



... His family doing something together (In this case, the family is in a restaurant.) ...

Subject: Well, I can't say if I have or I don't. There are a lot of aspects of this crime I can't give an answer, cause I put up a mental block. I don't want to think of it. It makes me do bad time. I'm doing a long time and I just block it clear out.

The murderer confirms the likelihood that the fantasies are there; however, additional techniques, such as hypnosis or therapy, would be needed to access the information.

### Continuum of Admission

The offender generally took one of three positions regarding guilt—admitting the crime, admitting lack of total recall, and not admitting the crime. In our study, the majority of murderers admitted their crimes. Some of the murderers turned themselves in to the police; others admitted to the crime when they were apprehended. Still others admitted guilt

when confronted with evidence. As one murderer told the interviewing agents, "The police unwrapped the broomhandle and that did it." Several of the murderers interviewed were unable to remember actually committing the murder, but agreed the evidence incriminated them.

One group of murderers interviewed did not admit to their crimes even after their convictions for the murders. When confronted with such individuals, the interviewer should attempt to determine if the individual is lying (which implies conscious intent) or if the individual is denying (which implies subconscious intent).

To the offender, lying to an investigator provides a form of control. It may detour the investigator and waste valuable time, as in situations in which incorrect names and addresses are given.

One way investigators identify lies is on the basis of the amount of detail a subject provides. Fantasy worlds or delusions are usually very detailed. However, when a subject tries to feign psychosis or delusion, his story usually appears inconsistent and lack-

ing in detail. Investigators detecting this type of defense and bringing it to the offender's attention may be successful. In one case, the murderer claimed to have committed the murders because of instructions from a centuries-old dog. The Agents refused to accept this ploy. They pointed out good naturedly that the murders had been carefully planned and executed, which was a lot to expect from a dog. The murderer finally accepted the "credit" for the crimes and discussed them in detail with the interviewers. Even when suspecting that a subject is lying or denying, the interviewer should try to maintain an atmosphere of mutual respect.

There are reasons why a suspect might deny a crime. The denial might serve to protect the subject from legal action as well as from the psychological impact of admitting such a crime. One murderer interviewed denied any actual knowledge of committing the crime. He stated that he was coerced, forced to confess to the crimes, and possibly drugged before entering a plea of guilty. In the interview with the

**"One reason a murderer may not be able to admit the crime is that admission would destroy his premise of justification."**

Agents, he had an elaborate answer for each piece of evidence presented. He said friends had given him the 100 pairs of high-heeled shoes in his closet. He argued that photographs found in his possession were not his, because he would not be such a sloppy photographer. He presented extreme detail for each piece of evidence brought against him to "prove" why he could not have been the murderer.

There also may be cases where the murderer justifies in his own mind the issue of admitting or denying guilt. The following statement from a serial murderer illustrates this position:

Agent: Could the police have done anything for you in order to get a confession?

Subject: Well, at first I didn't admit my guilt. I wouldn't admit to anybody. But I didn't really deny either.

We found that when someone outright denied they had murdered or had anything to do with the crime, the use of an imaginary third person was helpful. The Agents would go through the details of the crime and ask the subject why he thought this third person would commit such an act. This technique projected responsibility or guilt away from the subject and onto someone else. Note this strategy in the following interview by the Agents with a murderer:

Agent: Suppose we do it this way. Let's just divorce you from that situation. I'm sure you've thought about it alot. Suppose it wasn't you involved and it was someone else. What, in your mind, would be the reasons for someone doing something like that?

Subject: I'd say she either said or did something extremely wrong.

Agent: Like what, for instance?

Subject: Well, it could have been that his [sexual] performance was inadequate. She might have thought it was. Or he might have thought it was and she said something about it.

This conversation illustrates that the murderer was able to provide a reason (sexual inadequacy) for the crime being committed and suggests that the intent to kill was triggered into action through an internal dialog process within the offender.

Often someone who denies justifies his or her actions by blaming someone else. In our study, for example, a murderer justified his killing by describing the victim as a "tramp." One reason a murderer may not be able to admit the crime is that admission would destroy his premise of justification.

Obtaining information from suspects is a critical technique for law enforcement. Well-developed skills in interviewing can provide important information, which can be linked with crime scene data. Through the use of various interviewing techniques, the investigation can receive maximum benefit from the interview process. Interview techniques discussed in this article have given members of the FBI's Behavioral Science Unit new insight for tapping into the fantasy systems of these criminals and for effectively dealing with their defenses.

**FBI**



... and a picture that includes a house and a tree.

# The Lust Murderer

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On August 29, 1975, the nude, mutilated body of a 25-year-old mother of two was found near Columbia, S.C. Both breasts had been removed, the reproductive system had been displaced, numerous cut and stab wounds were evidenced by the body, and there was indication of anthropophagy.<sup>1</sup>

This was the scene of a lust murder, one of the most heinous crimes committed by man. While not a common occurrence, it is one which frightens and arouses the public as does no other crime.

