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A review and modification of Wilson and Herrnstein's integrated theory of criminality as it pertains to serial murder and serial rape

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A REVIEW AND MODIFICATION OF WILSON AND HERRNSTEIN'S
INTEGRATED THEORY OF CRIMINALITY AS IT PERTAINS
TO SERIAL MURDER AND SERIAL RAPE

An Abstract of a Thesis
Submitted
In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

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University of Northern Iowa

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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents a review and modification of Wilson and Herrnstein's integrated theory of criminality in an effort to explain serial murder and serial rape. The crimes of serial murder and serial rape are described as offenses which appear to be unprovoked and "senseless" and as well are predatory and repetitious in nature. The objective of this thesis is to further understand and explain the occurrence of these particular criminal offenses through the integration of existing theories of behavior.

Wilson and Herrnstein's theory is discussed and modified specifically to address the criminality exhibited by serial murderers and serial rapists. Their theory is used as a framework. Based upon Wilson and Herrnstein's multi-disciplinary approach, behavioral explanations from biology, psychology, sociology, and criminology are presented under the categories of biosocial influence, developmental influence, situational influence and addiction.

Additionally, the specific crimes of serial murder and serial rape are characterized and established typologies discussed. Serial murder is defined as three or more incidents of homicide with a "cooling off period" between murders and where clear or obvious motives are not present. Serial rape is defined as the incidence of predatory and repetitive acts in which a physically forceful attempt at

sexual acts is made, when one of the individuals involved does not wish to participate.

The explanation developed in this thesis is based upon the assumption that the conceptual integration of biosocial, developmental and situational factors provides a more thorough explanation of serial murder and serial rape by addressing the interrelationships between the multiple motivations and reinforcements of these crimes. Furthermore, the concept of addiction is incorporated in to this explanation because of the many characteristics of addiction which serial murderers and serial rapists seem to manifest.

Additionally, an illustrative case history of a serial murderer and a composite study of a serial rapist are reviewed to elucidate the developed explanation. The case history is a review of Theodore Robert Bundy. The composite study is a representative synopsis of a serial rapist developed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation based upon their research and interviews with 41 incarcerated serial rapists.

In conclusion, implications regarding possible prevention of serial murder and serial rape are briefly discussed. Both prevention through social practices and public policy are considered. Finally, a call for further research is made.

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A Thesis

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Problem Statement

In this thesis Wilson and Herrnstein's (1985) integrated theory of criminality is reviewed and modified in an attempt to provide an integrated explanation of serial murder and serial rape. Serial offending is a term used to describe a category of violent crime which to many people seems irrational and includes serial murder and serial rape. These crimes, often referred to as unprovoked "senseless" criminal activities, are predatory and repetitious in nature. The objective of this thesis is to further understand and explain the occurrence of the offenses of serial murder and serial rape through the integration of existing theories of behavior.

Sociologist, Robert Brown (1969) contends that by providing an in-depth account of social behaviors, causal connections can be indicated and explanations presupposed. Therefore, historical, actuarial, theoretical, and case history data of serial murder and serial rape are used in examining the integrative explanation of serial murder and serial rape. Serial murder is defined as three or more incidents of homicide with a "cooling off period" between murders and where clear or obvious motives are not present (Holmes & DeBurger, 1988). Rape is a physically forceful attempt at sexual acts, when one of the individuals involved

does not wish to participate (Ellis, 1989). Serial rape is defined as the incidence of predatory repetitive rapes. The information on serial rapists is based on research conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) who interviewed 41 multiple rapists, each of whom had raped at least 10 women (Hazelwood & Burgess, 1987). Case studies of serial murderers and serial rapists are presented to show a parity between these criminals and demonstrate the nature of these offenses.

In addition, this research is an attempt to further understand the phenomena of serial murder and serial rape by more thoroughly discerning the motivation and reinforcement of the individuals who perpetrate these crimes. There is a need for such research that specifically addresses serial murderers and serial rapists and the crimes they commit. There is an abundance of information and many theories about crime; however, criminologists and others often focus on the most frequently occurring types of "rational" crimes with obvious motives. The senseless crimes of serial murder and serial rape make up a relatively small portion of all violent crimes that occur, and rational violence is the dominant type of violent crime (Yablonsky, 1990). This leaves serial murder and serial rape relatively unexplained.

The development of a better understanding of serial murder and serial rape is important due to the effects that crimes of this nature have on society. According to

Silberman (1978), America has undergone a change from an open society to a fearful one and crime has been a cause. "Crime . . . undermines the social order itself by destroying the assumptions on which it is based" (Silberman, 1978, p. 12). Society's perceptions of criminal motivation influences social behavior. For example, by avoiding certain places at certain times and not carrying large amounts of cash, individuals can maximize personal security against crimes for profit. These crimes tend to have socially normative, rational motivations and therefore there appear to be logical methods to control the risk of victimization. "Senseless" crimes are more difficult to understand. Perhaps this is what makes many individuals fear them most. Although not condoned, crimes such as robbery or murder for profit have more obvious motivation than do crimes such as serial murder or serial rape. By studying that which motivates and reinforces "senseless" crimes such as serial murder and serial rape, perhaps measures can be taken to prevent these offenses and thus alleviate some of the social fear of being victimized by this type of offender.

An additional argument for the importance of this research of serial murder and serial rape is society's apparent fascination with serial offenses such as these, which is apparent through the proliferation of popular literature and movies that focus on these bizarre behaviors

(Levin & Fox, 1985; Michaud & Aynesworth, 1984; Rule, 1980; Demme, Utt, Saxon & Bosman, 1991). Popular culture and the media often obscure the facts about those who commit such offenses by portraying them as "super-human" in their crimes. The popularity of such sensationalized information further necessitates a well researched explanation of serial murder and serial rape. Therefore, it is the intent of this thesis to more accurately account for the motivation of those who perpetrate these crimes.

Rationale of Thesis Theoretical Foundation

The development of multi-disciplinary explanations of crime appears to be a common response to existing fragmented theories of crime (Liska, Krohn, & Messner, 1989). Because the objective of this thesis is to utilize an integrated understanding of serial murder and serial rape, Wilson and Herrnstein's integrated theory is used as a theoretical foundation. The categories of causal elements included by Wilson and Herrnstein (1985) are biosocial factors, developmental factors and situational factors. Similar categories of contributing causal elements are considered in this thesis. The literature reviewed comes from the disciplines of biology, psychology, sociology and criminology and is presented under the categories of biosocial influence, developmental influence, situational influence and addiction.

In general, this thesis concurs with the contributing factors chosen by Wilson and Herrnstein (1985) assumptions. This thesis utilizes perspectives similar to those used by Wilson and Herrnstein. However, it is also important to recognize the controversy which surrounds their theoretical development. By identifying Wilson and Herrnstein's theoretical shortcomings, measures can be taken to avoid the same weaknesses in this thesis. Two primary criticisms of their theory are the lack of attention they give to social contexts and their failure to create a truly integrated explanation. According to Elliot's (1985) and Liska et al. (1989) explanations of theoretical integration, it seems Wilson and Herrnstein created a mixed model of criminality but failed to demonstrate the relationships between the included variables.

Therefore, it is the intent of this research to review and expand on Wilson and Herrnstein's (1985) theory, because in spite of the qualities of their theory it seems to be incomplete, due to the weaknesses previously described. Additionally, this theory must be modified to address the criminality represented by serial murderers and serial rapists. Thus there are two primary purposes for incorporating this piece of literature. The first purpose is to utilize Wilson and Herrnstein's theory as a model of the multi-disciplinary approach. The second purpose is to recognize and avoid the deficiencies of their theoretical

explanation in an effort to develop a thoroughly integrated understanding of the motivation and reinforcement of serial murderers' and serial rapists' criminal behaviors.

In summary, four theoretical factors are addressed regarding their ability to explain the motivation and reinforcement of serial murderers and serial rapists. First, the biosocial concepts illustrate an individual's predispositions to behave in ways which may result in neurological reward. Additionally these biosocial concepts help explain predispositions to act excessively aggressive, which is characteristic of serial murderers and serial rapists. Second, the developmental factors discussed address the impact of an adverse psychological development and the results of an eccentric self and self-concept (i.e., the choice of aberrant behaviors such as serial murder or serial rape). Additionally the relationship between the aberrant self and repetitious behaviors is established by discussing Homans' (1961) interlocking rational choice propositions. Third, reviewed situational factors help explain ways in which social contexts facilitate the particular crimes of serial murderers and serial rapists. The fourth factor addresses existing explanations of addictions which may parallel serial murder and serial rape. The discussion of this factor establishes these crimes as forms of addiction, and further explains the basic motivations and reasons for the repetition of serial

murderers' and serial rapists' crimes. Wilson and Herrnstein's theory demonstrates both important issues that should be incorporated in an explanation of criminal behaviors and weaknesses to overcome in developing a more thorough illustration of contributing motivations and reinforcement of criminality.

Criminality as defined by Wilson and Herrnstein's (1985) theory suggests that some people have a greater propensity to commit criminal behaviors. While theirs is a controversial explanation of criminality, it provides an example of an explanation of crime which incorporates biosocial, sociological, criminological and psychological perspectives.

Wilson and Herrnstein (1985) attempt to explain why some individuals are more likely than others to commit crime. The review and critique of Wilson and Herrnstein's theory is important because it provides an existing model which incorporates concepts from many different schools of thought. There are two primary assumptions of Wilson and Herrnstein's theory which are most important to discuss concerning the crimes examined in this thesis. First, it is an underlying assumption that criminals have biological or "constitutional" tendencies which influence their criminal behaviors. Wilson and Herrnstein propose that this is a contributing factor which separates those who become criminal from those who do not. They assert the presence of

inherent predispositional factors which increase the likelihood that someone will become criminal. This should not be confused with predetermination which would imply that those biological factors determine whether an individual will or will not become criminal. Predispositional influences are also of primary importance to this thesis. Second, Wilson and Herrnstein contend that senseless crimes, like rational crimes for profit, are also responses to reinforcement. They acknowledge the usefulness of distinguishing criminality by the source of reinforcement. Wilson and Herrnstein (1985) conclude that individuals who commit internally reinforced crimes (serial murder) may be differentiated from those who commit externally reinforced crimes (robbery) by the degree of the individual's criminality.

