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Law Enforcement Bulletin

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FBI

Law Enforcement Bulletin



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The Cover:

Minneapolis police officer and his canine partner
make friends in the community.

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An Introduction to the Serial Rapist Research by the FBI

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From 1979 to 1981, a series of rapes plagued the community members and police agency of a large Southwest city. The rapist became increasingly violent in his attacks and successfully eluded detection, despite the best efforts of law enforcement. He was identified and later arrested through the efforts of an alert officer who noted the license number of the rapist's car while it was parked in a deserted shopping center near a victim's residence. The officer noted the license number because the automobile was expensive and a prime target for thieves. A few hours later, the officer heard about the rape. He also learned that the victim's car had been taken and abandoned in the parking area where he had seen the

expensive automobile. The officer provided investigators with the license number he had noted earlier; a surveillance was initiated, and the rapist was subsequently arrested. Could law enforcement have done anything to identify the offender more quickly?

From 1984 to 1985, the incidence of reported rapes increased by 3.7 percent.¹ This increase may be due to an actual rise in the occurrence of the crime, to better reporting by law enforcement, or to more willingness on the part of the victims to report the crime. Regardless of the reason, statistically, rape appears to be occurring more frequently.

One of the most potent criminal influences to pervade our society is the multiple, or serial, rapist. His victims

can number from as few as 2 to more than 100, and each person who has suffered through a sexual assault has felt the fear of losing her life. The effects of rape do not cease for the victim when the offender leaves, but can last for weeks, months, or years.²

Serial sexual offenders can create a climate of fear in the entire community, who then pressure law enforcement to identify, locate, and apprehend the responsible individual in the shortest possible time. The manpower required to accomplish this task can be enormous. A police agency investigating a series of 18 rapes and 31 attempted rapes dedicated 50 officers to a task force to stop the crimes. A current investigation of a serial rapist (43



Lieutenant Mills



Robert L. Haworth
Director of Public Safety

DO NOT FILE

Figure 1

$$\begin{aligned}
 \$6,514,272 \times 69\% &= \$4,494,848 \div 31,412 = \$143/\text{residential unit} \\
 \$6,514,272 \times 22\% &= \$1,433,140 \div 11,500,000 = 12\frac{1}{2}\%/\text{commercial sq. ft.}
 \end{aligned}$$

forcement service, e.g., a tourist whose car is burglarized or two out-of-jurisdiction drivers who have a traffic accident. The police department should use a random sample statistical method to obtain these data, since most agencies cannot categorize responses or calls for service without physically examining the record and the annual volume, at times, is prohibitive, unless the information has been computerized.

Then, using the data gathered, a formula (capital asset inventory multiplied by the use percentage divided by unit measurement) is applied to establish the impact fee amount that will be charged to the developer of new growth. For example, assume a police department's capital asset inventory has a total replacement value of \$6,514,272, the jurisdiction it serves has 31,412 residential units and 11,500,000 square feet of commercial structures, and police service is 69 percent residential responses, 22 percent commercial responses, and 9 percent "other" responses. The procedure for establishing the impact fee is shown in figure 1.

The resulting figures correlate as the cost to provide total police capital service to each existing residential unit and commercial development within the jurisdiction. The "other" response category cannot be charged to either the new residential or commercial de-

velopers and must be absorbed by the existing tax base.

It is recommended that the impact fee be reviewed and readjusted every other year to reflect the jurisdiction's costs to provide capital services at that time. One of the features of an impact fee is that it is self-adjusting; a small number of new structures does not significantly increase the need for additional equipment nor does it generate considerable capital. Conversely, in a rapidly growing jurisdiction, the impact fee provides the revenues to keep pace with capital needs without burdening the taxpayers already residing in the jurisdiction. Then, as the community grows, the increased tax base can be used to pay the costs associated with hiring additional police personnel.