Of primary concern are those factors which differentiate the lust murder from the more common sadistic homicide, physical evidence present at the scene which may assist in determining the responsible individual(s), and possible personality characteristics of the murderer. It is not the authors' contention that the material presented is applicable to all such crimes or their perpetrators, but rather that the majority of the crimes and offenders involved will exhibit the characteristics set forth. The data presented here have not been quantified, but are based upon the authors' examination of case reports, interviews with investigative personnel, and a careful review of the literature. Minor variations of the terms used may occur, depending on the source of reference.

It is the authors' contention that the lust murder is unique and is distinguished from the sadistic homicide by the involvement of a mutilating attack or displacement of the breasts, rectum, or genitals. Further, while there are always exceptions, basically two types of individuals commit the lust murder. These individuals will be labeled as the Organized Nonsocial and the Disorganized Asocial personalities.

## The Organized Nonsocial

The organized nonsocial (nonsocial) lust murderer exhibits complete indifference to the interests and welfare of society and displays an irresponsible and self-centered attitude. While disliking people in general, he does not avoid them. Instead, he is capable of displaying an amiable facade for as long as it takes to manipulate people toward his own personal goal. He is a methodical and cunning individual, as demonstrated in the perpetration of his crime. He is fully cognizant of the criminality of his act and its impact on society, and it is for this reason that he commits the crime. He generally lives some distance from the crime scene and will cruise, seeking a victim. Dr. Robert P. Brittain, author of "The Sadistic Murderer," has stated, "They (sadistic murderers) are excited by cruelty, whether in books or in films, in fact or fantasy."<sup>2</sup>

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### The Disorganized Asocial

The disorganized asocial (asocial) lust murderer exhibits primary characteristics of societal aversion. This individual prefers his own company to that of others and would be typified as a loner. He experiences difficulty in negotiating interpersonal relationships and consequently feels rejected and lonely. He lacks the cunning of the nonsocial type and commits the crime in a more frenzied and less methodical manner. The crime is likely to be committed in close proximity to his residence or place of employment, where he feels secure and more at ease.

### The Crime

The lust murder is premeditated in the obsessive fantasies of the perpetrator. Yet, the killer may act on the "spur-of-the-moment" when the opportunity presents itself. That is to say, the murderer has precisely planned the crime in his fantasies, but has not consciously decided to act out those fantasies until the moment of the crime. Consequently, the victim is typically unknown to the killer, a fact borne out by the cases studied by the authors.

The location of the victim's body may be indicative of the type of murderer involved. Typically, the asocial type leaves the body at the scene of death, and while the location is not open to the casual observer, there has been no attempt to conceal the body. Conversely, the nonsocial type commits the crime in a secluded or isolated location and may later transport it to an area where it is likely to be found.



While there may be no conscious intent to be arrested, the nonsocial type wants the excitement derived from the publicity about the body's discovery and its impact on the victim's community.

The lust murder is committed in a brutally sadistic manner. While the victim may be either male or female, the crime is predominantly heterosexual and intraracial in nature. The victim's body exhibits gross mutilation and/or displacement of the breasts, rectum, or genitals and may have been subjected to excessive stabbing or slashing with a sharp instrument. The victim's death typically occurs shortly following abduction or attack, and the mutilation that takes place follows death. Dr. J. Paul de River notes in his book, *Crime and the Sexual Psychopath*:

"The lust murderer, usually, after killing his victim, tortures, cuts, maims or slashes the victim in the regions on or about the genitalia, rectum, breast in the female, and about the neck, throat and buttocks, as usually these parts contain strong sexual significance to him, and serve as sexual stimulus."<sup>3</sup>

If, however, there is physical or medical evidence indicating the victim was subjected to torture or mutilation prior to death, this factor indicates that the perpetrator was the nonsocial rather than the asocial type.

Seldom will the lust murderer use a firearm to kill, for he experiences too little psychosexual gratification with such an impersonal weapon. Most frequently, death results from strangulation, blunt force, or the use of a pointed, sharp instrument. The asocial type is more prone to use a weapon of opportunity and may leave it at the scene, while the nonsocial type may carry the murder weapon with him and take it when departing the scene. Therefore, the murderer's choice of weapon and its proximity to the scene can be greatly significant to the investigation.

Dr. de River comments that the instrument itself may be symbolic to the murderer and he may place it in a position near the victim. This is a form of pride and exhibitionistic behavior and can be sexually gratifying to him.<sup>4</sup>

The investigator may find that the victim has been bitten on the breasts, buttocks, neck, abdomen, thighs, or genitals, as these body areas have sexual associations. Limb or breast amputation, or in some instances total dissection, may have taken place. Dis-

### **"The lust murder is premeditated in the obsessive fantasies of the perpetrator."**

section of the victim's body, when committed by the nonsocial type, may be an attempt to hinder the identification of the victim. The asocial individual approaches his victim in much the same way as an inquisitive child with a new toy. He involves himself in an exploratory examination of the sexually significant parts of the body in an attempt to determine how they function and appear beneath the surface.