Brief Historical Overview of Serial Murder and Serial Rape

Serial murder and serial rape appear to be crimes that have existed throughout history (Hazelwood & Burgess, 1987; Hickey, 1991). For example, Hickey's analysis of serial murder includes documented cases of multiple murder dating back to 1795 (1991, p. 18). However it was not until the 1960s, that serial murder began to attract substantial attention (Ressler, Burgess, D'Agostino, & Douglas, 1984). In the 1970s, law enforcement officials initiated extensive research about serial murder. This research was conducted

due to an apparent up swing in serial murder (Ressler et al., 1984). In 1978, the FBI conducted extensive research on the dynamics of serial rape. This research was initiated because increasing incidents of serial rape were creating a climate of fear in many communities and draining the resources of law enforcement agencies who knew little about serial rapists and consequently little about how to apprehend these offenders (Hazelwood & Burgess, 1987).

Incidence of Serial Murder and Serial Rape

Precise numbers that reveal the extent to which serial murder and serial rape occur in our society are unavailable because both of these crimes often present circumstances that make computing the magnitude most difficult. When attempting to estimate the amplitude of serial murder, the factor of "repetition without apparent motive" makes connections between reported homicides to one another abstruse which in turn is an obstacle for law enforcement to readily recognize that a serial killer is at work. However, estimates about the magnitude of serial murder have been attempted based on other researchers' and law enforcement investigators' (Hickey, 1991; Holmes & DeBurger, 1988; Keppel, 1989; Levin & Fox, 1985; Leyton, 1986; Ressler, Burgess, & Douglas, 1988) research on murder in the United States. For example, the FBI reports that the number of murders in the United States fluctuates around 20,000 per year and also indicate that over the past 20 years the

murder and manslaughter rates have increased 300% while police clearance rates for these crimes have declined from 93% in 1962 to 74% in 1982 (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1984). Criminologists Eitzen and Timmer (1985, pp. 130-131) assert that while the majority of murders result from domestic and community conflicts, as many as one third of all murders may be perpetrated by strangers. Additionally, Ressler et al. (1988, p. 2) have documented a dramatic rise of stranger-to-stranger homicides, or murders with no apparent motive. According to their research, these murders represented 8.5% of all murders in 1976, 17.8% in 1981, 22.1% in 1984, and 22.5% in 1985. Based on such information, Holmes and Deburger (1988) believe that the marked increase in stranger-to-stranger homicides, and the growing number of unsolved murders indicate an increasing number of serial murders at large. Additionally, Holmes and DeBurger estimate that between 3500 and 5000 murder victims are killed by serial killers each year (p. 19-20).

The number of rapes committed annually in the United States is also difficult to calculate because rape is considered to be a significantly under reported crime. The under-reporting of rape is a result of social stigmas that are ascribed by society to rape victims as well as the legal system which further degrades the victim (Livingston, 1992). Because the offense is under-reported, it seems that it may take the victimization of many people in order for

law enforcement to determine that the crimes are related and were committed by a serial rapist. Research about rape in general, excluding statutory rape (sex with a minor), seems to be the best way to understand the extent of rape of which serial rape is a part. The Uniform Crime Reports assert that the annual rate of rape is 70 per 100,000 women (U.S. Bureau of Statistics, 1985, p. 3). While this is a governmental analysis of the extent of rape in society, the accuracies of these reports are questionable because of the under-reporting of this crime which make these projections suspect. In contrast, rape victimization surveys indicate that rape is much more prevalent than is indicated by the Uniform Crime Reports (Bowker, 1979; Ennis, 1967; Russell, 1984). According to Russell (1984, p. 34), an in-depth victimization study in San Francisco concluded that over a lifetime, 24% of women will be raped and another 20% will experience an attempted rape.

Design and Procedures

The following ideas are elucidated and integrated by the evidence presented in this thesis.

1. Serial murderers and serial rapists are fundamentally motivated by biosocial predispositions that enhance the offenders propensity to commit their respective serial offenses. This idea is illustrated through the case history and composite study discussion. It may then be

determined if any conclusions regarding biosocial tendencies can be drawn based on the case study information.

2. The individual development of a serial murderer's and a serial rapist's self and self-concept influences behavioral choices that are then repeated, based on the value of the rewards to the offender which result from the behavioral choices. This idea is considered through the examination of the case history and composite study. The affect of self and self-concept is also examined by discussing the individual's ability to fit in to his circumstances, reports of other's opinions of the offender prior to serial crimes and by behaviors which implicate the offender's perception of himself. Additionally, the offender's decision process to repeat his crimes is considered by examining the circumstances surrounding the crimes and the frequency with which the crimes were committed.

3. Situational social factors can facilitate and reinforce the commission of serial murder and serial rape. This suggestion is examined by discussing the types of victims chosen by the case study individuals, the methods used to lure and capture victims, the locations in which the victims were apprehended by the serial killer or serial rapist, and the offender's use of materials commonly assumed to contribute to criminal behaviors.

4. Serial murderers and serial rapists exhibit clear characteristics of addiction. This idea is explained by reviewing the individuals' lifetime behaviors and the compulsive nature of their particular serial offenses.

5. Serial murderers and serial rapists choose their respective offenses based upon their perceptions of what activities and behaviors are most beneficial. This idea is considered by discussing the fundamental motivations and needs of each of the offenders and how the particular crime may or may not have satisfied that need.

The individual examined in the case history of a serial murderer is Theodore Robert Bundy. Bundy's case history was chosen because he is considered by some experts (Geberth, 1990; Michaud & Aynesworth, 1984) to have been the epitome of serial killers as he displayed the typical personality characteristics and behavioral actions attributed commonly to serial killers. The composite study is a representative synopsis of a serial rapist developed by the FBI based upon their research and interviews with 41 incarcerated serial rapists.

In summary, the design and procedures to be followed in this thesis are used to develop an integrated explanation of serial murder and serial rape, which is presented in seven stages.

1. Wilson and Herrnstein's integrated theory of criminality is reviewed and critiqued for its potential

value and shortcomings as an explanation of the motivation and reinforcement of serial murder and serial rape.

2. The specific serial offenses of serial murder and serial rape are explained and compared to each other to establish the similarities between these two serial offenses.

3. Factors contributing to serial murder and serial rape are identified and discussed for their influence upon an individual's likelihood to commit these offenses. These contributing biosocial, developmental and situational factors are also integrated to explain these particular offenses.

4. Serial murder and serial rape are established to be forms of addiction. The existing explanations of addiction assist in understanding the origin, progression and motivation of serial murder and serial rape as types of addiction.

5. By reviewing studies of serial murderers and serial rapists the developed integrated explanation is elucidated.

6. The relationships between the contributory factors are determined, explained and developed into an integrated explanation of serial murder and serial rape.

7. The need for further research of the contributing causal elements in this explanation of serial murder and serial rape and the implications of the presented explanation are examined.

CHAPTER 2
REVIEW AND MODIFICATION OF WILSON AND HERRNSTEIN'S
THEORY OF CRIMINALITY

Review of Theory

In 1985, James Q. Wilson, a political scientist and Richard J. Herrnstein, a psychologist, published Crime and Human Nature. This work was the product of a venture that was initiated in 1977, when these two social scientists began teaching together at Harvard University. Their research began as an effort to discuss current issues in crime control. Over the years the topic shifted towards the causes of crime. After reviewing research from many disciplines, Wilson and Herrnstein began to draw together their findings to identify individual differences in criminality, which they define as an individual's propensity to commit crimes (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985). Through this effort, they identified factors which, in their opinion, cause an individual to become criminal. The theory Wilson and Herrnstein have developed is most significant because it contains an explanation of criminality based on individuals' biological, psychological and social traits which make some individuals more likely than others to commit crime.

Wilson and Herrnstein's theory (1985) rests on two basic assumptions. First, criminals have biological tendencies which influence their criminal behaviors. Wilson and Herrnstein assert that the presence of certain

predispositional factors increase the likelihood that some individuals will become criminal. In addition to addressing the affect innate biological tendencies have on individual behavior, Wilson and Herrnstein discuss the influence of other factors such as families, schools, communities, labor markets, mass media, and drugs on criminality.

The second assumption implies that when presented with a choice, criminals, like other people, choose the preferred course of action. By choose, they mean that individual behavior is decided upon based on its perceived consequences. Wilson and Herrnstein believed that the choices made between criminal behavior and non-criminal behavior are influenced by biological traits, development and learned goals, and specific social circumstances. From this fundamental assumption, Wilson and Herrnstein (1985) make the following four important statements that help explain criminality:

- 1) All human behavior is shaped by two kinds of reinforcers: primary and secondary. A primary reinforcer derives its strength from an innate drive such as hunger or sexual appetite; a secondary reinforcer derives its strength from learning. (p. 45)

- 2) Crimes differ in reinforcements attached to them, and individuals differ in the value they assign to such reinforcements and the degree to which they discount them over time. (p. 56)

- 3) In assigning a value to the rewards of crime or non crime, an individual often takes into account not only what he stands to gain but what others stand to gain from what he perceives as comparable efforts. The individual has some notion of what

he is entitled to, and that notion is affected by what he sees other people getting. (p. 56)

4) The effect of a reward or punishment is inversely proportional to the strength of all the reinforcements acting on a person at a given time. (p. 59)

Based on these statements, Wilson and Herrnstein (1985) concluded:

[T]he larger the ratio of the reward of non crime (material or non-material) to the rewards (material or non-material) of crime the weaker the tendency to commit crime . . . The strength of any reward declines with time but people differ in the rate at which they discount the future. The strength of a given reward is also affected by the total supply of reinforcers. (p. 61)

These conclusions have three implications regarding serial murderers' and serial rapists' behaviors. First, the internal non-material rewards of their crimes are more significant to these offenders than the rewards of non crime. Second, the value of these offenses is related to the offenders' perceptions of what they are entitled to from society. Third, if serial murderers' and serial rapists' internal rewards from their crimes are strong, this indicates that other forms of external reinforcement on these individuals are weak.