Finally, many elected officials have expressed concern that the imposition of impact fees will eventually cause developers to go elsewhere to build. That same concern has been expressed in every other jurisdiction where impact fees have been assessed; however, not one example can be cited where this has been the result. As long as efficient and effective governmental services are provided in a community where a high quality of life is available and taxes are kept at a reasonable level, the jurisdiction can be expected to continue to grow, irrespective of the presence of impact fees.

FBI



Special Agent Hazelwood

attacks to date) involves a task force of more than 20 investigators, 5 support personnel, and the assistance of crime technicians for 8 months.

Unless the sexual assault occurs on Federal property, the FBI's involvement in rape investigations is limited to training and providing investigative support when requested by the responsible law enforcement agency. This investigative support most often comes in the form of criminal personality profiling.

Profilers predicate the profile of a serial rapist on core behavior exhibited by the offender while committing the offense. Core behavior is defined as the verbal, sexual, and physical (force) activity of the rapist.³ If well-documented, it should provide the offender's underlying motivation (power, anger, or a combination of the two), and from this, a profile is developed. To keep the FBI's training and investigative support as current and comprehensive as possible, members of the FBI's National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime (NCAVC) conducted research on the serial rapist—research designed to address those issues of concern to law enforcement.

Funded by a grant from the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, the FBI's NCAVC joined with a team led by Dr. Ann Burgess of the University of Pennsylvania's School of Nursing in a research project to learn more about the serial rapist. The same team recently completed similar research on serial murderers.⁴

This research included interviews with 41 incarcerated serial rapists responsible for 837 rapes and more than 400 attempted rapes. The interviews of the 35 Caucasians, 5 Blacks, and 1 Hispanic took place in 12 States over a 20-

month period. The number of rapes committed by those in the sample ranged from 10 to 59, and the mean age of the offender at the time of interview was 35.2. The period of time that the offenders raped before their first arrest ranged from 3 months to 12 years. Fifteen of the 41 rapists were in sex offender treatment programs at the time of the interview.

The purpose of this article is not to present conclusions or findings, but to acquaint the law enforcement community with the type of research the NCAVC conducts. NCAVC's research is unique because it represents the first time anyone has studied serial and violent crime and offenders from a law enforcement perspective. In the past, such research has been conducted from a clinical or academic perspective, which left questions vital to law enforcement unanswered. The research team will disseminate the findings of this study to law enforcement through future issues of the *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin* and other professional journals, as well as through lectures and courses taught by FBI personnel. This article will present the goals of the research, the criteria used in selecting the interviewees, the methods used to conduct the interviews, and a synopsis of one interview that provides the reader with the type of information elicited from the rapists.

Goals of the Research

Based on the experience of working with police agencies, victims of rape, and the mental health community, the research team established seven specific goals:

- 1) To determine what measures the offender used that allowed him to

EDITOR'S NOTE:

Portions of this article were presented in testimony before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations, April 9, 1986.



Dr. Burgess

- evade identification and apprehension over a long period of time;
- 2) To ascertain what, if anything, law enforcement could have done to identify the rapist more quickly or cause him to cease his activities and/or turn himself in;
 - 3) To elicit advice from the rapists on how to prevent rape, and suggestions about what a victim should do or not do in a rape confrontation;
 - 4) To document the types of interviewers and techniques that would be most successful in the interrogation of subjects for prosecution purposes;
 - 5) To determine what role, if any, pornography and/or detective magazines played in the crime (the detective magazine issue resulted from earlier research);⁵
 - 6) To understand what features of the crime would provide investigators with the best information as to the type of personality responsible for the unsolved rape; and
 - 7) To determine what, if any, commonalities exist in the backgrounds of serial offenders in rape, sexual murder, and child sexual abduction.

As the team statistically analyzes and studies the results of the interviews, they certainly will address many additional areas of interest.

