

## CHAPTER 3

# BEHAVIOURAL PROFILING

It is generally believed that “profiling” originated in the 1970’s with the work of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). In reality, profiling has been used for much longer. Profiling occurs in all human interactions, individuals tend to assess the behaviour of others automatically during their daily encounters. It is a natural social process to wonder about the personality, character, and even intentions of another (Palermo & Kocsis, 2005:10). Turvey (2003:2), indicates that one of the first published criminal profiling texts appeared in 1486, *The Malleus Maleficarum (The Witches’ Hammer)*, a professional manual for witch hunters. It served as a guide for those engaged in the Spanish inquisition to assist in the identification, prosecution, and punishment of witches.

The attempt to derive a hypothesis about the personality characteristics of individuals committing criminal acts, based on the analysis of a crime scene, victim information, and other relevant sources of information has commonly been referred to as *criminal profiling* (Bartol, 2002:237; Turvey, 2003:1). Professionals engaged in the investigation of criminal behaviour include behavioural scientists, social scientists, and forensic scientists. However, there is still some confusion as to the use of the term “profile.” Various agencies use the term to describe different activities, and to compound the problem, an image of the “profiler” has been created by popular media that has influenced even academic ideas as to what profiling consists of (Labuschagne, 2003:67). Criminal profiling has been referred to, among other less common terms, as *behavioural profiling*, *crime scene profiling*, *criminal personality profiling*, *offender profiling*, *psychological profiling*, and most recently *criminal investigative analysis* (Palermo & Kocsis, 2005:viii; Turvey, 2003:1). Due to the lack of uniformity in the use of the terms, as well as the interchangeable and inconsistent application, for the purpose of the chapter, and the research, the term *behavioural profiling* will be used, as defined in Chapter 1.

In the following sections, a more in-depth description and explanation will be given of behavioural profiling, as well as the relevant concepts and aspects associated with the process. Various strategies of investigation will also be explored along with the application of these strategies to crime investigation, specifically serial rape investigation.

### 3.1 OVERVIEW OF THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF PROFILING

According to Douglas *et al.*, (1992:21-22), profiling can be viewed as a form of retro-classification, or reverse engineering, a process of classification, which works backwards. It can be seen as an informed attempt at providing detailed information regarding a certain type of criminal, as well as a sketch of behavioural patterns and tendencies exhibited by the offender. According to Kocsis, Cooksey, and Irwin (2002:144), criminal psychological profiling can be described as a technique used during an investigation whereby crime behaviours are analysed for identifying possible distinct offender characteristics.

Holmes and Holmes (1998:179-182), indicate that there are certain assumptions present in the profiling process:

- 1) *Crime scene reflects personality*: A basic assumption of psychological profiling is that the crime scene reflects the personality of the offender. Therefore, through an assessment of the scene, the type of personality of the offender can be predicted, hence narrowing the scope of investigation to certain types of people.
- 2) *The offender's personality will not change*: many personality experts are in agreement that the core of the individual's personality is "fixed" by the time he reaches his teenage years, and fundamentally it remains the same over time. The "criminal" personality will also not change radically, but there might be alterations due to time, circumstances, and other activities.
- 3) *Signature will remain the same*: the *signature* of a perpetrator is the unique manner in which the offender commits the crime. For example, certain phrases a rapist uses with the victims or a specific manner in which the offender leaves something or takes something from the scene. There is some confusion as to the difference, if any, between the signature and the method of operation. The *signature* is the unique mannerisms present during the crime, while the *method of operation* refers to the manner in which the offender commits the crime.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The signature aspect will be explained in more detailed later in the section.

Holmes and Holmes (2002b:7-9), state that the aim of any behavioural profile is threefold:

- 1) To provide law enforcement agencies with a psychological and social assessment of the offender. This would include basic information, such as the core variables of the offender's personality structure, population group, age range, employment, etc.
- 2) To provide the criminal justice system with a psychological evaluation of the possessions found on the offender. This aspect is of great importance, because in most cases, the profile will point to a specific offender, and it will also refer to objects in his possession, such as photographs, souvenirs, and pornography.
- 3) To provide interviewing suggestions and strategies once an offender has been apprehended who "fits" the profile constructed.

### **3.1.1 General terms and definitions of profiling**

According to Egger (1999:243-244), the general premise of profiling, is that an accurate analysis, as well as an interpretation of the crime scene and other locations related to the crime, could indicate the type of individual who committed the crime. Due to the fact that certain personality types display similar behavioural patterns, the development of knowledge and understanding of the behaviour patterns can lead investigators to potential suspects.

Hickey (2002:311-312) offers several types of profiling, and definitions for each, with a distinct use and method of profiling. *Offender profiling* is the process of collecting data from case studies and anecdotal information, and then transforming the data into descriptions of types of individuals who are most commonly associated with a certain type of criminal activity. He also argues that, due to the multiple problems posed by the tracking of serial offenders, psychological profiling is used in order to prioritize a variety of homicides and other serious crimes. According to Labuschagne (2003:67), offender profiling can be defined as the process by which the investigator is assisted in determining the most probable type of individual to have committed a specific crime. This would involve assessing the crime scene, attending the post-mortem examination, and analysing all available material, such as police dockets, photographs, and forensic reports. All the information gathered is then compared against available research and experience. A hypothesis is then formulated as to the "type" of suspect. The aim of the verbal or written report is to aid the investigation in focussing on the most likely suspect.

*Psychological profiling*, or criminal personality assessment, consists of a psychological assessment of the crime scene, in order to produce a profile. The investigators in this way, pieces together the behavioural and physical characteristics of the crime scene (Hickey, 2006:95). The aim is to identify and interpret certain items of evidence found at the crime scene that are indicative of the personality type of the individual or individuals committing the crime (Hickey, 2002:314). According to Kocsis (2003:126), *criminal psychological profiling* can be viewed as the technique of analysing behaviour patterns in crimes, or series of crimes, in order to construct a descriptive template of the probable offender. According to Egger (1999:243), psychological profiling is an attempt at providing investigators with more information on an offender who is yet to be identified. The purpose of profiling is to develop a behavioural composite, combining social and psychological assessments of the offender.

The two types of profiling presented by Hickey (2002; 2006), employ different types of assessment techniques (behavioural assessment and psychological assessment), in order to construct a profile of the unknown offender. The goals of both processes are ultimately similar, in that it attempts to provide direction to the investigation in terms of the unknown offender.

Davis (1999:292) argues that *criminal personality profiling* is the science of reconstructing a picture or “portrait” of the type of crime, as well as of the individual involved, through the examination of the evidence and information acquired during the examination of the crime scene. According to Cook and Hinman (1999:231) criminal personality profiling is a technique used in identifying the personality, as well as the behavioural and demographical characteristics of offenders, based on an analysis of the crimes they have committed. The focus of the analysis is the behaviour of the individual or individuals on the crime scene.

Despite the various definitions and opinions about profiling, criminal personality profiling, psychological profiling, offender profiling, or criminal personality assessment, there are several basic underlying principles evident in all the definitions. The basic foundation of all the definitions is inferring behavioural patterns and personality characteristics from an analysis of the crime scene. The psychological and behavioural assessment is derived from analysing all the available data, including the crime scene, post-mortem report, relevant case dockets, and victim information. A behavioural composite is constructed and a picture of the crime, as well as the offender characteristics is given in order to supply more information about the unidentified offender.

In terms of the basic underlying principles, the *behavioural profiling* process shares several of the tenets. Behavioural profiling is a process by which the behavioural evidence, (observable behaviour, crime scene characteristics, verbal, sexual and physical behaviour, physical evidence, and victimology), is analysed and utilised to construct a behavioural profile of the offender. The aim of the behavioural profile is to construct a behavioural composite or template, and to identify the behavioural salience of the unidentified offender. Establishing the modus operandi, motivation, and signature of the offender can only be successfully determined after the behavioural patterns and offender characteristics have been established.

Behavioural profiling can therefore be defined as the process through which the observable evidence exhibited by the offender in preparing and committing the offence is analysed. The objective of the analysis is to construct a behavioural composite and descriptive template in order to identify the behavioural salience of the unidentified offender. Through the process of moving from general to unique patterns of behaviour, the process of analysing the behavioural evidence facilitates a differentiation of behaviour oriented towards fulfilling a fantasy, behaviour indicating motivation, behaviour indicative of the modus operandi, behaviour signifying signature and general behaviour orientated towards the completion of the crime. A general psychological evaluation of the behavioural evidence, and the inference which can be made in terms of the characteristics and general personality construction, can only be effectively carried out after the significant and unique behaviour patterns have been identified.

### **3.1.2 Criticism**

Numerous points of criticism have been raised with regards to profiling, the most notable criticism is the lack of empirically based research on the validity and reliability of profiling and the techniques, of the typologies, classification systems, models and exploratory frameworks utilised throughout the process. (Canter, 2000; Gudjonsson & Haward, 1998:174-175).

One of the criticisms against the various processes of profiling is the apparent lack of research and studies establishing the reliability and validity of the techniques (Cook & Hinman, 1999:236; Gudjonsson & Haward, 1998:174). Homant and Kennedy (1998:323), Kocsis, Heller and Try (2003:664), and Kocsis (2003:127), indicate that the correspondence between the profile and actual perpetrator has received little scrutiny. The bulk of the information and material cited

supporting the accuracy and validity of profiling consists of anecdotal accounts. No one has attempted to gauge the validity of profiling within a real-life situation or within an academic context.