Wilson and Herrnstein's theory (1985) focuses on chronic offenders, of what they define as "serious" crimes, exhibiting true criminality. They identify "serious" crimes as aggressive violent crimes or larcenous activities (e.g., robbery, assault, rape, and murder). Additionally these

authors hold that there appear to be different degrees of criminality that differentiate "rational crimes for profit" from "senseless crimes." Wilson and Herrnstein also assert that factors which influence criminality can be determined based on what type of reinforcement is valuable to the criminal. Therefore, Wilson and Herrnstein contend that "senseless" crimes like rational crimes for profit, are both responses to reinforcement. They conclude that rational crimes are externally reinforced, and senseless crimes are internally reinforced, and the range between these externally and internally reinforced crimes designate the degree of the offenders criminality.

In summary, the most important aspect of Wilson and Herrnstein's theory for the purpose of this thesis is their use of a multiple causal approach to explain why some individuals are more likely than others to choose criminal over non criminal behaviors. It is therefore important to consider the way in which Wilson and Herrnstein (1985) use a multiple cause approach.

Wilson and Herrnstein's (1985) multiple cause approach provides a model which examines important reinforcement factors that affect criminality, yet for the purpose of this research it lacks adequacy in two ways. First, Wilson and Herrnstein (1985) do not address the importance of the recursive relationship between the individual criminal and the social context in which he commits his crime. The

existence of specific social circumstances creates the opportunities to commit and escape apprehension for serial murder and serial rape. In other words, this social context encourages the recurrence of serial crimes as the criminal is implicitly reinforced by the attributes of his social context. Second, their theory describes reinforcement factors separately and does not adequately consider the effects of the relationships between the factors included from the multiple schools of thought. These two areas of inadequacy indicate that Wilson and Herrnstein's theory is incomplete in that it is without a logical connection. According to Elliot (1985), Liska et al. (1989), an integrated theory of crime or criminal behavior is one that discusses theoretical perspectives based on the logical reconciliation of basic assumptions. Additionally, they state that a well integrated theory logically explains how the newly established predictors are related to one another. The importance of integrating theories according to Liska et al. (1989) is to increase theoretical growth and development by considering the relationships between what have previously been viewed as unrelated and competing theories. Based upon Elliot (1985), Liska et al. (1989) criteria for integration, Wilson and Herrnstein's theory does not appear to be an integrated theory of criminality.

Wilson and Herrnstein's theory would be better described as a mixed model. Elliot (1985) discusses the

characteristics that differentiate mixed models and integrated explanations.

Mixed models are those in which little or no attempt is made to reconcile the differences in the basic assumptions or to explain the expected relationships between the combined set of independent set of independent variables . . . They are in essence multiple-factor models. They have a significant role to play in the theory development process, but they should not be confused with theoretical statements which involve at least to some degree of logical and conceptual integration. (p. 130)

Although Wilson and Herrnstein's theory appears to be a mixed model rather than a truly integrated theory, the fact that it addresses and supports the use of multiple causes in its explanation of criminality makes it a useful model for the purposes of this thesis. These authors address the importance of incorporating multiple schools of thought into a theory by suggesting that specific types of theory focus on some features of the crime or criminal, while ignoring other features.

For example, the theory that unemployment or economic want causes crime can lead us to look for increases in criminality during economic recessions but to overlook the possibility that crime may also be caused by prosperity (if it loosens the social bonds), by the distribution of income (if it causes envy), or by some underlying factor that happens to cause both criminality and unemployment. More generally, theories that call attention to the social setting in which crime occurs (such as the attitudes of parents and peers, the perceived costs and benefits of crime, the influence of drugs and television) direct our attention away from preexisting individual traits that make people more or less susceptible to such social factors; by the same token theories that emphasize the preferences of individuals tend to

de-emphasize the situational factors that determine how, or even whether, those preferences affect behavior. The quarrels among lay persons and scholars about what causes crime are basically quarrels about the relative importance of those factors that occupy a central place in competing theories. (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985, pp. 41-42)

In addition to the argument regarding the relative importance of each assimilated factor, the inclusion of biological causes in theories of crime often generates much disagreement because there are many policy implications in the acceptance of the influence of such factors. For example, should biological characteristics be considered as a primary source of criminality, there becomes a possibility for the practice of eugenics. Such procedures could be used and misused in an attempt to decrease criminality in society. Although the multiple cause approach as presented by Wilson and Herrnstein incites argument among some scholars and professionals, it is the opinion of this author that an approach similar to Wilson and Herrnstein's (1985) should be used.

In summary, in order to develop a thorough explanation of serial murder and serial rape, it is necessary to consider all fundamental features of these crimes and the criminality of serial murderers and serial rapists. Biosocial, developmental and situational social factors similar to those considered by Wilson and Herrnstein are discussed in this research. These factors address sources of motivation and reinforcement for serial murderers' and

serial rapists' criminal behaviors. Additionally, in an effort to develop a thorough explanation of serial murder and serial rape integration of biosocial, developmental and situational social factor also seems necessary.

Modification of Theory

Wilson and Herrnstein's theory (1985) seems to be a useful theoretical foundation. However modifications are made to Wilson and Herrnstein's specific examples (1985) of biosocial influences, developmental influences and social situational influences which affect an individual's criminality. For example, in considering biosocial influences, Wilson and Herrnstein (1985) examine specific, empirical manifestations which include an individual's age, sex and intelligent quotient (IQ) and how these traits influence the individual's behavior. Instead, this thesis will examine biosocial influences of brain functions to mediate an individual's behavioral tendencies. Additionally, in considering developmental influences, Wilson and Herrnstein (1985) include specific institutions which affect individual behavior. Those specific institutions include the family and school. On the other hand, this thesis will examine the self and self concept as a dialectical mediating force that influences the affect on these institutions have on behavior. Finally, in considering situational social influences, Wilson and Herrnstein (1985) review the affect mass media and drugs and

alcohol have on criminality. In contrast, this thesis analyzes the social processes and social structures which influence and are influenced by criminality.

Wilson and Herrnstein's theory helps explain serial murder and serial rape in three ways. First, the theory explains reinforcement factors taken from multiple schools of thought which seem to influence an individual's likelihood to become criminal. Second, as previously stated, the theory is useful in that it distinguishes between rational for profit crimes and senseless crimes as degrees of criminality determined by external or internal source of reinforcement. This is important to this thesis because the idea of a range of criminality seems to indicate that these criminals have differentiating characteristics of reinforcement which need to be addressed in future research. Third, the weaknesses in Wilson and Herrnstein's theory (1985) are also useful to the objective of this thesis. These weaknesses include a lack of emphasis regarding importance of the inter-relationship between the individual criminal and the social context. Additionally, Wilson and Herrnstein dismiss the necessity of integrating the elements they concluded to be causal factors and neglect to show the relationship those factors have on one another. By identifying and discussing both the strengths and the weaknesses of Wilson and Herrnstein's theory, not only can the foundation of their research be applied and modified as

it pertains to serial murder and serial rape, the weakness of their theory can be avoided in this thesis and future research.

CHAPTER 3
BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON SERIAL MURDERERS
AND SERIAL RAPISTS

Characteristics of Serial Murderers and Serial Rapists

By discussing the characteristics and existing typologies of serial murderers and serial rapists, the similarities between these criminals and these crimes can be illustrated and explained. Serial murder will first be examined. In 1977, the Behavioral Science Unit of the FBI, began a research project in an effort to better understand repetitive homicide. A series of in-depth interviews were conducted with incarcerated felons who committed multiple murders. Thirty-six offenders were interviewed utilizing a 57 page protocol. This instrument probed various areas of the individual's criminal and non-criminal history. It included basic demographics, appearance, lifestyle, family structure, family problems, sexual history, offense data, and crime scene data. Analysis of this data provided new insight into the personalities of these violent offenders (Ressler et al., 1984). In agreement with the FBI, Levin and Fox (1985) made many deductions about the characteristics of serial killers. These include the following:

1. Serial killers are usually between average and high intelligence.

2. They are often charismatic and able to blend in with society the majority of the time.

3. Some have ongoing intimate relationships with women who know nothing of the homicidal behavior and those relationships can usually be characterized as sadistic.

4. They tend to focus on one type of victim. The most common types of victims are vulnerable targets such as hitch hikers, the elderly or prostitutes.

5. They are frequently highly mobile.

6. Many are born out of wedlock.

7. Many are often themselves victims of physical, sexual or emotional abuse.

8. Drug and alcohol abuse are also characteristics common to serial killers.

Additionally, the FBI has conducted research regarding serial rapist's similar to the research conducted on serial murderers. From 1984 to 1986, the National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime interviewed 41 convicted serial rapists who together were responsible for the rape of 847 victims. This research provided information such as characteristics and behaviors which are common among serial rapists. According to the results of this research (Hazelwood & Burgess, 1987, p.4; Hazelwood & Warren, 1989, p. 3), a typical serial rapist would likely be white, between the ages of 21 and 29, married, have stable employment and to be of average to above average

intelligence. Furthermore, this research indicated that the serial rapists were commonly themselves victims of child abuse and raised in above average socioeconomic environments (Hazelwood & Burgess, 1987; Hazelwood, 1983; Hazelwood & Warren, 1989).

