation.

Ressler: Yeah, and you had a lot of them.

JD: Yeah.

JD: During dismemberment I saved the heart, also meat from the thigh, arm...

Ressler: Bicep?

JD: Bicep, yeah, liver. Cut it into small pieces, washed them off, put it in these plastic, clear plastic freezer bags. And put them in the floor freezer. Just as an escalation trying something new to satisfy... and I would cook it, and then look at the picture and masturbate afterwards.

Ressler: Afterwards?

JD: Uh-uh.

Ressler: Did that have any positive effect to that ritual?

JD: It...

Ressler: Satisfying?

JD: It made it feel like they where part of me. I wasn't getting the satisfaction from having to kill people. Uh, so I took it to a new level. I uh had a hand drill that I used for home things like installing the security system.

It drills a small bore hole in the skull very quickly. And uh with a large syringe I filled that up with acid, injected it into the...

Ressler: Filled it?

Dahmer: Yeah, injected it into the frontal lobes of the victim to produce a zombie like state.

JD: I saw him sitting on the sidewalk. Two girls were with him, they had called the police. I had to think of a story quickly, told them he was a friend, he was drunk. He was not wanting to go back so one officer grabbed him by this arm, the other officer grabbed him by the other arm and they walked him up to the apartment and they left. And that's when I gave him the second injection.

Ressler: Right away?

JD: Uh-uh.

Ressler: How long did it take him to die?

JD: That was fatal, immediately.

Ressler: Immediately.

Ressler: How did that go?

JD: I'd either blame it on the freezer or the fish tank.

Ressler: He really said he almost passed out, what was in that?

JD: Uh, three headless torsos stripped of flesh.

Ressler: What do you account to the fact that you're getting into this so often?

JD: The fact that I was desperately trying to make it something satisfying but they never did completely.

Ressler: Had you met somebody who consensually would set up a living arrangement with you... would you have abandoned then, the uh, the procedure that you stayed with?

JD: The person would have had to be totally compliant willing to do whatever I want.

And there just aren't many people like that.

Ressler: That's true.

Transcript of Conversations with a killer: The Jeffrey Dahmer Tapes

The text is based on multiple audio interviews available in the Netflix documentary.

JD: People go to these gory horror movies to... to get a glimpse of what they show in the movies. The only difference is I did it for real.

Wendy: So at what point in time did you totally give in to these feelings altogether and not try and change anything?

JD: After the Ambassador. That really got things in full swing. I always kept my feelings completely to myself. And uh, so this is a sort of learning experience for me.

Wendy: It feels like you've been open with me.

JD: Uh-uh. It gets easier as you practice.

Wendy: Can you answer for me what was it that caused you to wanna kill them?

JD: The underlying force, I think, was obviously a warped sexual drive. Just a constant feeling of emptiness, and not being able to find anything in life that really gave me a sense of hap...happiness, peace or fulfillment. I was always searching for something more. One night I went out, and I met this... I guess he's Indian. And he was standing there. Said he was waiting for the bus.

Wendy: Do you remember what his name was?

JD: No, I don't.

Wendy: Where was Grandma?

JD: She was upstairs, sound asleep. And I asked him "How late can you stay?" and he said "Not later than early morning". And it was already approaching early morning.

Wendy: Ok. What was going through your mind?

JD: I just... wanted to keep him. I guess that's the best way to describe it. My thoughts obviously weren't uh... the thoughts of a sane person at the time. Uh, I would've rather he'd stayed alive, but strangling seemed to be the way to keep him.

This whole situation has forced me at how I've lived my life.

Wendy: You never saw that at the time?

JD: I may have seen it. I chose to ignore it, bury it, submerge it under the compulsion that was driving me.

On his interest for organs

JD: It was a morbid interest, obviously.

Wendy: All right. And what did you start with?

JD: Uh, just, roadkill, dogs, possums.

In 9th grade I dissected a baby pig. After we were done with dissection, took the pig's head home and took the flesh off and kept the skull for a while. Why, I don't know.

JD: I'm not even sure whether or not I was capable of a real sense of love even back then. I ain't sure if I am now.

Wendy: You don't know how to love. Is that what you're saying?

JD: I'm not sure I do, no. A person who can love, I don't think would do these things.

JD: Saw this uh Eurasian guy walking down the street in the afternoon. Asked him if he wanted to make some money, 50 dollars. He said "Yes". "For pictures". We went back. He stripped down to his underwear. I took two pictures of him, one on the bed and one standing up I think. And I was drinking some coffee with Irish Cream Mist in it. And I gave him some, and it had sleeping pills in it. And uh he drank some. The whole time he stayed there maybe an hour at the most. Said he had to be going. I paid him the 50 dollars. And he left.

Wendy: Why did you let him go?

JD: Because I had no knife. I had no intention of... of injuring him. I just wanted to stay with him and and uh lay with him for a while.

Wendy: Still living at Grandma's?

JD: Right.

Wendy: Ok.

JD: Two months before I was to go into the work release center it was closing time at La Cage.

Wendy: Was it one of your regular bars?

JD: Yeah. And struck up a conversation with this, uh, Black guy.

Wendy: What was his name?

JD: I think his name was Tony. I think. That's what he told me his name was anyway. Tony.

He had a friend, a white man, with him. And his friend had a car. And then during the car ride, he's very affectionate, apparently very drunk. And we drove to 57th and Lincoln.

Wendy: When you did go out that night though, and you met this guy, and you decided he seemed a nice guy... what came into your mind that you wanted to ask him back? Did you become fearful in any way that it was gonna happen again?

JD: Uh, no. I... I thought that it would just be a regular night. I brought him back. My judgment isn't always so good when I'm drinking, especially when I drink a lot. And we went up to the bedroom and laid around. He was making some comments about it getting to be early, and he'd have to leave. I went down and made a cup of coffee with the pills. He fell asleep and that's when I strangled him.

Wendy: Did it ever get into your mind at that time that in fact you had lost him rather than keeping him?

JD: Uh-uh, I suppose that that realization did hit me, yeah, but...

Wendy: When?

JD: After they were dead.

Wendy: How did that feel?

JD: Unfulfilling. It felt like a waste.

He had a nice-looking face so I, with the head, I cut that off, put it in a large, white barrel, filled it up with acetone, and that preserved the head.

Wendy: Why did you do that this time?

JD: Well, just branching out into different variations.

Wendy: You kept the genitals and you kept the head?

JD: Uh-uh.

Wendy: Did you still feel as though you had your companion?

JD: This all is so bizarre sounding now to me.

Wendy: Do you think you loved Tony?

JD: Yeah I could say that if I knew how to love, I would have loved him. It was just a matter of trying to preserve what I had left of him.

Wendy: What were you hoping for?

JD: Uh, I hoped he would just dry out and stay looking like he did in life, but it didn't work out that way. By that time it was fairly obvious that it didn't look like Tony anymore. It was just all shriveled up.

Wendy: Ok. But did it still excite you?

JD: No, not as much. The excitement was wearing off.

JD: After I got out of the work release center I moved out of Grandma's and into this apartment. While I was looking for an apartment that looked halfway decent, I saw the Oxford Apartments and uh walked in. They had a "for rent" sign in front and I moved in in May of '90, I guess. Had the movers bring my TV and uh, and a big chest that I had with all my possessions in it.

Wendy: Things you had at grandma's house?

JD: Uh-uh. In my mind, I had my own place, someplace nice and private where I could just take someone back, drug them and then strangle them.

Wendy: Is this the first person you took pictures of?

JD: Yeah, yeah. The nickname was "Cash D", I think. I don't know his real name.

Wendy: What did you use to take the pictures? You had a camera?

JD: It was a Polaroid. A Polaroid camera.

Wendy: How long did this last?

JD: About an hour.

Wendy: Of just taking photographs?

JD: uh-uh.

It just felt like a waste to me to destroy someone that looked so nice. But by that time I had no choice. He was dead and I had to find some way to dispose of the remains.

A day or two later I went out and bought this large, 80 gallon kettle from one of the restaurant's supply.

Wendy: That's why you got a huge barrel, so you could put the acid in from the bones?

JD: Yeah that was a trash barrel. It's...

