

# A.E.T.A.P. 2016

Prof. Dr. Frédéric Declercq

Prof. Dr. Kurt Audenaert

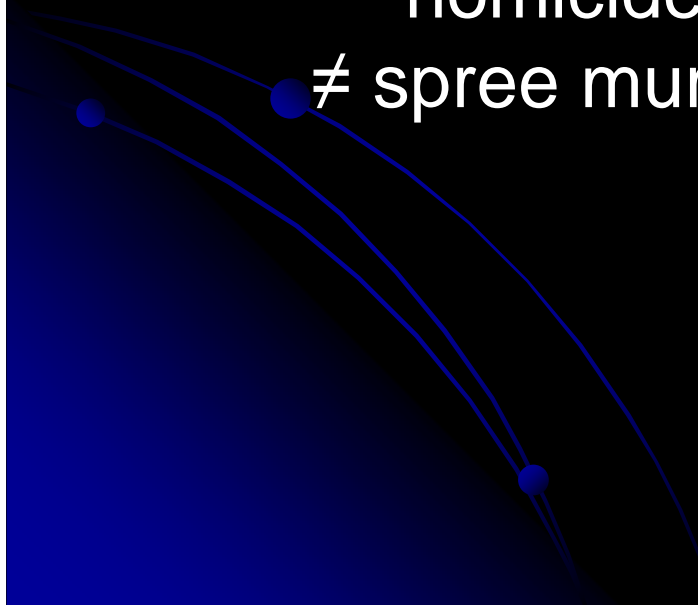
Department of Psychiatry and Medical Psychology

Ghent University



A case study of mass murder

## Mass murder: definition:

- 3 or more victims
  - Same time and same place
- no cooling period between two or more homicides
- ≠ spree murder & serial murder
- 

## Fully documented case:

- access to the detailed & reliable records maintained by criminal justice entities.
- In many cases, the mass murderer cannot be interviewed because he commits suicide or (puts himself in situation where he) is killed by the police.
- The offender was willing to collaborate with our research project

- Clinical, behavioral, motivational data
- Knowledge of the offender's subjective experience
- Diagnose personality disorders
- Violence mode
- Retrospectively 'warning behavior' (: behavioral patterns indicating increasing threat)

The motive that appears paramount in mass murder is REVENGE.

Perceived wrongs and resentments and anger about inequities or injustices:

from employer (loss of job) P. Sherril - postal worker.

- from the legal system (failed business scheme and anger at legal system) G. Ferry
- the government: O. Huberty, pres. Carter – loss job
- being injured (e.g. racial discrimination: C. Ferguson)
- rejection (divorce/separation)

Present offender: He “hates society and wants to get even”

Mass murders are usually planned and preceded by rumination on revenge plans:  
It is not always clear whether these revenge plans are

- Ego-syntonic or ego-dystonic ?

- Some appear to enjoy ruminating/fantasizing

- Others ego-dystonic: In the present case:  
compulsive in the clinical sense:

- \* not-voluntary,
    - \* ego-alien and
    - \* generating distress.

Violence Mode: some mass murderers have been described as

- calm, focused, emotionless and exhilarated during the events.
- others have shown signs of hostility, confusion, and distress.



→ The present offender showed signs of affective distress during the homicides

Aim: mass murder:

- Some aim at:

Narcistic gratification, gratifications of feelings of omnipotence and control.

- Others aim at relief:

alleviation of a psychological tension and symptoms generated by the severe ego-dystonic cognitions and affects.

Present mass murder aimed at relief



## Some points are atypical in this case.

- Unlike most mass murderers, the offender did not commit suicide, nor was he shot by the police.  
→ He and his accomplice took pains to avoid detection.
- The rampage was not committed in a public place, but in the home of a family.
- The offender was not alone, but accompanied by a person who played a rather passive role.  
→ The accomplice was thus not meant to be a co-gunman. (Operating in pair is typical of adolescent school shooters)

The presence of the third party most probably had to do with the offender's attachment disorder.

→ As unearthed by the collateral information, and also consistent with a borderline personality disorder:

The offender was unable to be or to do anything by himself and thus always needed a companion.

- The accomplice, only joined the offender to rob the house afterwards.