Selection Criteria

The researchers limited interviews of incarcerated offenders to those who had committed 10 or more rapes and

who had exhausted their judicial appeals. They did not consider attempted rapes and other types of sexual offenses when selecting the interviewees.

The researchers established the criterion of 10 or more rapes for 3 reasons. First, logic dictated that an individual who had raped 10 or more times was quite successful in eluding law enforcement. One of the goals of the research was to determine how the rapist accomplished this. The more-proficient offender can provide more-meaningful information than the offender who had raped only once, twice, or three times before getting caught.

Second, the research team wanted to learn if the serial rapist becomes progressively more violent over time. They were much more likely to observe an escalation of violence with a larger number of crimes to study.

Last, the investigators were interested to know what, if any, changes in core behavior or method of operation (MO) occur over time. This information cannot always be observed in cases involving a few offenses, and if observed, cannot be documented as either atypical or permanent behavioral changes.

While some might criticize the criterion of 10 or more rapes as not representing the typical rapist encountered by law enforcement, they must consider the hypothesis that all rapists are potential serial rapists; some just get caught before they become serial offenders. Also, the serial rapist poses the greatest investigative challenge for law enforcement.

The second criterion, exhaustion of all judicial appeals, was critical to the involvement of NCAVC personnel. FBI

"This research included interviews with 41 incarcerated serial rapists responsible for 837 rapes and more than 400 attempted rapes."

Special Agents conducted all the interviews, and any pending appeals would have legally precluded the interviewers from speaking to the offenders without first advising them of their constitutional rights.

The team identified the rapists meeting the criteria in a number of ways. Local, State, and county law enforcement officers who had attended the FBI National Academy helped identify a large proportion of the sample, and they provided invaluable assistance to the research team, as did several FBI Special Agents throughout the United States. Mental health professionals involved in sex offender treatment programs or affiliated with State prisons, as well as prison authorities, also helped identify rapists willing to participate in the research. The research probably would have failed without the interagency and interdisciplinary cooperation that took place.

The Research Interview

Members of the NCAVC and other selected FBI Special Agents (SAs), all of whom have advanced degrees or extensive training in the behavioral sciences, conducted the 41 interviews. Traditionally, such research has been conducted from other than a law enforcement perspective. This research involved eliciting information of value to investigators tasked to solve the crime of rape. The use of SAs as research interviewers combined investigative, interview, and behavioral science skills not ordinarily found in violent offender research. This proved very helpful in extracting information that law enforcement can quickly put to investigative use. For example, the research has determined that the less-mature or less-

experienced rapist is more likely to steal items that are cumbersome and more easily traced (e.g., stereos, TVs, VCRs). The less-mature individual perceives such items as easily disposable, giving no thought to the fact that these items are difficult to transport, hard to conceal, and easily traced. The more-mature or experienced rapist tends to take money or jewelry.

The SAs prepared for their interviews by studying all available documentation pertaining to the rapists and their crimes. When necessary, they reviewed this documentation with the permission of the interviewees. The materials included police investigative reports, victim statements, pre-sentence investigation reports, medical and mental health records, and pertinent prison records.

Two SAs then met each rapist in the presence of a prison employee, normally a mental health professional, and explained the purpose and format of the interview. A statement regarding the purpose and confidentiality of the interview that indicated the prisoner's consent to participate was signed and witnessed. The SAs always provided a copy of the form to the prisoner. Only three individuals declined interviews after meeting with FBI Agents. The willingness of the rapists to participate did not surprise the researchers, because 36 sexual murderers had previously agreed to FBI research interviews.⁶

The interviews were open-ended and generally unstructured. In all but seven cases, the prisoner consented to having the conversations tape recorded. The interviews, ranging from 4½ to 12½ hours in length, drained all

involved, both mentally and emotionally. The SAs left interruptions for food and other reasons entirely up to the offender. Surprisingly, few desired food breaks. Most preferred instead to continue the discussion.