Possibly the most cited research about *psychological profiling* is the research conducted on the subject by the FBI (Canter, 2000:26; Davis, 1999:291-295). The research was conducted on 36 incarcerated sexual murderers, and resulted in the development of the organised-disorganised dichotomy (Kocsis *et al.*, 2002:145). Although many investigative successes have been accredited to the efforts of FBI profilers, there are also several other examples where the profiles have proven to be ineffectual in terms of assisting the investigation. Due to these circumstances, the validity and subsequent effectiveness of the profiling process has attracted considerable criticism, the bulk of which focused on the organised-disorganised dichotomy. Although this research has attracted much interest and attention, simple empirical replications of the findings have been lacking. Despite the obvious value of interpreting crimes by their behavioural sophistication, a more realistic and practical interpretation of the behaviours would require far more sophisticated research beyond a simple dichotomy (Kocsis *et al.*, 2002:145-146). Kocsis *et al.* (2002:146), also point out that a weak point of the research, conducted by the FBI, is the failure of the material to describe how the findings were integrated.

Although not the aim of this chapter, it is pertinent to take note of the criticism aimed against the various processes of profiling. This criticism is of importance as it can also be directed towards behavioural profiling. In terms of the reliability and validity of profiling, the most notable research conducted on the efficacy of profiling was conducted by Pinizzotto and Finkel (1990:215-233), who conducted a “horse race” outcome study. This involved evaluating a small group of trained profilers, detectives with no official training, psychologists, and undergraduate students. The aim of the study was to compare their ability to correctly profile a homicide and sexual offence case where the offenders were already known. The profilers did outperform the other groups but the results were mixed. According to Cook and Hinman (1999) although far from being unequivocal, their findings did illustrate that in 46% of the requests for assistance, the investigators deemed the profile beneficial to the investigation, while only 17% were of assistance in the actual identification of the offender. However, in 77% of the cases the profiles did give a clearer focus for the investigation process. Their findings also highlighted the fact that some form of relationship exists between case information and profiling proficiency.

The issue of validity and reliability of profiling, and the empirical replication of the processes involved during the profiling process are inescapably connected. The interconnectivity of the two points of criticism is clearly illustrated when the general process of profiling is reviewed.

The skills and the abilities of the profiler have a significant bearing on the reliability and validity of the profile, and also have a direct link with the application of the frameworks and methods involved during the profiling process. Certain attributes are essential to effective profiling, for example the profiler must have an appreciation of the criminal mind, and must be able to understand what type of individual could have committed any given crime. A certain amount of investigative experience in terms of having investigated certain types of crimes is also essential, along with the ability to logically approach a crime without being diverted by personal feelings (Kocsis, 2003:130-131). The skills and the abilities of the profiler have a specific implication on the application of the explanatory frameworks, for example the organised-disorganised dichotomy, employed during the profiling process. The profiler must interpret both narrative and visual case material compiled of a specific case, and by applying the explanatory frameworks to the case information, compile a profile of the as-yet unknown offender. According to Kocsis *et al.* (2003:666) case information, or more importantly, the accuracy of the information, is a crucial element of the profiling process. If the information gathered from the scene is lacking or incomplete, the profile will be incomplete, no matter how much investigative experience the profiler possesses. The explanatory frameworks applied during profile construction are also dependent on the accuracy of the case material as well as on the skill and ability of the profiler.

In evaluating the criticism levelled against profiling, it is apparent that the criticism is valid in many aspects. It is important that the existing models and frameworks, as well as any new proposed frameworks, are perceived as consistent and reliable. This, in turn, will influence the perception of the validity and reliability of profiling as a viable investigative tool. However, the validity and reliability of profiles are a point of concern, due to the fact that it can never truly be established. The success of the profile is often coupled to the case material presented to the profiler, as well as to the skill set and abilities of the individual profiler. In the same instance, the need for empirical replication of the frameworks, and for the models utilised during the profiling process, is inherently flawed. The models and frameworks were created by individuals who had differing levels of experience and expertise as well as different skill sets. During the construction of four different profiles for four different cases, for example, each individual profiler will interpret the models and frameworks according to his skill levels and experience.



In the following sections, a more in-depth description and explanation will be given of behavioural profiling, as well as of the relevant concepts and aspects associated with the process.

## **3.2 BEHAVIOURAL PROFILING**

The basic premise of behavioural profiling is that “behaviour reflects personality”. No two offender’s behaviours are similar, and it is these differences in behaviour that relate to specific characteristics of the offender (Douglas & Olshaker, 1979:29; Kocsis *et al.*, 2002:146). The process of behavioural profiling is aimed at analysing the behavioural evidence exhibited by the offender through an analysis of the crime scene, relevant documentation, the victim’s statement, and post mortem reports, as well as by compiling a behavioural composite and template of the as-yet unidentified offender. By utilising the information compiled throughout the analysis, the profiler can then proceed to begin the process of inference, which will allow him or her to demonstrate the association between the offender and the offence.

The following section is aimed at explaining the processes involved in behavioural profiling, as well as the explanatory frameworks, models, and classification systems, which will be employed during the process of behavioural profiling.

### **3.2.1 Inductive vs. Deductive analysis**

Developing propositions about the relationship between the crime and an offender is one of the central premises of profiling. The reasoning behind the development of the premises must be clarified. Is the process of inference inductive or deductive? This is of importance as each “type” has its own set of strengths and weaknesses, and subsequently has specific investigative implications.

#### **3.2.1.1 Inductive analysis**

According to Turvey (2003:23), inductive analysis or reasoning is a type of inference that proceeds from a set of observations to a generalisation, which is called a premise. Neuman (1997:46) states that during the inductive analysis, detailed observations are utilised in order to move toward abstract generalisations and ideas. De Vos, Strydom, Fouché and Delpont (2005:47) state that inductive reasoning moves from specific observations to the development



and discovery of patterns which represent some degree of order among specific events or occurrences. The process of inductive inference can be described as broad generalisations or statistical reasoning. Canter (2000:23-24), indicates that empirical evidence is the cornerstone of the inductive method of science. Inductive arguments can lead to the formulation of hypotheses, and come in various forms.

There are two types of inductive arguments, *inductive generalisations* and *statistical arguments*. *Inductive generalisations* argue from the specific to the general, conclusions are formed regarding characteristics from single observations of an individual or single event or limited events and individuals. Generalisations are then made, postulating that similar events, or individuals encountered in the future will exhibit the same general characteristics as previously observed events and individuals (Turvey, 2003:24). For example, if a serial rapist always stalks his victims and only attacks the victims when they are alone in their homes, other serial rapist will also exhibit similar behavioural patterns. The second type of inductive argument is the *statistical argument*, where empirical statistical evidence is collected in order to support the inferences made. For example, 65% of all serial rapists stalk their victims and attack them when they are alone. The statistical arguments are very attractive specifically because they “play” on our common sense stereotypes (Turvey, 2003:24-25).

The inductively rendered analysis can, in many instances, be compared to psychological syndromes. The clinical diagnosis of any syndrome comprises comparing the symptoms and behaviours of individuals, with those of other cases that presented similar symptoms in the past that have been researched. A psychological syndrome can thus be described as a collection of symptoms; it is a grouping of characteristics and behaviours suggesting a characteristic of a group of individuals (Turvey, 2003:26).

Inductive behavioural profiling is similar in its structure to the psychological syndrome. The inductive criminal analysis is a set of characteristics that are rationalised from statistical, correlative, and/or experimental inferences shared by offenders who commit similar crimes. It can be best understood as an average, a product of statistical and comparative analysis resulting in educated generalisations. Inductive analysis is also based upon formal or informal research conducted on known and/or incarcerated criminals. The analysis can include individual personal experiences, and can be used as the reasoning behind the formation of the specific offender-characteristics (Turvey, 2003:26-27). The most notable advantage of inductive analysis

is that it is a relatively easy process to employ. The most noteworthy disadvantage of inductive analysis is that the information generated is often constructed from limited population samples, and specifically related to one case. Therefore, it is not always conducive to the analysis of a single offender. Inductive profiles are generalised and averaged from limited data collected from a handful of data sources. Such an analysis cannot fully or accurately take into account offenders who are at large, and who have successfully evaded detection, and as such are lacking an important data source. The inductive analysis process can contain inaccuracies, which can lead to the implication of innocent individuals (Turvey, 2003:28-29).

### 3.2.1.2 Deductive analysis

According to Neuman (1997:46-47), one begins with an abstract, logical relationship among concepts using deductive reasoning, and then one proceeds to move towards concrete empirical evidence. Deductive reasoning can be described as “arguments” in which, if the premises used during the process are true, then the conclusions must also be true. In the deductive “argument” the conclusion flows directly from the premises given. It is also said that the deductive argument moves from the general to the specific (De Vos *et. al.*, 2005:46-47; Turvey, 2003:38). In terms of deductive criminal analysis, this entails recognising an offender’s general pattern of behaviour, as it tends to be suggestive of specific offender characteristics. For example:

- *Premise 1:* The offender disposed of the victim’s body deep within the mountains.
- *Premise 2:* Tyre tracks were found at the disposal site.
- *Conclusion:* If the tire tracks belong to the offender then the offender has access to a vehicle and is mobile.