- The accomplice had PCL-R Score > 30

- The offender had a PCL-R Score < 15

## The offender:

- killed five people at their home: four family members and a friend of the family's.
- The victim selection was random, although a symbolic link with the offender most likely played a role.
- While the mass murder was planned and executed in a cold-blooded way, it was nevertheless preceded by a phase of affective turmoil.

## The offence:

\* Both offenders met each other in jail, where they had already agreed to commit hold-ups together.

→ *Yet the offender's intention was not to steal but to kill. The co-offender was aware of that.*

\* The target was selected in advance by the offender:

- Salesman: they could present themselves as potential buyers

- Location was withdrawn and had a back entrance

- Symbolic link: the offender bought an item the salesman sold. The offender had been conned on one of those and was furious about it.

- Weeks before : the 22 mm rifle had been tested on a construction site. Butt was sawed off in order to hide it in common bag;
- Arriving at the destination, they are let in as potential buyers and they agree on pursuing an item;
- They then go the kitchen to sign documents. The wife and a daughter are present.
- The offender pulls out his rifle, saying it is an hold-up and that they are escaped convicts, having eaten for 3 days.
- The victims are scared and cooperate fully. They offer them sandwiches, put some provisions in a bag and give them money to buy train-tickets in order to flee the land.

Probed on what was his motive for lying.

→ the offender stated he had enjoyed scaring and exercising power over the family, as it made up for the years of fear and powerlessness he endured during his incarceration.

(Root cause is revenge for unjustified incarceration)

Noteworthy: neither of the two offenders reported sadism or cruelty

→ Consistent with the report of the crime scene investigation:

“no traces of violence or resistance.”

“the scene pointed to a cold blooded execution.”

- The salesman proposed to bring them to the railway station where they could take the train abroad, whereas his wife proposed that they just take a car.
- The offender said he wanted the salesman to drive them in order to prevent his family from calling the police as soon as the offender and his accomplice left.
- After locking them up in the basement, he told them: “we won't be long. I'm going to take your husband with me and give him back the keys of the cellar when I let him go.”

- He brought the first victim to the garage, saying he was going to lock him up there. He was told to take his place in the driver seat of a car.
- Then, a conversation ensued as the first victim tried to convince him he would not call the police. As a token of his honesty he pulled out the telephone and placed it outside under a tree near the garage (confirmed reconstruction)
- Struck by the first victim's honesty and helpfulness, he started having doubts, and hesitated to kill him.
- He commanded the first victim to stay where he was and went back to his accomplice, in the kitchen where he's searching for money or other valuables



- He told his accomplice that the first victim was not going to alert the police and asked his opinion on “staying or leaving.”
- The latter answers:
  - \* they had not yet found any money and
  - \* that he did not believe the victim either.
- + He emphasized that everyone in the house had seen them clearly and thus they would be easily recognized and go back to jail.

- The offender then retraced his footsteps.
- He pointed the rifle at the victim him while he himself stood outside the car.
- According to the offender, a short verbal exchange took place. The father asked him again to leave, repeating he would not call the police, and said they would not be mad at him.
- He also said that, like himself, the offender looked scared (which, the offender recognized, was true).
- That, the offender later reported, made something snap!

- “Suddenly I saw the Assize courts again, the jury members, and I got angry again. He told the salesman to be quiet now, to turn his head and to look ahead of himself.
- From this position, avoiding eye contact, because he didn't want to face it, he shot a round in the salesman's left temple of the head,” from close range (about 20 to 30 cm).
- Then something unforeseen happened. The offender rejoined his accomplice. While they searched the house for money and valuables, the second daughter and her boy friend arrive at the house.

- Both offenders concealed themselves and let them come in. They are threatened with the rifle and led to the basement to join the others.
- When the friend asked about the salesman, he was brought to the garage by the offender, where the former was supposed to meet the salesman.
- The offender walked behind him without saying a word and when victim number two entered the garage, he was shot with a round in his neck from a short distance.

- He goes back to the living room where the accomplice holds his daughter
- A short conversation then took place and the girl asked them to leave. He told her to lie on her belly in order to avoid eye contact when killing her (he was not capable of killing her while she looked at him).
- When she refused, he ordered her to put a cushion on her face. When she asked why, he told her he did not want her to see in what direction they would flee.
- After complying, he fired a round through the cushion at point blank range. As she was still moving, he fired another round into her head.