Areas of discussion included familial and demographic information; education; employment; military history; hobbies and pastimes; marital history; sexual development; pre-offense, offense, and post-offense behavior; investigation and interrogation techniques; and rape prevention and confrontation.

Because of the large number of crimes involved, it would have been impossible to discuss the pre-offense, offense, and post-offense behavior for each crime. Therefore, the interviewers focused on the first, a middle, and the last assault in the offender's series of rapes. This technique proved to be quite successful in eliciting the desired information for a large number of crimes.

The Agents delayed asking about sexual development and offense behavior until well into the interview, after they had established rapport with the rapist. The offenders found these discussion areas the most troublesome. The interviewers had to continually develop techniques to overcome the offenders' reluctance to talk about certain topics. For example, when asked to discuss his family, one offender replied, "I can sum it up in one word—hate." The interviewers then asked him to define hate as he was using the word, and the interview proceeded.

Finally, the SAs asked the offenders to critique the research interviews. Their comments or suggestions sometimes proved helpful in structuring later

"[This research] represents the first time anyone has studied serial and violent crime and offenders from a law enforcement perspective."

interviews. For example, FBI Agents are trained to exhibit their credentials when meeting someone in an official capacity. One of the first interviewees told the Agents he believed the show of credentials to be an unwarranted display of power that made him feel uncomfortable. Needless to say, the Agents showed their credentials only on request in future interviews.

Immediately following the interview, the Agents completed a 70-page protocol that the research team had adapted from an instrument developed for the serial murderer research. Tape recordings of the interviews were transcribed and the transcriptions then summarized for research use. The researchers computerized hard data (statistical information) and retained soft data (narrative information) separately.

As mentioned earlier, all involved were mentally and emotionally fatigued after these interviews. One cannot leave such an interview without experiencing a strong sense of sympathy for the victims of rape and an occasional feeling of empathy for the offender. There were documented instances of childhood physical, sexual, or emotional abuse suffered by some of the rapists. Those who read of such occurrences, or watch a man cry as he describes his father beating or raping his mother in front of him, cannot help but feel a sense of outrage toward the parents of the offender. Investigators must never cease to experience these essential human emotions. Without them, a person will become callous and lose effectiveness as an investigator or a researcher.

A CASE STUDY

The following case indicates the type of offender interviewed and the information obtained during the interview

or from documentation. Though only a synopsis, it provides insight into the development of a serial rapist and his behavior prior to, during, and after one crime. The subject, whom we'll call John, was not and had never been enrolled in a sex offender treatment program. Those who were in such programs tended to use institutionalized language.

Family

Born in 1944, John was one of three children. He had a twin sister and a younger sister. His mother and stepfather raised him; he didn't meet his natural father until he was in his late 20's. At the time of the interview, John stated that he considers his natural father a casual friend.

John's step-father was a logger and successful in this field until an injury forced him to become a warehouseman. The family moved several times during the stepfather's logging career, before settling in a city where John spent his teenage years. The mother became a waitress following her husband's injury, but prior to that time, she had not worked outside the home.

He was repeatedly in trouble with his parents as a child, a fact for which he held his sisters responsible. They would violate family rules and place the blame on John. His relationship with his parents was "at times explosive and at times rather close." When he went fishing or hunting with his step-father, the relationship was quite good, but when at home, he always "felt distant from them." He stated, "It seemed that the only time they would talk to me was when I was in trouble." John believed that his parents loved his younger sister (the step-father's natural child) more than him, and consequently, he became very jealous of her.

John stated that he was not physically, emotionally, or sexually abused as a child, but subsequent statements proved the contrary. His mother had a violent temper, and he tried to avoid being punished by her. "She would hit anywhere she could land and used belts, switches, or anything she could lay her hand on." John stated that most of his punishment consisted of spankings with a belt and that he was informed as to why he was being punished. He related that his mother frequently used a great deal of profanity toward him. She would say such things as, "You little son of a bitch," or call him "bastard" or "asshole." "Even to this day," he claimed, "she tries to manipulate people by putting them down or making them feel guilty." He identified his mother as the dominant parent, indicating that she would "harp" at the step-father until he did what she wanted. To get away from the fighting between his parents, John ran away from home on several occasions.

