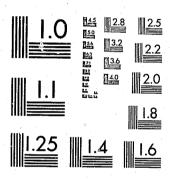
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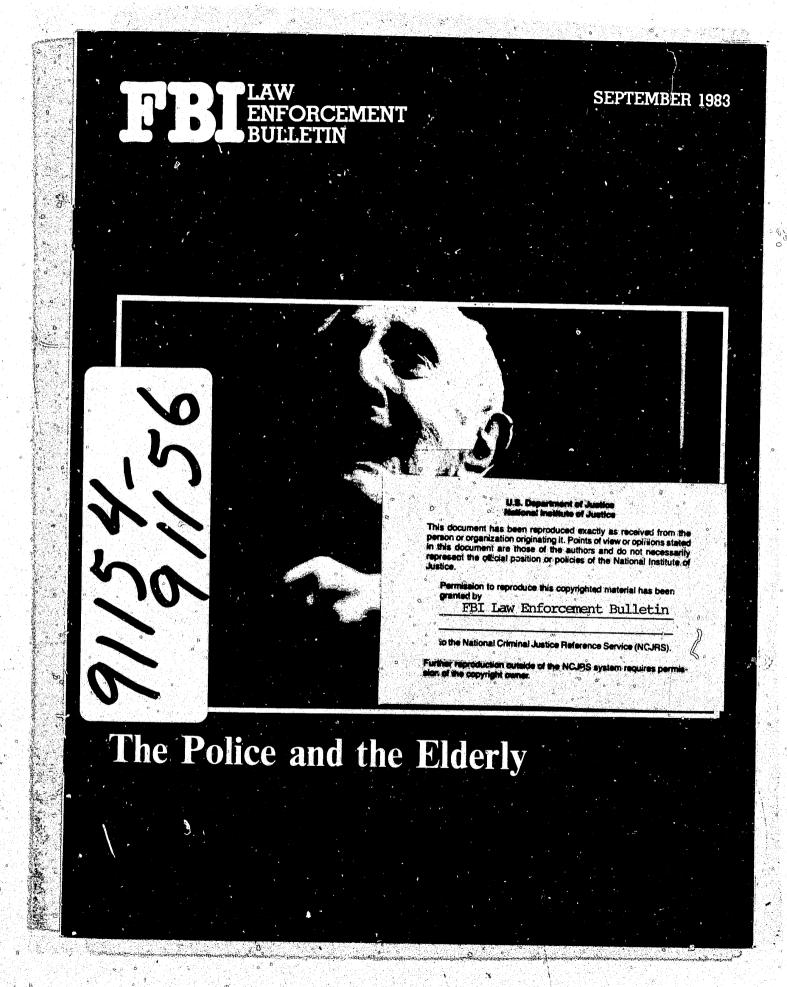


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The Behavior-oriented Interview of Rape Victims: The Key to Profiling reviewed crime we

By ROBERT R. HAZELWOOD

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"What is to be expected . . . is an understanding not merely of the deeds, but also the doers." 1

In October 1981, a police department submitted an investigative report of a rape, requesting that a criminal personality profile of the unidentified offender be prepared. A synopsis of that report follows:

On October 5, 1981, Alicia, a 21year-old Caucasian who resided alone, was asleep in her apartment. At approximately 2:30 a.m. she was awakened by a male, who placed his hand over her mouth and held a knife to her throat. The intruder warned her not to scream or resist and advised her that if she complied with his demands, she would not be harmed. He than forced her to remove her nightgown, kissed and fondled her. then raped her. After warning the victim not to call the police, he left. Ignoring the rapist's warning, she notified the police. The victim advised nothing had been stolen and that she could not provide a description of her assailant because he had placed a pillowcase over her head. The rapist was with the victim approximately 1 hour.