Occasionally, it will be noted that the murderer has smeared the victim's blood on himself, the victim, or the surface on which the body rests. This activity is more frequently associated with the asocial type and relates to the uncontrollable frenzy of the attack.

Penis penetration of the victim is not to be expected from the asocial individual, but is predominantly associated with the nonsocial type, even to the extent of "necrophilia."<sup>5</sup> These activities on the nonsocial's part reflect his desire to outrage society and call attention to his total disdain for societal acceptance. The asocial type more commonly inserts foreign objects into the body orifices in a probing and curiosity-motivated, yet brutal, manner. Evidence of ejaculation may be found on or near the victim or her clothing.

Frequently, the murderer will take a "souvenir," normally an object or article of clothing belonging to the victim, but occasionally it may be a more personal reminder of the encounter—a

finger, a lock of hair, or a part of the body with sexual association. The souvenir is taken to enable the murderer to relive the scene in later fantasies. The killer here is acting out his fantasy, and complete possession of the victim is part of that fantasy. As previously mentioned, the perpetrator may commit an anthropophagic act and such an act is indicative of asocial involvement.

Finally, the scene itself will exhibit much less physical evidence when the murderer is the nonsocial type. As stated, the individual categorized as the nonsocial type is very cunning and more methodical than the asocial type, who commits a more frenzied assault. It is interesting to note, however, that both types may be compelled to return to the scene, albeit for different reasons. While the asocial type may return to engage in further mutilation or to relive the experience, the nonsocial type returns to determine if the body has been discovered and to check on the progress of the investigation. Instances have occurred when the nonsocial type changed the body's location to insure its discovery.

Of interest is the almost obsessive desire of the nonsocial type to assess the police investigation, even to the extent of frequenting police "hang-outs" to eavesdrop on discussions of unsolved crimes, or in some manner, inserting himself into the investigation. In one case, the murderer returned to the scene after it had been examined by police laboratory technicians and deposited articles of clothing worn by the victim on the day she died. In both of two other cases, the killer visited the cemetery site of the victim and left articles belonging to the victim on her grave. It is as though he were involved in a "game" with the authorities. Such actions appear to further his "will to power"<sup>6</sup> or desire to control.

### Portrait of the Lust Murderer

What set of circumstances create the individual who becomes the lust murderer? The authors do not possess the expertise to explain the multiple and complex casual factors associated with the psychological development of the individual who commits such a heinous crime. But, it is generally accepted that the foundation of the personality is formed within the first few years of life. While extreme stress, frequent narcotic use, or alcohol abuse can cause personality disorganization in later life, it is the early years that are critical to the personality structure and development.

Seldom does the lust murderer come from an environment of love and understanding. It is more likely that he was an abused or neglected child who experienced a great deal of conflict in his early life and was unable to develop and use adequate coping devices (i.e. defense mechanisms). Had he been able to do so, he would have withstood the stresses placed on him and developed normally in early childhood. It must be emphasized that many individuals are raised in environments not conducive to healthy psychological development, yet they become productive citizens. These stresses, frustrations, and subsequent anxieties, along with the inability to cope with them, may lead the individual to withdraw from the society which he perceives as hostile and threatening.

Through this internalization process, he becomes secluded and isolated from others and may eventually select suicide as an alternative to a life of loneliness and frustration. The authors have designated this reaction to life as disorganized asocial. This type possesses a poor self-image and secretly rejects the society which he feels rejects him. Family and associates would describe him a nice, quiet person who keeps to himself, but who never quite realized his potential. During adolescence, he may have engaged in voyeuristic activities or the theft of feminine clothing. Such activities serve as a substitute for his inability to approach women sexually in a mature and confident manner.

The individual designated by the authors as the organized nonsocial type harbors similar feelings of hostility, but elects not to withdraw and internalize his hostility. Rather, he overtly expresses it through aggressive and seemingly senseless acts against society. Typically, he begins to demonstrate his hostility as he passes through puberty and into adolescence. He would be described as a troublemaker and a manipulator of people, concerned only for himself. He experiences difficulties with family, friends,

### **"The lust murder is committed in a brutally sadistic manner."**

and "authority figures" through antisocial acts which may include homicide. Thomas Strentz and Conrad Hassel, in the June 1978 issue of *Journal of Police Science and Administration*, wrote of a youth who had first murdered at the age of 15 and was committed to a mental institution. After his release, he murdered and dismembered eight women.<sup>7</sup> It is the nonsocial's aim to get even with society and inflict pain and punishment upon others.