- Afterwards, the offender went to the basement where the last two victims were still secluded. Standing on top of the stairs, he told both to sit down on the bottom stair with their backs turned to him.
- In order to avoid eye contact, he killed the fourth victim with a neck-shot from a short distance and turned his head away while shooting.
- When he subsequently fired the first round in the neck of the last victim, she unexpectedly jumped up and turned her face to him.
- He then fired a second round in her head and she dropped to the ground. The offender reported being shook up by this.

- He then went to his accomplice and told him he could not cope any more.
- He asked him to go downstairs and pick up the shells.
- Which he did: he took over the rifle, pulled its lock and descended to the basement on his own, while the offender remained at the top of the stairs.
- They both heard the last victim's breath rattling in her chest. In an undisturbed and casual way, the accomplice stepped over the body, picked the shells up, stepped over her again and went back upstairs.

Both then resumed their search of the house. When doing so, they heard a rattling sound coming from the basement again.

- Once more the accomplice took the rifle and went downstairs. When he saw the last victim had vomited, he put his hand on her heart and felt it was still beating.
- He then wound a dish-towel he found in the basement around the ejection mechanism of the rifle (that way he did not have to look after the shells afterwards) and shot another three rounds into the victim's body



- In order to create the impression that the crime was connected to the theft of antiques, they took some antique items as well as a jewel box. The day after the mass murder, the offender disposed of them by dropping them in a river.
- Before leaving, the accomplice suggested that they steal one of the cars instead of walking back to their vehicle. He asked the offender to look for keys in the pockets of the first and second victims, but he said he could not do so because he was too shaken up.
- Therefore, the accomplice searched their pockets, moving the bodies to do so, as the offender watched from a distance.

- The accomplice also took their wallets and pulled out the money inside. The amount retrieved was very small and representative of day-to-day living expenses. He split the money in two and threw the empty wallets in the direction of the dead bodies
- The offender dropped his accomplice at a dancing establishment and returned home to his girlfriend.
- The accomplice will be arrested first, most probably because of his extensive and versatile criminal career (PCL-R > 30)
- Because he was just out of jail.

- The accomplice also took their wallets and pulled out the money inside. The amount retrieved was very small and representative of day-to-day living expenses. He split the money in two and threw the empty wallets in the direction of the dead bodies
- The offender dropped his accomplice at a dancing establishment and returned home to his girlfriend.
- The accomplice will be arrested first, most probably because of his extensive and versatile criminal career (PCL-R > 30) and because he was just out of jail.
- Later, the offender was also apprehended at his home without resisting.

## Revenge Motive:

He “hated society and wanted to get even”

Perceived injustice: 7 year Assize court sentence  
for petty thefts.

- Offender: regular, official blue collar job, but he also perpetrated property offenses prior to the mass murder (shoplifting, theft in a canteen after closing, theft in a place where he was a salaried employee etc.)
- Although there is an extensive pattern of theft, it should be noted that the loot he received from his efforts was always small. Moreover, it was always split in two or more parts as he was never alone during his expeditions.

Motive of his criminal conduct.

→ His wife later corroborated that the benefits of his thievery (together with the wages of his regular job) went straight to her, whose task it was to save it in order to buy a house for her and the children.

→ As his wife declared, he himself would hardly spend anything.

In fact, the offender was (wrongfully) convinced he suffered from a heart disease and would die from a heart attack before his children were adults.

→ he did not want them and his wife to live and grow up in poverty as he and his parents had.

The link with the revenge motive:

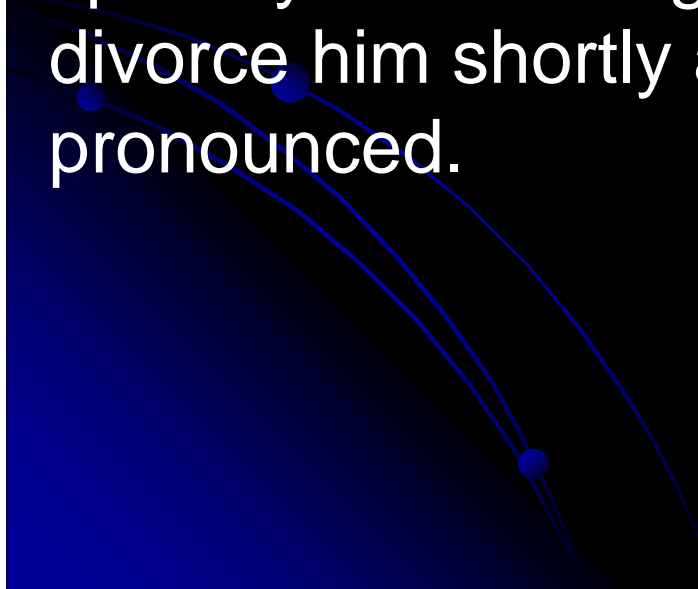
His trial was held before the Assize Court, which normally deals only with the most serious offenses, namely homicide.