Needing additional information in order to complete a profile, the requesting agency was sent a set of questions specifically designed to elicit information from the victim concerning the rapist's behavior during the assault. The victim was reinterviewed, using the questions as a guide. As a result, a 9-page typewritten statement was obtained. Based on the new statement, a profile was prepared with opinion as to the offender's age, race, marital status, occupational level, arrest history, socioeconomic background, type and proximity of residence to victim, military history, approximate age and style of automobile, as well as certain personality characteristics. The rapist was subsequently arrested and confessed to a series of rapes. When the profile was compared to the offender, only the marital status was found to be in-

MOTIVATION

Since 1978, the FBI Academy's Behavioral Science Unit (BSU) has been assisting city, county, and State law enforcement agencies in their investigations of violent crimes by analyzing crime or crime scene data for offender behavior exhibited during the commission of those crimes. Previous publications by the BSU have addressed the development and use of profiling and related topics.² Hundreds of rape victims' statements submitted by police agencies seeking a criminal personality profile have been

reviewed. While the essentials of the crime were given, as well as a great deal of information concerning the offender's physical characteristics, there was a marked absence of information that would provide clues as to why the person was raping—that is, clues as to the offender's motivation (through his behavior) in carrying out the assault. As one study of convicted rapists and victims points out, rape is behavior which is primarily serving nonsexual needs.³

In an attempt to test this hypothesis, a set of questions was designed to elicit from the victim the behavioral aspects of the rapist. There is a definite need for the offender's physical description, but in addition, more attention should be devoted to the offender's behavior. In so doing, the purpose of the assault may become much clearer, thereby allowing the investigator better insight into the psychological and social aspects of the type of person he is seeking.

This article will deal with questioning the rape victim specifically for the purpose of determining the offender's motivational intent in the commission of the assault. Knowledge of why the rapist is committing the act provides clues to profiling the rapist.

PROFILING THE RAPIST

In preparing a rapist profile, three basic steps are essential:

- Careful interview of the victim regarding the rapist's behavior;
- Analysis of that behavior in an attempt to ascertain the motivation underlying the assault; and



Special Agent Hazelwood

 Compilation of a profile of the individual likely to have committed the crime in the manner reported and having the assumed motivation.

Interviewing the victim is the most crucial step in the process and is one that investigators can complete. The remaining steps are handled by profilers.

The Interview Atmosphere

Only the victim can provide the information necessary to complete an analysis of the crime. Therefore, it becomes essential for the investigator to establish a rapport with the victim through a professional and emphatic approach in order to help the victim overcome feelings generated by the rape, such as fear, anger, and guilt.

The interviewer must not allow his emotions to interfere with objectivity. During the interview, three personalities are present: The victim's, the criminal's, and the interviewer's. The investigator should view the crime through the eves of both the rapist and the victim. Personal feelings about the offense, the victim, and the criminal will cloud the picture of the crime. By remaining objective, the investigator may be surprised as to what an analysis of the crime reveals about the responsible individual. An excellent example of why this is necessary is illustrated in the following incident:

In a large metropolitan area, a series of rapes had plagued the police over a period of months. In each instance, the rapist had controlled his victim through threats and intimidation. One evening, a hospital orderly went off duty at midnight and happened upon a male beating a nurse in an attempt

to rape her. The orderly went to her rescue and subdued the attacker until the police arrived. Predictably, he received much attention from the media and received a citation for bravery from the city. Shortly thereafter, the orderly was arrested for the series of rapes mentioned earlier. During interrogation, he was asked why he had rescued the nurse when he was guilty of similar offenses. He became indignant and advised the officers that they were wrong. He would never "hurt" a woman.

This offender equated "hurt" with physical trauma. He either failed to consider, or completely ignored, emotional trauma. Intent becomes clear only when the crime is viewed from the motivational standpoint of the criminal. Once a reasonably safe assumption is made as to why the rape occurred, it is probable that the person who has exhibited this need through rape can be profiled. The basis for this hypothesis lies in the axiom that behavior reflects personality. The manner in which an individual behaves within his environment portrays the type of person he is. A person's self-esteem, educational level, social interaction, and life goals are revealed by that person's behavior. In rape cases, descriptions of offender behavior enables the investigator to form an opinion as to the type of person responsible.

"... it [is] essential for the investigator to establish a rapport with the victim through a professional and empathetic approach. . . . "

It is not uncommon to encounter two rape cases from different investigative jurisdictions in the same day, with strikingly similar offender behavior. Obviously, the crimes were committed by different individuals, yet the assaults are almost identical. Why? As Groth, Burgess, and Holmstrom point out, "... rape is in fact serving primarily non-sexual needs." 4 Therefore, if a similar need exists, it is probable that a similar assault will occur. In other words, each of the two rapists was satisfying a similar need. It should not be surprising that a comparison of the rapists after arrest many times reveals that they are as similar as their assaultive behavior.