#### **The Role of Fantasy**

As noted, the lust murder is premeditated in obsessive fantasies experienced by both the asocial and nonsocial murderers. Fantasy provides them an avenue of escape from a world of hate and rejection. Dr. James J. Reinhardt in his book, *Sex Perversions and Sex Crimes*, has written:

"A study of these cases almost invariably reveals a long struggle against what Reik calls the 'forward thrust.' By fantasy the murderer attempts to wall himself in against the fatal act, while at the same time gratifying the compulsive psychic demands in the development and use of *fantasy*.

These sadistic [fantasies] seem always to have preceded the brutal act of *lust* murder. These *fantasies* take all sorts of grotesque and cruel forms. The pervert, on this level of degeneracy, may resort to pornographic pictures, grotesque and cruel literary episodes, out of which he weaves fantasies. On these, his imagination dwells until he loses all contact with reality, only to find himself suddenly impelled to carry his fantasies into the world of actuality. This is done, apparently, by drawing human objects into the *fantasy*."<sup>8</sup>

James Russell Odom, tried and convicted with James Clayton Lawson for the brutal lust murder described at the beginning of this article, stated that while he and Lawson were at a mental institution, they would express their fantasies about women:

"(Odom) raping them and Lawson mutilating them . . . (we had fantasized so much that at times I didn't know what was real.)"<sup>9</sup>

If he acts out the fantasy (commits the crime), his goal will be to destroy the victim and thereby become the sole possessor. James Lawson (mentioned above) is quoted as saying:

"Then I cut her throat so she would not scream. . . . at this time I wanted to cut her body so she would not look like a person and destroy her so she would not exist. I began to cut on her body. I remember cutting her breasts off. After this, all I remember is that I kept cutting on her body."<sup>10</sup>

The victim may represent something he desires sexually, but is unable to approach. Lawson speaks again, "I did not rape the girl. I only wanted to destroy her."<sup>11</sup>



Rarely encountered is the asocial type who is capable of normal heterosexual relationships. He may desire such relationships, but he also fears them. Dr. Reinhardt, on an interview with a famous lust murderer, wrote:

"... he at first denied ever attempting any sex play with girls. Two days later with one of his rare shows of emotion he said, looking much ashamed, that twice, later correcting himself to eight times, he had touched girls 'on the breasts' and then pressed 'on the leg.' Always having done this, he would immediately burst into tears and 'be upset and unable to sleep'."<sup>12</sup>

### The Psychological Profile

A psychological profile is an educated attempt to provide investigative agencies with specific information as to the type of individual who committed a certain crime. It must be clearly stated at the outset that what can be done in this area is limited, and prescribed investigative procedures should not be suspended, altered, or replaced by receipt of a profile. Rather, the material provided should be considered and employed as another investigative tool. The process is an art and not a science, and while it may be applicable to many types of investigations, its use is restricted primarily to crimes of violence or potential violence.

When prepared by the FBI, the profile may include the perpetrator's age, race, sex, socioeconomic and marital status, educational level, arrest history, location of residence in relation to the scene, and certain personality traits.

A profile is based on characteristic patterns or factors of uniqueness that distinguish certain individuals from the general population. In the case of lust murder, clues to those factors of uniqueness are found on the victim's body and at the scene and would include the amount and location of mutilation involved, type of weapon used, cause of death, and the position of the body. The profiler is searching for clues which indicate the probable personality configuration of the responsible individual.

### "The location of the victim's body may be indicative of the type of murderer involved."

In preparing the profile, it is preferable to have access to the scene prior to its disturbance. In most instances, this is impossible. In lieu of being at the scene, the profiler must be provided investigative reports, autopsy protocols, detailed photographs of the body, scene, and surrounding area, as well as a map depicting the victim's last known location in relation to its present location and any known information pertaining to the victim and her activities.

There are violent crimes in which there is an absence of uniqueness; therefore, it is not possible to provide a profile. However, this is not likely to occur in the case of a lust murder.

### Summary

While not a common occurrence, the lust murder frightens and arouses the public as does no other crime. The lust murder involves the death and subsequent mutilating attack of the breasts, rectum, and genital areas of the victim. The crime is typically heterosexual and intraracial in nature and is committed by one of two types of individuals: The disorganized asocial personality, or the organized nonsocial

The organized nonsocial type feels rejection by and hatred for the society in which he lives. His hostile feelings are manifested overtly, and the lust murder is the final expression of the hatred he feels. The disorganized asocial type also feels rejection and hatred for his world, but withdraws and internalizes his feelings, living within a world of fantasy until he acts out that fantasy with his victim.

While commonalities exist in the commission of the lust murder, there are certain factors which may indicate the personality type involved. These factors include the location of the body, evidence of torture or mutilation having occurred prior to death, smearing of the victim's blood, evidence of penis penetration or anthropophagy, and the availability of physical evidence at the scene.

The crime is premeditated in the obsessive fantasies experienced by both the asocial and the nonsocial types, yet it is a crime of opportunity, one in which the victim is not usually known to the murderer.