Typologies of Serial Murderers and Serial Rapists

There have been a number of typologies created to classify the behavior of serial killers and rapists. Two common behavioral classifications of serial killers are Holmes and DeBurger's (1988) "core characteristic" typology, and the FBI's (Ressler et al., 1984) "organized/disorganized" typology.

Holmes and DeBurger have developed a four part typology to categorize the motivation of serial murderers. The first type is the "visionary." This is the least common type of serial murderer. This particular killer usually hears voices or has visions that demand him to kill a specific person or type of person. The second type is the "mission-oriented" killer. This individual does not hear voices but rather decides on his own that specific types of individuals lack value and warrant elimination. This type of serial murderer has a self imposed sense of duty to rid the world of the unworthy group. The third type is the "hedonistic" killer. This is an individual with a perverted sense of thrill seeking. This individual kills because he wants to kill and he enjoys it. The lust murderer is a sub-group of

the "hedonistic" category. Lust murderers attain sexual enjoyment in the homicidal act. Dismemberment, necrophilia and other sexual aberrations are common to this form of serial murder. The last category identified by Holmes and DeBurger (1988), is the "power-control oriented" killer. This murderer receives gratification from complete control of the victim. In this type of killing, sexual torment is not uncommon, however the fundamental source of pleasure is from exerting power and control. The "power-control oriented" killer has an inflated sense of self importance and chooses to make his own rules to live by.

The FBI's organized/disorganized typology of serial murder is a classification of evidence such as the victim or the crime scene. From this classification FBI investigators make assumptions about the type of individual whom they seek. The "organized" killer is one who appears to plan his murders and displays control at the crime scene. From this evidence, the investigators profile the killer as having an above average intelligence and being socially competent. The "disorganized" murderer is described as less apt to plan his actions and the crime scenes show haphazard behavior. This individual is profiled as being of average intelligence and one whose killings are spontaneous (Ressler et al., 1984).

The "core characteristics" typology is more helpful in understanding the behavior of serial killers while the

"organized/disorganized" typology is useful for law enforcement agencies in apprehending the criminal. The FBI's classification may be helpful in the profiling of killers to assist in pursuit, however this typology is vague and offers little information regarding motivation.

Similarly, multiple typologies have been developed to classify the behaviors of rapists (Guttmacher & Weihofen, 1952; Gebbhard, Gagnon, Pomeroy, & Christenson, 1965; Prentky, Knight, & Rosenberg, 1988). The typology of rape to be used by this research was developed by Groth, Burgess and Holstrom (1977). This typology was chosen because it focuses on behavioral characteristics which may indicate the motivations and reinforcements of rapists. These authors developed a typology based on a study of 133 convicted rapists and 92 victims of rape. The assumption of this typology is that power, anger and sexuality are principal components of all rape. Through their research Groth, Burgess, and Holstrom (1977) identified four underlying motives of rape which can be used in discussing serial rapists.

1. The "power-assertive rapist" seeks power and control. This offender typically centers his self-image and self-esteem around sexuality. The experience for the rapist is one of anxiety, excitement and anticipated pleasure. This individual uses rape to express virility, mastery and dominance.

2. The "power-reassurance rapist" also seeks power and control. The self-image and self-esteem as well mirror that of the previous offender type. However this rapist commits rape to resolve doubts about his sexual adequacy and masculinity.

3. The "anger-retaliation rapist" expresses anger, rage and contempt for the victim by beating, sexually assaulting and/ or forcing her to perform additionally degrading acts. The aim is to vent anger. Satisfaction and relief result from the discharge of anger rather than from sexual gratification. The motive specific to this rapist is that of revenge and degradation.

4. The "anger-excitation rapist" is similar to the "anger-retaliation rapist." His behavior is also one of physical violence and abuse. The motivation of fundamental importance to this rapist is that he finds pleasure, thrills and excitation through the victims suffering.

From reviewing the characteristics of these offenders and motivation typologies used to categorized their behavior, two points can be made. First, serial murderers and serial rapists share multiple behavioral characteristics. For example, both serial murderers and serial rapists seem to behave in ways that demonstrate a lack of compassion for other people and an excessive amount of anger. Second, it becomes apparent that both serial murderers and serial rapists are trying to satisfy internal

needs. These needs seem to be either needs for pleasure or satisfaction. The element that differentiates serial murderers from serial rapists appears to be the method chosen or the extent to which an individual will pursue internal satisfaction. For example, the serial rapist finds satisfaction in expressing anger or demonstrating control to the point of physical violation. The serial killer may demonstrate similar behaviors but goes beyond violation in his pursuit of pleasure or satisfaction. Therefore, while this thesis acknowledges that the crimes of serial murder and serial rape do have differences, the substantial similarities between these crimes seem to merit examination.

CHAPTER 4

BIOSOCIAL AND DEVELOPMENTAL FACTORS

This chapter is devoted to a discussion of biosocial and developmental factors as well as rational choice theory as it relates to developmental factors.

Biosocial Factors

A fundamental assumption of Wilson and Herrnstein's theory is that some individuals are more likely than others to become criminals. Their theory can be classified as a biosocial perspective because they assert that constitutional or biologically based traits create predisposition towards criminality.

When we speak of constitutional factors, we are referring to factors, usually present at or soon after birth whose behavior consequences appear gradually during the child's development. Constitutional factors are not necessarily genetic, although they may be . . . There is no "crime gene" so there is no such thing as a "born criminal", but some traits that are to a degree heritable, such as intelligence and temperament, affect to some extent the likelihood that individuals will engage in criminal activities. (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985, p. 69)

The biosocial component of Wilson and Herrnstein's theory is responsible for a significant amount of the controversy surrounding their theory. Biologically related precepts for behavior often evoke arguments regarding reductionism and elicit concern among some social scientists regarding possible policy ramifications. However, because there

appears to be evidence in support of biosocial influences it is a perspective which merits review.

According to Grove and Wilmoth (1990), the biosocial perspective assumes that both biological and social environmental factors contribute to criminal behavior. The biosocial perspective does not discredit the position that criminal behavior is in general learned, rather it considers criminal behavior to be the result of a dialectical relationship between biology and social learning. Several biosocial theorists (Bandura, 1979; Grove & Wilmoth, 1990; Olds, 1973; Wise, 1981) believe that the brain is an organ of learning and behavioral control. Additionally, they agree that there are unlearned biological elements of motivation involved in complex behaviors. In order to understand the relevance of the biosocial perspective to serial murder and serial rape, two topics from the biosocial perspective will be reviewed to explain the neurological processes that affect social behavior.

The first issue of interest is the association between brain processes, internal reward and behavior reinforcement. The second issue will address research illustrating the association between brain functions, genetic effects and aggressive behavior.

Relationship Between Brain Processes
and Behavior Reinforcement

Neurochemical Rewards

First, in order to understand the association between neurological functions and behavior, fundamental neural processes must be established. For the purposes of explanation, Grove and Wilmoth (1990) break these neural processes down to basic components which include the neuron, the synaptic cleft and the neurochemical reaction.

The neuron. The basic unit of the nervous system is the neuron. Parts of the neuron include the cell body, the dendrites and an axon. The dendrites are thread like extensions from one side of the cell body. The axon is a larger and longer projection from the side of the cell body opposite the dendrites. The axon terminates by branching into multiple minute extensions. A nerve impulse is a chemo-electrical impulse that travels very quickly along the cell membrane of a neuron. The nerve impulse starts at the tips of the dendrites and goes first to the cell body. It then follows the axon to its end extensions.

Synaptic clefts. In the brain, neurons pass impulses to one another at junctions called synaptic clefts. The synaptic cleft is a fluid filled space that separates the extensions of one neuron's axon from another neuron's dendrites. The extensions of the axon are called the presynaptic terminals. The extensions of the dendrites are

called the postsynaptic terminals. Chemical activity occurs between adjoining neurons' presynaptic and postsynaptic terminals. This chemical activity is initialized by specialized structures in the presynaptic terminals which contain a substance called neurotransmitter. When a nerve impulse gets to the presynaptic terminal, the cell membrane covering the terminal is altered and the neurotransmitter is released into the synaptic cleft. Some molecules of the neurotransmitter come into contact with another neuron's postsynaptic terminal through locations called receptors.

Neurochemical reaction. Nerve impulses travel from neuron to neuron when the neurotransmitter travels from one neuron's presynaptic terminal through the synaptic cleft and attaches itself to the receptor of a neighboring neuron's postsynaptic terminal. It is important to know that neurons that are similar in structure and function, reside together. Together these create neural systems which can be identified by the neurotransmitter common to their neurons.

Neurotransmitter is specific not only to the types of neuron from which it originates, but also in the effect it can have upon a receiving neuron. Likewise, receptors are also specific in what neurotransmitter can become attached and influence the reaction of the neuron. When a neurotransmitter attaches to a postsynaptic receptor, the receiving neuron's permeability is altered.

Neurotransmitter will affect the receiving neuron by either

causing neurochemical transmission of an impulse to continue or it will inhibit the impulse from continuing. Therefore, the transmission of an impulse depends upon how a specific neurotransmitter affects the receiving neuron.