Wendy: So you put the bones in there and it would just...

JD: Turn into a slush that then could be scooped out into the toilet and flushed down.

Wendy: What did you do with the skull?

JD: Kept that.

Wendy: Where'd you keep it?

JD: In the closet area.

JD: With the deaf-mute guy, I wanted to keep him with me, so I gave him the drink with the pills in it. He fell asleep and I wanted to see if I could uh think of a way to keep him with me without actually you know killing him.

And so uh, I had a drill at home. And I uh, it's gonna sound bad but uh...should I say it or not? I took the drill while he was asleep and drilled a small hole in his skull to see if I could uh make it so that he would uh just sorta be like uh in a zombie state.

Dr. Smail: Jeff where did you get that idea?

JD: Uh, it came from my own thoughts. Uh, just in my own thinking that I thought maybe it would work, because I didn't wanna keep killing people and not have anything left except the skull.

JD: I went out and bought a five-foot square freezer.

Wendy: Ok. What made you think that you wanted to do this?

JD: Because I was preparing for more.

JD: There were a few where I tried the drilling technique. And I did the drilling with him too.

Dr. Smail: You did?

Dr. Smail: At what point?

JD: Uh...

Dr. Smail: Before the officers came or after?

JD: Yeah, before the officers came.

Dr. Smail: How far you think you penetrated with the drill?

JD: Uh, all the way to the brain.

Dr. Smail: Two or three inches?

JD: Yeah.

Dr. Smail: And you went straight down?

JD: Right. Uh-uh.

Wendy: Nothing came out?

Dr. Smail: No fluid of any kind?

JD: No fluid that I could see.

And no bleeding either. He was groggy and everything. He wasn't dead or anything and he talked. I thought maybe I'd be able to keep him that way.

Wendy: What you put in?

JD: Konerak, I filled a syringe with muriatic acid.

I used the acid again in a lesser dosage but it was still too much the second time after I injected the second amount in.

JD: The Eurasians, it's just amazing that they were brothers. It's just incredible. I can't believe it.

Wendy: Are you saying it's his brother?

Wendy: You know what his name was?

JD: No, sure don't.

JD: An hour before I had to go to work I was trying to decide whether to strangle him then, or keep him alive during the night. And I chose the latter and missed work. And was fired that Sunday. And that was the domino. The first domino that started the whole chain reaction falling. When I was dismembering him in the tub I didn't finish the job in one night. I was in too much of a rush to get it done.

Wendy: Did it excite you?

JD: Yeah it did. Yeah, just to see the inside.

I almost got in trouble because that smell apparently alerted neighbors.

Wendy: Did they ever come and inquire?

JD: Yeah they did.

Wendy: What happened?

JD: I told them the freezer went on the blink.

Wendy: Did you select what you decided to keep? How did you select that?

JD: Just the meatiest-looking parts. The parts with the least amount of fat.

Wendy: So the biceps, thighs, calves?

JD: Right. Uh-uh.

Wendy: So you took out the heart and the liver and you preserved that and his thigh. What did you do with the rest of it then?

JD: I kept about 50 pounds. The rest went in the trash.

Wendy: How many pounds would you estimate you've eaten?

JD: Total about ten.

Wendy: If anybody in the fridge it looked it looked like you just stocked up.

JD: So it looked just like supermarket meat. It froze it for a while. Maybe a month. Or not that long. A couple weeks.

JD: I have this pedestal. This black pedistal. And I had a uh, black round top on top of it, and I had the skulls set up on top of that, around it. It was just, uh, a remembrance of uh, the people. A keepsake of each one of them. It was my own yeah private little world, yeah. I had complete control. That's about the ultimate control you can have.

Wendy: Did you feel by keeping the skulls and if you would've actually accomplished this shrine that you would've felt less lonely like you were being kept company, that they were there?

JD: I think that must have yeah been uh my thinking.

JD: I don't know what prison systems are like. I have a picture of a very dreary, gray place. I was thinking maybe that in prison they'll maybe let me do something with growing some kind of plant. Uh I've always had an interest in growing plants. I had plants at the apartment.

I tell you Wendy I don't think I'm gonna be able to keep a level head. I really don't. Because I've always been one who needs stimulation, mental stimulation. Uh, and I just don't have the patience that I should.

Q: Did it enter your mind that it seemed a waste to destroy somebody who looked so nice while they were still alive?

JD: Yeah it did. I felt that it was a waste that I couldn't keep them longer without having to kill them, but I didn't know any other way to make them stay and to control them. I had no choice in the matter.

Q: Did you feel emotions of any kind?

JD: I felt a lot of, a great deal of remorse.

Wendy: Am I making you feel uncomfortable?

JD: No, it has to be faced, so... It's just so bizarre, isn't it?

It's not... Not easy to talk about it. It's something that I've kept buried within myself for many years, and it's... yeah. It's like trying to pull up a two-ton stone out of a well.

Wendy: Tell me what were you thinking.

JD: I had wondered why I was compelled to do all the murders. What I was searching for that would uh fill the emptiness that I felt. The murdering someone and... and disposing of them right away gives no great lasting pleasure or a feeling of fulfillment. And yet I still felt the compulsion to do it throughout these years.

JD: I didn't seem to have the normal feelings of empathy.

Wendy: Do you ever think to yourself why don't I have feelings that normal people have?

JD: I did wonder about it. It started with fantasies, fantasizing. It always started with fantasizing and then eventually it seemed the fantasies uh came to be.

What triggered it all? I wish I could give you a good straightforward answer on that. If there's any area that is uh to really blame, it's my own twisted thinking. I haven't been thinking normally for years.

About his parents

JD: Ugh. They just couldn't seem to get along, especially on my mom's side.

Q: Any violence?

JD: Just the slapping and hitting.

Q: Who was hitting who?

JD: Uh mom hitting dad.

Q: Whose side were you on?

JD: I was trying not to be on anyone's side.

On him being gay

JD: Uh, since I was 13 I'd say.

Q: What did you do?

JD: Just kissing. Laying together, in the tree house. I was about 14 or 15. And that was consensual.

JD: Uh... yeah. Probably around when I was 18.

Q: When did your parents separate?

JD: When I was 18. In 1978.

Mom and dad, they had their problems. There was nothing I could do to change the situation, so I just tried to find some happiness in my own way, which was obviously the wrong way.

Q: The day she left to Chippewa Falls you never talked to her again?

JD: Right.

Q: How did it make you feel at that time?

JD: Uh, depressed, lonely and bored. Confused I would say. No one was at home. I saw this guy hitchhiking. I thought it'd be nice to have someone around to talk with, and someone that I wanted to be with for sex.

JD: That's what attracted me. The physique. Just the muscular physique. That's, that's the motivation.

Q: You hadn't done anything with him had you?

JD: No. I just got the sense he wasn't interested in that at all after talking with him. So I don't believe I asked him, no.

It was the first time uh I did have the desire to control. I lost all feelings, so I guess I just decided to do it, whether he was uh gay or not, it didn't really matter.

JD: I don't know why I hit him except I wanted to stay with him for longer. I thought how amazing it was that I was actually doing it to another human being, it shocked me that I got to that point. And that was a feeling of- --

INTERRUPTED

Transcript of Jeffrey Dahmer's interview at Florida Police Department

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Q: As I told you earlier Jeffrey my main purposes of coming up here was to speak to you about your activities after you were discharged from the service and upon your arrival into South Florida. Basically what I would like to cover, when did you first arrive in South Florida and how did you get there?

JD: Ok, I was discharged six months early from the, the service for uh, drinking too much. Uh, I didn't want to be discharged early but they, they did. So when I arrived in I think it was South Carolina, from Germany they... they processed me out and told me that they'd give me a plane ticket to anywhere in the United States that I wanted to go. And I didn't want to... I didn't want to go home right away because I didn't feel comfortable explaining to my folks why I was out six months early. So I decided that Miami, Florida would be a nice warm place to go. They flew me down there; I stayed, I arrived I think at the end of the... the very end of March I think.

Q: March of what year?

JD: Of uh, eighty... eighty one I think, I'm not real sure.

Q: And you flew into where, Miami or Ft. Lauderdale?

JD: Miami. Got a hotel for a week right on the coast, right in view of the ocean.