The use of psychological profiling in such crimes may be of assistance in determining the personality type involved. It is a search for clues indicating the probable personality configuration of the responsible individual(s). It is a useful tool, but must not alter, suspend, or replace prescribed investigative procedures. **FBI**

### Footnotes

- <sup>1</sup>Anthropophagy: Consuming the victim's flesh or blood.
- <sup>2</sup>Robert P. Brittain, "The Sadistic Murderer," *Medical Science and the Law*, vol. IV (1970), p. 202.
- <sup>3</sup>J. Paul de River, *Crime and the Sexual Psychopath* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1950), p. 40.
- <sup>4</sup>J. Paul de River, *The Sexual Criminal* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1950), p. 233.
- <sup>5</sup>Necrophilia: A desire for relations with the dead.
- <sup>6</sup>Calvin S. Hall and Lindsey Gardner, *Theories of Personality*, 2d ed. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1970).
- <sup>7</sup>Thomas Strentz and Conrad V. Hassel, "The Sociopath—A Criminal Enigma," *Journal of Police Science and Administration*, (June 1978).
- <sup>8</sup>James J. Reinhardt, *Sex Perversions and Sex Crimes* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1957), pp. 208-209.
- <sup>9</sup>Statement of Odom as reported by *The Record* (newspaper) April 7, 1976, 1-A.
- <sup>10</sup>Statement made to South Carolina law enforcement authorities by James Clayton Lawson on September 3, 1975.
- <sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>12</sup>Reinhardt, pp. 221-222.

# Rape and Rape-Murder: One Offender and Twelve Victims

Robert K. Ressler, M.S., Ann Wolbert Burgess, D.N.Sc., and John E. Douglas, M.S.



# Rape and Rape-Murder: One Offender and Twelve Victims

Robert K. Ressler, M.S., Ann Wolbert Burgess, D.N.Sc., and John E. Douglas, M.S.

*This study analyzes data pertaining to 12 rapes and rape-murders committed by one male adolescent offender over a 4-year period. All offenses except the first were committed while the offender was under psychiatric and probationary supervision. The use or relinquishment of violence by the offender was found to be dependent on subtle interpersonal factors. The authors stress the importance of the use of crime scene data and interviews of patients who have committed sex crimes, the role of psychological profiles in apprehension of suspects, and the contribution of law enforcement as a data resource. (Am J Psychiatry 140:36-40, 1983)*

Rape-murder, a crime of increasing concern in our society, results from one person killing another in the context of power, sexuality, and brutality. Although the literature is replete with reports on the murderer, it is relatively silent on the victim. This omission from the clinical literature significantly impedes our understanding of the possible variables in a rape assault and handicaps our progress in victimology. To contribute to the study of rape-murder, we report on 12 rapes committed by a male teenager over a 4-year period in which 5 of his victims were murdered following the rape.

## PROFILE OF THE OFFENDER

The offender, born 24 years ago in the Midwest, was the youngest of 3 children and had an older adopted brother and natural sister. It is reported that he was an Rh baby and required a complete blood transfusion at birth. He has reportedly suffered no major health problems. The parents separated and divorced when he was age 7, and both parents remarried shortly thereafter. He continued to live with his mother even though her second marriage dissolved when he was 12. He completed age-level work until his senior year in

high school, when he was involuntarily withdrawn from school due to excessive absenteeism and lack of progress.

He was of average intelligence and had aspired to attend college. He was athletically inclined and played league baseball. He was outgoing, often attended social events, and had a close circle of friends, both male and female. He saw himself as a leader, not a follower.

The offender's antisocial behavior was first recorded when he was age 9, when he and 3 other boys were caught by the school principal writing cusswords on the sidewalk. The boys were required to wash the sidewalk until the words were removed. His criminal record started when he was age 12 with assaultive and disruptive behavior involving breaking into an apartment and stealing property valued at \$100. At age 13 he was charged with driving without an operator's license; at age 14 he was charged with burglary and rape and committed 2 minor acts of petty larceny as well as stealing a car. He readily admitted using alcohol and drugs of all types from his early teen years. He worked sporadically throughout his high school years as part of a program whereby he attended school in the morning and worked in the afternoon.

The offender was sent out of state to a psychiatric residential facility following the first felony of rape and burglary at age 14. During his 18-month stay he received individual insight-oriented psychotherapy, and the discharge recommendation was that he live at home, attend public school, and continue psychotherapy on a weekly outpatient basis, with his mother actively involved in his treatment. Three weeks after returning home from the residential facility he was charged with attempted armed robbery—an act intended to be rape. It took 1 year for him to come before a judge for sentencing on this charge, and in that time he had committed the first rape and murder but had not yet been charged for that offense. The disposition on the attempted armed robbery was probation and outpatient psychotherapy; he had served 8 months when he was apprehended for the 5 murders. His psychiatric diagnoses according to *DSM-II* have included adolescent adjustment reaction, character disorder without psychosis, and multiple personality. At the time of his arrest for the murders the young man was 19 years old, weighed 65 kg, and was 170 cm tall. He was given 5 life sentences for the 5 rape-murders. After 2 years of incarceration, he admitted to 6 additional rapes for which he was never charged.