QUESTIONING FOR BEHAVIOR

Three forms of behavior are exhibited by most rapists: Physical (force). verbal, and sexual. Categorizing the offender's behavior into these three areas presents a much clearer and less biased view of the offender. The interview must be conducted in a tactful, professional, probative manner. The investigator must impress upon the victim that he is concerned not only with the arrest and conviction of the offender but also with the victim's welfare. She has been involved in a life-threatening situation, and the importance of recognizing this cannot be overemphasized. The investigator should inform the victim that by his obtaining detailed and personal information, the identification of the offender may be expedited through a criminal personality pro-

Method of Approach **Used by Offender**

A rapist, in choosing a method of approaching and subduing his intended victim, chooses a method he believes to be most successful. Three categories of approaches were identified: "Con," "blitz." and "surprise."

In the "con" approach, the offender approaches the victim openly with a subterfuge or ploy. Frequently, he will offer some sort of assistance or will request directions. He is initially pleasant, friendly, and may even be charming. His goal is to gain the victim's confidence until he is in a position to overcome any resistance she might offer. Quite often, for different reasons, he exhibits a sudden change in attitude toward the victim once she is within his control. In some instances, the motivation for the attitudinal change is the necessity to convince the victim he is serious about the rape. Other times, it is merely a reflection of inner hostility toward the female gender. This style of approach suggests an individual who has confidence in his ability to interact with

A person employing the "blitz" approach uses direct and immediate physical assault in subduing his victim. He allows her no opportunity to cope physically or verbally and will frequently gag, blindfold, or bind his victim. His attack may occur frontally or from the rear, and he may use disabling gasses or chemicals. The use of such an approach suggests hostility toward women. This attitude may also be reflected in his other relationships with females. The offender's interaction with women in nonrape relationships is likely to be selfish and onesided, resulting in numerous, relatively short involvements with women.

In the "surprise" approach, the rapist either waits for the victim in the back seat of a car, steps out from behind a wall or the woods, etc., or he may wait until she is sleeping. Typically, this individual uses threats and/or a weapon to subdue her. This style suggests two possibilities: (1) The victim may have been largeted or selected, or (2) the offender does not feel sufficiently confident to approach the victim either physically of through subterfuge tactics.

Offender's Control of the Victim

Once the offender has physical control over his victim, his next task is to maintain that control. The manner used depends on the passiveness of his victim, his motivation in committing the assault, or a combination of the two factors. Four control methods have been observed: Mere presence. verbal threats, display of a weapon, and use of physical force.

Depending upon the emotional response and fear of the victim, it is very possible that the offender's mere presence will control the victim. This response may be difficult for a person removed from the actual situation to understand. Quite often we judge a victim's reaction on the basis of what we believe we would do, rather than taking into account the victim's personality, the circumstances surrounding the assault, and the victim's fear.

orders and threatening remarks promising physical violence if compliance is not forthcoming. Obtaining the context of these verbal threats (verbatim, if possible) and determining whether the threats were carried out are important in ascertaining the motivational factors behind the assault.

If a rapist displays a weapon, it is important to determine at what point he either displayed it or indicated that he had one? Did the victim see it? Was it a weapon of choice, such as a gun or switchblade, or of opportunity. such as a kitchen knife, screwdriver, etc.? Did he relinquish control of itgive it to the victim, put it down, or put it away-and did he inflict any physical injury with the weapon?

The use and amount of physical force in a rape attack is a key determinant of offender motivation. The interviewer should determine the amount of physical force, when it was employed, and the rapists' attitude prior to, during, and after its employment

Because the amount of force used by a rapist provides valuable insight into the motivational needs of the individual, the interviewer should elicit from the victim a precise description of the physical force involved. Frequently, the victim will exaggerate when responding to this question, either because she wants to be believed or because she has never been struck or physically attacked before. An example would be the victim who, having never been slapped or spanked as a child or an adult, is slapped twice during a rape and reports that the attacker was brutal. Another victim may not distinquish between the sexual assault and the physical assault. For these reasons, four levels of physical assault

riving at an opinion as to the amount of force used.