- As his repetitive criminal activities concerned thievery, it was indeed unusual that his trial was held before this Court.
- In the offender's perception this situation and the subsequent sentence was experienced as a profound injustice.
- One of his ideations concerning the mass murder was that “as I had to stand trial before a court that deals with homicides without having committed one, I'll commit one in order to get even.”

In the present case, this root cause is intertwined with another one:

- the loss of his wife and children occasioned by the 7 year prison sentence and
- the “idée fixe” that he'll never find a romantic partner again.

Indeed, his wife quickly told him she would not spend years waiting for him and did, in fact, divorce him shortly after the sentence was pronounced.



The offender not only experienced the separation as a dramatic loss, but also as a burden on his future.

→ In his perception, he would never find a girlfriend again and would thus remain alone for the rest of his life. That was dramatic to him (BPD).

→ \* he considered himself physically repulsive and worthless.

\* in his opinion women that still were not married at the age he would be when released from jail would be no good.

The offender thus experienced this seven-year sentence as “a life sentence” as he explained.



The issue of his extreme negative self-image needs clarification.

- \* at the age of 12, he had a severe traffic accident,
  - the upper side of the offender's face is disfigured by scars and his eyes are asymmetrical. He was very ashamed of this.
  - he was the object of ridicule by peers (“Frankenstein”, “sewed together”...)
- At the age of 15 another accident occurs and one eye suffers permanent damage
- → he has to wear dark glasses
  - He wears dark and very large glasses that allowed them to hide his scars as well.
  - However this attracts even more mockery and provocations from peers.

The pain and shame for years on end resulted in his very low self-esteem and insecure attachment patterns.

→ The offender needed and desired affective bonds  
but also viewed and expected others to be unreliable and malevolent.

→ With respect to romantic attachment, he concluded that a woman would never want somebody who was disfigured like him.

→ Still, when he was 20, he fell in love with a 17-year-old girl. To his astonishment, the attraction was reciprocal.

- This was first girlfriend — he never dared to approach women before, as he thought they would reject him because of his scars.  
Let us note in passing that he still was that ashamed of his injuries, his wife never saw him without his glasses. He even kept them on when asleep.
- They soon married and had two children.
- The offender liked to spend time with his children and his wife, neighbors, family later testified that he got along well with them.
- His marriage was harmonious apart from quarrels, mostly concerning jealousy by both parties. There was never violence.

## Dynamics of the mass murder

According to typologies and models of mass murder (including school shooters), the fatalities are preceded by a period of obsessive ruminations about revenge.

2 types:

1. \* grandiose fantasies centering on authority and omnipotence
    - \* identify themselves with violent characters.
    - \* fascinated with weapons and war fatigues (pseudo-commando type)
- Grandiose fantasies: ego-syntonic and they fuel their pathological narcissism (E. Harris: “Ich binn Gott”)
- Aim is destruction: fuels their feelings of grandiosity and power

## 2. Other type & in the present case

→ ruminations of revenge:

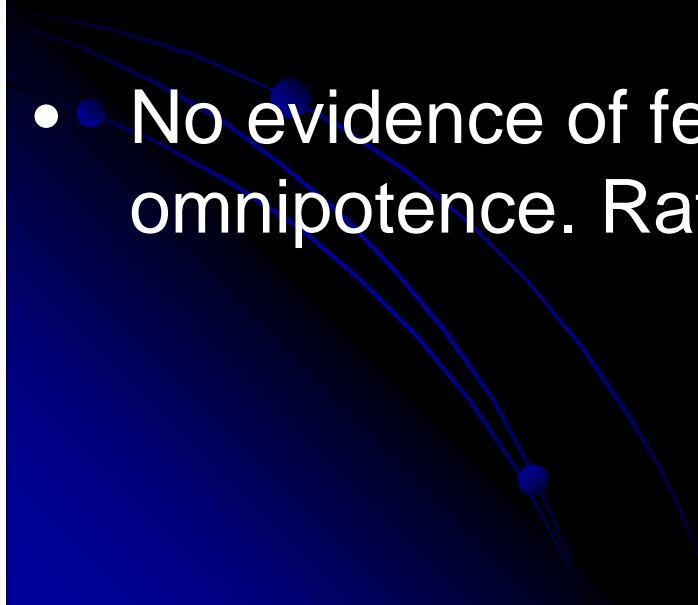
- \* ego-dystonic
- \* compulsive: - impose themselves rather than being evoked.
  - generate distress