Both premises are incorporated so that a convergence of physical (tyre tracks), and behavioural evidence (remote area of disposal of the body) suggests a specific conclusion (Turvey, 2003:39). According to Turvey (2003:39-42), deductive behavioural profile construction is a set of offender characteristics reasoned from collected physical and behavioural evidence within a related series of crimes. The information used to argue the deductive analysis must include forensic analysis and behavioural profiling, a study of victim characteristics (victimology), and crime scene characteristics. The advantage of the deductive analysis lies with the thoroughness of the process. It forces the investigation to focus on the forensic evidence, victim behaviour, and criminal behaviour as fundamental parts of a whole. The most notable disadvantage of

deductive analysis is inherent in the statement, “if the premises are true, then the conclusions drawn are valid”. This inevitably is also its greatest weakness, due to the fact that if the premises are false then the conclusion drawn will be incorrect.

Although some authors promote either the inductive (Canter, 2000), or the deductive (Turvey, 2003) analysis process as “perfect” for criminal investigation, it is clear that separately the processes are flawed. The inductive process proposes an analysis supported by theoretical underpinnings, rooted in the supposition that by studying the general criminal behaviour of similar cases, explanatory frameworks can be compiled, enabling the investigator to draw educated conclusions about a specific case. This excludes any unique additional information about the specific offender, however, dismissing it as part of a general pattern followed by other similar offenders. In contrast, the deductive process of analysis postulates that by incorporating and evaluating the specifics of each individual case (behavioural, physical, forensic evidence and victim analysis), the premises derived from the information will be valid, and the subsequent conclusions will be accurate. The potential problem is that the profiler is left to decide “what” evidence to incorporate. Without a general framework or model to use as a guideline, the potential still exists for disregarding vital evidence.

In order to counteract the apparent flaws and disadvantages of both processes with the behavioural profiling process, the two reasoning methods should be combined. It can in effect be described as a process of field analysis. The inductive-deductive reasoning will be a process where the entire “field” of knowledge (crime scene, victim analysis and previous research) is utilised to facilitate a critical analysis. Inductive reasoning will be used in order to infer the general behavioural patterns of the offender. This will include identifying specific aspects, such as unique physical and forensic evidence relevant to the specific offender. The deductive reasoning process will incorporate the information generated from the inductive phase ensuring that the conclusions drawn are specific to the offender. The cyclical nature of field analysis will ultimately ensure that the behavioural profiling of the offender, and also any psychological assessments of the offender, will incorporate behavioural, physical and forensic evidence specific to the offender as well as a victimology assessment.

The following section will focus on the underpinning methodology of the behavioural profiling process, and attempt to answer general questions for example, where will the process of analysis begin, as well as what frameworks and models will be employed during the process?

### **3.2.2 Behavioural profile construction process**

Gudjonsson and Haward (1998:173) state that the process of profiling refers to the use of information obtained from crimes scenes, and sometimes victim statements, in order to infer likely characteristics of a potential offender.

#### **3.2.2.1 Information sources**

Depending on the nature of the crime, for example rape or murder, one or more of the following sources of information may take precedence over the other.

##### **3.2.2.1.1 Crime scene**

A crime scene can be defined as the location where the actual crime has been committed it is also the area where evidence relevant to the investigation can be found (Savino & Turvey, 2005:66). Palermo and Kocsis (2005:83), indicate that a thorough analysis cannot be compiled without a comprehensive assessment of the crime scene.

The analysis process will typically begin with a sketch of the scene showing the interrelationships of people, places and things. The location of all recovered evidence must also be depicted in the sketch. A description of the crime scene should also be made in order to record the initial condition of the scene. Detailed photographs of the scene, including pieces of evidence, entry and exit points, should also be taken (Hazelwood & Burgess, 2001:289-292; Homant & Kennedy, 1998:321; Savino & Turvey, 2005:77). Crime scene characteristics are the distinctive features of a crime, as evidenced by the offender's behavioural choices with regards to the victim, the offence location, and the subsequent meaning of the behaviours to the offender (Turvey, 2003:189). The crime scene characteristics can be viewed as the language used to explain the behaviour of the victim and offender. Douglas and Munn (1992:1) argue that the crime scene tells a story, it has characters, a plot, a beginning, a middle, and, with luck, a conclusion. Human interactions, speech patterns, gestures, and other traits shape human behaviour. It is these individualistic characteristics functioning in concert that causes each individual to react in a specific manner. It is this individualistic behaviour, which usually remains consistent regardless of the activity being performed. The evidence gathered from the crime scene is employed in order to determine offender behaviour and behavioural patterns exhibited

by the offenders. According to Douglas and Munn (1992:1), there are several manifestations of offender behaviour at the crime scene for example, modus operandi, signature and staging behaviours. In sexual assault cases the victim's body can also be classified as a crime scene (Hazelwood & Burgess, 2001:8; Savino & Turvey, 2005:66). In the cases where no primary scene can be located the victim herself becomes of great importance. The advances in DNA evidence collection and analysis has lead to the victim becoming invaluable in any investigation. It is thus of great importance that every possible precaution is taken to ensure that any pertinent medical evidence be collected and documented thoroughly. If possible clothing evidence, the cloths the victim wore during the rape, as well as the medical examiner's report must also be collected (Savino & Turvey, 2005:120-128).

The investigator searches for behavioural clues left by the offender at the crime scene attempting to find answers to questions, such as how the encounter between the offender and victim occurred? While investigating the scene, some facts and details might arise that serve no apparent purpose in the perpetration of the crime, and also obscures the motivation of the offender. This confusion might be due to a specific crime scene behaviour referred to as staging (Douglas & Munn, 1992:6-7). According to Geberth (1996:89), staging a crime scene is a conscious act by the offender to impede the investigation. According to Douglas *et al.*, (1992:251-252), and Douglas and Munn (1992:7), staging principally occurs in order to redirect the investigation from the most logical suspect or to protect the victim or the victim's family. The intent of the criminal behaviour is obscuring the actual events through misdirection (Turvey, 2003:253). According to Palermo and Kocsis (2005:99), the motivation for staging can also be referred to as self-preservation, redirecting the investigation in order to protect the offender's identity. The family member who for example, re-dresses or covers up the victim is attempting to provide the victim with a degree of dignity, this type of staging is motivated by embarrassment and shame, for example, such as in an autoerotic fatality. The investigator must scrutinise each crime scene indicator individually, and then view them in the context of the "whole picture". There are indicators at the crime scene, inconsistencies, which are indicative of a staged crime scene. The focus is on the recognition of these inconsistencies. The inconsistencies in the staged crime scene can be found in three areas, victim-centred, immediate-location, and distant location. *Victim-centred* inconsistencies refer to the information about the victim and the elements of the crime which impact directly on the victim. *Immediate location* relates to the significant facts or conditions present at the scene, near, in and around the location. *Distant*

*locations* refer to other geographic locations associated with the crime for example, a dumpsite, the primary crime scene (Douglas *et al.*, 1992: 253-255; Palermo & Kocsis, 2005:107-111).

### **3.2.2.1.2 Victim analysis**

A thorough victim analysis is one of the most beneficial tools in solving violent crime, as well as an essential part of the behavioural profiling process. First and foremost, it is an investigative tool providing context, connections, and direction for the investigation. The investigator must evaluate why a specific victim was targeted. By determining why a specific victim was chosen, the investigator will be able to determine motive, which will help focus the investigation in terms of the type of offender (Douglas *et al.*, 1992:7; Sorvino & Turvey, 2005:217-218). Understanding the questions of “how and why the offender selected the specific victim”, will also allow the investigator to establish a rational link between victim(s) and offender. Establishing an understanding of how and why the offender selected the previous victims can also aid in predicting what type of victim will be selected in the future (Turvey, 2003:138:139). In order to determine what needs were being served and to arrive at opinions about the characteristics and traits of the unidentified offender the victim is also the only available source of information in regards to the rapist’s behaviour (Hazelwood and Burgess, 2001:129-130).

Victim analysis is done in terms of assessing the victim’s risk, or the amount of exposure to possible suffering or harm. Victim risk is determined across three levels, low, medium and high risk. Low-risk refers to an individual whose personal, professional, and social life does not expose him or her to potential harm. Medium-risk indicates an individual who, through their personal, professional, and social life can be exposed to dangerous situations. The term high-risk is applicable to an individual whose personal, professional, and social life continuously places him or her in potentially dangerous situations, such as a prostitute, unsupervised children, and unemployed individuals (Savino & Turvey, 2005:221-222; Turvey, 2003:143). There are two other denominators in terms of victim risk, the victim’s lifestyle risk, and victim incidence risk. The term victim lifestyle risk refers to the circumstances surrounding the victim’s lifestyle habits, activities, and personality traits. Basically, victim lifestyle risk is who the victim is, and how he or she relates to the world. Victim incident risk relates to the risk present at the moment the offender acquires the victim. The factors that increase victim incident risk include factors such as the victim’s state of mind, time of occurrence, and location of occurrence (Turvey, 2003:144-145). An important aspect, which must also be noted during the victim analysis, is the relationship, if any, which exist between the offender and the victim. This

relationship can be broken down into four categories; the offender was *unknown* to the victim, the offender was a *casual acquaintance*, the offender was an *acquaintance*, or the victim knew the offender. A casual acquaintance can be described as someone the victim only met briefly or was introduced to only once. An acquaintance can be described as someone the victim is familiar with, but not in a social sense. A known offender can be a family member, for example an uncle or a cousin, or someone the victim is in a relationship with (Burgess, 2001:8-9). Another important aspect associated with victim analysis, is understanding the interaction between the offender and the victim. Gaining an understanding of the interactions and behaviours between the offender and the victim will also assist in understanding the motive of the offender. This is especially pertinent in sexual assault cases, due to the fact that the interchanges between the victim and offender include verbal, physical, and sexual activities. The victim can normally provide firsthand recollection of these to the investigator (Douglas *et al.*, 1992:7-8).