John advised his interviewers that he has been a "loner" since early childhood, and that as a child, his closest friends were relatives. He could not easily meet or interact with people and still cannot do so today.

His childhood pastimes included hunting and fishing, building model cars, and playing softball. As a child he enjoyed reading comic books and the Hardy Boy adventures. Adolph Hitler has always fascinated him. He said, "I've never understood how he could have controlled so much with so little."

John did not abuse alcohol as a child. He went to church somewhat regularly, but he could not recall the denomination of the church.

Education

John has a tested IQ (Wechsler) of 125. He had to repeat the first grade be-

cause of his family's residential moves, but he was a good student between the first and sixth grades and reported that he enjoyed going to school during those years.

In the seventh grade, outside interests began interfering with school attendance. He preferred working on cars and shooting pool to going to school. When in school, he would become disruptive and was suspended frequently, which created further problems at home. He had to repeat the seventh grade. At the age of 16, he dropped out of school.

After being arrested for check forgery, he briefly returned to school and reported that he enjoyed it. However, at the age of 17, he again left school and joined the Marines. At the age of 26, while in prison, he obtained his GED. He stated, "I just came to the realization that I couldn't get very far without a GED." At the time of interview John had accumulated 96 hours of college credit while in prison.

Sexual Development

John can recall first becoming sexually aware when he was 8 or 9 years of age. He remembers "being in a ditch somewhere [with a female agemate] and trying to do it." He could not recall who initiated the sexual activity. He stated that prior to this, a 16-year-old female cousin took several male children to a mountain cabin for mutual fondling, but they were caught. He recalls being spanked for this activity.

The age of 9 seems to be sexually significant for John. At this age, he began having a fondness for female panties. He reported hiding under a table so he could look up his sister's dresses while they did the dishes. He also would attempt to see the panties of sitters who cared for him and his sisters.

He denied ever peeping on his mother, because "that's taboo." However, he did peep on his aunt during pre-adolescence, and at the age of 13, began window peeping. His goal was to observe women in some state of undress, preferably with panties on rather than nude. He continued to window peep until his final arrest.

He remembered a male cousin "messing around with my twin sister and the two of them trying to talk me into having sex with my younger sister." John, who was 9 or 10 at the time, did engage in fondling with his younger sister, but felt guilty and stopped the activity. He had been stealing panties off clotheslines, and at this age, he was also caught in a woman's house while taking panties out of her dresser.

John began masturbating at the same age (9) he began the panty thefts. He would either use panties to masturbate with or fantasize about panties while masturbating. He stated that he masturbated on a daily basis. If he had panties available, he would ejaculate onto them and "afterwards most times I'd throw them away because once I had achieved orgasm, then the panties would be a symbol of something wrong." He preferred used panties to new ones. When asked why, he replied, "It seemed more intimate, like they had contact with a female." If the panties belonged to someone he knew, he found it more satisfying, because he could associate a person's body with the garment. He stated that cotton panties "did nothing for me." He wanted them "silky and smooth." John began wearing panties as a teenager, but would wear them only until he ejaculated. After a general discharge from the Marine Corps, he began wearing panties for extended periods of time. During the course of the interview, John mentioned casually that he was wear-

ing his favorite pair of panties beneath his prison garb. When asked how he obtained them, he said a female friend of his buys them, wears them for a while, and then mails them to him.

He voluntarily sought psychiatric help for his obsession with panties after he left the Marine Corps. He said "What I was having problems with was the fetish for women's panties. I was going through the problems of whether I was a homosexual, what the hell was the matter with me because I enjoyed these things."