Neurochemical Reward of Dopamine

Neurochemical reactions discussed above are basic to brain functions and influence behavior (Bandura, 1979; Grove & Wilmoth, 1990). For example, neurochemical reactions are involved in sleeping, eating and feelings of pleasure (Olds, 1956, 1973). Specific neurochemicals of interest regarding the behavior of serial murderers and serial rapists, involve neurochemicals responsible for intrinsic rewards and reinforcement of the behaviors associated with the reward. Catecholamine is one such category of neurochemicals that reinforces various behaviors. There are three different neurochemical classified as catecholamine: adrenaline, noradrenaline, and dopamine (Grove & Wilmoth, 1990). Dopamine, a neurotransmitter that regulates movement, response initiation, and emotion, has been determined to be the critical component of neurological reward (Olds, 1956, 1973; Wise, 1981). The capacity of dopamine to reward and reinforce behavior varies among individuals. Additionally, the dopamine processes can be altered by other substances. For example, the presence of alcohol or other drugs can alter the affects of dopamine (Wikler, 1973). These altering substances can either promote or inhibit the level

and capacity of the dopamine system. Thus, substances which then alter the dopamine process specifically affect the level and capacity of neural reward. If the dopamine system is not altered by promoters or inhibitors, behaviors which lead to activation of dopamine will be internally reinforced (Grove & Wilmoth, 1990; Wise, 1981).

The dopamine neurochemical process of reinforcing behavior presents several possible explanations for the motivation of serial killers and rapists. For example, if the offender has a typical dopamine system and that system is affected by the introduction of a foreign substances, the internal high from a criminal behavior may be intensified and strengthened. Additionally, human variation allows that an individual may have an "abnormal" (differs from the average) dopamine system. Consequently, when an offender with an "abnormal" dopamine system commits specific criminal behaviors his dopamine system may be activated, when in the same circumstance an average dopamine system would not be activated. It is also possible that, for some individuals, the introduction of foreign substances may permanently alter the function and capacity of the dopamine internal reward system and therefore permanently affect the extent to which an individual can be internally rewarded.

According to Grove and Wilmoth (1990) there is a neurophysiological high often associated with distance running or other physical challenges such as skydiving.

Based on this, they assert that it is possible, if not probable, that the difficulty and risk of criminal behavior affects the brain in the same way. Their research indicates that the high is probably particularly strong when the behavior is exceptionally difficult as well as risky (Grove & Wilmoth, 1990). It is therefore presumed that biological rewards, though they affect individuals differently, could be at the root of risky criminal behavior of serial murderers and serial rapists.

Behavior Reinforcement

Identifying and understanding the importance of the biological reward process helps to explain the reinforcement of behaviors which seem to have little or no external reward. Based on Albert Bandura's doctrine (1969, 1979) of behavioral reinforcement and behavior modification, one may conclude that most recurring behaviors occur again because they are somehow positively reinforced. Another central assumption of Bandura states that people learn the effects which particular behaviors produce. Hence, behaviors persist only when the resulting positive reinforcements exceed the negative reinforcements. Grove and Wilmoth (1990) assert that risky and arduous crimes without apparent external benefit are positively reinforced by neurophysiological rewards. They further contend that human and animal brains are constructed to reward difficult and risky behaviors though they lack external benefit.

Assumptions about human neurochemical rewards and their relationship with behavior reinforcements have been made largely based on animal experiments. This method of inference has long been a source of controversy. According to several behavioral psychologists (Riley & Leith, 1976; Russell, 1964, 1966; Thompson, 1967; Wharburton, 1975, 1983), the use of animal research to make inferences about human behavior can be defended based on empirical similarities between mammalian species. Wharburton (1983) asserts that there are many similarities between humans and other animals including psychopharmacological, anatomical and electrophysiological resemblances. Through parallel experiments with a variety of drugs, behavioral reactions to many substances show a strong likeness between humans and other animals. For example, reactions to drugs such as nicotine were tested with both people and rats. The findings of such testing indicated that attentional performance test scores improved from the administration of nicotine to both humans and rats (Wharburton, 1977). Additionally, patterns of neurological activity in a wide assortment of mammalian animal species demonstrate anatomical similarities between humans and animals. Wharburton's research (1983) focuses on neural pathway similarities between humans and other animals. Additionally electrophysiological similarities between rats, cats and humans have been observed through the monitoring of brain

wave patterns during sleep and different levels of activity (Thompson, 1967; Wharburton 1977, 1983). Some behavioral psychologists (Riley & Leith, 1976; Russell, 1964, 1966; Thompson, 1967; Wharburton, 1975, 1977, 1983) contend that these similarities create a strong defense of neurophysiological similarities between man and other animals.

Although arguments are often made which insist that complexities of human behavior hinder the validity of such inferences drawn from animal research, in many cases animal research seems to be the best method of testing behavioral hypotheses. Due to legal and ethical considerations much research, particularly neurophysiological research, can only be carried out on animals. Therefore, based on the previously mentioned similarities between humans and other mammalian species, the inferences drawn from animal research is justifiable and poses a permissible method to understand and explain human behavior (Wharburton, 1983).

In the 1950s, behavioral psychologists first began to explore the neurological bases of observable behavior (Olds, 1956). Some of the first experiments were conducted on rats. In one such study (Olds, 1956) electrodes were implanted in rats' brains and reactions to small electrical shocks were tested. A rat with the implanted electrodes was placed in a maze. If the rat went to the right he received small electrical shocks and if he went to the left he would

find food. The rats learned specific behaviors and would repeat them in anticipation of receiving electrical stimulation. After repetition of this and other similar experiments, Olds (1956) found that the stimulation of specific location in the brain of a rat, identified as the "pleasure center," was responsible for the animals exhibiting behavior contrary to external reinforcement. It appeared that the rats in the experiment liked the electrical shocks when they were administered to these "pleasure centers." After repetition of the stimulation to the "pleasure centers" these animals would take actions to receive electrical stimulation rather than take actions which rewarded them with food. The conclusion of such experiments was that electrical stimulation of the reward circuitry causes reinforcement of learned behaviors (Olds, 1956).

Other research by Wise (1981) and Wikler (1973) not only supports the idea that the reward circuitry reinforces behavior but also discusses another biologically produced substance which is involved in the dopamine reward process. These substances are endogenous opiates with morphine like properties which are involved in the activation of the dopamine system. Much knowledge of endogenous opiates comes from animal studies using morphine and heroin. Olds (1973), Wise (1981), and Wikler's (1973) studies indicated that the effects of morphine, heroin and other similar drugs are due

to the activation of the dopamine system comparable to the activation which occurs during high risk activities.

Bozarth (1988) and Grove and Wilmoth (1990) contend that high risk activities such as violent crimes result in an increase in endogenous opiates which in turn activates the dopamine system and internally reinforces the behavior.

In conclusion, the violent and high risk criminal behaviors of serial murderers and serial rapists may be reinforced by a neurophysiological high which results from the activation of the dopamine internal reward system. Human variation in biological constitution, life experiences which might alter this constitution, and learned interpretation of risk taking are all possible variables that could account for the different intrinsic reward systems of many serial killers and serial rapists. Knowledge of a pending reward may be sufficient to induce behavior in one person and not in another. In addition, behaviors which activate the dopamine reward system in one individual may not activate the dopamine reward system of another. There seems to be a need for more research in the area of neurological system variation and the capacity of these systems to reinforce "senseless" criminal behavior. As well, a system of measurement which takes into consideration the dialectic between neurological processes and social variables should be developed to further classify the level of internal reward which motivates such behavior.

Brain Functions, Genetic Effects, and Aggression

As stated previously, the second issue to be discussed which is within the biosocial perspective is brain functions and genetic effects and their association with aggressive behaviors. Because an agreed upon definition of aggression continues to evade the behavioral sciences, the subject of aggression remains a challenging area of study (Frank et al., 1986). However for the purpose of this research, aggression will be addressed from the perspective of behaviorist, Albert Bandura. According to Bandura (1979, p. 198), "aggression is generally defined as behavior that results in personal injury and physical destruction." Additionally, Bandura asserts that while injury is a defining property of aggression, judgmental factors lead people to attach labels of aggression to particular forms of behavior and not others. Therefore, aggression should be explained and examined not only by the injurious properties of behaviors but by personal responsibility and injurious intent of the perpetrator.

According to Bandura (1979) and Bandura, Underwood, and Fromm (1975), people are not born with an innate selection of aggressive behaviors from which to choose; rather, people are endowed with neural mechanisms which enable aggressive reactions. Specific aggressive actions are learned and brain processes promote or inhibit aggressiveness. If aggressiveness is facilitated within the brain the

individual then acts in a learned manner to express the feeling of aggression. Therefore, aggression turns into aggressive behavior through learned aggressive acts. Bandura (1979) also identifies the hypothalamus and the limbic system as the biological mediators of aggressiveness. These systems are activated by socially provocative events or ideas. For example, one individual's interpretation of a particular event may generate activity in this area of the brain whereas another individual may not find the same event or idea arousing. The latter individual's hypothalamus would remain undisturbed (Bandura, 1979). In summary, individuals' neural mechanisms vary and individual interpretations of various events also differ.

Variation of Predispositions Towards Aggression

Assumptions regarding human aggression have also been drawn based largely on animal research (Bandura, 1979; Ginsburg, 1971; Gottesman, 1974; Petri, 1991). According to Ginsburg (1971), animal research has indicated that there are genetic differences in individual predispositions towards aggressive behavior even within species and breeds. In Ginsburg's research different species and breeds of animals were subjected to a variety of similar social experiments in early life. Cross fostering of different breeds of dogs, isolation from litter mates and different handling methods were among the different variables tested for their influence on aggressiveness within species and

breeds. Gottesman (1974) conducted tests similar to Ginsburg (1971), on mice. The conclusions from these experiments were that early life environment had influence on aggressive predispositions and that predispositions vary within species and breeds. Based on these animal experiments, Ginsburg (1978) and Gottesman (1974) inferred that environment influences human aggressive predisposition also.

Genetics and the Glutamate Metabolic System.