### **3.2.3 General behavioural outline of the serial rapist**

The behavioural profiling process operates from the assumption that each individual develops his or her own unique and distinctive personality, characterised by distinguishing and unique behaviour patterns. According to Canter (2000:29-31), there are similar criminal activities that are constant, to a certain extent, across several different offenders. The actions of an individual, to a large extent, are seen as a subset of possible activities of all criminals. Although certain behaviours are consistent over a period of time, or are or variations of one another, there are important variations between crimes, which relate specifically to the individuals who committed the crime. Thus, by distinguishing and identifying the distinct behavioural patterns from general criminal behaviour exhibited during the crime, a “portrait” of the individual can be drawn, which can distinguish the individual from what is known about the class of offenders in general.

A specific serial rapist must be distinguishable from the existing general portrait of known serial rapists (Homant & Kennedy, 1998:328-329). In order to recognize the distinguishable salient behaviour of the individual, a basic picture of the serial rapist is required. This basic “portrait” will consist out of basic demographic information and basic general behaviours exhibited by this type of offender. At this point, it is important to note that any general base behaviour outline and demographic information should not be viewed as a comprehensive illustration of the offender. In the South African context virtually no information on the phenomenon, specifically the basic



behavioural information, is available. Therefore, demographic information and general behavioural patterns compiled from international sources will be utilised in order to construct a basic “portrait” of the serial rapist, to serve as a starting point.

### 3.2.3.1 General demographical information and base behaviours

The general demographics of the U.S. serial rapist can be summarised as follows (Hazelwood & Warren, 1989a, 12-16; Hazelwood & Warren, 2001a, 436-444):

- Male, between 20-35 years of age
- Generally stable employment – unskilled job (e.g. labourer)
- Married or involved in a stable sexual relationship
- Average to above-average level of intelligence
- Criminal history: usually property crime or some form of sexual assault
- Residence is a single family dwelling or apartment
- Owns a vehicle which is used during the commission of the crime

According to Savino and Turvey (2005:303) identifying the “patterns” of the serial rapist is of great importance but can vary between *easy* and *very difficult*. A basic general behavioural outline can be of great assistance, largely because it would simplify identifying the “patterns” of the serial rapists, and may ultimately aid in determining whether or not the rapes are part of a series. Although each individual serial rapist is unique, sets of identifiable common discernable behaviours are exhibited by serial rapists.

Serial rape is a variation of sexual assault, and as such exhibits a certain set of base behaviours. The following base behaviours were identified internationally in most of the serial rape cases:

The interactions between the offender and the victim differ from case to case. The victim’s passivity, or lack thereof, as well as the motivation for the sexual attack, for example, influences the interactions. In general, the surprise approach is employed in order to approach the victim. The surprise approach involves the assailant waiting for the victim, or approaching the victim when she is alone, for example in her house sleeping. Threats and/or the presence of a weapon are associated with this approach, but physical force is rarely applied. This presupposes that the

serial rapist has pre-selected the intended victim through unobserved watching, and knowledge of when the victim would be alone or vulnerable (Hazelwood & Warren, 1990:12; Hazelwood & Warren, 2001b:455-456). Other base behaviours exhibited by U.S. serial rapists, usually consist of interpersonal verbal interactions, and also no reaction towards the victim as an individual, but rather as an object (Canter & Heritage, 1990:196-197). The offender controls the victim by using four control methods in various combinations, mere physical presence, verbal threats, display of a weapon, and the use of physical force (Hazelwood & Warren, 1990:13). In some cases of sexual assault, the presence of violence is a central element. This is highlighted by the fact that the clothing of the victims is ripped or “disturbed”, and by further injuries suffered by the victim (Kocsis *et al.*, 2002:159-160). The sexual dynamic of the rape would include aspects such as the type and sequence of the sexual acts that have occurred. The basic sexual behaviour that occurs in most of the cases is vaginal penile penetration (Hazelwood & Burgess, 2001:458; Canter & Heritage, 1990:197).

Although the aspects listed above are also observed in most cases of single sexual assault, the serial rapist’s sexual attacks are premeditated and reflective of their preferential interest in this type of crime. International sources indicate that serial rapists also show a high level of sophistication in concealing their identities and in their ability to avoid detection (Hazelwood & Warren, 1990:11; Kocsis *et al.*, 2002:161-162). Canter (2000:32) states that it would be unproductive to regard the basic behavioural frameworks as exclusive dimensions. Basic behavioural outlines must only be viewed as a general “blue print” of the behaviour specific to a specified type of offender. Such an outline will serve as a basis for any investigation.

### **3.3 BEHAVIOURAL PROFILING FRAMEWORK**

The aim of the behavioural profiling framework is to identify the salient behavioural features that can be used in individuating the behaviour of the serial rapist. In essence, the behavioural framework will assist in identifying the distinctive behavioural features, which may help identify the perpetrator, as well as indicating the differences between similar types of crimes and offenders. The behaviour that a serial rapist uses in the preparation and commission of his rapes is evidence that can be used to classify and even identify him, because of their collective uniqueness (Turvey, 1997). The actual attack can be divided into identifiable “sections” or features, the modus operandi, ritual and fantasy orientated behaviour, and the signature behaviour.

### 3.3.1 Linkage analysis

The linkage analysis process integrates the information from the three distinct interrelated aspects of a crime pattern, the MO, the ritual or fantasy aspect, and the signature behaviours, in order to identify the sexual offences committed by a single offender (Hazelwood & Warren, 2003:587-588). The linkage analysis process involves the following assessment processes:

- 1) Gathering detailed, varied, and multisource documentation. In a series of rapes, the victim's statement, police and medical reports, and, if possible, a map depicting all the relevant locations associated with each crime must be collected.
- 2) The second phase of the assessment process is identifying the significant aspects of each crime. This allows the profiler to become familiar with all of the offences in the series, as well as to access pertinent behavioural evidence without having to search through large volumes of data.
- 3) In the third phase of the assessment. The profiler analyses each crime and identifies the factors of the crimes that comprise the MO and the fantasy aspects.
- 4) The next step is to determine and identify whether signature behaviours exist across the series of crimes.
- 5) The final step is preparing a written opinion that lists the crime features, and comprises the MO, fantasy aspects, and signature behaviours (Hazelwood & Warren, 2003:593-594).

Aspects such as the modus operandi and signature exhibited by the offender have great significance when investigators attempt to link cases (Douglas *et al.*, 1992:259-261; Douglas & Munn, 1992:2; Labuschagne, 2006:184-185). One of the most identifiable problems associated with the investigation of any serial type of crime is that by the time investigators have linked the crimes together in a series, there already are a high number of victims (Tuvey, 1997). According to Geberth (1995:45), *linkage blindness* can be defined as an investigative failure to recognise the pattern linking one crime with another in a series through the victimology, geographic region, signature of the offender, and modus operandi. It is due to this reason that that the modus operandi, as well as the signature and other relevant behavioural manifestations must be recognised. The evidence at a scene can be utilised for reconstruction, it can be utilised to sequence events, determine location, establish direction, or establish time. Evidence can be broken down into several categories (Turvey, 2003:90-91):

- Relational evidence has meaning by virtue of the location with respect to other evidence
- Functional evidence is the term to describe how things work
- Sequential evidence is utilised to establish the order of events
- Directional evidence is utilised in order to determine the actions of the participants at the crime scene
- Action evidence is used to interpret the motions or the actions of the individuals

### 3.3.2 Modus operandi

The term *modus operandi* (MO) is a Latin term, which means *method of operating*, and refers to the manner in which the crime has been committed (Turvey, 2003:229). Douglas and Munn (1992:2), state that *modus operandi* can be described as the offender's actions while committing the crime. Bartol and Bartol (2005:326), indicate that *modus operandi* refers to the actions and procedures the offender engages in to successfully commit the crime. It is a behavioural pattern that the offender learns as he or she gains experience by committing the offence. According to Hickey (2006:103), the *modus operandi*, includes techniques used in committing the crime, and may evolve as the offender becomes more skilful and confident. Hazelwood and Warren (2001a:92), argue that the MO has three primary functions: protecting the identity of the offender, ensuring success, and facilitating escape and persecution evasion. Hazelwood and Warren (2003:588), state that MO is a term used to encapsulate the entire behaviour required to successfully complete the particular offence. This includes all of the behaviours initiated by the offender in order to acquire a victim, and to complete the criminal acts without being apprehended or identified. The MO can be very simplistic or extremely complex with various levels of sophistication that reflects the experience, motivation, and intelligence of the offender. The MO is learned behaviour that develops and changes over time. It is also dynamic and malleable. The MO can also be influenced by the behaviour of the victims, if a specific course of action is unsuccessful, the offender will adapt accordingly (Douglas *et al.*, 1992:260; Turvey, 2003:231-232).

Establishing the *modus operandi* of the serial rapist will consist of determining aspects such as: methods of approaching the victim, method of controlling the victim, choice of location, and criminal sophistication.

### 3.3.2.1 Methods of approaching the victim

The rapist can employ different styles to obtain his intended victim. The *con* approach involves subterfuge, and is dependent on the offender's ability to interact successfully with the intended victim. This technique involves the rapist openly approaching the victim, while maintaining sustained contact with the victim and requesting or offering some type of assistance or direction. Various ploys can also be employed by the rapist such as posing as a police officer, providing assistance for hitchhikers, or picking up women at singles bars or offering employment.