John stated he didn't consciously think about committing a rape until after he had already done so. He went to a woman's home seeking consensual sex and used threats and physical force to obtain the victim's compliance. Only later did he realize that he had actually raped the woman.

He experimented with homosexuality while in the Marines, but "realized that this wasn't the way I wanted to go, this wasn't for me."

Military

John entered the Marines at the age of 17 with the consent of his parents. Although records indicate he excelled in basic training and served 4 years, he left the service with a general discharge. While in the military, he had "a little problem with authority" and "didn't always do what I was told." He served in Vietnam and was released from military service at the age of 21. He stated, "After I came back from Vietnam and I got out of the Marine Corps, I seemed hell bent on destruction." On one occasion, he was in a rage and put his arm through a car window. He required 86 stitches. He fell out of a car traveling 40 mph and wrecked another car while driving 130 mph. In the latter incident, he suffered severe head inju-

"The researchers limited interviews of incarcerated offenders to those who had committed 10 or more rapes and who had exhausted their judicial appeals."

ries. He stated, "Some folks think that's what kind of deranged things back there, kind of got me goofy."

Employment

John's employment record is erratic at best. After his military service, he was employed as a logger, a truck driver, a factory worker, and a laborer in home manufacturing. When asked why he changed jobs so often, he replied, "I think basically, I got bored with the jobs. I think a lot of it, too, was immaturity. I'd do the job for a while and then I didn't like it no more, so I'd find some reason to quit."

Sexual Activity in Marriage

John married for the first time at the age of 20, only because the girl was pregnant. He and his wife stayed at her parents' home for a few days after the wedding, but he realized that he didn't want to be married, "so we both went our own ways." A daughter was born of that marriage. Sexual activity with his first wife was restricted to vaginal intercourse in the missionary position.

Two years later, John met his second wife. They remained together for 2 years and had two sons. He stated that his irresponsibility led to the divorce. Again, vaginal intercourse in the missionary position was the norm during the marriage.

At the age of 25, John met his third wife at a bar. They lived together for approximately 6 months and separated "because we couldn't stand each other." John stated that "sex starting getting a little creative. I started getting into different areas. Not necessarily bondage or anything like that, just experimenting in different ways of doing it. Learning how to last longer and things

like that, because she was one of those women that it was very difficult for her to reach an orgasm. You had to work at it, you had to be there for quite a while. Before it was always, wham, bam, thank you ma'am. That's all I knew. With her it started becoming more satisfying, I guess. I'm not sure exactly why ... it was just mostly different positions and ways of controlling the ebb and flow of the whole thing, I guess to where I could last longer to where she could reach a climax. And I can remember that that's where it really started becoming fun." He divorced his third wife after 3 years.

He lived with his fourth wife but did not marry her until after being imprisoned for rape. Following his release from prison, they remained together for 2 months. He advised that "sex was great, but it was like I had another warden or second parole officer." He and his fourth wife had a son, and after they separated, he took custody of the child.

John married for the fifth and final time at the age of 32. He advised that sex with this wife was excellent and that they were completely happy until he told her about his fetish for panties. His wife's knowledge of this fetish placed a great deal of strain on the marriage, but they remained together until he was again sent to prison for rape. She visited him regularly, and they lived together when he was released. Thirteen days after his release, he returned to prison because of another rape, and the relationship ended.

Criminal History

John talked of always wanting to be a police officer, but admitted, "I always seemed to be running in the

wrong direction." (The serial rapists often told SA interviewers about their desires to be in law enforcement. Perhaps the perception of power and authority associated with police work appeals to them.) As a juvenile, John experienced minor problems with the law because of his running away from home. When he was 16, he and friends were arrested for check forgery. He also stole gas and hubcaps as a juvenile. John was arrested several times for burglary, breaking and entering, and on three occasions, rape. He has been sentenced to prison for each of the rape offenses.