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## PROFILE OF THE VICTIMS

All of the 12 victims were female, and they represented different ethnic groups. They ranged in age from 17 to 34 years and were older than the offender by 1 to 15 years. Several victims were taller and heavier than the offender. Nine of them were total strangers to him; he knew 3 by sight. Two of the 9 women who were strangers to him recognized him after his capture. Most of the victims were of middle-income status, and the majority lived in the apartment complex where the offender lived with his mother. All of the victims except 1 high school student were employed full-time and worked in such positions as teachers, postal supervisors, store buyers, airline stewardesses, and administrative assistants. Some of them also had part-time jobs and/or were continuing their college education. Most of the victims were not married; several were divorced. Two were known to have children. Five of the women were raped and murdered; 5 were raped only by the offender; and 2 were gang raped. One escaped from the offender before he could commit a sex crime. Most of the victims were approached at knife point as they entered the elevator in their apartment building. All rape-murder victims were abducted from the same location, killed in different areas, and found fully clothed. The time spent in locating their bodies ranged from 1 day to 6 weeks.

## DATA COLLECTION

Data were collected in two ways: through interviews with the offender and completion of an interview guide and through the use of police reports, court evaluation records, photographs of crime scene investigations, and medical examiners' reports. An obvious limitation to the interviews was having to rely on the offender's memory and reconstruction of the crimes. This bias was countered with documentation from prison and court records. On the other hand, the offender's admission of 6 additional rapes adds to the data not available through official channels. Another methodological drawback was that the information on what victims said and did came from the offender.

## FINDINGS

The analysis of the data suggests that the offender's criminal behavior changed in two major ways: The sexual aggression escalated from rape to rape and murder, and the offenses increased in frequency over time (see table 1). Of special note are the facts that 1) all rape and murder offenses except the first were committed while he was under psychiatric supervision and on probation, 2) the 6 rapes that were not charged to him were also committed while he was under psychiatric supervision and on probation, and 3) the 5

TABLE 1. Escalation of the Criminal Behavior of an Adolescent Boy

Boy's Age years	Offense	Victim's Age years	Disposition
12	Petty larceny		Probation
12	Disrupting school		Probation
13	Driving without an operator's license		Case continued until his 18th birthday
14	Burglary and rape	25	Sent to state psychiatric center
14	Petty larceny		Sent to state psychiatric center
14	Breaking and entering		Sent to state psychiatric center
16	Rape	25	Never charged
16	Rape	25	Never charged
16	Burglary and rape (codefendant)	17	Never charged
16	Rape (codefendant)	25	Never charged
17	Attempted armed robbery	22	Probation and outpatient therapy
18	Rape	25	Never charged
18	Rape and murder	24	Life imprisonment
19	Rape and murder	22	Life imprisonment
19	Rape and murder	34	Life imprisonment
19	Rape	25	Never charged
19	Rape and murder	27	Life imprisonment
19	Rape and murder	24	Life imprisonment

homicides were not linked to one offender and did not appear to include rape until he was apprehended and described the offenses.

*Rape and Intended Rape: The First Two Offenses*

The first rape with which the offender was charged, when he was 14, occurred in the apartment next to where he lived with his mother. He had returned home from a party and had gone to bed but woke up fantasizing about the 25-year-old divorced neighbor woman who often employed him for small errands. He got up, went outside wearing a ski mask, scaled the apartment wall like a "cat burglar," and entered the woman's third-floor apartment through the balcony door. He raped the woman several times, left through the front door, returned to his own apartment, and went to sleep. He was apprehended 3 weeks later and was eventually convicted on the basis of evidence found in the apartment (i.e., fingerprints and clothing; rather than the victim's identification of him). A woman judge sentenced him to an out-of-state psychiatric residential facility.

The second rape (the first one with which he was never charged) occurred when he was 16 and home from the residential facility for Christmas vacation. The evening before he returned to the facility, he approached a woman in the elevator in the apartment complex and at knife point took her to another location and raped her. The second rape with which he was never charged (third in the sequence) occurred 3 months later when he approached a woman in the parking lot of a local school he attended while at the

residential facility. He forced the woman at knife point to drive to her apartment, where he raped her. The third and fourth rapes with which he was never charged included codefendants. While on a weekend pass, the offender and 2 other patients from the residential facility stole a car, traveled out of state, broke into a house, stole 2 guns and money, and each raped a 17-year-old girl who was in the house. The offender returned home; however, his mother immediately sent him back to the residential facility and he was counseled on his runaway behavior. Three months later he and another patient went to a local swimming pool. They broke into the women's locker room and raped a young woman, covering her head with a towel.