John, a man who has raped more than 20 women, told interviewers that he stopped one of his victims late at night and identified himself as a police officer. He asked for her license and registration and walked back to his car, where he sat for a few minutes. He then returned to the victim, advised her that her registration had expired, and asked her to accompany him to his car. She did so, and upon entering the car, he handcuffed her and drove to an isolated area where he raped and sodomized her (Hazelwood & Warren, 1990:12).

In the *blitz* approach, the rapist employs direct physical force in the form of assault, which subdues and physically injures the victim. The attacker can also use chemicals or gases. In most cases, however, the offender will rely on his ability to physically overpower the victim. The blitz approach results in more injuries than the *con* approach, and can include some of the fantasy components of the rape that may be arousing to the rapist.

Jack, a 32-year-old male, would hide in the forest adjacent to a jogging trail popular with residents of a nearby apartment building. He would wait until a single woman came along and as she passed his hiding spot, he would jump behind her and strike her in the back of the head with his fist. He would then lead the stunned and disorientated victim deep into the woods and sexually assault her (Hazelwood & Warren, 2001b:455).

The *surprise* approach, involves the assailant waiting for the intended victim or approaching her, for example while she is asleep. This approach presupposes that the offender has targeted or pre-selected his intended victim, through unobserved watching and knowledge of when the victim would be alone. Threats and/or the presence of a weapon are in most cases associated with this type of approach (Hazelwood & Warren, 1990:11-12; Hazelwood & Warren, 2001b:455-456).

Sean, a white male who has raped more than 30 women, was arrested in the bed of one of his victims as he slept. He had captured the woman as she entered her car at her workplace. He had been hiding in her back seat. When she got into her car, he placed his hand over her mouth and held a knife to her throat, explaining that if she did as she was told, he wouldn't hurt her. He forced her to drive to her residence, where she lived alone. He then raped her repeatedly, and fell asleep (Hazelwood & Warren, 2001b:455).

Another method of approach, which can be utilised by the offender, is the *delayed-con* approach. In this approach, the offender also employs subterfuge in obtaining his victims. As in the con approach, the offender approaches the victim openly during the delayed-con approach, employing a "story", for example enquiring if the victim is employed and offering her employment or knowledge of employment. However, unlike in the con approach, the offender does not maintain constant contact with the victim. There is a delay of one to five days between the initial contact and the second contact, which leads to the actual attack. For example, the offender might approach the victim while she is with a friend at a store and ask her if she is looking for employment? She replies that she is, but she cannot accompany him at that very moment. He then arranges to meet her at a specific location a few days later, so he can take her to the employer. During this period the offender might also call the victim to confirm their appointment. During their second pre-arranged contact the offender lures the victim away and attacks her.

### **3.3.2.2 Method of controlling the victim**

Several aspects, such as where the attack takes place, influence how the offender maintains control of the victim, once he has her within his control. The passivity of the victim also plays a role, in that it will determine what methods of control would be appropriate, a threatening physical presence, verbal threats, display of a weapon or physical force. In this regard four control methods are commonly used in various combinations or separately during the rape: (a) mere physical presence; (b) verbal threats; (c) display of a weapon; and (d) the use of physical force (Hazelwood & Warren, 1990:13).

### 3.3.2.3 Choice of location

The location aspect of the overall modus operandi of the offender focuses on features such as whether the attack occurred indoors or outdoors, whether the offender moved the victim, whether there is a primary or secondary crime scene, whether materials were acquired at the scene or left at the scene, and whether the scene posed any risks to the offender, in terms of being disturbed or identified (Turvey, 1997)

According to Canter and Larkin (1993:65), it is reasonable to assume that the offender has a “fixed or home base” from which he operates. The area in which the offences are committed has some logical relationship to the home base, and can be termed a *criminal range*. The choice of a specific criminal range can be influenced by a familiarity and sense of security offered by the territory. The offender might travel through a specific area regularly, and become familiar with his surroundings that provide information that the offender can use to plan his next attack (Canter & Larkin, 1993:64). Two models are proposed regarding the spatial behavioural patterns of the serial rapist. The *commuter* hypothesis holds that serial rapist travels from his home base to an area where he carries out the attack. There is no overlapping between the criminal ranges where the attacks are committed and the offender’s home range. Although the offender moves outside his home range to commit the offence, this does not suggest that the criminal is unfamiliar with the criminal range. The *marauder* hypothesis holds that the offender moves out from a central home base to commit the crimes and then returns. There therefore is a large or complete overlapping of the home range and the criminal range (Canter & Larkin, 1993:65). Making assumptions/predictions about the offender’s location based on crime scene location is usually referred to as geographical profiling.

### 3.3.2.4 Criminal sophistication

In most cases, offenders who have committed a criminal act more than once become more skilful in perpetrating the crime – they get better and more proficient or more sophisticated over time. The level of proficiency or sophistication can be determined by examining what the offender had planned by virtue of the materials he brought with him, and how he used the materials (Turvey, 2003:233; 339). Their skill levels can also be determined by the amount of criminal sophistication illustrated by the offender, in terms of the amount of planning on the part of the offender, for example in concealing his identity (Kocsis *et al.*, 2002:160-161).



The modus operandi of the serial rapist would therefore include aspects that are indicative of the behaviour necessary for the rapist to obtain and control his victims, and ultimately allow him to complete the rape, evade detection, and conceal his identity.

### **3.3.2.5 Fantasy and signature behaviour**

Sexual acts, whether considered normal or perverse, originate in *fantasy*. A person must have some form of sexual fantasy in order to be sexually aroused (Holmes & Holmes, 2002a: 79; 2002c: 16). The psychosexual component of the human sex drive is the most variable and individualistic aspect of the human sexual experience, and integrates the highly specific cognitive, sensory, and behavioural stimuli that are arousing to the individual (Hazelwood & Warren, 2001a:84).

The fantasy therefore reflects the unique pattern of experience and development of the individual, and provides the richest source of information about the offender. Sexual fantasies can take on many different forms. Some are extremely simple, while others can be extremely complex (Holmes & Holmes, 2002c: 16). The relationship between fantasy and behaviour is bi-directional. The internal fantasy sets the parameters for the resulting behaviour, the procedural steps that the offender must follow, as well as the prescribed acts that must be done (symbolically done in the fantasy). The fantasy also determines the actual behaviours that must be carried out in order to redefine, refine, improve, and vitalize the fantasy (Holmes & Holmes, 2002a: 80). Sexual fantasies in and by themselves are not dangerous, but the ways in which such fantasies are applied determine whether the fantasy affects our attitudes in a positive or negative way. In most cases, the individual's fantasy is sufficient to satisfy the psychosexual desires; there is no impulse to enact it in reality. It is when the fantasy is no longer satisfactory that there appears to be an aggressive desire to convert it into reality (Hazelwood & Warren, 2001a:86; Hickey, 2006:47).

The internalized fantasy of the offender is revealed in the ritualistic behavioural aspects exhibited by the offender during the commission of the crime. The behaviour is symbolic as opposed to functional, and is extremely unique. The behaviour is reflected in the aspects of the crime scene that are unnecessary in perpetrating the crime, but are essential in expressing the motivation or purpose of the attack itself. The ritual aspect of the crime can be expressed in

different ways over a series of offences, due to the refinement and more complete reflection of the underlying motivations, and of fantasy substrates or the addition of more arousing aspects (Hazelwood & Warren, 2003:589-590). In the case of serial rape offences for example, this can be seen in the escalation of violence or the use of increasingly intricate bindings or more distinctive verbal exchanges.

The *signature* aspect of the violent criminal is an integral and unique aspect of the offender's behaviour (Geberth, 1995:45). The signature can be described as the individual's "calling card" or unique behavioural imprint; it can be explained as the unique combination of behaviour, which becomes apparent across two or more offences (Hazelwood & Warren, 2003:591; Keppel and Birnes, 1997:2-3). According to Bartol & Bartol (2005:327), Douglas & Munn (1992:3), and Hickey (2002:124-125), the signature is the criminal conduct unique and integral to the offender's behaviour, and goes beyond the actions needed to commit the crime. The signature is interconnected with the offender's personality, and frequently is an extension of the fantasies of the offender, no matter how simple or complex this fantasy might be. As the offender dreams and replays the fantasy over and over, he develops a need to act out the fantasy. When the fantasy is finally acted out, some aspect of the crime exhibits some form of personal expression or ritual based on the fantasy. The offender will introduce an aspect of his personality onto the scene through this ritual. This is displayed through particular crime-scene characteristics or unique offender input during the perpetration of the crime. The signature of the offender is not necessarily exclusively linked to the internalised fantasy of the offender. It can manifest through several other means, but it is generally accepted that it is the personal mark of the offender (Hickey, 2006:103).

The signature is distinctive behaviour that serves a specific psychological and emotional need. There are two separate interdependent parts to the concepts of signature, the *signature aspect* and *signature behaviours*. The overall general *signature aspect* is representative of the emotional and psychological designs representing the needs the offender hopes to satisfy by committing the crime. The *signature behaviours* are those behaviours exhibited by the offender, which are not necessary to commit the crime but are suggestive of the emotional and psychological needs of the offender (Douglas *et al.*, 1992:261; Turvey, 2003:279-281; Savino & Turvey, 2005:270-271).