It has been proposed that brain processes influence aggressive behaviors, predispositions of aggression vary between individuals and environment influences predispositions of aggression. Subsequently the relationship between the brain and aggression will now be illustrated by examining the affect of neurochemical systems associated with aggression and genetic tendencies of aggression.

Ginsburg's (1971) and Gottesman's (1974) animal behavioral experiments also showed evidence that aggressive behaviors within species and breeds had a genetic basis. Subsequent experiments by Ginsburg (1978) established that within breeds of animals there are optimal times for environmental stimuli to produce variation in aggressive behavior. For example, certain stimuli given to a particular strain of mouse at the optimal time could produce variation from the genetic tendencies of its particular

breed. These experiments using mice also indicated that changes in the glutamate metabolic system, the neurochemical mechanism associated with aggression, during a particular phase in development, can cause a permanent behavioral changes in the animal.

According to Ginsburg (1971, 1978) the glutamate metabolic system affects the genetic programming of the individual. Events during development (early life) of an individual animal can affect the glutamate metabolic system which can create a biochemical favoring of one of the various levels of aggressiveness. Based on animal experiments, Ginsburg (1971, 1978) and Gottesman (1974) contend that humans, are genetically programmed for versatile levels of aggressive behavior. Based on this research, it is inferred that an explanation of the aggressive behaviors of serial killers and serial rapists should consider neurochemical effects on genetically influenced predispositions towards aggression. Two factors that are most important in the understanding of the glutamate metabolic system and its genetic effects on aggression are "reaction range" and "genomic repertoire" (Ginsburg, 1971). Ginsburg defined the reaction range as the species specific range of possible levels or degrees of aggressive behaviors which is influenced by environmental conditions. For example within a specific breed of dog, Ginsburg would contend that there is a range of possible

levels of aggressiveness characteristic of that particular breed. Genomic repertoire was defined as the distinction between the possible aggressive behaviors and those which are ultimately favored by an individual within a species. Ginsburg (1971) asserts that environmental conditions and experiences influence the ultimate level of aggressiveness the individual or particular animal will demonstrate within the given range for the breed or species. App

ecies reaction range and genomic repertoire may account for a wide variety of aggressive expression within human beings.

In conclusion, the research addressing brain functions and genetic effects associated with aggression has broad implications about the aggressive behavior of human beings. Two conclusions which are most significant are emphasized. First, all species have biological capacities for aggression and neurological systems which interact with social circumstances to produce aggressive behaviors. Second, just as in animals, there are biological variations within the human species.

Summary of Biosocial Factors Influencing

Serial Murderers and Serial Rapists

Violent aggression, high risk, and lack of apparent external benefit are all fundamental elements of both serial murder and serial rape. The biological connection between high risk and internal reward has been addressed. As well,

the biological connection between aggressive nature and variation in developmental experience has been presented. Although biosocial elements are essential to this explanation of serial murder and rape, the biosocial elements alone leave much unexplained and unspecified and as well are difficult to measure and predict. The biological capacity for human variation regarding motivation and aggression has been established. However, this leaves other variables which both influence and are influenced by constitutional factors yet to be explained. The dialectic between the biological individual with the development of the social self and the effects that societal circumstances can have on serial killers and rapists is needed for a more thorough explanation. It seems likely that these components will all affect how the individual in turn will adapt externally to society.

Developmental Factors

Wilson and Herrnstein (1985) have contended that although there is no such thing as a "criminal personality," there are persons who are significantly more likely to commit crimes than others. These individuals appear more impulsive and less socialized, as is evidenced by some criminals' unwillingness to defer gratification and lack of regard for the feelings of others (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985). Wilson and Herrnstein assert that the family is responsible for primary socialization and that this initial

socialization can moderate or magnify innate predispositions. Wilson and Herrnstein profess that individuals develop psychologically in this primary context and identify three influences on behavioral choices. The first is the person's desire to gain and hold the approval of others. The second is the individual's ability to take distant rewards and consequences into consideration. The third is the strength of conscience or internal constraints against socially taboo behaviors (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985).

Ansevics and Doweiko's (1991) research on serial murderers provides evidence that these offenders crimes may be associated with their childhood development. Serial murderers often have similar developmental characteristics and experiences in early life. Based on this research Ansevics and Doweiko assert that these developmental characteristics and experiences contribute to the aberrant behaviors of serial killers. This thesis proposes that the psychological development of serial murderers and serial rapists is significantly affected by initial sources of socialization and developmental experiences. Because primary socialization also appears to be fundamental in an individual's development of "self" and self-concept. The development of the "self" and self-concept will be discussed based on its capacity to have significant impact on the behavioral choices of serial murderers and serial rapists.

The Self and Self-Concept

In order to discuss the self and the self-concept these terms must first be defined. Social behaviorist, George Herbert Mead (1934) defines the self as an acting and creative organism. Blumer (1968) adds that the self is a term which means that a human being can perceive himself as an object, act towards himself and guide his actions towards others based on the object he is to himself. For the purposes of this thesis, the self will be identified as a construct of an individual which can be perceived as an object by the individual and others. Subsequently, Rosenberg (1979) states that the self-concept is only a part of the self. He defines the self-concept as the collective thoughts and feelings an individual has in reference to himself. Although it is important to distinguish these two terms, it is equally important to acknowledge that they are recursively related. The self will first be discussed to provide foundation for the explanation of self-concept development.

The "self." According to Mead (1934), the self is the product of the relationship between two processes, the "I" and the "me." Mead defines the "I" process as the unorganized response by an individual to the attitudes of others. The "I" is an individual's urge to act spontaneously or impulsively. The "me" is described as the individual's internalization of his perceptions of the pervasive

attitudes of other people in his environment. These attitudes include others perceptions about the individual.

Mead (1934) implies that the attitudes of others through socialization create the organized "me." The "I" then reacts to the organized "me." Mead's processes are fundamental to the distinctive self of serial offenders in two ways. The description of the "I" attests to the existence of individual variation in response to stimuli. This is evident through the unconventional responses of serial killers and serial rapists to the general attitudes of others. More specifically, the "senseless" crimes committed by serial murderers and serial rapists may be the eccentric reactions of their "I" process to their "me" process. For example, an individual may grow up in an environment where others commonly perceive that masculinity is characterized by control, dominance and strength. An eccentric reaction to this attitude might be serial murder or serial rape.

The "me" process also seems to influence the distinctive self of serial offenders. When generalized attitudes in an individual's surrounding environment are negative or abusive towards the individual, those attitudes are internalized in the "me" process. For example, serial murderers and serial rapists are commonly themselves victims of child abuse (Hazelwood & Warren, 1989; Hickey, 1991; Holmes & DeBurger, 1988; Levin & Fox, 1985). Therefore, the

individual's "me" process may have included the internalization of negative general attitudes of aggression, sexuality or neglect. "Me" processes which have been influenced by negative socialization will from this point be referred to as negatively inclined.

Of course, many individuals are the victims of childhood trauma or abuse and many do not become serial murderers or serial rapists. Therefore, it is proposed that there is a combination of an eccentric "I" and a negatively inclined "me" which make up the self of these offenders.

Developmental stages of the self. It is proposed that the self of both the serial murderer and serial rapist deviates from the norm. Therefore, it is important to identify and discuss the stages of socialization through which an individual acquires a self. Mead (1934) suggests that there are two important stages in this process.

The first stage in which one begins to develop a self is the "play" stage. Mead (1934) identifies the "play" stage as the point in childhood where one learns to play the roles of specific individuals, like mother or father. In this stage, a child can put himself in the role of another person but does not comprehend the simultaneous roles of other people. For example, a little girl can dress up and pretend to be mother. However, at the "play" stage the child does not understand that mother can also be sister and wife and does not comprehend how others affect the role of

mother. Mead indicates that this stage is the beginning of the formation of an individual's self based on the roles of others.

The next stage is the "game" stage. According to Mead (1934), this is the apex at which an individual develops a more generalized perception of others and how roles interact within and between people. At the "game" stage, the individual can comprehend multiple alternative roles at the same time. Also at this stage, an individual develops a more complex perception of himself in relation to others. To illustrate, a child learning to participate in a team sport learns to identify each of the roles or positions on the team and what is expected from each of the players who are taking those roles. More specifically, the catcher of a baseball team learns to expect whoever is playing the position of pitcher, to cover first base if the first baseman is attempting to retrieve the ball. Understanding this process is fundamental in explaining an individual's self, self-concept and the value that individual places on others.

Based on the previously described developmental stages it appears that there may be many elements of social interaction which could detrimentally impact the development process of a serial murderer's or rapist's self and self-concept. As stated previously, characteristics of serial murderers' and serial rapists' behaviors demonstrate an

apparent perception that others lack value as well as an inability to empathize with others. If at the "play" stage, a child's initial sense of self and others is guided by violence, anger or neglect, it seems likely that these issues will also affect the individual's development in the "game" stage. This chain of events appears to be a way in which the aberrant self of a serial murderer or rapist may be reinforced.

Feldman, Johnson, and Bell (1990) also address the impact of the self on the commission of violent crimes. They assert that in many random violent crimes it appears that a co-factor precipitates or elicits such an event. These authors propose that the instrumental co-factor is usually a person or persons whom have influence over the perpetrator. Feldman et al. add that the co-factor is usually viewed by the perpetrator as a "self-object" or a source of protection and cohesion for the perpetrators self.

"The looking glass self." Another theoretical concept which illustrates the process of "self" and self-concept development, is Charles Horton Cooley's idea of "The Looking Glass Self" (1904). His theory explains the relationship between the self and the self-concept. Cooley relates people's ability to see themselves as objects and their ability to react and have feelings about their perceived existence (Cooley, 1904). His theory has three basic assumptions.