“Like a alcoholic needs alcohol to find relief, I felt I had to kill in order to find peace.”

## Ruminations:

- Triggered by events or ideations related to
  - The loss of his attachment figures (wife and children)
  - His 7 year incarceration
  - Serious conflicts with his second partner scared that she would leave him
- Urge to kill happened to overpower his mind.
- Afterwards, he felt ashamed about these revenge thoughts and rejected them (ego-dystonic).

In line with that: no evidence of pseudo-commando style:

- No preoccupation with weapons and war regalia
  - Aversion of weapons: his children were not allowed to have toy weapons
  - He never possessed a gun prior to the rifle
  - No evidence of feelings of grandiosity and omnipotence. Rather the contrary.
- 

In the present case, psycho-dynamic process was 'catathymic'.

= a process in which

- The thinking of the subject becomes increasingly ego-centric
- Leading to the adamant conviction that the responsibility for the internal tension lies into an external situation
- A violent act is the only way out.
- After the violent act, the tension is indeed removed.

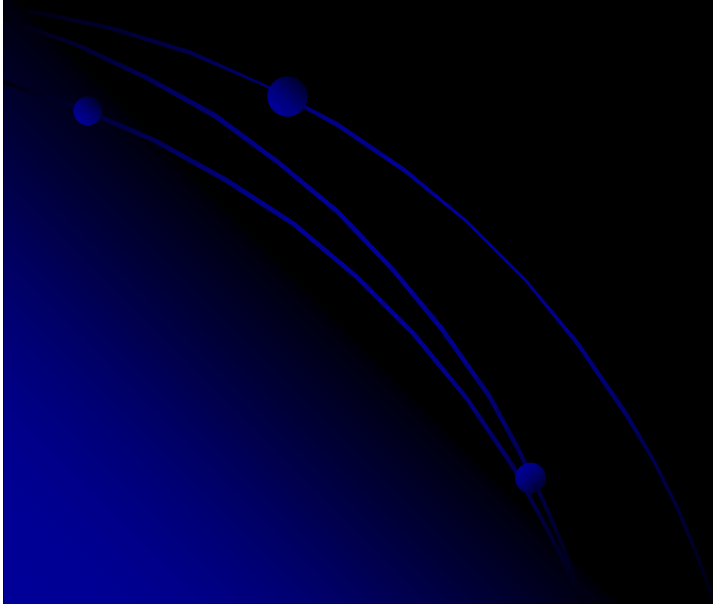


The catathymic process is divided into three stages:

1. Incubation

2. Violence

3. Relief



## 1. Incubation:

- The individual is under the rule of an emotional tension that is increasing over time because it cannot be cathected.
- The individual progressively becomes persuaded that *only suicide or homicide can end the unendurable tension*.
- The incubation phase is frequently accompanied by dysphoria, withdrawal and isolation and egocentric thinking

Incubation:

Onset: a couple of months before the massacre.

In line with the offenders report, the offender's girlfriend noticed that:

- He started complaining about severe headaches and stomach cramps and asked her to take his pulse once in a while.
- He began to withdraw himself, “brooding, sweating, raging and walking around like a caged animal” (sic.),

The brooding concerned thoughts like:

“nothing will ever be all right any more”;

“I must take revenge against society”;

“I have to do something.”

Precipitant - triggering event: Precipitants appear to be very common in mass murder.

### Problems with a relationship

- Soon after his release from prison the offender became romantically involved with a woman.
- Once again, he was astonished a woman wanted him despite his scars and previous incarceration.
- They moved in together after two months, but things rapidly turned bad, as his girlfriend appeared to be addicted to alcohol & medication.