Keppel (2000b:124) states that the signature of the offender is sometimes confused with the offender's modus operandi as if the two concepts were the same thing. The modus operandi of the offender only includes the behaviours necessary to commit the crime. However, over time, the offender learns what behaviours are more effective, and subsequently the characteristics of the modus operandi changes. In contrast, the signature of the offender remains constant. Many offenders are not just satisfied with committing the crime; they feel compelled to go further. The actions beyond those necessary to commit the crime demonstrate behaviours unique to that specific individual. The aetiology of the signature can be described as the individual's fantasies, which are progressive in nature and contribute to thoughts of extremely violent behaviour. When the offender finally does act out, some aspect of the crime will exhibit the unique personal expression of the offender, which had been replayed in fantasies over and over again (Keppel & Birnes, 1997:4-5; Keppel, 1995:670; Keppel, 2000b:500-501).

It is important to note that by their very nature, crime-scenes and crime scene behaviour are never precisely identical across offences, even when the same offender is responsible. Victims differ in their response, which will influence the rapist's responses, and the locations are likely to be different, all of which can ultimately influence the behaviour exhibited by the offender. The mere repetitive nature of behaviour across multiple offences does not constitute the signature. Generally, signature behaviour takes extra time to complete beyond the functional M.O. behaviour. It is unnecessary for the completion of the crime, and may involve an expression of emotion and/or fantasy (Savino & Turvey, 2005:272-273).

### **3.3.3 Components of the sexual act**

The ritual and fantasy behaviour refers to the actual components of the rape behaviour, and all the associated distinctive characteristics. The ritual aspect of the crime emanates from the internal fantasy of an offender, as opposed to the situational demands of committing the crime. These individuating behaviours are derived from the motivation for the crime as well as the sexual fantasies it expresses (Hazelwood & Warren, 2003:589).

#### **3.3.3.1 Elements of the sexual behaviour**

The behaviour of the serial rapist can be classified in terms of the emphasis of the assault, the manner of engaging in the actual rape, and interaction between the offender and the victim. The

distinguishing elements can be found in the specific behaviour that the individual offender exhibits. The distinguishing elements found in the behaviour of the offender represent the dominant behavioural theme of the offence. Categorising the rape behaviour attempts to illustrate the viewpoint of the offender and how he views the victim (Canter, 2000:36-37; Hazelwood, 2001:134-140). The offence behaviour of the offender can be divided into the following:

#### **3.3.3.1.1 Intercourse behaviour pattern**

The intercourse behavioural pattern is characterised by an offender pursuing sexual intercourse for sexual gratification. The offence is less aggressive, and violence is simply not part of the assault. Any application of violence is aimed at attaining sexual compliance, or when the victim attempts to resist the advances of the offender. In most cases vaginal penetration is the main objective while other sexual behaviours, fellatio (oral sex on the male), cunnilingus (oral sex on a woman), and initial anal intercourse can also be present during the attack sequence (Canter & Heritage, 1990:199; Kocsis, *et al.*, 2002:163; Palermo & Kocsis, 2005:204).

#### **3.3.3.1.2 Personal – attempted intimacy behaviour pattern**

The personal-attempted intimacy behavioural pattern is indicative of an offender who believes that by exhibiting pseudo-concern for the victim or by exhibiting some preparedness to relate to the victim as a person, the victim will believe that he really is not a bad person. The offender will attempt to involve the victim in the act, both sexually and verbally, and it is necessary for the victim to act as if she enjoys the activity. This feeds the offender's need for power and acceptance, fulfilling his fantasy. This type of offender will attempt to reassure the victim. He might also voice his concern for her well-being and he will frequently be complimentary telling the victim, for example, she has nice breasts. The offender will also refer to himself in a demeaning manner and might also engage the victim in ego-building verbal activity, forcing her to say that she loves him or that she wants him to make love to her. Any sexual contact will be as "normal" as possible, such as full sexual intercourse. The offender would require the victim to participate both physically and verbally during the assault. The amount of physical violence for the personal-attempted intimacy pattern is typically minimal. Force is used more to intimidate than to punish, and most often the offender relies on threats, the presence or threat of a weapon, and fear, in order to ensure compliance (Canter, 2000:37; Canter & Heritage, 1990:198; Hazelwood, 2001:135-138).

#### **3.3.3.1.3 Brutality behaviour pattern**

The brutality behavioural pattern represents a set of behaviours, which is indicative of an explosive release of anger during the sexual assault. The attack is characterised by overt violence and aggression, and occurs before any sexual contact. The victim is usually beaten severely resulting in considerable blunt force trauma to the body and especially to the victim's face. The excessive violence is not aimed at causing suffering or simple compliance, but rather, to totally dominate the victim and thereby degrading her in some way (Canter & Heritage, 1990:199-200; Kocsis *et al.*, 2002, 162; Palermo & Kocsis, 2005:204).

#### **3.3.3.1.4 Selfish behaviour pattern**

The selfish behavioural pattern is characterised by the offender using the victim as a prop, dealing with the victim as an entity or an object. The offender will be sexually selfish and physically abusive, indicating a callous disinterest in the victim's well-being or comfort. Verbally the offender will be offensive, abusive, and threatening. The verbal interaction will also be demeaning, impersonal, and sexually orientated (Ainsworth, 2005:103-104). He will attempt to demean the victim with extremely profane remarks such as "bitch" or "slut." The offender will be unlikely to be influenced by the victim's responses, acting out a personalised script. Sexually, the offender will do whatever he wants to, the victim plays no part as a human being. The sexual contact will also be more varied for example forced fellatio followed by vaginal penetration (Ainsworth, 2005:104). The offender will not kiss or fondle his victims unless it is to degrade her further, he is more likely to pull, pinch, twist, or bite the sexual body parts of the victim. The level of aggression and violence exhibited by the offender is influenced by the motivation for the attack, and is not related to the resistance offered by the victim. If necessary, the offender will employ large amounts of force to achieve his objective. (Canter, 2000:37; Canter & Heritage, 1990:200-201; Hazelwood, 2001:138-140).

#### **3.3.3.1.5 Ritual behaviour pattern**

The ritual behavioural pattern is indicative of ritualised and paraphilic behaviour closely linked to sexual sadism. The behaviour can be defined as a paraphilia, in that the suffering of the victim sexually excites the offender. The ritualistic fantasy must be acted out and compulsively repeated for the offender to be sexually satisfied. A clear indication of planning is also evident in the use of one or a combination of bindings, gagging, restraints, and blindfolds. The offender could also torture the victim. The close association between force, torture, and fetishism during

sex is evident throughout the assault (Johnson, 2006:410; Kocsis *et al.*, 2002:163; Palermo & Kocsis, 2005:199).

#### **3.3.3.1.6 Criminal intent behaviour pattern**

The criminal intent behaviour pattern is evident in offences where the sexual assault was not the primary motivation for the attack. The pattern is characterised by an impulsive opportunistic sexual assault. Violent behaviour in this pattern is potentially lethal and cruel, but does not show any coordinated purpose as observed in the ritual pattern. The offender can engage the victim in some form of conversation, and can even offer some form of reassurance. The sexual assault does not extend to actual fornication. Instead, it includes aspects such as fondling, digital penetration, and forcing the victim to engage in oral sex on the offender. The criminal intent of the offender is characterised by the offender binding and gagging the victim and stealing from the victim (Canter & Heritage, 1990:201-202; Kocsis *et al.*, 2002:164-165; Palermo & Kocsis, 2005:205).

Once the sexual and offence behaviour of the rapist has been broadly classified, the rape can be further analysed in an attempt to determine the underlying motivation for the assault.

#### **3.3.3.2 Rapist categories model**

Classifying the type of rape allows the investigator to view the attack as a whole, and to outline and determine the behavioural pattern exhibited by the offender. A classification model allows a researcher or investigator to assess the offender's behaviour in terms of aggression used during the offence and of the meaning of the sexual acts (Knight & Prentky, 1987:409; Warren, Reboussin, Hazelwood & Wright, 1991:56). According to Turvey (2003: 310-311) such a model can also be described as a motivational model. Instead of classifying the offenders the behaviours exhibited by the offenders are classified. This shifts the emphasis from an inductive labelling system to a deductive tool. The proposed rapist category model utilised during the behavioural profiling process focuses on the types of aggression exhibited by the offender, as well as on the elements of the sexual acts perpetrated during the attack and how these behaviours manifest during the rape. The model incorporates aspects of several typologies and classification systems, which have attempted, to some degree, to delineate the sexual and aggressive components of rape behaviour.

The model is based on the assumption that power, anger, and sexuality are fundamental components of all forcible rapes (Warren *et al.*, 1991:56). To this extent, the model is divided in terms of the meaning of the aggression utilised during the attack, *instrumental aggression*, and *expressive aggression*. Instrumental aggression and behaviours relate directly to the offender attempting to gain or obtain that which is necessary or desirable from the offence. The victim is merely a 'vehicle' through which he can gratify some need (Fromm, 1973:280-283; Salfati and Bateman, 2005:6; Salfati & Canter, 1999:392-393). Expressive behaviour is aimed at physically harming the victim. This type of behaviour is often provoked through some form of emotional or interpersonal response. Each type is further divided into rapist subtypes, which address the meaning of sexuality during the attack.

### **3.3.3.2.1 Instrumental aggression**

The following two types of rapists characteristically make use of instrumental aggression.