At the first level-minimal forcethere is little or no physical force used. While mild slapping may occur, the force is employed more to intimidate than to punish. At this level, the rapist is typically not profane.

When the rapist employs moderate force, he will repeatedly slap or hit the victim in a painful manner, even in the absence of resistance. He typically uses profanity throughout the attack and is very abusive.

When excessive force is used. the victim is beaten, possibly on all parts of her body. She will have bruises and lacerations and may require hospitalization. Again, the rapist is very profane and directs personal and derogatory remarks toward the

At the fourth level of physical assault-brutal force-the victim is subjected to sadistic torture, with instruments or other devices often being employed. Intentional infliction of physical and emotional pain is the primary aim of the offender; he is extremely profane, abusive, and aggressive. Frequently, the victim dies or reguires extensive hospitalization.

The victim, when ordered to act, has two available options-comply or resist. Three methods of resistance have been identified: Passive, verbal, and physical. While most interviewers are alert to physical or verbal resistance by victims, they often tend to overlook or disregard passive resistance. Passive resistance is evidenced

Many victims are intimidated by have been developed to assist in ar- when the victim does not resist physically or verbally but also does not comply with the rapist's demands. An example would be a victim who is ordered to disrobe, but without verbal or physical accompaniment, simply does nothing. Verbal resistance is offered by the victim screaming, pleading, refusing, or attempting to reason or negotiate with her attacker. While crying is a verbal act, it is not considered to be resistance in this context. Any physical act taken by the victim to preclude, delay, or reduce the attack is considered resistance. Hitting, kicking, scratching, gouging, or running are examples of this form of resist-

Offender's Reaction to Resistance

People react to stressful situations in various ways. While rape is certainly stressful to the victim, it also creates stressors for the attacker. who fears being identified or arrested, being injured or ridiculed, or being successfully rebuffed. Therefore, it becomes crucial for the investigator to learn how the rapist reacted to any resistance offered by the victim.

Cases submitted for profiling indicate five rapist reactions: Ceasing the demand, compromising, fleeing, use of threats, and use of force. In some instances, a rapist who encounters resistance will not insist or attempt to force compliance. Instead, he will cease his current demand and move to another demand or phase of the attack. In other cases, the subject will compromise or negotiate by suggesting, or allowing the victim to suggest, alternatives. For instance, the rapist may demand or attempt anal sex, but upon encountering resistance, he will

"A rapist reveals a great deal about himself and the motivation behind the assault through verbal activity with the victim."

alter his demand to vaginal sex with no further attempt at anal sex. The rapist sometimes leaves the scene of the assault after being resisted. This fleeing reaction is interesting in that it suggests the offender either had no desire to "force" the victim or was unprepared for the victim's reaction and/or the attention it might bring.

The offender may resort to threats, either verbal or physical, in an attempt to gain compliance. If the victim continues to resist, it is important to learn whether the offender followed through with his threatened action. Certain rapists resort to force only if they experience victim resistance. In these cases, the interviewer should determine the degree of force used and its duration.

SEXUAL DYSFUNCTIONS

Coleman defines the term "sexual dysfunction" as an "impairment either in the desire for sexual gratification or in the ability to achieve it." ⁵ In a study of 170 rapists, Groth and Burgess determined that 34 percent of the offender population suffered a sexual dysfunction during the assault. ⁶ Many times, the victim is either not asked if a dysfunction occurred or the fact is simply noted without further inquiry.

The occurrence of offender sexual dysfunction, coupled with an investigative understanding of the dysfunction, may provide valuable information about the unidentified rapist.

When interviewing a rape victim, the investigator should be alert to the possibility that she may not volunteer such information because she does not consider it significant, she is embarrassed by the acts demanded to correct the dysfunction, or she is ignorant of such facts and did not recognize it as a dysfunction. For this reason, it behooves the investigator to explain the various sexual dysfunctions affecting males and their meaningfulness and inquire as to the occurrence of each type.