Q: Do you remember the name of it?

JD: Along Collins Avenue. No I don't remember the name of that hotel.

Q: It was on collins avenue in Miami Beach?

JD: On Collins Avenue in Miami Beach. Stayed there for a week ended up running out of money, didn't think very well ahead, didn't plan ahead very well. And so for about a month or two months I had to live most of the days sleep on the... sleep under the literally under the mangroves on the beach and take a shower once or twice a week in a hotel room. I finally got a job after about two months there in sunshine subs...

Q: You didn't keep anything from your army days?

JD: No boots, nothing.

Q: What was your bank account at?

JD: The highest it was out was about uh... a little over a thousand.

Q: Ok, a thousand. And what bank do you remember?

JD: The bank that was right next to the sub shop and I don't know the name of that anymore, but I was working uh, everyday, almost every day, once in a while I'd get one day off on the weekend. I'd be working ten, twelve, shift... uh, days from morning to night and uh, didn't leave any time frame recreation at all.

Q: Do you remember your supervisor's name?

JD: Yeah he was uh... let's see... Ken, Ken Rouleb I think his name was.

Q: What was his last name?

JD: Houleb I think, H.O.U.L.E.B. Ken Houleb.

Q: About how old was him?

JD: Uh he was about 65 when I was down there.

Q: W/N?

JD: Yeah. Family owned business.

Q: Do you remember any of your co-workers that you worked with?

JD: Yeah there was this one lady about a few years older than me; came from England and she was working there even before I was. And uh we got along pretty well, had a little friendship, talked, and she was always worried about being discovered, it being discovered that she didn't have a green card though. So she was always worrying about that.

Q: Do you remember her name?

JD: Her name I don't remember no.

Q: How old was she?

JD: Probably around 28, I know she said she was from England, she had an English accent.

Q: Your only means of transportation at the time was just public?

JD: Bus, that's it.

Q: Public transportation.

JD: And uh like I said I was working ten, twelve hours a day most of the time so I didn't have much recreation time. And uh let's see what else? the only time I really went to any malls was the Omnimall That's in downtown Miami.

Q: Right.

JD: I went there once. And looked around. One thing that struck me about that mall was that most of the jewelry stores here in Winsconsin you know, the highest priced jewelry you'll see on display is maybe 5000 or something like that. Down there I remember seeing 250,000 dollar uh, ruby broach right on display right in the mall.

Q: Is that impressive?

JD: Yeah you don't see things like that up here. But I just walked around. Other than that, that was about all I did. When taking the bus.

Q: Other than it being a warm climate and everything, was that the specific reason you chose to go down to Florida?

JD: That was the only reason.

Q: You had never been there before?

JD: Never been there before, no.

Q: Do you have any friends or family staying down there?

JD: Nobody.

Q: What about in your free time, what did you do in your free time down there?

JD: Walk along the beach along Collins Avenue. Uh, drink, too much, I used to drink in excessive after work because when I didn't have the uh, my apartment... I I would hate going back to the beach to sleep on the beach and so I'd stay up drinking till maybe 3 in the morning and this one time I got mugged. The guy took a hundred from me.

Q: Did you report it to the police?

JD: No. Another time I remember going back to the beach and there was, going back to the place where I had you know my sleeping area set up and there were some other guys there and they, I almost got knifed cause they didn't know who I was. They thought I was trying to rob them or something. Another time I tripped over an opossum in the middle of the night. Scared the hell out of me.

Q: Lucky you didn't get bit.

JD: Yeah.

Q: On your free time did you socialize with anybody? Go to any clubs?

JD: Just that lady.

Q: Just that lady, the English Lady?

JD: Uh-uh.

Q: What about clubs?

JD: I went, I went into some of the bars, the local bars around there.

Q: On the Miami Beach area?

Q: Did there ever come a time that you moved from the Bimini Room, the Bimini apartment? to someplace further north?

JD: Uh-uh. To Ohio. That was in September.

Q: Oh ok so let's back up then. While you're still in Florida, did you ever move into the North Miami Beach area?

JD: The only place I ever had any residence was Bimini Bay. That was the only place where I was at.

Q: How do you spell that? I think it's B.I.M.I.N.I.

JD: It was about 400 a month.

Q: Did you ever travel within the state of Florida?

JD: Went to the Forth Lauderdale once with that girl's boyfriend, he came all the way over from Europe trying to re-establish a relationship with her.

Q: Do you remember his name?

JD: I don't remember his name no. They didn't get along too well.

Q: Is he English also?

JD: Uh-uh. And uh he had a car. One time we all packed into the car and went up to Fort Lauderdale and had a couple drinks at some of the bars there and uh, went back home but that was it.

Q: What kind of car did he operate?

JD: I don't know some old four door like a dodge, some old underscript I wouldn't even remember I'm just guessing.

Q: Right. What about while you were down there did you ever have to seek medical attention? did you ever get hurt or sick enough that you needed medical attention in a hospital?

JD: Well the closest I came to doing that was the first week I was there, I drank a whole bottle of that grasshopper uh liquor, you know liquor and I got sick as a dog on that and I called the hotel doctor.

Q: Did he come to help...

JD: Yeah he came he came.

JD: No I don't.

Q: What about medication, did you have to, any prescribed medication?

JD: No.

Q: Did you ever take up residency with another person that may have had an apartment or home?

JD: Never.

Q: You pretty much kept to yourself?

JD: Uh-uh. Too busy working.

Q: And you say at that time you also were having a problem with alcohol?

Q: That's stems from...

JD: All the excess yeah.

Q: Was that every day?

JD: Not every day cause I'd have to work but on the weekends and it got worse towards the end because I ended up drinking on my bank account. And that's why I moved back to...

Q: Would you have to drink more and more to get the same high?

JD: I I can hold an awful lot of liquor, it takes an awful lot to get me passed drunk so yeah I have a big tolerance for alcohol.

Q: Tolerance yeah, see I don't, you know, I'm a cheap date. When you're consuming large amounts of alcohol do you recall what you do? do you have control of your faculties?

JD: 99% of the time I do. The one time that I was robbed I don't remember walking back to the place where you know, lying on the front of the store missing my wallet. That time I don't remember.

Q: What was your hair length at that time when you got discharged from the service when you lived in Florida?

JD: Like this.

Q: About the way it is now?

JD: Uh-uh. Never had it any longer than this.

Q: Sometime last year on two separate occasions I had two independent witnesses that came forward and came forward and came up to Hollywood police department to meet with me. And uh one...

JD: I remember lying in a hotel room that was one of the times I had a hotel room and I remember seeing on the news that you know missing boy Adam Walsh and that was the same time the president was shot around that time too so I remember both those stories.

Q: That's right, Reagan was shot in march of 81.

JD: Yeah, right, yep.

Q: So this one gentleman came down to Florida from out of state, you know, he lived in Hollywood and the other gentleman still lives there. And I guess they were following your case from the point of July oh uh, 91, last year of 91.

Q: Until the present. And the one gentleman said that he had an encounter there with you. Did you ever go up to the Hollywood mall?

JD: The only mall I went to was the Omni Mall that one time.

Q: The Omni.

JD: Never went, wouldn't even know where to find the Hollywood Mall.

Q: I asked this gentleman I said "what was the encounter that you are speaking about?" and he said "well i was uh at this store inside the mall", and uh the person that he believed to be you.

JD: uh uh.

Q: Came up to him and tried to pick him up, had conversation, asked him isn't it a beautiful day outside and started following this gentleman he got a little leary and he continued to walk through the mall and you followed him and eventually he lost you somewhere inside the sears mall.

Q: That's my purpose for being here. You at no time were never in sears or even in Hollywood Florida?

JD: Absolutely not and I wasn't I wasn't... I didn't have the, a place to go back with anyone where I felt comfortable with anyway, I remember sitting after work one night right on the Collins Avenue and there was this guy from Canada and uh he tried to pick me up which is a switch and I didn't I didn't want anything to do with him cause my place was a mess and I just didn't feel like going back. So no I wasn't into picking up people or starting relationships with anyone then.