John estimated that he had committed over 5,000 burglaries, primarily to obtain panties to satisfy his fetish. He reported that at times he would remain out all night attempting to steal panties. He estimated that he stole valuables in less than one-half of his burglaries. John was responsible for 18 rapes, most of which occurred as an afterthought during a panty theft. His current sentence is for more than 15 years.

Pornography/Detective Magazines

As a teenager, John enjoyed looking at sunbathing magazines, which "was all the pornography we had." Today he enjoys the more explicit material available, but says, "It doesn't make me want to go out and do crazy things like they say."

He used to read detective magazines frequently when he was in his twenties and early thirties. The stories concerning rape interested him the most, and he read each one several times, using them for masturbatory fantasies. He didn't believe that the magazine covers influenced his selection of a particular publication. He never enjoyed

the stories in which rape victims were killed, stating, "None of my victims were ever harmed and for a person to kill somebody after raping them, it just makes me mad." Obviously, John doesn't equate rape with harming a person. None of his 18 rape victims was beaten, and John was proud of the fact that he had never "hurt" anybody during his assaults.

First Offense

Pre-Offense: John was 24 years of age at the time of his first rape offense. He was married and having consensual sexual relations with his second wife at the time. (Forty of the 41 rapists reported consensual sexual activities at the time they were raping.) At the time of the offense, his friends would have described him as a hard-drinking, profane, "macho" individual who was nocturnal. He was renting a home and drove a green 1957 Chrysler Windsor. Although the car was 9 years old, he took very good care of it. He found no particular pleasure in driving and drove only when he had to go someplace.

On the evening of the rape, his wife was away from home. He had been drinking with some friends, "... figuring I could get some satisfaction." A friend and he went to a home where the friend had sex with a babysitter who was present. He and his friend returned to a bar and continued to drink.

Offense: After dropping off his friend, John decided to return to the babysitter and have sex also. He was very intoxicated at the time. When he arrived at the home, he discovered that the babysitter had left, and the mother of the child, a woman in her early twenties, was at the residence. She was wearing a housecoat when he knocked on the door. They had met at a party on

the same evening, and she readily admitted him to the residence. While using her bathroom, he took a pair of her panties and put them in his pocket. He sat beside the woman on her couch and attempted to fondle her, but the victim talked him into leaving. He drove around for a while and then returned to the residence. He entered through an unlocked door at the rear of the house and found her talking on the telephone. Without speaking, he "... just kind of jumped on her real fast and wrestled her to the floor and opened her housecoat." When she screamed, he told her to "shut the fuck up." Without speaking further, he vaginally assaulted her and reached orgasm very quickly. John advised the interviewers that after the assault, he was extremely remorseful and began crying. The victim told him to just leave her home. He left and immediately returned to his home.

Post-Offense: Following his return home, he worried that his wife would find out about the attack and that he would go to jail. He began drinking more heavily in an attempt to alleviate the fear and guilt he was experiencing. He stated, "I know it created a feeling of guilt that caused problems between my wife and I because I knew I had done something wrong. But I didn't know how to go back and rectify it or undo it. I would get uptight and upset real easy and I'd get mad and it wasn't nothing she had done." Acting out of character, John began staying at home, leaving only to go to work. He didn't miss work following the attack and his personal appearance remained normal. John did not commit another rape for 5 years.

Rape Resistance and Prevention

When asked what he would have

done if the victims had resisted, John indicated that he would have left because he didn't intend to hurt anyone. He stated, "Raping them is one thing. Beating on them is entirely something else." He didn't feel that his victims could have prevented the attack, because they were all in their homes alone, with the majority of them sleeping when he initiated contact.

John's reaction to resistance may differ considerably from another rapist's, and his advice must not be generalized to other rapists.⁷

Interrogation Techniques

The interviewers asked each rapist what type of person and technique would be most successful with him in a hostile interview situation; that is, what would most likely contribute to the rapist's cooperation during an interrogation regarding his culpability in rape offenses.