Erectile Insufficiency

Formally classified as impotence. this type of dysfunction affects the males' ability to obtain or maintain an erection sufficient for sexual intercourse. Masters and Johnson describe two types of erectile insufficiency as primary and secondary.7 Males suffering from primary insufficiency have never been able to maintain an erection sufficient for intravaginal ejaculation. While this type is relatively rare and not generally of concern to the investigator, it is discussed in the interest of completeness. In secondary insufficiency, the male is currently unable to obtain or maintain an erlec-

Groth and Burgess identified a third form of insufficiency termed conditional. In such cases, the rapist is unable to become erect until there is forced oral and manual stimulation by the victim. BSU data suggest that the methods of resolvement may not be limited to the ones aforementioned but may include any condition demanded by the offender. The required condition may be sexual acts, such as anal sex, analingus, etc., or haveing the victim say certain words or phrases or dress in certain clothing.

Groth and Burgess compared erectile insufficiency among a group of rapists with a group of 448 nonrapist patients studied by Masters and Johnson. They found that in both instances, it was the most commonly experienced dysfunction.⁸

Premature Ejaculation

"Ejaculation which occurs immediately before or immediately after penetration is termed premature ejaculation." ⁹ In their study, Groth and Burgess found that this dysfunction affected 3 percent of the rapists.

Retarded Ejaculation

With retarded ejaculation, the rapist experiences difficulty in ejaculating or fails to ejaculate. Contrary to popular belief, the individual experiencing retarded dysfunction is not controlling seminal discharge and prolonging enjoyment, but is denied sexual gratification by his inability to ejaculate.

Groth and Burgess reported that 15 percent of the rapist population suffered retarded ejaculation. ¹⁰ Masters and Johnson found it to be so rare among their patients that they did not rank it with a percentage. ¹¹ Failure to consider the possibility of retarded ejaculation may prejudice the victim's version of multiple and extended assaults. ¹²

Conditioned Ejaculation

The final type of dysfunction observed in cases submitted for profile is one on which there has been no research conducted. The rapist experiencing conditioned ejaculation has no

difficulty in obtaining or maintaining an erection and can ejaculate only after certain conditions have been met. Most often, the conditions involve particular sexual acts.

TYPE AND SEQUENCE OF SEXUAL ACTS OCCURRING DURING AN ASSAULT

Holmstrom and Burgess suggest that documenting the kinds of sex acts that occur during rape helps us understand rape. 13 In determining the motivation behind a rape assault, it is imperative to ascertain the type and sequence of sexual assault. This may be difficult because of the emotional trauma experienced by the victim and her reluctance to discuss certain aspects of the crime because of fear. shame, or humiliation. Quite often, however, the investigator can overcome the victim's reluctance through a professional and empathetic approach. While it is common for interviewers to ask about vaginal, oral, and anal acts, they do not often ask questions pertaining to kissing, fondling, use of foreign objects, digital manipulation of the vagina or anus, fetishism, voyeurism, or exhibitionism on the part of the offender. In a sample of 115 adult, teenage, and child rape victims. Holmstrom and Burgess reported vaginal sex as the most frequent act but they also reported 18 other sexual acts.14 Repetition and sequence of acts are infrequently reported. More commonly, the report is likely to state "the victim was raped, vaginally assaulted, or raped repeatedly."

Forced sexual acts may have various sociopsychological meanings.15 By analyzing the sequence of the assault, it may be possible to determine whether the offender was acting out a fantasy, experimenting, or committing the sexual acts to punish or degrade the victim. For example, the acts of oral and anal sex are forced on a victim. If anal sex were followed by fellatio, the motivation to punish and degrade would be strongly suggested. In acting out a fantasy, the offender normally engages in kissing, fondling, and/or cunnilingus. If fellatio occurs, it generally precedes anal sex. With sexual experimentation, the offender is moderately forceful in his physical contact with the victim and is verbally profane and derogatory toward her. In this instance, fellatio may either pre-

VERBAL ACTIVITY OF THE RAPIST

cede or follow anal sex.

A common stereotype of the male rapist's attack is that he uses physical force to attain power and control over victims. Not only do rapists use physically based strategies, but they also use a second set of strategies oased on language. 16

A apist reveals a great deal about himself and the motivation behind the assault through verbal activity with the victim. For this reason, it becomes extremely important to elicit from the victim everything the rapist said and the manner—tone and attitude—in which it was said.