Q: Then this gentleman that came in from out of state had no spoke to us. He also after seeing accounts of you and the news and also in the newspaper he brought down this newspaper from Alabama with him. and he said that he

remembered that he parked his vehicle in the parking lot and he was approaching the store, he saw some child apparently having problem with a male.

JD: Uh uh.

Q: He described the male, you know, similar to you and the one...

JD: Coincident.

Q: Excuse me?

JD: What a coincidence, huh?

Q: And uh the thing that stuck out in his mind is that here it was the middle of July and this gentleman was wearing an army fatigue jacket.

JD: What year was this supposed to be?

Q: 81 when you were down there.

JD: Oh 81 down in Alabama, the only time I was in Alabama.

Q: No, not Alabama, Hollywood Florida. He came down from Alabama to tell me about this incident while he was living in Hollywood Florida.

JD: Oh I see alright.

Q: And he said that the boy was saying "I don't want to go, I don't want to go" and this man was struggling with him and eventually threw him into a vehicle. And the vehicle took off. I said "did you see this gentleman's face and everything?" and he said "I saw his profile" because he saw you from an angle. I said well "who do you believe it to be" and he said "I saw this article on the news and I saw the newspaper and I got a flashback and I believe it to be Jeffrey

JD: Uh uh.

Q: I said "well we'll have to follow this up".

JD: Right.

Q: That was purpose for coming here. And uh now we want to know if you had anything to do with the abduction of Adam Walsh?

JD: I didn't. You heard all the false leads about I supposedly had done something to some women in Germany, that was proven to be just bunk.

Q: No I didn't hear that.

JD: Talk to *hidden* he knows all about that stuff.

Q: Right I spoke to him.

JD: And people said they seen me in Arizona and in California... never been there. And uh, but the, I can't prove that I didn't do anything to them but the biggest, the biggest thing I can, I can say is why would I have admitted to half of them that they would of known nothing about and then leave him out?

Q: That's what *hidden* was explaining.

JD: I told *hidden* that I wanted to clear my conscious of everyone. So uh it wouldn't make, it wouldn't make any sense to be trying to hide that.

Q: You know as an individual even me, I would be embarrassed of something that I've done in life, you know, I might divulge certain things but there are some things that I would keep secret you know maybe take to my grave with me.

JD: Well I don't want to do that. So that's why I spilled everything when I was, I was hopeless to hide anything anymore.

JD: So uh...

Q: And like I said that's why we're up here and you know I had to ask you right out if you had anything to do with the kidnapping and the murder of Adam Walsh.

JD: Nothing, nothing.

Q: One of the things that did impress me last week when we were talking was your openness and honesty about this, you remember we've talked about this and then I'd ask you and I shared this with *hidden* if you would have done that, would you tell us and you said absolutely, and then I said "why" and you had a good reason, it's like you said...

JD: No secret. There's no point in trying to hide it anymore you know.

Q: The devil's advocate I mean, white shirts, those people that we always have to answer to they said "well he's afraid of the death penalty florida has the death penalty.

JD: I would welcome the death penalty.

Q: I know we talked a little bit about that last week.

JD: In fact I, if uh... if that would get me the death penalty I'd, I'd admit to it, you think it would? I'll be fine, that'll be fine with me.

Q: No we don't want you to...

JD: I don't want to go on rotting away in this place.

Q: We want...

JD: I'd be more than happy to get it over like that.

Q: We want the right person that's responsible for this murder, you know, we don't want somebody just copping out just for the sake of copping out so he could receive the death penalty as in your case.

Q: No I wouldn't want that. I only want the truth from you.

JD: That's good.

Q: Some of things you said made sense. It made sense to me. As we were talking about that, but then we get these others that say well "no, it's because of this" or "he's embarrassed because it's a child" you know?

JD: Never went after children my interest was in older adults of bar age and all of them that I met I thought were bar age, uh, the uh...

Q: Conrad?

JD: Conrad I thought he was my age, so did the police. That's why they let him back out.

Q: I saw the recent pictures of him, not the pictures of the news. He looked like a twelve year old kid on that picture. But when you see the older pictures of him he looks 19, 20 years old.

JD: Right right. And there was a 15 year old guy that I brought back that accused me of kidnapping him or something and everything uh, the police didn't believe him cause his story was wrong but he was working in the 219, cleaning up, you know all through the right and stuff so it's it's amazing how young how young some of these people are that are in those bars and everything.

Q: I handled a bad case last week, I don't know if you get the news up here or anything but that little missing child in Milwaukee, a 6 year old girl.

JD: I didn't hear about that.

Q: Yeah. She was abducted and then we need up finding her three days later dead and it was sad, you know, what did a 6 year old do to anybody.

JD: Right right. No I have no interest in younger children.

Q: I'd like to get into some of your, you know, personal background and so forth you know and, do you want another muffin?

Q: You sure?

Q: How do you like them?

JD: They're good.

Q: They are, I just got another one, I said boy those things are good.

Q: What was your relationship with your parents growing up?

JD: Uh, pretty good. Pretty average.

Q: Ho many siblings are there in the family?

JD: I have one younger brother six years younger.

Q: Just the two of you.

Q: At what age in life did you feel that there was something different about you?

JD: Oh I knew I, I knew what my orientation was around 13.

Q: That's preferably homosexual?

Q: That was at 13 you say?

Q: Was it some specific incident that made you realize that there was something different about you?

JD: No it just seemed to be the way things were and there was no specific incident that triggered it... you know they say people are molested by someone that's what makes them become homosexual that never was my case.

Q: You were never a victim of child abuse?

JD: No, so it just seemed to be inborn whether that's true or not. I don't know but that's the way it seems to me.

JD: I don't know which is true or not so...

Q: All you can do is speak for own.

Q: Was there any particular person that you put your trust in? that you confided in?

JD: No just me and myself.

Q: Is that right? you kept to yourself.

Q: Even throughout your high school days?

JD: Well I had friends and everything but the important issues I kept to myself.

Q: What were your important issues then?

JD: Oh just my orientation, my uh lack of goals.

Q: Do you feel you were an underachiever then? in high school

JD: I was yeah.

Q: At what age did you first get involved in crime?

JD: Uh drunken disorderly's started, uh, I was about 18.

Q: You were doing drinking in your teenage years?

JD: Uh uh yeah.

Q: How about drugs?

JD: No not on drugs, just marijuana during high school, that was it.

Q: Your drinking consume all of your time?

JD: Yeah that's when I started drinking. I started drinking my junior year of high school.

Q: Did you graduate from high school?

JD: Oh yeah.

Q: So it probably didn't have an affect with your uh...

JD: No it didn't really affect the grades too much.

Q: How were your grades?

JD: Average C, B.

Q: Did you participate in any after school activities?

JD: Uh they had a tennis team I was in that for about a year my junior... but uh didn't stick with it.

Q: Did you go onto college then?

JD: For three months.

Q: Where was that at?

JD: Ohio state. And drank literally drank my way out of that.

Q: When you'd drink what would you drink?

JD: Oh beer, beer. Those hubblen mixed drinks, uh, hard liquor at the local bars, wine.

Q: Do you recall when you had your first homosexual act?

JD: Uh let's see. Well the first time I was approached was uh, over in Germany, Lansthole Germany, I was working at a hospital, Lansthole hospital. And uh one of the sergeant majors I think he was either the type of sergeant with two bars underneath or three, he had his own apartment and one night I was drinking in the local NCO club, he approached me said he had a party going on back at his place, asked me if I wanted to go back and I said sure. And we went back, turned out there was nobody in the apartment, just him. And he lights up this bowl of hash, smoked some hash, drank some beer. He goes, takes his shower, comes back and tries to get me to hop in bed with him. I said "No thanks" so I just go walking out staggering out after that hash. That was good hash and uh so that was the first time I'd been approached. The first real encounter was in the uh bookstore in Milwaukee.

Q: At what age?

JD: Uh probably 22 or 23. Somewhere around that age.

Q: Were you into pornographic material?

JD: Oh yeah I spent thousands of dollars on that over the years, yeah.

Q: Nothing in your teenage years?

JD: No nothing then. First time I picked up a...

Q: What caught your interest towards the pornographic materials?

JD: What?

Q: What caught your interest specifically?

JD: Oh the pornography they had over in Germany.