The sixth rape (the fifth for which he was never charged) occurred before the first rape-murder he committed and involved a woman he had seen in his own apartment building. He obtained an air pistol, captured her in the apartment elevator, took her to a storage room, and, covering her face with her jacket, raped her twice.

An attempted armed robbery (an act intended to be rape) occurred 3 weeks after his release from the residential treatment facility. He targeted a woman entering the elevator of the apartment complex, donned a ski mask, and held a knife to her. She was successful in escaping.

She broke . . . pushed me out of the way and started going to the front of the elevator, pushed the button to open the door and started to run and she stumbled. I'd started to run after her and stumbled over her and at that point the knife fell and she was on the ground hollering and I was on the ground next to her, scared to death. My mind went blank. I ran out of the building. [He was subsequently arrested.]

### Rape and Murder: The Last 6 Offenses

The offender selected the last 6 victims at random as he watched cars drive into the apartment complex where he lived. Once he targeted a victim, he would walk behind her, follow her into the apartment elevator, pull his knife, and tell her it was a holdup. Then they would leave the building, either for the victim's car or for an area near the apartment complex. In one case the pattern was reversed. The offender was hitchhiking and was given a ride by a woman who was going to a party in his apartment complex. She let him off at his building; he watched her park her car and then ran across the complex, entered the elevator with her, and captured her there. All abductions and murders occurred within his own territory. Thus, known territory was a distinct advantage for him. ("Going somewhere that I didn't know or where the cops patrolled might get me caught. I knew what time the cops came by in the morning because I'd be sitting there.") Indeed, he was right. One of the reasons he was not caught until after the fifth murder was that the police were looking for strangers—especially suspicious strangers—not a teenager living in the area.

The offender's use of either verbal or physical strategies to assert control over the victim depended on the victim's initial response. The victim who was compliant when he showed a weapon received no additional threats or orders. Victims who screamed received verbal threats, and those who refused to cooperate were physically struck.

### Interaction Between Offender and Victim

Reconstruction of the victims' talk and actions as viewed from the offender's perspective revealed that conversation and behavior served to either neutralize or escalate his affective state.

*Murder victim 1, rape victim 7.* The woman's talk ("She asked which way I wanted it") raised the offender's suspicion of her life style. After the rape and while both were dressing, he had not decided on his next action. The woman's sudden attempt to escape triggered in him feelings of anger and frustration that resulted in increased aggression. He stated:

She took off running down the ravine. That's when I grabbed her. I had her in an armlock. She was bigger than me. I started choking her . . . she stumbled . . . we rolled down the hill and into the water. I banged her head against the side of a rock and held her head under water.

Death was determined to be from strangulation.

*Murder victim 2, rape victim 8.* The woman's talk consisted of many questions ("She wanted to know why I wanted to do this; why I picked her; didn't I have a girl friend; what was my problem; what I was going to do"), which served to annoy him. The woman, talking while driving the car, suddenly stepped on the accelerator and attempted to counter his control by threatening to drive the car into a tree. He turned off the ignition and put his foot on the brake, and the car slid sideways. The car stopped, and the woman got out and ran across the road screaming for help. He said:

I go into the woods after her. I see her run from behind a tree and that's when I go after her. From then on I knew I had to kill her. She trips over a log and that's when I catch up with her and I just start stabbing her.

The victim was stabbed 14 times in the chest.

*Murder victim 3, rape victim 9.* The offender claimed he had not decided whether he would kill this woman. He would not let her talk ("The more I got to know about the women the softer I got"). He ordered her to be quiet and turn on the radio. He described his thinking as follows:

I was thinking . . . I've killed two. I might as well kill this one, too. . . . Something in me was wanting to kill. . . . I tied her up with her stockings and I started to walk away . . . then I heard her through the woods kind of rolling around and making muffled sounds. And I turned back and said, "No, I have to kill her. I've got to do this to preserve and protect myself."



The woman died from 21 stab wounds to the left side of the thorax and upper abdomen.

*Rape victim 10.* The offender had decided to kill this woman, but her talking saved her life ("She told me her father was dying of cancer"). Her talk evidently neutralized his aggression due to his identification with the situation ("I thought of my own brother who had cancer. I couldn't kill her. She had it bad already"). He threw her car keys out of the window and ran off into the woods.

*Murder victim 4, rape victim 11.* The offender had decided to kill this woman. Her resistance and attempt to escape triggered his violence.

She scratched me across the face. I got mad; she started to run. I got up from falling down and chased her. She ran into a tree. I caught her. We wrestled, rolled over the embankment into the water. I landed with my face in the water. . . . That's where the idea to drown her came. . . . She was fighting and she was strong but I put her head under the water and just sat there with my hands on her neck.

The cause of death was drowning.

*Murder victim 5, rape victim 12.* This woman's talk led the offender to realize that she knew him. This knowledge escalated his fear of being apprehended and, in turn, led him to confess the 4 previous murders. The decision to kill was made quickly.