In a study of 115 rape victims, Holmstrom and Burgess reported 11 major themes in rapists' conversations, including "threats, orders, confidence lines, personal inquiries of the victim, personal revelations by the rapist, obscene names and racial epitaphs, inquiries about the victim's sexual 'enjoyment,' soft-sell depar-

tures, sexual put-downs, possession of women, and taking property from another male." ¹⁷

Preciseness is important. For example, a rapist who states, "I'm going to hurt you if you don't do what I say," has, in effect, threatened the victim, whereas the rapist who says, "Do what I say and I won't hurt you," may be reassuring the victim in an attempt to alleviate her fear of physical injury and gain her compliance without force. An offender who states, "I want to make love to you," has used a passive and affectionate phrase which is indicative of one who does not want to harm the victim physically. Conversely, a statement such as, "I'm going to f--- you," is much more aggressive verbage with no affection intended and suggests hostility and anger toward women.

Compliments directed toward the victim, politeness, expressions of concern, apologies, and discussions of the offender's personal life, whether fact or fiction, indicates low self-esteem on the part of the offender. On the other hand, derogatory, profane, threatening, and/or abusive verbage is suggestive of anger and the use of sex to punish or degrade the victim.

When analyzing a rape victim's statement, the interviewer is advised to write down an adjective that accurately describes each of the offender's statements, for example, "You're a beautiful person" (complimentary); "Shut up b---" (hostility); "Am I hurting you?" (concern). This assists the interviewer in gaining a better insight into the offender's motivation and personality.

"In attempting to determine the experience level of the rapist, the investigator should determine what actions the offender took to protect his identity, remove physical or trace evidence, and/or facilitate his escape."

VERBAL ACTIVITY OF VICTIM

What a person says to his sexual partner during consenting intercourse can be either gratifying or harmful to a relationship. In a nonconsenting situation such as rape, the rapist may demand from the victim certain words or phrases that enhance the act for him. By determining what, if anything, the victim was forced to say, the interviewer is made aware of what gratifies the rapist and gains insights into the needs (motivation) of the offender. For example, a rapist who demands such phrases as "I love you," "Make love to me," or "You're better than my husband" suggests a need for affection or ego-building. One who demands that the victim plead or forces her to scream suggests a sexual sadist-one who enjoys the total and absolute control and domination involved. If the victim is forced to speak in a self-demeaning or derogatory manner, the offender may be motivated by anger and hostility.

SUDDEN CHANGE IN THE OFFENDER'S ATTITUDE **DURING ATTACK**

The victim should be specifically asked whether she observed any change in the attitude of the rapist during the time he was with her. Did he become angry, contrite, physically abusive, or apologetic, and was this a departure from his previous attitude? If the victim reports an attitudinal change, she should be asked to recall what immediately preceded the change. A sudden and unexpected behavioral change may be reflective of a weakness or fear on the part of the offender, and it becomes important to determine what precipitated that change.

Factors which may cause such sudden behavioral changes include offender sexual dysfunction, external disruptions (a phone ringing, noise, or a knock on the door), victim resistance, a lack of fear on the part of the victim, ridicule or scorn, or even completion of the rape.

An attitudinal change may occur verbally, physically, or sexually. As previously mentioned, the rape is stressful not only for the victim but also for the offender. How he behaviorally reacts to stress may become important in future interrogations, and knowledge of the precipitating factor that caused the change is a valuable psychological tool to the investigator.

In attempting to determine the experience level of the rapist, the investigator should determine from the victim what actions the offender took to protect his identity, remove physical or trace evidence, and/or facilitate his escape. It may be possible to conclude from the offender's actions whether he is a novice or an experienced offender who may have previously been arrested for rape or similar offenses.

While most rapists take at least some action, such as wearing a mask or telling the victim not to look at them, to protect their identity, some go to great lengths to protect themselves from future prosecution. As in any criminal act, the more rapes a person commits, the more proficient he becomes in eluding detection. If a person is arrested because of a mistake and later repeats the crime, it is not likely that he will repeat the same costly error.