Q: Is it different than the united states?

JD: Uh that was the first time I ever saw any pornography with the orientation that I have. It was over in Germany and since I couldn't, didn't have the time or the place to develop any relationships with anybody I just satisfied myself with pornography so I continued buying it down when I was in Florida. Probably for the same reason everybody else buys pornography you know.

Q: when would it have been that you ended up picking up your first victim?

JD: That was Steven Hicks.

Q: That was up here in Milwaukee?

JD: Right and I've gone...

Q: That would of been Ohio.

JD: Ohio Right right, and that's been gone over many times before so all you have to do is ask for...

Q: Right.

JD: And you'll get a complete run down of that one.

Q: Were there any events in your childhood that you'd attribute to you for becoming a serial murderer?

JD: No none.

Q: The alcohol?

JD: It's still a mystery to me you know, lots of people are big drinkers and they don't go out and do this no. I don't know.

Q: To this day you can't figure out why?

JD: I have no idea. I have no idea why I started getting the fantasies and thoughts when I was about 16 that's when it started kicking in. I went over that with you last time...

Q: Uh uh.

JD: So no it's still a mystery to me I have no idea. And even the psychologists they have no idea. All they do is name things you know they label them.

Q: Sure. What about your victims, was there any specific way you went around to select them or was it a crime of opportunity?

JD: Uh as I said I was interested in finding the type, the chip and dale type good looking swimmers type build.

Q: right.

JD: Gymnast type build and it was not a case of hating them it was just I uh, it was the only way I knew of to keep them there and keep them with me. It gave a sense of total control and increased the sexual thrill I guess. Knowing that I had total control of them. And that I could do with them as I wished. That was the motivation, not, there was no hatred involved at all.

Q: When you saw that specific person that you denied did you have a plan or...

JD: Just

Q: How did you pick these people up did you rouse them?

JD: In bars, offered them money, that was basically that.

Q: They willfully came back to the place with you?

JD: Right right.

Q: You never had to threaten...

JD: Never threatened.

Q: A weapon to coerce them back there?

JD: No never did that.

Q: Growing up tell me, were you involved with as a pedophile?

JD: No.

Q: You had no desires towards children at that time either?

JD: No, in west Dallas there was some lewd and lascivious behavior in a park that I was involved in for about a year.

Q: You were arrested then?

JD: Right. But uh there was, there was no assault on any children or anything it was just masturbation.

Q: Speaking with *hidden* I guess his interviews with you he said you were really heavy into masturbation?

Q: When did that start in your life?

JD: Uh, I don't know, 13 something like that.

Q: And the obsession just grew?

JD: Yeah and grew, all the obsessions. Uh I made a mistake the first encounter I had with anyone was the kid across the street, we were both about the same age, *hidden*, it was consensual in a forth.

Q: In Ohio?

JD: Yeah that was really the first time but it was just very light sex, kissing holding type of thing.

Q: How old were you at that time?

JD: I was 14. I think he was 14 something like that. It was consensual.

Q: And the next time after that wasn't until you were in...

JD: Right.

Q: In the service.

JD: That was not, that was not until the hicks incident. That was not consensual.

Q: Right. This obsession you speak about I mean, how were you able to control yourself while you were in the service and going through high school and on into the service?

JD: Heavy drinking, pornography, masturbation.

Q: That satisfied your needs at the time.

JD: Right. But once I had the opportunity and the uh, a place where I could actually wake these fantasies come true then trying to hold them back was, just seemed to be too much, I went through that with you too... desire grew and grew constant stronger.

Q: So once you were able to obtain your own apartment, your own place...

JD: Even before that.

Q: Even before?

JD: I was driven enough to try to, to do actually do it in West Dallas, before I got the apartment that's how driven and how strong the desire was.

Q: When did you first ever think about killing somebody? when did that enter your mind?

JD: When I was six, six when I was about 15 or 16 those fantasies started entering my head, why they did I don't know. I never thought it would really happen but everything was set up so perfectly that one time in Ohio.

Q: With the hitchhiker?

JD: Yeah yeah that's no excuse for it but it's just weird how everything was just perfect that one time.

Q: What did, Jeffrey, we didn't talk in great detail about that fantasy, what was it that you, you'd be seeing when you closed your eyes or the arousal would you be feeling? what exactly was that?

JD: Yeah. Thoughts of a good looking well built young guy having total control over him. Uh, uh, I don't know if killing ever came into it, came into play but if that was the only way to keep him then that would be done.

Q: So then the total domination, total...

Q: Love slave?

Q: Ok, what about the dismembering?

JD: That that happened more as uh, necessity, the first time I didn't know how to dispose of the remains and so but once I started doing it, it became sexually exciting to me.

Q: We talked about the road kill...

Q: And you bringing it back and dissecting it...

Q: And taking the skin off of it...

JD: There was nothing sexual about that, that was just...

Q: Curiosity.

JD: morbid curiosity.

Q: What about with the humans and and....

JD: That did become sexual as the years went by.

Q: Maybe if you could detail for me exactly what, the taking of the skin off, was there some...

JD: Uh, I did do that one time. I didn't know if it could be done, I wanted to see if it could be, it's possible. And just keeping mementos, the skulls.

Q: Any other body parts?

JD: Sometimes genitals, hands, uh that's about it.

One time I tried to mummify one of the heads, uh, I uh, took the bone out of the back here, and scooped the brain out and soaked the whole head with the flesh on it in acetone and it worked for a while, that's the one I kept in the locker at work when I was at the work release program, uh, but I just did that one time.

Q: Where did you learn about the, so how much about the anatomy did you have books on this?^{SEP}

JD: No it was trial and error, I really didn't know that much about the anatomy at that time.

Q: You were a medic.

JD: Right but that was just general field, real general knowledge, probably had as much knowledge as either of you would about...

Q: What about, how did you learn about what chemicals to use?

JD: That was trial and error too, I had called a couple taxidermists, pretended that I was, wanted to uh, dry out rabbit skins or something like that. And there was this pharmacy right next to my apartment that had where you could buy galloons of chlororaform either formaldehyde so it's pretty convenient.

Q: Right. Is that how you would control some of your victims with chlororaform or either?

JD: I tried that but it never worked. For some reason those two chemicals do not work, whether I had the wrong type I don't know. It was just the sleeping pills that were the most effective.

Q: You never had to use physical force to keep them there?

JD: One, a couple times I did. I never wanted to I wanted to to make it as quick and painless as possible right. And the one time that there was a physical fight I was out of pills, that was the time I told you the guy rolled on the floor and knocked the table over, there's a march statutes, those griffins...

Q: Griffins.

JD: And the other time was when that 15 year old went back with me, he was working the bar, the 219 bar?

JD: And uh, uh, didn't have any pills so I whacked him with a rubber mallet in the back of the head. He left, came back asked for some money, got into a fight and ended up letting him go in the morning. Then he went and told the police a wild tale they didn't believe him and so, but that was about the only two times.

Q: What types of tools did you use for dismembering these victims?

JD: Large hunting knife with a rubber grip, very large. Bought it at the knife store in the grand hall.

Q: Serrated?

JD: No no serrated it was just large. The blade was about that big, thick, very sharp.

Q: Would that work?

Q: Was it easy to, to do?

JD: That worked, right right.

Q: Any order you would go in?

JD: No just uh, I feel uncomfortable talking about it on tape not know who's going to be listening to the tape, this part, do you guys really need this on tape?

Q: Yeah it's like I say, it's for behavioral science for teaching.

JD: I'll just give you a general description.

Q: Sure.

JD: Just slit from the sternum to the you know, pubic area, removed the internal organs and then cut the flesh starting from the calves legs and then up, removed the head and put that in the freezer and uh the bone, the skeleton that was deflected I would put that in that large 80 gallon cooking pot that I had pour in the box of that wall cleaning solution, I'd strip the remaining flesh off, turn up to a boil and did the same with the heads so I had a clean skeleton, a big clean skeleton and uh sometimes I would save portions of the flesh with consumption, most of it went out in the garbage or in the acid bath and a lot of the unused skeletons went into the acid bath too. Or were flushed down the toilet. So that's how it was done.