1. An individual identifies how he believes others perceive him.

2. The individual then identifies how others judge that perception.

3. Finally, the individual develops a self feeling as a reaction to those perceived judgements. The individual's self feelings are then his self-concept (Cooley, 1904). This entire process of the dialectics of self awareness can be called reflexive consciousness and may be considered an important factor in the behaviors chosen by serial murderers and serial rapists.

Somewhat resembling the works of Mead (1934), Feldman et al. (1990) and Cooley (1904) regarding the self, is the research of Kohut and Wolf. Kohut (1971, 1972) and Kohut and Wolf (1973) pursue the development of the self in childhood by examining and modifying the classical libidinal theories of Freud. According to Kohut and Wolf, the child may be seen as mirroring "self-object" because he mirrors the maternal empathy given by the parent. The projection of empathy by the parent thus affects the child's feelings and perceptions about himself.

Additionally Kohut and Wolf (1973) assert that great or small breaks in the empathy given by a parent to a child may be capable of producing deformations or disorders of the self. The "damaged self" lacks a sense of inner harmony, vigor and cohesion. For example, what Kohut and Wolf

identify as an "understimulated self" arises from a lack of stimulating responsiveness from an unnurturing parent. This syndrome is expressed as these individuals use "any available stimuli to create pseudo-excitement in order to ward off the painful feelings of deadness that tends to overtake them" (Kohut & Wolf, 1973, p. 418). This and other deformations of the self are variations of the narcissistic personality disorder. Kohut's work firmly ties the development of the self to early interactions between children and their parents. Kohut contends that disfunction in child parent interaction may lead to future disorders of the self. The narcissistic disorders to which Kohut (1971, 1972) and Kohut and Wolf (1973) refer may be characterized by an individual's persistency to cling to infantile grandiose fantasies. The work of Kohut and Kohut and Wolf provides further support for the premise that developmental circumstances such as child abuse, that are characteristic of both serial murderers and serial rapists, can lead to disorders of the self. Furthermore, the frequent use of fantasy is also a common attribute among serial murderers and serial rapists.

Based on the work of Mead (1934), Feldman et al. (1990), Cooley (1904), Kohut (1971, 1972) and Kohut and Wolf, (1973), in relation ot serial murder and serial rape, similar developmental experiences which affect the self and the self-concept appear to be associated to the aberrant

behaviors of these serial offenders. For example, many children early in life may interpret that others have a negative perception and judgement of them. Self feelings or self-concepts are then these individuals' reactions to those perceptions and judgements. Serial murderers and serial rapists and non-serial offenders can have a negative self-concept; however, the individual's reaction to the negative self-concept distinguishes these two groups. The serial murderer's or serial rapist's reaction to his negative self-concept seems to be exhibited through eccentric actions due to "I" process responses. These actions might then be taken towards those whom he deems responsible for his poor self-concept.

One can safely argue that the serial murderer's and serial rapist's self and self-concept deviates from the norm of society. As discussed, stages of self development affect one another simultaneously and recursively as well as sequentially. Therefore, it seems likely that the serial murderer and the serial rapist may have encountered excessive frustration throughout their lives in social circumstances and in their attempts to satisfy internal needs or desires. Aggression of various types may result. As previously stated, these forms of aggression are related to the influences over the offender's development of the self and the self-concept.

The previous discussion provides a theoretical basis for the suggestion that the self and self-concept are key factors in the deviant behavior of serial murderers and rapists. The self and self-concept of the serial killer and serial rapist seem to impact his choice of "senseless" crimes. Therefore, it is proposed that this type of offender makes criminal behavioral choices relative to influences which shaped the development of the self and the self-concept. There are circumstances which support this proposition. For example, serial murderers and serial rapists choose victims with similar characteristics of individuals from the perpetrators past. The victim is often perceived by the offender as having done something to cause him pain of some kind (Levin & Fox, 1988; Hazelwood, 1983).

Relationship Between Rationality,

Rational Choice Theory and Developmental Factors

The aberrant self and self-concept of serial murderers and serial rapists seem to be reinforced through the perpetuation of their crimes. Serial murder and serial rape then appear to be methods which enable the offender to perpetuate the deviant self and self-concept. Although a serial murderer or a serial rapist may have developed a peculiar self and self-concept, it is important to understand that his thought processes may be considered rational if examined in the context of the aberrant self and self-concept. The self and self-concept may give impetus to

the offender to choose the deviant behaviors as logical methods of achieving his goals.

Rationality

By standards of social conformity, the behaviors of serial murderers and serial rapists appear to be irrational. However, by considering the definition of rationality the relationship between these offenders' chosen behavioral means and their objectives, rationality can be better understood. Though rationality has many meanings, an explanation widely accepted among sociologists (Boudon & Bourricaud, 1989) was first proposed by Max Weber. Weber (1978) outlined two basic types of rational action. The first is "instrumental rationality," in which individuals choose both the goals and the means to obtain those goals in a specific and efficient manner. The second type of rational action described by Weber is "value-rationality." Value-rationality also involves the choice and implementation of specific and efficient means but the ends or goals are determined by the social value system.

Boudon and Bourricaud (1989) explained the definition of rationality by providing an extensive discussion of the conflict and confusion surrounding rationality. After considering the work of many sociological theorists on the subject these authors determined that:

The idea of rationality must thus be seen as relative, that is to say as dependent upon the structure of situations. To be sure it must also

be seen as dependent upon the position and generally the characteristics of the actors It must be noted on this point that when an observer interprets the behavior of the observed as irrational, this often results from the fact that he unduly projects the data characteristics of his own situation on to the situation of the person he observes. (Boudon & Bourricaud, 1989, p. 89)

The rationality of such violent and non-conforming behavior is illustrated in Foucault's (1975) description and analysis of a 19th century case of parricide in which a young man brutally murdered his mother, sister and brother. Foucault presents the case history through records, documented interviews and the perpetrator's personal journal. It becomes apparent in this account that, based on the perpetrator's eccentric perception of the situation and possible solutions, his behavior was thoroughly rational. For example, the perpetrator, Pierre Rievere, explained in his interviews and his journal that he killed his mother to rid his father of her tormenting behaviors and prevent the father from killing himself. Rievere added that he killed his sister because the loyalty she showed toward her mother demonstrated her preference for the mother over the father. Finally, Rievere stated that he killed his younger brother, who was very important to his father, because by doing so Rievere believed that his father would develop hatred for him. Therefore, Rievere rationalized, when he was executed for the murders of his mother, sister and brother, his father would not be further distraught. In this historical

account the developmental factors surrounding the Rievere family appear to have profoundly influenced Pierre Rievere's sense of logic and rationality. Therefore, as bizarre and hideous as the crimes of serial murder and serial rape may seem to conforming members of society, there may be an underlying rationality to these behaviors.

Rational Choice Theory

Sociologist, George Homans' propositions of rational choice, explain the process individuals implement in social behavior in order to get the most desired results (Homans, 1961). This assumes that individuals are goal oriented and well aware of their goals. Each of his five interlocking propositions when examined, illustrates the rational choice process of the serial murderer's and serial rapist's decision to repeat his crimes. The first proposition states: The more often a particular action is rewarded or is successful, the more likely a person is to perform the action again (Homans, 1961). This proposition illustrates the possible logic of the offender's repetition of his crime. Each time a serial killer or a serial rapist is successful in and satisfied by his criminal action, it becomes more likely that the individual will commit the offense again.

The second proposition states: When in the past, a particular stimuli was present when the person's action was rewarded, then the more similar the present stimuli are to

those from the past, the more likely the person will perform the same or similar action (Homans, 1961). For the serial murderer or serial rapist, many factors may be reoccurring stimuli, including the time of day, the physical features of victims or drugs and alcohol (Holmes & Deburger, 1988).

The third proposition asserts: The more valuable the results of a person's actions, the more likely the person will perform the behavior (Homans, 1961). For example, serial murderers and serial rapists typically focus on their own gratification and satisfaction with little or no regard for others (Levin & Fox, 1985; Hazelwood & Burgess, 1987). Because these crimes appear to be committed for the internal reward or satisfaction, the repetition of them implies that not only is there an internal sense of reward or satisfaction for the offender but also it suggests that it must be of significant value to him.

The fourth proposition contends: The more recently one has received the valued gratification, the less value immediate repetition of the same gratification has (Homans, 1961). This proposition may help to explain the cooling off periods between serial murders and the time lapses between a serial rapist's attacks. These varied lengths of time between serial offenses may be indicators of the level of temporary satisfaction.

The last proposition examines aggression and approval. This proposition asserts: When an individual's actions do

not result in the expected reward or do result in an unexpected punishment, he will become angry and more likely to perform aggressive behavior. When a person's actions result in the expected reward or a reward greater than expected, the person will be pleased and will likely perform the approved behavior (Homans, 1961). For example, serial murderers and serial rapists are commonly the victims of child abuse. As children these offenders may have frequently received unexpected punishment which made them angry and likely to strike out at others. Additionally, this proposition may help explain the reward and the value of the reward these offenders receive from committing their crimes. This gratification in turn increases the likelihood of repetition. It is in this last proposition that the ramifications of the affected self and self-concept of the serial offender become clear.

Conclusions of Developmental Factors Influencing Serial Murderers and Serial Rapists

The synthesis of these theoretical ideas have resulted in three conclusions regarding the influence of developmental factors on serial murderers and rapists.

1. The development of the self and the self-concept may be affected by the combined influences of innate individual qualities and social processes.

2. A serial murderer or serial rapist may have a deviant self and self-concept. These features generate deviant choices of behavior for self gratification.

3. Although logical reasoning may be involved in the repetition of the serial offenses, the deviant self and self-concept seem to affect the offenders behavioral choices due to the aggressive nature of those choices.