We were walking along, through the culverts, underneath the highway. That's when I pulled out the knife and without even saying anything, I stabbed her . . . maybe 50-100 times.

He buried the victim's body in a shallow grave.

### *Behavior Following the Murders*

Following each murder, the offender would usually take an item of jewelry from the woman's body for a souvenir, go back to the woman's car and search through her purse for money, drive her car for an extended period of time, park the car several blocks from his apartment, return to his apartment and go to bed, and watch television and newspapers for reports about the discovery of the body.

## DISCUSSION

### *Psychodynamics of Rape-Murder*

Some reports have suggested that rapists rarely murder (1) but that when they do, the motives are social rather than personal; that is, they murder to silence the victim and prevent detection (2). This motive differs from lust-murder, whereby sexuality and aggression fuse into a single psychological experience known as sadism (3). Rada (4) argued, and we agree, that rapists are capable of murder but for

different reasons than the lust-murderer. One reason, Rada suggested, is that in some rapists there appears to be a progressive increase in aggressive fantasies about women that over time may eventually lead to murder.

The case we have reported suggests that for some rapists there is a progression in the offender's intent or decision making toward killing. With the first 3 murders the offender made the decision to kill the women during the period he interacted with them, but in the last 2 murders, he decided ahead of time to kill them. This case also suggests an additional dimension to motive in rape-murder. The modern view of rape regards it as an act of violence expressing power as one motive (5). We suggest that the psychological motive of power expands for the rapist-murderer from a need for power over one person ("It was a real turn on to realize the victims weren't reporting or identifying me") to a need for power over a collective group ("I'm too slick for them") that included the police, judges, psychiatrists, and psychologists.

This case illustrates the influence of an individual's affective state when combined with various degrees of intent to commit murder. A review of the offender's last 6 offenses suggests that 2 affective states may influence the decision to kill: Escalating the anger motive in the rapist may trigger aggressive behavior aimed at establishing dominance and authority, and stimulating fear and decreasing the power motive in the rapist may trigger aggressive behavior aimed at self-preservation (5).

### *Interviewing Patients Charged with Crimes*

The fact that the offender was under psychiatric supervision when he committed most of his criminal acts suggests that close attention be paid to psychiatric interviewing techniques. We offer the following two suggestions.

1. When interviewing a patient who has been charged with crimes, one should pay careful attention to the deviant behavior and focus on all dimensions of the interactional aspects of the crime. If possible, and if it is within agency policy, one should gather supplementary data regarding the crime scene; the victim's statements, police interviews, and official reports and talk with staff who have worked with the patient. These corroborating data will lend a perspective other than the patient's for assessment of and challenge to the patient. The interviewer should maintain a high index of suspicion when the patient denies committing or refuses to talk about the crime or deviant behavior and should consider the possibility that he or she is concealing other secretive and dangerous behavior. A parallel can be drawn between the dynamics of sex and secrecy (6) and incest and treatment.

2. Rape and attempted rape behavior should be viewed as serious and chronic and thus repetitive. The interviewer should not assume that a patient with a history of sexual assault has committed it only the number of times for which he or she is charged. When

## RAPE-MURDER

the patient has been under stress and especially at times when he or she has been charged with other criminal acts (e.g., breaking and entering, stealing cars, larceny), the interviewer should inquire about concurrent assaultive behavior or rape fantasies. Our findings support those from Groth and associates' study (7) of convicted sex offenders recommended for treatment. Those authors reported that each offender had committed an average of 5 sexual assaults for which he was never apprehended.

### *Psychological Profiles*

The fact that a psychiatrist wrote a psychological profile of the offender we have described suggests the need for further work in this area. The psychological profile is a critical technique in police work on unsolved crimes. In a comparison of the profile with the data obtained from the offender, two points can be made. First, no one speculated that the murder victims had been raped. The fact that they all were found fully clothed and without clinical evidence of sexual intercourse made the cases seem not sexually related. The offender admitted raping the victims several times. The possibility that he had a sexual dysfunction—retarded ejaculation—was never considered (8). Second, the profile report speculated that because he targeted women and used their underwear to bind them, he felt hostility toward his mother. Interview data suggested another authority figure in his life:

That woman judge sent me to a diagnostic center. That's what started me off resenting authority. . . . Nobody could tell me what to do or when to do it or how to do it.

## CONCLUSIONS

Gaps do exist in fully understanding a criminal act in general, and a sexual homicide in particular, because each of the various professionals and disciplines involved work with only one part of the picture. Cooperation through sharing information and collaborating on cases is often not practiced in the work setting. We undertook this study to address this gap in the transfer and sharing of criminal data. Frazier (9) encouraged the research step of developing descriptive patterns of murder as human action, with the caution to avoid simple, reductionistic conclusions about the causes of murder. We agree with this position and encourage studies across disciplines.

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