#### **3.3.3.2.1.1 Opportunistic rapist**

The opportunistic rapist can be classified as an impulsive offender who has given no thought to the crime prior to the attack. The primary motivation for the offender committing the act is satisfying the need to have sex with the victim (Hazelwood, 2001:147; Turvey, 1997). The sexual act is not rooted in any strong fantasy or predilection, as the assault is usually an "addition" during the commission of another crime such as burglary. During the course of the other activities in which the offender is involved, he is presented with an opportunity to rape and seizes it. The sexual attack is an impulsive act, controlled more by the situational and contextual factors than by any sexual fantasy or explicit anger towards women (Knight, Warren, Reboussin & Soley, 1998:56). The context controls the rape process, and in most cases the offender will use only a minimal level of force as needed to maintain control (Hazelwood, 2001:148; Turvey, 1997). The aggression present during the attack can be described as instrumental aggression, where the intent of the offender is to gain something. In the case of the opportunistic rapist, the aggression is aimed at securing sexual compliance (Knight & Prentky, 1987:409; Salfati & Bateman, 2005:6). There is little verbal scripting and the offender is verbally and sexually selfish, interested only in immediate gratification. There is very little fantasy behaviour involved, and the victim is merely sexually convenient. The rape is completely unplanned, as evidenced by the carelessness and sloppy nature of the crime scene behaviour and the abundance of physical and behavioural evidence left behind (Turvey, 1997). The opportunistic type of rapist



will exhibit most, if not all, of the criminal intent behavioural patterns examined in the preceding section.

### **3.3.3.2.1.2 Power-reassurance rapist**

The power-reassurance rapist is a highly ritualistic offender. This rapist type is extremely sexualised and fantasy driven. His complex fantasy consists of a relational component where he wants to play the role of a “lover”. The attack is also characterised by the presence of verbalisations and behaviour that reflects an intended person-orientated relationship between the offender and victim (Douglas *et al.*, 1992:214; Hazelwood, 2001:141; Knight & Prentky, 1987:410). The behavioural patterns exhibited by the power-reassurance rapist will be indicative of the personal and attempted intimacy behaviour patterns. The purpose of the assault is an effort by the offender to reassure himself, and to protect himself from lingering pervasive feelings of his sexual inadequacy and masculinity. The aim of the attack is to restore the rapist’s confidence or self-esteem (Knight *et al.*, 1998:58; Knight & Prentky, 1987:408; Savino & Turvey, 2005:276; Warren *et al.*, 1991:56). He wants to place the victim in a position where she cannot deny him and by exercising his will over her, strengthens his failing sense of self-esteem and adequacy (Ainsworth, 2005:104; Graney & Arrigo, 2002:29-30; Groth *et al.*, 1977:1241; Hazelwood, 2001:141). The power-reassurance rapist exhibits pseudo-unselfish verbal and sexual behaviour, and employs minimal levels of force. He will also attempt to involve the victim in the sexual activity, and will allow the victim to negotiate the sexual activity (Savino & Turvey, 2005:277). The aim of the assault is to affect sexual intercourse and the force used is instrumental in this. Usually the offender has no conscious intent to hurt or degrade this victim. The amount of force used during the attacks may increase as the offender becomes more desperate to dispel his feelings of inadequacy (Groth *et al.*, 1977:1240; Hazelwood, 2001:141-142). The offender usually commits the attack within an environment where he feels geographically comfortable, and can keep mementos of the attacks such as a piece of clothing (Hazelwood, 2001:143).

### 3.3.3.2.2 Expressive aggression

The following three types of rapists characteristically make use of expressive aggression.

#### 3.3.3.2.2.1 Power-assertive rapist

This type of rapist demonstrates low levels of impulsivity, and fantasy does not play a dominant role in the commission of the crimes. The behavioural patterns exhibited by this type of rapist will, in most cases, correlate with the selfish behavioural patterns. The assertive type of offender has no doubt about his virility and masculinity the behaviour is intended to restore the rapist's self-confidence and self-worth. The behaviour of the power-assertive rapist suggests an underlying lack of confidence and a sense of inadequacy. He uses rape as an expression of his virility, masculinity, dominance and authority (Graney & Arrigo, 2002:29; Savino & Turvey, 2005:280). The rapist experiences a sense of entitlement, and the victim is merely an object he can use for his own gratification. The offender may also subject the victim to repeated assaults during the time frame of the rape (Graney & Arrigo, 2002:29). The sexual assault is distinguished by behaviours explicitly intended to harm, degrade, and humiliate the victim (Knight *et al.*, 1998:58). The victim has little or no psychological meaning to the offender, and merely represents a masturbatory object to the offender. The attack is an expression of the inadequacy he experiences in terms of his sense of identity and sexual effectiveness (Groth *et al.*, 1977:1240-1241; Hazelwood, 2001:143; Knight & Prentky, 1987:410; Turvey, 1997; Warren *et al.*, 1991:56-57). The power-assertive rapist is verbally and sexually selfish in his attacks, he will do with his victim whatever he wants. He can engage in behaviours such as pulling, pinching and biting. He exhibits no empathy towards his victim, and shows no concern for her physical or emotional well-being. He utilises the victim as a prop; his own pleasure is primary. The verbal interaction between the offender and victim is one sided. He does not want the victim to be verbally or otherwise involved in the rape, he will give explicit sexual instructions and commands using a great deal of profanity (Savino & Turvey, 2005:282; Turvey, 1997). The offender will usually employ a con approach, and use moderate to excessive force to subdue and control his victim in a surprise attack. The amount of force employed is expressive of his belief that he is a "man's man", his sexual dominance is his way of "keeping his woman in line" (Groth & Birnbaum, 1979:25-26; Hazelwood, 2001:142-144).

### **3.3.3.2.2 Anger-retaliatory rapist**

The assault of the anger-retaliatory rapist is characterised by physical brutality. The rape is an expression of the anger, rage, contempt and hatred he feels towards women, a specific person, group, or institution (Groth & Birnbaum, 1979:13-14; Groth *et al.*, 1977:1241; Savino & Turvey, 2005:286; Warren *et al.*, 1991:56). This is a highly impulsive offender who is extremely violent. Fantasy plays less of a role than in the preceding types, the offender hates women, and wants to punish and degrade them. He is in essence “getting even” with women who represent or symbolise a perceived wrong or degradation he has suffered at the hands of women (Hazelwood, 2001:144; Groth *et al.*, 1977:13-14; Knight & Prentky, 1987:410-411). The offender displays a great deal of anger and contempt towards the victim, and intentionally punishes the victim with brute force. The assault can often be attributed to an uncontrollable impulse (Knight & Prentky, 1987:411). The amount of aggression displayed by the offender in this case, is expressive in that the aim is to harm the victim, often inflicting high levels of physical injuries on the victim (Knight *et al.*, 1998:58; Savino & Turvey, 2005:287; Salfati & Bateman, 2005:6). The rapist is sexually and verbally selfish, and employs excessive levels of force that fulfil an emotional need of the offender to attack, punish, and destroy his victim (Hazelwood, 2001:145). He derives pleasure from humiliating and degrading his victim, not from the sexual contact. The offender does not achieve sexual excitement or arousal; sex in this case becomes a weapon (Groth & Birnbaum, 1979:14-15; Groth *et al.*, 1977:1242; Knight & Prentky, 1987:411).

### **3.3.3.2.3 Sadistic rapist**

The sadistic rapist is the most dangerous type of rapist because he aims to harm the victim physically and mentally (Hickey, 2006:412; Holmes & Holmes, 2002c: 192). The sadistic rape is characterised by levels of violence that clearly exceed the necessary force required to ensure victim compliance (Burgess, Hazelwood & Burgess, 2001:172). When discussing the sadistic criminal, it is important to list the definition of sadism:

The experience of sexual pleasure sensations (including orgasm) produced by acts of cruelty or bodily punishment afflicted on one’s person, or when witnessed in others, be they animals or human beings. It may also consist of an innate desire to humiliate, hurt, wound, or even destroy others in order to create sexual pleasure in oneself (Hickey, 2006:413).

According to Shaffer and Penn (2006:74), sexual sadism is a paraphilia in which sexual arousal and/or orgasms are achieved by inflicting pain and humiliation on another individual, and/or by watching another individual suffer.

The sadistic rapist has made the connection between aggression and sexual gratification; his sexual arousal is a function of the victim's pain, fear and discomfort. The more aggressive the rapist becomes, the more powerful the rapist feels, and the more powerful they feel, the more aggressive they become (Groth & Birnbaum, 1979:46; Knight & Prentky, 1987:411). The sadistic rapist's aggression is thus eroticised, and he finds pleasure and excitation in the suffering of his victim (Groth & Birnbaum, 1979: 45-46; Groth *et al.*, 1977:1242; Savino & Turvey, 2005:294). Fantasy behaviour (verbal and behavioural scripting), plays a major role in the sadistic offender's behaviour (Hazelwood, 2001:146). The offender is sexually selfish, and the primary function of the victim is to suffer sexually (Turvey, 1997). The rape behaviour can consist of actions such as whipping and bondage, while violence is directed specifically towards the erogenous zones of the body, for example cutting or mutilating the victim's breasts, anus, buttocks or genitals. Foreign object insertion into the vagina and anus is also a common factor in the sadistic rape (Douglas *et al.*, 1992:227; Burgess *et al.*, 2001:172). The aggression displayed by the sadistic rapist is both instrumental in facilitating the fantasy behaviour, and expressive, i.e. the offender's sexual arousal is coupled to the pain and suffering experienced by the victim.

Although recent research indicates that most rapes have clusters of distinguishing behaviour, it is also important to note that, like individuals, no two rapists are alike (Groth & Birnbaum, 1979; Groth *et al.*, 1977). Similar acts are performed for different reasons, while different acts can serve similar purposes. The variations of exhibited behavioural patterns are almost limitless, and in any given instance of rape, a multitude of meanings can be expressed by the observable behavioural patterns. To this extent, no rapist will completely "fit" into one of the types listed above in pure form. It is likely that a rapist may fit into more than one of the categories listed in the preceding section. The aim of the model is to serve as a general guide that the investigator can employ to characterise the observable behaviour, and then determine which typology or combination best represents the particular rapist.