The offender's experience level can sometimes be determined from the protective actions he takes. The novice rapist is a person who is not familiar with modern medical or police technology and who takes minimal or obvious actions to protect his identity. For example, he may wear a ski mask and gloves, change his voice tone. affect an accent, order the victim not to look at him, or blindfold and bind the victim. These are common precautions a person not knowledgeable of phosphotate tests or hair and fiber evidence would be expected to take.

When an experienced rapist is involved, the investigator may note factors in the offender's modus operandi which are indicative of one who has more than common knowledge of police and medical developments. The rapist may walk through the residence or prepare an escape route prior to the sexual assault, disable the victim's telephone prior to entry or departure, order the victim to shower or douche, bring bindings or gags rather than using those available at the scene, wear surgical gloves during the assault, or take or force the victim to wash items the rapist touched or ejaculated on, such as bedding and the victim's clothing.

As in all such subjective analysisthe projected experience level of the rapist is approximated, based on the offender's actions and the investigator's interpretation of those actions.

MISSING ITEMS

Almost without exception, police record the theft of items from rape victims. All too often, however, investigators fail to probe the matter further unless it involves articles of value. The profiler is not only interested in if something was taken but why it was taken. The item stolen may provide information valuable in determining a characteristic about the criminal, providing an aid in the investigative process. In some cases, the victim initially may not realize something was taken, i.e., one photograph from a group or one pair of panties from a drawer. For this reason, the victim should be asked to inventory such items.

Missing items fall into one of three categories: Evidentiary, valuables, and personal. As previously mentioned, the rapist who takes evidentiary items—those he has touched or on which he has ejaculated-suggests prior rape experience and/or an arrest history for similar offenses. One who takes items of value may be experiencing financial difficulties, such as unemployment or employment in a job providing little income. The type of missing items may also provide a clue as to the age of the rapist. Younger rapists have been noted to steal items such as stereos, televisions, etc., while older rapists tend to take jewelry or items more easily concealed and transported. Personal items taken sometimes include photographs of the victim, lingerie, driver's license, etc. These types of items have no intrinsic value, but instead serve to remind the offender of the occurrence and the

A final factor to consider is whether the offender later returns the item to the victim, and if so, why. Some do so to maintain power over the victim by intimidation, while others wish to convince the victim thev meant no harm to her life and wish to convince themselves that they are not bad persons.

Rapists quite often target or select their victims prior to committing the crime. A series of rapes involving victims who were either alone or in the company of small children is a very strong indication that the offender was well aware of his victim's vulnerability. either through peeping or surveillance activities. He may also have entered the residence or communicated with the victim prior to the offense. For this reason, the investigator should determine whether the victim or her neighbors have experienced any of the following prior to the rape:

- 1) Calls or notes from unidentified nersons:
- 2) Residential or automobile break-
- 3) Prowlers or peeping toms; or
- 4) A feeling that she was being watched or followed.

Frequently, rapists who do target or select their victims have prior arrests for breaking and entering, prowling, peeping tom activities, and/or theft of feminine clothing.

CONCLUSION

Rape is a deviant sexual activity serving nonsexual needs. Through an analysis of the offender's verbal. sexual, and physical behavior, it may be possible to determine what needs were being served and to project personality characteristics of the individual having such needs. It must be remembered that the only available source of information about such behavior is the victim; therefore, it is necessary to establish a rapport with the victim through empathy and professionalism. One must isolate personal feelings about the crime and the criminal and view the crime through the eyes of the rapist.

If, in fact, behavior reflects personality, it would seem obvious that a set of questions designed specifically to elicit behavioral information would be the first step in the analysis of a rape. The questions set forth in this article were developed and refined over a period of 4 years and have been found to be of inestimable value in understanding the personality involved in the crime of rape.

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- 9 Ibid. 10 Ibid.
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- ¹² A. N. Groth, Men Who Rape (New York: Plenus Press, 1979), p. 88.
- 13 L. L. Holmstrom and A. W. Burgess, "Sexual Behavior of Assailants During Rape," *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, vol. 9, No. 5, 1980, p. 437.
- 15 Ibid., p. 427.
- 16 L. L. Holmstrom and A. W. Burgess, "Rapist's Talk: Linguistic Strategles to Control the Victim," Devian Behavior, vol. 1, 1979, p. 101,