- The relationship deteriorated further when she lost her job and began to go to a pub while the offender was at work.
- The latter was very upset by this as he thought she would be unfaithful.
- It has been well documented that for individuals with a borderline personality disorder jealousy and being alone is an unbearable experience fueling hate, resentment, and feelings of revenge.
- Trigger of the massacre:  
The day of the fatalities, he wanted to go out with his girlfriend, but she refused and went to a pub on her own instead.
- His response was to pack his rifle, go to town alone and phone his accomplice.

## 2. Violence Mode:

- Despite furious affects of anger and hate with mass murders, they are generally not impulsive, but planned and prepared (location, victims, weapons etc).
  - \* Some mass murderers are unemotional, cognitive, calm and focused (a)
    - Predatory/instrumental violence
  - \* Others are being scared, shaking, not knowing what to do
    - affective violence
- (a) P. Calden, after he was fired, approached three of his former supervisors as they were in the company cafeteria. He is reported to have taken aim and calmly started shooting, encircling the table with gunfire.

(b) By contrast:

- when K. Kinkel killed four and wounded 25 he did so under the command of hallucinatory voices making derogatory comments and telling him to hurt people.

→ When apprehended, he was in state of extreme distress

- The present case: predatory violence



Meloy's developed (10) criteria for applied forensic practice.

Briefly:

The offender was calm [minimal autonomic arousal]:

- He interacted in a friendly and calm manner with the salesman and his wife before pulling his rifle.
- The meal was consumed in the same way while sequestering the victims
- There were no vocalizations, either verbal or physical conflict with the victims.
  - crime scene: no signs of brutality toward, or resistance by, the victims.



- Although the offender reported anxiety and anger during his verbal exchange with the first victim
  - he did not seem to be overwhelmed by these emotions since he was able to calmly end the conversation, make the victim look ahead of him, aim at the temple of the head and hit the target with one clear shot.

The violence was planned and purposeful:

The predator chooses when the violence occurs, against whom, and to what degree:

- The offender stated he had the clear intention of killing everyone before going into the house.
- He carried a weapon he bought with that intention and which was modified in order to conceal it.
- The weapon was fully loaded and tested days before the event.

## No imminent perceived threat:

- The targets are actively sought, rather than reactively attacked.
- No imminent threat to the physical safety during the event is reported by the offender,
- Nor were traces to that effect found at the crime scene.

→ The victims were unarmed and cooperated fully.

## Preceded by Private Ritual

In preparation for the predatory violence offender may select:

- (Unusual) weapons
- Symbols
- Nationalistic emblems
- Modified appearance (shaving one's head),
- Clothing (war fatigues)

→ the function of private rituals is to gratify and enhance feelings of omnipotence and control

## Preceded by Private Ritual

- In the present case, the rifle seemed to have served this private ritualistic function.
- The offender told a co-worker he owned a rifle months before the mass murder.
- He also showed the rifle to his girlfriend on two occasions, months before the mass murder.
- Prior to the mass murder, the offender
  - also used to drive around town with his rifle.
- The sense of power and control he got from carrying and displaying it alleviated the tension and the revenge feelings for a while.

The violence was planned and purposeful:  
Aim is destruction, but variable goals.

- Expediency
  - Exercise of omnipotent control
  - Relief
- In the present case, the mass murder resolved symptoms and an unendurable tension caused by compulsive revenge feelings and a compulsion to kill. (“Like a alcoholic needs alcohol to find relief, I felt I had to kill in order to find peace.”)

### 3. Relief

- The offender's headaches and stomach cramps disappeared.
- “The hate feelings against society were gone.”
- He felt he “wasn't the same person anymore.”
- His girlfriend reported that on the night following the crime, he was nervous, did not sleep well, and sighed deeply several times.

### 3. Relief

- When she asked him what was wrong the morning after the event, he burst out crying and said he would never steal again in his life.
- The day after, she noticed him crying again. He stated that he then realized what he had done and felt sorry about it. He felt he was not himself then and behaved like an animal.



# Borderline Personality Disorder

- \* Since childhood: could be noticed the typical pervasive feelings of depression, emptiness and loneliness
- The underlying factor can be found in the lack of availability or the feared loss of the attachment figure.
- • The offender's mother died from breast cancer when he was 3,5 years old. The only reminiscences of her are those of an invalid in need of help.