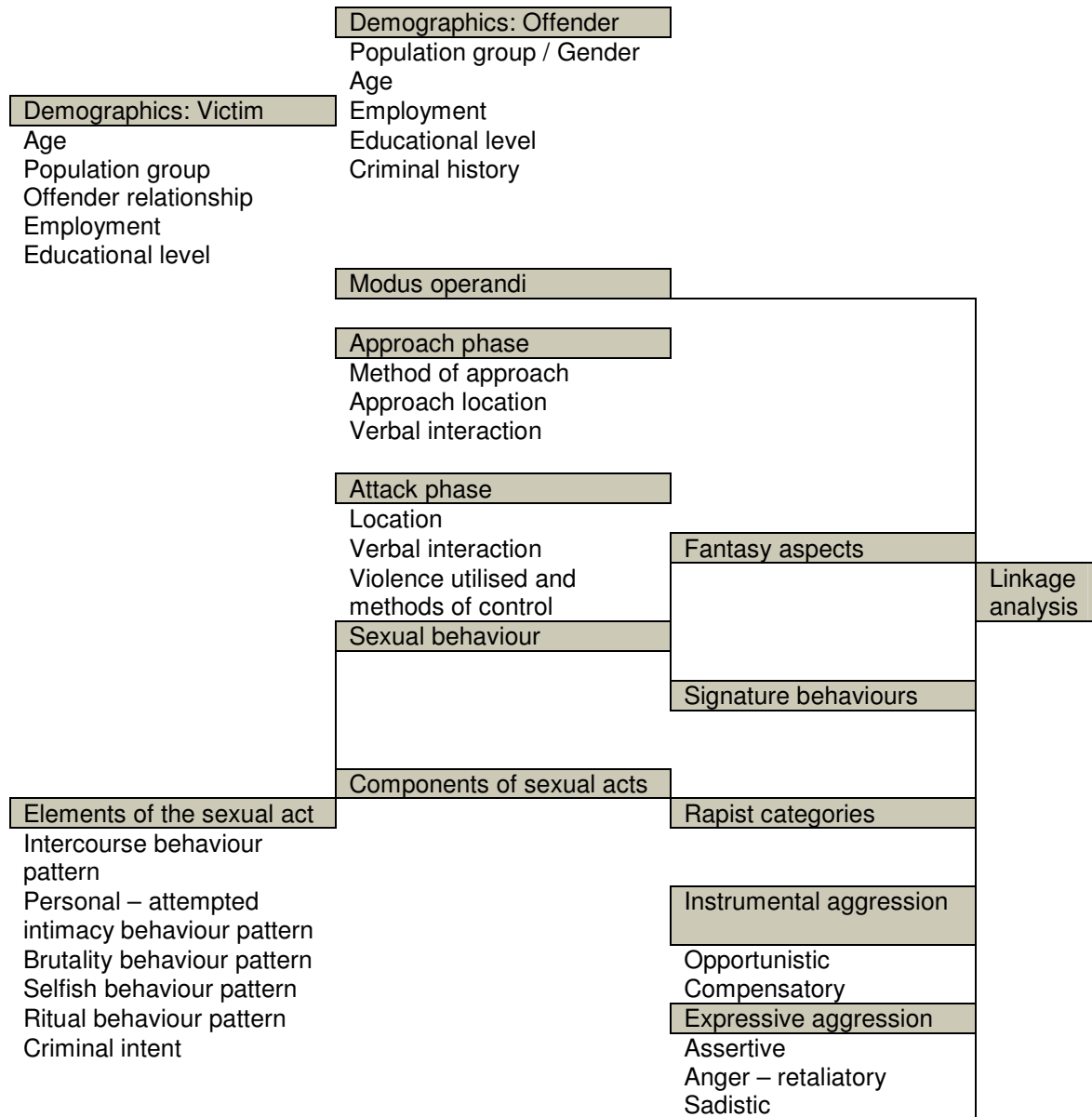
### 3.4 SYNTHESIS

Figure one is schematic representation of the behavioural profiling framework stipulated in the section above. The framework incorporated all the aspects which are relevant to constructing a comprehensive behavioural profile. A detailed and complete behavioural profile will also allow for a more in depth behavioural motivation analysis of the offender, and answer questions such as “why” more thoroughly.

The framework was constructed from various psychological and criminological typologies and models created by Burgess *et al.*, (2001); Canter, (1989); Douglas *et al.*, (1992); Groth and Birnbaum, (1979); Groth *et al.*, (1977); Hazelwood & Burgess, (2001); Hazelwood, (2001); Hazelwood & Warren, (1990); Knight & Prentky, (1987); Knight *et al.*, (1998); Palermo & Kocsis, (2005); Savino & Turvey, (2005); Turvey, (2003), in order to ensure that the framework and models are as comprehensive as possible. This will ensure that the relevant information will be gathered, and a more thorough profile of the offender can be constructed. The aim of the behavioural profiling frameworks discussed above is to assist investigators in formulating a more detailed picture of the serial rapist from the information obtained from both the victim and crime-scene analysis.

In terms of the current study the framework, as illustrated in figure 1, will be used in a descriptive-exploratory capacity in order to determine how serial rape presents itself within the South African context. Because no research-based information on serial rape exists within the South African context, the comprehensive nature of the framework is ideal for determining the behavioural nuances of the South African serial rapist. The similarities between South African serial rape and international offenders, as well as distinct behavioural patterns exhibited by serial rapists in South Africa will also be highlighted. The comprehensive nature of the framework will allow for the identification of any distinct and unique behavioural patterns that can be used in developing new distinctive typologies, which can be utilised in future research.

Figure 1  
Schematic representation of the Behavioural-profiling framework



### 3.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the various definitions regarding profiling have been listed. The aim of the chapter was to illustrate the basic underlying principles of profiling shared by the various concepts. The basic foundation of all the various processes is inferring behavioural patterns and

personality characteristics from an analysis of the offence behaviour. Along with shared underlying principles, the process of profiling also has numerous points of criticism levelled against it. The most notable point of criticism is the apparent lack of empirical research regarding the validity and reliability of the profiling process.

The general aim of any behavioural profile is to assist investigators in sorting out complex offender behaviour, which will aid in determining aspects such as the modus operandi, fantasy motive and signature behaviour of the particular offender (Turvey, 1997). The basic premise of the proposed behavioural profiling process is that “behaviour reflects personality” (Douglas & Olshaker, 1979:29). The reasoning process, which will be employed in order to make the necessary inferences during the process, will be a combined inductive-deductive analysis process. By combining the two processes, the inferences made will include all the relevant information and will ensure that any conclusions are specific to the offender. The process is aimed at analysing the behavioural evidence exhibited by the offender, by breaking down the attack into individual elements.

Any analysis process will start with a detailed description of the crime scene as well as a victim analysis. The crime scene tells a story, it is a reflection of the human interactions, speech patterns, and individual behavioural characteristics of the individuals involved during the attack (Douglas & Munn, 1992:1). A detailed victim analysis is one of the most useful investigative tools available, especially in serial rape cases. The victim essentially is a direct link to the offender. The victim can provide first-hand recollections in terms of the verbal and physical interactions between offender and victim, which could ultimately assist in determining and understanding the motivation of the offender (Douglas *et al.*, 1992:7-8).

Through a thorough analysis of the crime scene, unique behavioural representations such as the modus operandi, signature, and fantasy behaviours can be identified. The behavioural framework is aimed at determining the salient behavioural features that can be utilised to determine the individuating features of the serial rapist. The framework is aimed at distinguishing the behavioural features indicative of the modus operandi, as well as the fantasy and signature behaviours. The linkage analysis process will integrate the elements of the three distinct crime components in order to assist in the behavioural profiling process. Once the features of the MO, the fantasy elements, and the signature behaviours have been established, the focus can shift to the sexual act.



The sexual and offence behaviour exhibited by the offender is distinct, and can be classified in terms of the emphasis of the behaviour. The sexual and offence behaviour exhibited by the offender can be classified under six general behavioural patterns. In the first two patterns the dominant themes are in some way associated with sexual gratification, brutality, selfishness, and ritual patterns. The dominant themes are not sexual, but rather themes associated with anger, aggression, dominance, degradation, and sadistic paraphilic acts. In the criminal intent behaviour pattern, the sexual assault is secondary to the original criminal intent, such as burglary. By classifying the elements of the sexual and offence behaviour, the rapist can be categorised and in the process can determine the underlying motivation for the rape.

The categorisation model focuses on the fundamental elements of forcible rape, the meaning of the aggression exhibited by the offender, and the meaning of the sexual behaviour. The aggression exhibited by the offender can be classified into two behavioural indicators, instrumental and expressive. The sexual behaviour categorisation is divided into five subtypes each with its own distinct behavioural characteristics, the opportunistic, the compensatory, the assertive type, the anger-retaliatory, and the sadistic type rapist.

In terms of the proposed research, the framework will be applied to South African serial rapists, in order to determine how serial rape presents itself within the South African context, as well as assessing the reliability and validity of the framework. The diversity and extensive nature of the framework will also allow for the identification of any unique behavioural patterns exhibited by the South African serial rapist.

In the following chapter the research methodology employed during research, will be explored.