Q: This ritual you had with your victims, how long of a period of time did this go on with just one victim until you were totally satisfied?

JD: It's, for a long time it was just once every two months, near the end it was once every week.

Q: Once a week?

JD: Yeah just really got completely out of control.

Q: How as the skeletons started filling up in your apartment there were you concerned about detection? or about the police?

JD: Not until a point where it got to the point where I couldn't even fit them in the freezer and I had to buy that large barrel that had heavier plastic so that I could acidify them without any leakage or smell. And it would get...

Q: Would that get rid of it? Would that melt them or...

JD: That, you can buy these gallon jugs of muriatic acids, it's the diluted kind of hydrochloric acid, I had 16 gallons of it in there waiting to use in those three skeletons that were in the blue, blue tub. Yeah that will acidify it within a couple days you can scoop it out and pour it down the toilet, bones even, and uh, stuff.

Q: When you started becoming concerned at that one point where you couldn't fit in the freezer anymore, what action did you take then?

JD: I bought that large 55 gallon blue barrel, put the, put the three skeletons that I wasn't going to keep in that, had the, had the uh, unboiled heads frozen in the freezer and one skeleton that I wasn't going to boil and keep. So I was just going to pour all those jugs of meridian acid in there and acidify them but never did get the chance.

Q: At any time did you ever have to remove any body parts from your apartment and bury them or discard there somewhere?

JD: Never did that, never did that.

Q: So everything was right in your apartment.

JD: Everything was right in the apartment. Nothing. Flesh did go out sometimes in the garage but it was tightly wrapped and it was undetected, nobody ever detected it.

Q: Do you have your own personal security system?

JD: Yeah right.

Q: What was that?

JD: I installed a security system, 400 dollar security system, installed a locking bathroom, I mean bedroom lock, had a video camera, dummy video camera and uh, installed my own locks in the doors, you know, sliding door, key chain lock...

Q: Now your victims, you had sex with them prior to their deaths?

JD: Prior and afterwards.

Q: And after.

Q: You're into necrophilia.

JD: Right and that led to the cannibalism, just one thing led to another.

Q: The obsession?

JD: right.

Q: The cannibalism would you cook it?

JD: Yeah yeah.

Q: Something I didn't ask last week that I just thought of now, when you had sex with them would it be penis to anus?

JD: Sometimes.

Q: What other?

JD: Uh, sometimes just masturbating over them, sometimes uh penis to the mouth, other times I'd make a slit right here in the front, to the mouth, other times I'd make a slit right here in the front, a small slit, I know it sounds horrible and it was and uh, do it that way.

Q: Did you find that...

JD: Then I did yeah.

Q: Arousing.

Q: Want a cigarette?

JD: I would like one yeah.

Q: I just get the feeling that you'd like it.

Q: Now with each victim would you progress to something different?

JD: Yeah it was a progressive thing like I was saying the last time, when I started up again there was a many year period when I was doing nothing. Between the hicks incident and the accident in the in the ambassador hotel which I never meant to have happen but it did. And uh between that time I was trying everything from grave robbing to actually stealing a mannequin out of a Boston store at south ridge to placate the desire without having to hurt anybody. But it didn't never worked and one thing led to another.

Q: Increased level of intensity.

JD: Right just increased it.

Q: Now when you talked to me about the masturbation and uh, how many times a day did you?

JD: Two, three.

Q: And it still wouldn't sexually satisfy you?

JD: It satisfied me for a short time but it never it never drove the desire from ultimate fulfillment and satisfaction away. That could only be done I thought through actually having control of someone.

Q: That was the mind setting, we talked about last week that it would just grow.

JD: Right I mean it was the main focus of my life, after I got off work that's the first thing I'd did was head to the porno shops make plans to go into chicago, watch the strip teas acts, uh my whole life revolved around that schedule.

Q: Did you ever keep a diary of these incidents?

JD: I was never one for writing letters or keeping diaries.

Q: So your diary was basically your fantasy that you kept in your mind and you rehashed over the...

JD: Used the pictures that I took.

Q: Oh you took pictures of them?

JD: Yeah polaroid pictures. If I had had a video camera I would of probably used that but I never went that far.

Q: Did you have to secure some of your victims I mean with bondage or handcuffs or anything to keep them totally under control?

JD: I started doing uh with uh let's see, Straughter. Mr. Straughter and yeah I bought handcuffs at the army supply and uh, did that after they were drugged I handcuffed them. I'd handcuff them and I wasn't interested in torture, that's not what interested me, all I wanted to do was make it quick and painless for them. I know it sounds ridiculous for me to say that but that's what my goal was so I'd have complete control over them so I wouldn't have to worry about them leaving in the morning and I could fulfill my fantasies.

Q: So you apparently did have a conscious about these people experiencing pain.

JD: That's why I gave them the sleeping pills before. Yeah and uh it usually worked I mean I would usually use seven sleeping pills.

Q: What kind?

JD: Halcium.

Q: How did you get them to take it?

JD: Just mix, mix I'd say I wanted, "Let's have some coffee" with some irish cream in it so the coffee would dissolve the pills, you know, they'd never see the pills in there, and that would be it, within a half an hour they'd be asleep.

Q: Was there one particular victim that was the most sexual satisfying experience you had?

JD: Uh, the one I took the most pictures of uh, black guy, met in front of the bookstore on 27th street, you know what bookstore that is. Total total coincidence I was just 3 o' clock in the morning, I hadn't met anybody interesting at the bars downtown, I was just going to go in and look at some pornography and go back to sleep and as I was approaching the bookstore I saw him walking out, nice looking guy, asked him whether he wanted to go back and he said yes and uh, so he's the one I took the most pictures of.

Q: Is that how you memorialized...

JD: Pictures and the skulls yeah.

Q: That was your mementos?

Q: Did you evolve into any satanic activities?

JD: It it was leading towards that way.

Q: At what stage?

JD: Towards the middle and later parts. I never, never was involved with any group but I was reading a lot of literature on it and wondering whether it was possible to gain even more power through rituals and stuff. I didn't know, I was just experimenting.

Q: Did you dabble in these rituals? In your apartment?

JD: Sometimes yeah, in the bedroom, that's why I had the alters set up and everything.

Q: You had an alter set up in your bedroom?

JD: Right. With the painted skulls.

Q: How would the rituals go?

JD: I didn't really have any set.

JD: So after the hicks incident the first time and uh after that it seemed like my conscience was just seared. Where as they became more objects that people and I didn't think of the families, didn't think of what they'd go through, no, my conscience was just...

Q: It became easier to actualize?

JD: Yeah the the desire to fulfill the fantasies became the all consuming thing.

Q: So these intended targets were just lifeless people eventually, just objects?

JD: That's how I visualize them yeah. That's why I never got to know any of them real well, it made it easier. Just sexual objects.

Q: would you feel the black victim that you spoke of did you have feelings for him since you felt like he was the...

JD: I didn't like the way I had to go about keeping him, I had to stab him in the throat with a knife cause he wasn't completely out so no I didn't like doing that uh...

Q: How long would you keep a victim before you had to...

JD: That, well I had the freezer so I could keep it indefinitely if I wanted to, usually about in fees form two or three days.

Q: You wouldn't kill your after having a sexual experience with these people, did you kill them that day or could you leave them in your apartment as you went on to do your activities the next day?

JD: During during the night after I picked them up that's when I would kill them. Except when I started, started using the drilling technique.

Q: What technique is that?

JD: I was getting tired of killing them and uh, having to deflesh them so I uh, I uh wanted to see if it was possible to... I wanted to see if it was possible to make, again it sounds really gross, uh, zombies, people that would not have a will of their own but would follow, would follow my instructions without resistance. So uh after I started using the drilling technique I'd keep well with the comrade case, that's why he ended up burning the whole house up one time, I didn't think he'd have enough coherence to do that but he did.

Q: So you attempted the drilling through their brain?

JD: right and inject some muriatic acid into the frontal lobes but it never worked it either didn't work well enough or it was death so, one guy Jeremiah Weinberger, he uh, he's the man I met in Carol's bar up in Chicago, he was with me

a couple days before he died but the second he was in a comatose state and when I came back from work, the second night he had died and it kind of struck me as particularly horrifying because he was the only one that died with his eyes, his eyes were just wide open.