## Borderline Personality Disorder

- His father was an international truck driver working 6 days/week.  
He came home when the offender was asleep and was gone before he awoke.  
His father was scarcely home, and when he was, he was exhausted and absent.
- As his brother was 11 years older there was not a very close relationship with him either.
- His birth was unplanned  
→ “an unwanted” child or “an accident”.

Three central assumptions have often been found in therapy with borderline individuals:

“The world is dangerous and malevolent,”  
(projection of responsibility)

“I am powerless and vulnerable”

“I am inherently unacceptable”

- Conspicuously present with the offender
- and play a determining role in his subjective functioning and the genesis of the mass murder.

These cognitions were shaped by many adverse events. To a certain degree, these assumptions could be substantiated.

## In the interpersonal realm:

- described as pliant, submissive, and shunting competition.
- His lifestyle prior to the murders was stable and predictable. He went to work every day and came home immediately after work.
- None of the common spur-of-the-moment acts or failures to plan ahead is mentioned.

## Within intimate relationships:

- the typical borderline shift of pervasive latent depressed mood to anxious agitation and intense anger can be noticed.

Towards his wife & later his girlfriend):

- the offender sometimes impulsively engaged in outbursts that were later recognized as irrational and counter-productive.
- The aggressive outbursts were essentially verbal, sometimes physical (with his second girl friend), yet without requiring medical attention. No increase in seriousness and frequency of the battering was noticed.
- His second partner had a history of serious violence with a former spouse, which resulted in permanent sequels.

- She later confirmed the offender's statement that she was addicted to medication and alcohol
- and even added that she was exasperating and belligerent when intoxicated, which resulted in occasional battering.
- Most of the time she started the fight by being mean to him.
- When she gave him her attention, though, such as by making a special meal for his birthday, the offender literally wept of happiness.

## Central assumptions with borderline individuals:

“The world is dangerous and malevolent,” “I am powerless and vulnerable,” and “I am inherently unacceptable”

His trial, his wife leaving him and the anxiety of being left by his second girlfriend brought these cognitions to a paroxysm.

- The offender felt unjustly abandoned by his wife, because in his perception his thievery was meant to prevent them from having to live in poverty.
- Also, he felt he was unjustifiably condemned by the jury.

- These events exacerbated
- the stress-related paranoid ideation that “society was against him”
  - his feelings of vulnerability and powerlessness.

PCL-R score < 15

- The mild psychopathic dimension within a BPD is consistent with a body of research having found overlap between psychopathy and
- borderline personality disorder.
- This overlap may characterize the impulsive, anxious, angrily reactive secondary psychopath described by Blackburn



Warning behaviors (Meloy, & O' Toole) : behavioral patterns indicating increasing threat.

Retrospectively:

1. Pathway warning behavior – any behavior that is part of research, planning, preparation or implementation of an attack.

- Acquisition of a rifle
- Sawing off the bud in order to be able to carry it in a common bag
- Testing of the weapon a week before the fatalities on an empty construction site.

## 2. Fixation warning behavior

any behavior that indicates an increasingly pathological preoccupation with a person or a cause.

Pathological fixation on the injustice he suffered

bullying with respect to his scars, the 7 year sentence and the loss of his wife



3. Novel aggression warning behavior – acts of violence unrelated to attack behavior that are committed for the first time. Such behaviors test the ability of the subject to actually do a violent act.

A couple of weeks prior to the mass murder, the offender joined another 'friend' of his in a hold up. The hold up went wrong and his accomplice killed the sales-woman in his presence.

- The rifle was his and will be used in the mass murder.

## 4. Leakage warning behavior

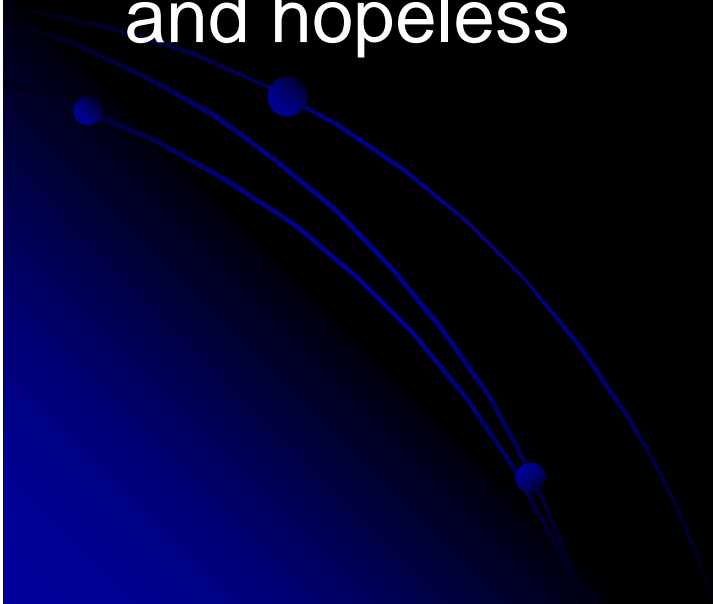
The communication to a third party of an intent to do harm to a target.