John stated that for him, the most important feature about a police interrogation would be the detective's attitude. "If he walked in real cocky and belittling, I would not cooperate." While the race of the detective would not concern him, he would be less likely to cooperate with a female because he would feel embarrassed and self-conscious.

The detective's accent would not influence John's cooperation, but he believed he would be more comfortable with a person dressed in casual clothes as opposed to a uniform. He said that the interviewer would have to be on an intellectual par with him and that he would be more likely to talk with the officer during nighttime hours. He advised that he becomes angry when others violate his space and believes that an interviewer should maintain a comfortable

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distance, with nothing between them. He would feel uncomfortable in any location, but because of the embarrassment he would experience, he believes the environment should be private. He stated that intimidating moves by officers anger him and cause him to cease conversation.

This advice is, of course, provided by only one offender and will not apply to all situations.

Sex Offender Hotline

During one of the initial interviews, the rapist (not John) was asked what, if anything, the criminal justice system could have done to have persuaded him to turn himself in. His surprising response was, "Have you thought about a hotline? You've got hotlines for runaways, drug abusers, rape victims, and suicidal individuals. Why not one for people who have committed or are contemplating committing deviant criminal sexual acts? You know, I didn't just start raping. I have had sexual fantasies about kidnaping a woman and making her my slave since I was a teenager. I knew it wasn't normal at the time, but who could I talk to about it? Not my parents or my friends or anyone else. They would have thought I was crazy or sick."

From that point on, interviewers asked all the rapists about a hotline for offenders. When the SAs asked John this question, he replied, "I don't know if I would have used a hotline because so many of them [the rapes] were so spontaneous and unprepared. If I would have, it would have been after the fact. After I committed the assault." Many of the other rapists interviewed responded more positively to the hotline issue than John.

As previously mentioned, the case presented here was greatly reduced because of limited space. The transcription of the interview was more than 140 pages. Nonetheless, this summary of John's case does reveal the type of information gathered during the research interviews.

SUMMARY

The NCAVC has conducted research on violent serial offenders since 1978. The serial rapist injures the lives of an untold number of victims and is responsible for the expenditure of money, time, and manpower by the law enforcement community. Although not generally responsible for the investigation of the crime of rape, the FBI is assisting local law enforcement communities' efforts by conducting research of the nature addressed in this article. The results of this and other research studies by the FBI will be used in training programs throughout the United States and in the preparation of criminal personality profiles.

With the interviews of 41 serial rapists completed, the statistical analysis of the data continues. Though primarily intended for the law enforcement community, the project team anticipates that the results of this research will enhance the knowledge of all professionals who must deal with the offense, the offender, and the victims of rape.

FBI

Footnotes

¹Crime in the United States—1985, Federal Bureau of Investigation, (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1986).

²A. W. Burgess and L. L. Holstrom, "Rape Trauma Syndrome," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, vol. 131, 1974, pp. 982-986.

³R. R. Hazelwood, "The Behavior-Oriented Interview of Rape Victims: The Key to Profiling," *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, vol. 52, No. 9, September 1983, pp. 8-15.

⁴R. K. Ressler, J. E. Douglas, and A. W. Burgess, "Rape and Rape-Murder: One Offender and Twelve Victims," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, vol. 140, 1983, pp. 36-40; Violent Crime (Special Issue), *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, vol. 54, No. 8, August 1985.

⁵P.E. Dietz, B. Harry, and R. R. Hazelwood, "Detective Magazines: Pornography for the Sexual Sadist?" *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, vol. 31, 1986, pp. 197-211.

⁶Violent Crime (Special Issue), supra note 4.

⁷R. R. Hazelwood and J. A. Harpold, "RAPE: The Danger of Providing Confrontational Advice," *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, vol. 55, No. 6, June 1986, pp. 1-5.