Q: That bothered you?

JD: Yeah nobody else had died like that before.

Q: Some type of interpersonal reaction between the two of you?

JD: Uh uh.

Q: The result was his death with his eyes open.

JD: Yeah his eyes were just wide open I don't know why, what caused that to happen but uh...

Q: What about at any time was the police a concern for you?

JD: Yeah many times.

Q: Being caught, many times?

JD: The time in the middle of the night, 3 o' clock on a deserted road where I was pulled over by two policemen in Bath Ohio and had the body parts in the back seat and they gave me a ticket for driving left of center, had to take the drunk test and everything and they asked me "what's this stuff?" and I said "it's just the garbage that I hadn't gotten around to drop off at the city dump earlier today".

Q: They inquired about the bags?

JD: Yeah they said about the bags, I thought they were going to look in them...

Q: Smell them...

JD: They could smell them, both of them, scared the hell out of me.

Q: After they just wrote you a ticket and let you go what did you think?

JD: I couldn't believe it, I thought I was dreaming. So I went back home and that was the first time; the second time in the hotel, where I woke up and the guy was dead underneath me. I didn't know how, how I was going to handle that, never had that happen... yeah.

Q: And that was when you had to go out and buy the suitcase and then get him out?

Q: Did you dismember him?

JD: No he fit in the suitcase.

Q: He did?

Q: But that cabby helped you...

JD: Lift it in the trunk yeah.

Q: You took him back to your home?

JD: Right, my grandpa's house. I had no intentions of doing anything like that, never have done that on purpose. But after that it all started again.

Q: There was another incident you told us about last week with the, in 88 where the police came which was after the arrest for Sinthasomphone brother and they searched your apartment.

Q: And you had the skull.

JD: That was uh, even before that there was a time well I'm not going to say that on tape, that was the time I had that mummified head and that was after yeah, that was after the time I got arrested for taking pictures. They searched my apartment I had an apartment on 24 street and they looked they just didn't pull a towel up that's why they didn't see the skull.

Q: They had tunnel vision they were looking for photographs and drugs but they totally missed the skull.

JD: Right and another time I had that mummified head in the uh small metal chest I had in the closet and I took that to work, that's where I kept it at work. For about a year. And then the time that the police came around asking questions about the guy that was shot upstairs or strangled upstairs, he came into my apartment and looked around and didn't see anything.

Q: detective?

JD: And what else...

Q: as he was looking around what was going through your head?

JD: I thought it was because of one of the guys you know but then he said no. somebody had been strangled upstairs. and he was just asking everybody in the apartment building if they knew anything.

Q: You had nothing to do with that guy who was strangled?

JD: Nothing absolutely nothing uh uh.

Q: Something I found interesting last time when we talked was how you compartmentalize your life.

JD: Never.

Q: Nothing crossed over.

JD: Right. Then the time that 15 year old guy I met working at the gay bar, he ran and told the police that I had assaulted him and they didn't believe him...

Q: Yeah the story was so bizarre that they just didn't believe him.

JD: Then the sinthasomphone time you know, where the body was lying in the bedroom and all they would of had to do is look in the bedroom and that would have been it. So there's been lots of strange close calls.

Q: A lot of contacts with police but you were always able to just avoid detection.

Q: But then at no time I guess because of your obsession with this you ever wished that you were caught.

JD: Never absolutely never. No there was no subconscious secret desire to ever be caught. That I'm sure of. But that's how powerful the desire was even though I was coming so close these times I still was driven to feel that that was the only way I could get any satisfaction in life. That's what it seemed.

Q: Did you get more satisfaction out of the sex act or out of the controlling the individual?

JD: Half and half.

Q: Half and Half.

JD: Yeah right, right. In fact just going out and uh and hunting was in itself a thrill, never knowing who I'd meet, how nice looking they'd be, how much fun we'd have or whatever. That itself was part of the fun, uh.

Q: Had you ever tried heterosexual like Conrad, any time with a female?

JD: Never did, never had any interest.

Q: No desire cause you knew ever since 13 that.

Q: Your interest lied elsewhere.

JD: Could of done it a lot over in Germany they have prostitution hotels over there where you just pay your money and you know...

Q: But you didn't want to experiment?

Q: And your victims you didn't discriminate them, they were white and black.

JD: No that's one thing we were talking about before. Milwaukee journal tried to make it sound like it was racial. Absolutely not. I mean, if I had had my way they, the guys would have all looked like the chip and dale dancers, that's the type I was going after. The type you know did the strip tease acts in Chicago and stuff. But uh no there's nothing racial about it. Absolutely nothing. How could it be? I mean the first guy was white, the second guy was white, the third guy was American Indian, the fourth guy was Hispanic, then some black guys, the Asians, Jewish, Puerto Rican, another white guy, it's not racial...

Q: What victim did you first become involved with in the cannibalism?

JD: Uh that would be Rick Beeks. His his nickname was cash he had it tattooed on his chest he was around 30 years old he was working the bars and stuff male prostitute. That was the first time with the heart... and then afterwards the second guy was the guy that I met at the bookstore on 27th street and the most pleasurable.

Q: Was the cannibalism a sexual gratification too?

JD: It was. It started out as experimentation. Made me feel like they were more a part of me.

Q: Interesting.

JD: So it did give me some satisfaction and there was some gratification.

Q: How would you prepare it?

JD: Uh on the stove, on the skillet, uh just like you prepare a regular piece of meat, they'd be uh cut into you know sizes that were small enough to eat.

Q: Any other organs?

JD: Hearts, liver, thigh meat biceps biceps...

Q: How did it taste?

JD: Uh there's no way of saying it without sounding gruesome uh...

Q: I don't find it offensive.

JD: Well it I I don't know how to describe it.

You have had filet mignon haven't you?

Q: Uh that's one of my favorites.

JD: Yeah. Very tender...

Q: When you finally were arrested ok, was there any type of relief? That you said god it's finally over?

JD: Just for... in terror.

Q: Or you regretted that you were caught...

JD: I don't regret it. That's the funny thing, part of me regrets it, no it's ok.

Q: You sure?

JD: Yeah. Intellectually I know this is the best thing that could of happened for me and everybody else involved because I could not stop myself. Uh so I know intellectually this is the best thing for everybody. On the emotional level there's still a lot of wanting to be able to have the freedom to go to Chicago, drink, spend the nights at the nightclub, you know, the nightlife. So it causes tension. Causes a lot of tension, sometimes. Sometimes I handle it better than others. Weekends are the worst.

Q: Why is that? because that was your pattern?

Q: That's what I thought.

JD: It was a lot of fun I have to admit, it's a lot of excitement.

Q: Stalking and preying.

JD: Not necessarily the gruesome part but just being out in the crowd in that type of atmosphere.

Q: The freedom to...

JD: Not having to pretend that I was something that I wasn't. You know, and watching the strip tease acts, there's some pretty good ones.

Q: These were male strippers.

JD: I used to go to bistro 2 that's a good one in Chicago. Carol's the vortex these huge multi floor night clubs, stay open till about 4 in the morning. Then they'd have the bath clubs, spend the rest of the night in those.

Q: Would that cost?

JD: Uh uh, about 16 bucks a night just to get in there.

Q: Then anything goes?

JD: Anything goes. Whirlpool, sauna, steam room, they have it all set up, they have the viewing.

Q: There's a place in New York up on 50 something street I can't remember the name of it, it's been so many years, 10 years since I've been assigned there but the's the same only it was male, female...

JD: No it wasn't.

Q: Yeah anything, the only rule they had in that place is that if a person said no...

JD: No was no.

Q: No was no.

JD: Same thing up in those...

Q: Couldn't keep...

Q: Is there anything different the police could of done to catch you before?

JD: Nothing.

Q: Nothing.

JD: Except look in the car, look in the bags, look in the bedroom.

Q: Be more thorough.

Q: Be more thorough when they come in and investigate maybe just a normal complaint.

JD: Well they would of had to open, unlock the freezer... and they would of had me to uh, they would of had to go through my closets. I had everything locked up.

Q: Some of those incidents were there though. It was detectable catchable if they would have just gone the extra step in picking up the towel.