- The offender showed his rifle to a co-worker and to his girlfriend
- He used to drive around in the town where he was sentenced with his rifle (mostly at night).
- Prior to the facts he made it clear to his accomplice that he was “going all the way”.

## 5. Last resort warning behavior

increasing desperation or distress through declaration in word or deed.

- The offender wrote to the police inspectors that handled his case that he was desperate; that he was better off in jail etc.
- His boss and colleagues noticed he was down and hopeless



Were absent:

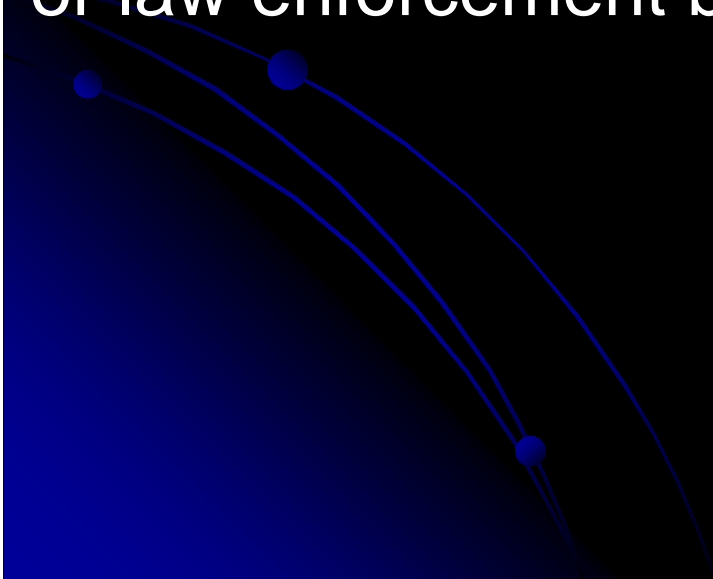
6. Identification warning behavior – any behavior that indicates a psychological desire to be a

- “pseudocommando,”
- have a “warrior mentality,”
- Closely associate with weapons or other military or law enforcement paraphernalia
- identify with previous attackers (e.g. mass murderers; Rambo movie) or
- identify oneself as an agent to advance a particular cause or belief system.

Were absent:

7. Energy burst warning behavior – an increase in the frequency or variety of any noted activities related to the target.

8. Directly communicated threat warning behavior the communication of a direct threat to the target or law enforcement beforehand.



As has frequently been observed with mass murderers, the offender was

- in his 30s
- divorced
- bullied at school
- socially isolated
- Attachment disorders (affect dysregulation)

The BPD is coherent with:

- the loss and unavailability of his parents in childhood
- the occurrence of aversive and repetitive stressful events.
- Depression, loneliness, stress-related paranoid ideas and the blaming of others also have often been found to be the core of this PD and of mass murderers, in particular. During the



- As is frequently the case, the precipitating event concerned a disturbance in the realm of love.
- The typical borderline fear and intolerance of being alone fueled ego-dystonic anger and revenge fantasies.
- The build-up of tension resulted in the subjective certitude that a homicidal act was the only way out.
- In summary, the present offender corresponds to the mass murder with borderline personality profile with mild antisocial patterns of behavior

- As is frequently the case, the precipitating event concerned a disturbance in the realm of love.
- The typical borderline fear and intolerance of being alone fueled ego-dystonic anger and revenge fantasies.
- The build-up of tension resulted in the subjective certitude that a homicidal act was the only way out.
- In summary, the present offender corresponds to the mass murder with borderline personality profile with mild antisocial patterns of behavior

- Retrospectively, 5 warning behaviors could be identified (which were not yet developed at the time the present mass murder happened).
- The early identification and interpretation of these behaviors might have warned and interdict the mass murder?