JD: There was a...

Q: Or looking in the bag of the trash, they could smell the odor...

Q: Whatever but it was easier to just...

JD: Looking in the bedroom where the body was, right, or in the closet where the skulls, some of the skulls were.

Q: If there's any lesson to be learned from this as I see it and learn from it is you know be thorough, be professional to give the extra look.

JD: I mean I had the apartment nice looking, clean apartment, it didn't look like there was anything ascue or anything so...

Q: Well that has a big impact on...

Q: First impressions. Myself when I go in I look just as guilty as anybody else and then you make your first impression and you say hey this is not, this person's organized and clean and so you know, you give it the time...

JD: It was a big front.

Q: I was just going to ask you that, was that a stage? Was that a front?

JD: I like to keep the place clean but you know, it worked to my advantage too...

Q: What did you do with the blood?

JD: It was all done in the bathroom so that just went down the bathroom drain.

Q: Down the drains?

Q: Is there anything different your victims could have done to get away?

JD: Not after they were drugged.

Q: Once you drugged them they were yours?

JD: And the only, the only reason the last guy got away was because I was completely unconscious for at least 6 hours according to what he said, I have no memory of anything that happened but I was still functioning...

Q: How many sleeping pills would you give at a time?

JD: Uh 5 or 6.

Q: 5 or 6?

JD: I didn't have any sleeping pills that time.

Q: What were they?

JD: Halcium 125 miligram

Q: So you did something out of the norm that you usually didn't do that you lost control of your victim.

JD: Right I had planned on getting him real drunk but it didn't work. I was not drunk. I was carefully just having a couple beers that day, I was not drunk, I don't know why I blanked out like that.

Q: Were you over tired or anything?

JD: I was tired but I don't blank out for getting overly tired.

Q: Especially if you're in the mind set.

Q: But that's...

JD: Right that's something you have to keep your, keep on your toes. I have no idea why half of my brain just turned itself off. That's what it seems like. And uh I came back to consciousness 5 minutes before I heard the knock on the door and there were the police. I didn't have any time for a cover story or anything, it was just...

JD: Right.

Q: You speak very well you articulate very well what is your IQ?

JD: Average.

Q: Average IQ.

JD: Average range from what I've heard anyway from testing.

Q: Are these recent tests?

Q: You must do a lot of reading, it's quite obvious.

JD: Now I do like I said I never used to do any reading, I used to just go home and flip on the tube and you know watch tv but uh...

Q: Did you have a religious background in the beginning as a child/teenager?

JD: Not as a child, I tried for about two years with my grandma and like I, that's a whole another tale it, didn't work, desires got stronger and stronger, I just gave up so no, I really haven't had a real deep religious background or anything. Although I always felt that there was something more than just this life I never just, I never really wanted to think about a religious background because I was involved in such horrible things and I just didn't want to even think of it. I just figured I'd take the ostrich approach if I don't think of it then I won't ever have to deal with it. Which was stupid.

Q: Did you believe in reincarnation or do you now?

JD: No I know that's a bunch of bunk you know, but I just like I said, I was taking the ostrich approach, I felt well maybe if I don't think of it or think of it seriously I'll never have to deal with it you know, maybe if I don't worry about getting caught I will never get caught. Stupid self blew it.

Q: Yeah but it's common.

Q: Who's the one person in your life that you'd consider the most significant?

JD: Well my mom and dad are significant and my grandma is, those three I guess.

Q: Do you ever look back at history and think of anyone or anything...

JD: As far as looking up to any one individual or anything uh, no. No.

Q: Is there anybody that influenced your life? One individual person?

JD: No. I'd have to say I influenced my own life. I never tried to mold my life after nobody or copy anybody. I never had any interest in in following any of these uh true crime stories, you know, like some people like to buy these magazines and read about it, I had no interest.

Q: That's interesting, I mean, were you interested in police stories on tv and uh...

JD: Well sure I watched all those, even now you know, I watch those. Those are entertaining to watch.

Q: Do you have in interest...

JD: Yeah they're interesting. But as far as walking into a Walden's bookstore and buying these sleazy detective and these case histories I don't I just never did. Never had interest. I would go to the occult stand and look through that but that's about it.

Q: When you were a child and growing up/teenage years and stuff what did you see yourself becoming?

JD: Uh I just had a vague sense of wanting to be some, do something in business, some type of sales work but I was drinking so much by that time that I never made it a clear cut case.

Q: It wasn't like you were going to follow in your father's footsteps?

Q: Or your grandfather's?

JD: No no.

Q: You weren't planning on any long range goals?

JD: Nope wasn't good at planning long range goals.

Q: What do you think was your biggest downfall? was it when you got into pornography that escalated to the next stage?

Q: Do you think that would of eliminated what the end results were?

JD: If I could eliminate those fantasies, those overwhelming fantasies starting when I was 15 or 16 short circuited them, not think about them not not entertaining them... then that probably would of stopped everything, and if I had had some sort of uh uh strong moral uh guidelines that I really you know, believed in following...

JD: Right. And I thought I didn't have either so the rest of it was a disaster, as far as pornography? no no that doesn't cause anybody to do this.

Q: no but you were so engrossed in it.

JD: It just fueled the fantasies but I don't think it would of stopped it from happening.

Q: So must of had a lot of idle time that you had these fantasies instead of other distractions.

JD: Right cause I didn't have any pornography material before the hicks incident.

Q: What came first the fantasies or the pornography?

JD: The fantasies.

Q: So then there would of been nothing that you could have done?

JD: No it's something that just...

Q: Came about and the pornography was a way of trying to satisfy the...

Q: The curiosity.

Q: When did the fantasies start?

JD: 14 or 15 yeah.

Q: That would have been after that incident with your neighbor, the child?

JD: Right right, but that didn't trigger anything either, that that was just uh I bet that happens a lot probably you know just...

Q: Oh yeah.

JD: Two people experimenting.

Q: Opportunity.

Q: Young males can experiment...

JD: The only time I was ever attacked was when I was about 13 or 14. I was walking home from a friend's house one night and these three guys, these three seniors from high school and whacked me for no reason with a black jack in the back of the neck and uh, I went home pretty scared after that.

Q: It hurt too.

JD: Yeah it did. And for no reason, you know, I didn't do anything to them or anything they were just looking for someone to hit.

Q: There's some people out there that do that.

Q: No doubt about that. Were your parents discipliners?

JD: They gave pretty good discipline, yeah.

Q: Did either of them have any problems with alcohol?

JD: None. Neither were drinkers or smokers. Nothing. Could I sneak another one from you?

Q: It looks like they're getting ready for shift changes they're all congregating...

JD: Oh are they?

Q: Yeah.

JD: I can't point to any one thing that trigger it.

Q: Do they let you smoke in your cell?

Q: These guys are all starting to come by here.

JD Ok.

Q: I don't have any objection, what are they going to do to me? You know, I don't want to cause grief for you.

Q: Do you have any remorse for what you did?

JD: A great deal of remorse. I I would hope I mean uh... One thing that I've... That's puzzled me is why I can't seem to generate more feeling. I mean if I had, had been able to uh feel more emotion uh, this may not have happened. But it just seems like my emotion, my emotional side has been deadened.

Q: Numb?

Q: But if you did become emotionally involved with one of your people...

JD: I would of never.

Q: You probably would of never have killed them.

JD: Right, no.

Q: Or if they would hit you something, you know...

JD: Right right. Uh as far as feeling badly of what I've done, yes I do feel bad, I know it's wrong but it doesn't do anyone good any good to cry a crocodile tears and put on the big act, I mean.

Q: Sure. Did you ever experiment killing animals?

JD: No I never killed animals. Never did that. I always used dead ones just for experimentation.

Q: The one guy's staring at you...

JD: That's alright.

Q: I enjoyed the talk.

JD: Ok, thanks for the muffins and the book.

Q: You go on record to say that you had nothing to do with the investigation of Adam Walsh.

JD: Nothing to do with it.

Q: That murder or kidnapping.

JD: I heard it on the news but I had nothing to do with it, no.

Q: You would admit to it?

JD: Uh, right, yeah. Uh I guess I will take one more.

Q: *hidden* will be happy you liked her muffins.