Developmental factors are important, yet, they only clarify a part of the complex explication of serial murder and serial rape. For example, developmental factors alone do not adequately consider what may generate an excessively impulsive "I" process within these offenders. To this point it has been inferred that biological factors are involved in the motivation of serial murderers and serial rapists. In addition, it has been noted that socialization may affect the development of the aberrant self and self-concept of these offenders. However, independently neither of these two factors fully accounts for the motivation, reinforcement or facilitation of these "senseless" crimes.

CHAPTER 5

SOCIAL SITUATIONAL FACTORS

As previously illustrated, by considering only the influences of biosocial and developmental factors, social processes and circumstances which facilitate the crimes of serial murder and serial rape are left unexplained. This review of social situational concepts will focus on broader issues which affect individuals' behavior such as social control, social bonding, and social disorganization. These aspects of society appear to have a variety of means of reinforcing the development of serial murderers and serial rapists and the opportunities for them to commit their crimes. Analysis of situational reinforcement focuses on how social circumstances elicit behavior (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985).

Social Control

Every society exerts on its members pressures intended to procure a high degree of uniformity of attitude and behavior. Individuals living close to each other in a society and interacting with each other require some way of predicting in advance the responses of others to their actions. The term "social control" has been applied to the system of measures, including suggestion, persuasion, restraint and coercion by which a society gets members to conform to approved patterns of behavior. (Yablonsky, 1990, p. 8)

By examining factors associated with social bonding and social disorganization, one may better understand how the behavioral characteristics of serial murderers and serial rapists could be products of an inconsistent system of

social control. This social system is apparently not strong enough to control individuals who have developed tendencies towards aberrant patterns of behavior.

Social Bonding

In an attempt to understand why social control is effective for some individuals and is not for others, Hirschi (1969) identifies "social bond" as the key element of social control. Hirschi links criminal behavior to an insufficient bond between the individual and society. If that bond is weak or broken, the constraints society puts on that person will be ineffective. Hirschi (1969) asserts that the social bond a person maintains with society is a process divided into four elements; attachment, commitment, involvement and belief. According to Hirschi a person's sensitivity to and interest in others is referred to as attachment. In order to accept social norms, one must have some attachment to and regard for other people. From Hirschi's perspective, commitment refers to an individual's devotion to conventional values. For example, placing importance on obeying laws is a conventional value. According to Hirschi, if a person lacks commitment to conventional values, he is more likely to become involved in risk taking behaviors which are contrary to conventional values. Hirschi also proposes that involvement in family, school and other social institutions lessens the likelihood of delinquent or criminal behavior. Hirschi's reasoning is

that an individual who is very involved in such activities has less time for criminal activities. Hirschi's element of belief refers to the shared moral doctrine used by the majority of a society, to decide between right and wrong. Individuals who do not share these beliefs are more likely to behave in antisocial ways (Hirschi, 1969).

These four elements of the social bonding process can be examined in relation to how they apply to the behaviors of serial killers and serial rapists. Both of these types of serial offenders behave in ways which appear to reflect a lack of attachment to other people. Although serial murderers are sometimes involved in conventional activities and do to some extent successfully interact in conventional circumstances (Holmes & DeBurger, 1988), they appear to be more committed to their aberrant values. Serial murderers and serial rapists might then be assumed to have superficial attachments that lack intimacy. This is apparent in the risks of severe punishment they take by committing their crimes. It also seems clear that both of these types of serial offenders do not share the same general moral doctrine with the majority of society. The beliefs which guide the behavior of serial killers and serial rapists seem to reinforce their antisocial acts.

In addition to the affect that an apparent lack of social bonding has on serial murderers and serial rapists, the social bonding process also affects the behavior of

other people in society and consequently influences how the opportunities arise for serial offenders to perpetrate their crimes and avoid apprehension or punishment for them.

Common victims of these criminals seem to include individuals who themselves may be less attached to society, less involved in conventional activities, less committed to conventional values and who disregard conventional beliefs. For example, runaways and prostitutes seem to be examples of less bonded individuals. According to Holmes and DeBurger (1988) runaways and prostitutes are also likely victims of serial murder. Additionally hitchhiking, a frequently used method of transportation for runaways and prostitutes, is an recurrent situation in which serial killers obtain their victims (Levin & Fox, 1985). It may be that these less bonded individuals frequently participate in risk taking behaviors which can be taken advantage of by serial killers and serial rapists. Likewise, these people who tend to be less bonded to society may also be likely to be considered missing, and in the case of rape less likely to participate in conventional channels of reporting the offense. The existence of this type of population and the activities in which they participate may provide serial killers and serial rapists with "easy prey" (Levin & Fox, 1985) and a population that is less likely to become the focus of police investigations.

Social Disorganization

Similarly, theory regarding the influence of social structure on social control, has examined the association between adherence to social norms and the organization and disorganization of society. Among researchers who have considered the affect of social conditions include Shaw and McKay (1942) and Park and Burgess (1921). Shaw and McKay's work was focused on delinquency within the changing urban environment. They collected statistical data on the delinquency rates in Chicago between 1900 and 1933. Based on their findings they concluded that the ecological conditions of the city were responsible for creating delinquent behavior. These conclusions were based upon the fact that Chicago's poorer neighborhoods were characterized by deteriorating buildings, overcrowding and inadequate sanitary conditions. These slum areas appeared to be the primary source of delinquency. While Shaw and McKay focused their attention on delinquency, Park and Burgess (1921) were more interested in understanding the organization and functionality of urban environments.

According to Elliot and Merrill (1941), an adequate understanding of the influences of social disorganization depends on an understanding of social organization. They assert that social organization is characterized by the functionally integrated operations of different parts or groups within a social system. Elliot and Merrill further

contend that social organization depends on common definitions of social functions and social goals. Social disorganization is defined as disagreement and disruption of the functional relationships among individuals and groups (Blumer, 1937, 1955; Kramer, 1943). Social disorganization theory attempts to explain many aspects of society, one of which may be the facilitation and perpetuation of criminal behavior. According to Park and Burgess (1921), in social settings people are closely involved with one another they will be less likely to deviate from social rules.

Furthermore, in places where relationships are less personal and less permanent and people are less intimately associated with one another, individuals feel more free to break social rules.

Therefore, it seems that when rules lose their meaning and fail to provide consistent conduct guidelines for behavior, social interaction is affected. According to Turner (1954) a society experiences social disorganization when conflict occurs between groups and individuals regarding goals and purposes which incites some level of societal failure to function and complete implicit objectives. Hence, social disorganization may result from conflict which appears in social circumstances between social interaction participants with differing social expectations.

Consequently, conflicting social expectations caused by social disorganization may promote the incidence of serial murder and serial rape. Therefore, it is important to consider socially disorganized environments where people interact in a less personal and less permanent manner because these circumstances often involve interactions among strangers. The majority of serial rapists select victims who are strangers as opposed to acquaintances (Hazelwood & Warren, 1989). Serial killers frequently utilize circumstances including incidents such as hitchhiking and prostitution to obtain their victims (Levin & Fox, 1985). Often in such situations of stranger interaction, there appear to be discrepancies in the social expectations between the people involved. A hypothetical example of these discrepancies could be observed in the interaction between a prostitute and her customer. The prostitute probably expects to perform her service and then be paid. The customer may observe this as an opportunity to physically abuse this woman and have no intention of paying her. Because the expectations are different, conflict arises.

These discrepancies can occur whenever people who have differing social expectations interact. In this diverse American society, such situations would seem to be difficult to avoid because discrepancies in social expectations include, but are not limited to situations of complete

stranger interactions. Discrepancies between individuals' social expectation can also occur in environments which appear to be organized. In social environments such as college campuses and corporate work places individuals seem to feel more closely involved with one another because of a common goal or purpose. In both of these places individuals expect to interact with people they do not know well. They make assumptions about other interacting participants based on a common association to the school or place of employment. For example, on a college campus, students frequently interact with other people on the assumption that the other people are in some way part of the university, which implies a common bond. Similar incidents of interaction commonly occur in corporate environments. In these situations the participants also exercise less caution than in typical stranger interactions because of an assumed common bond. These social scenarios also provide opportunity for serial killers and serial rapists. Several serial killers have utilized college campuses to acquire their victims (Holmes & Deburger, 1988) and serial rapist choose their victims primarily based upon availability and vulnerability (Hazelwood & Warren, 1989) which would seem to make a college campus an opportune environment for a serial rapist to obtain his victims.

In conclusion, social disorganization appears to facilitate serial murder and serial rape in two ways.

1. Situations which involve less personal and less permanent forms of interaction provide opportunity and less risk to serial killers and serial rapists. Places where there are many less bonded individuals provide ample victims for these criminals. When the victim is less bonded the perpetrator benefits because the likelihood of negative consequences for his crimes decreases.

2. Bonded individuals in conventional circumstances also provide opportunity for serial killers and serial rapists. Participants in conventional social interaction are less cautious in their actions. Assumptions of association assure these participants that customary social rules of interaction will be used. Serial murderers and serial rapists often take advantage of these situations. The perpetrator knows what the victim is expecting. However, the victim does not share the expectations of the perpetrator and thus the victim is caught off guard.

Summary of Social Situational Factors that Influence
the Occurrence of Serial Murder and Serial Rape

It has been illustrated that the social processes and circumstances of social control, social bonding and social disorganization may influence the occurrence of serial murder and serial rape. However, it is important to recognize that although these social processes and circumstances produce opportunities they alone do not explain the existence of the crimes. Such theories are

useful in their utility to explain these criminal behaviors within the larger social environment yet neglect to address both biological and developmental variation between individuals. These theories alone appear to assume that each individual experiencing these processes and circumstances will react similarly. As previously illustrated in the review of biosocial and developmental factors, it has been inferred that people vary and thus two people will not necessarily react identically to the same processes or circumstances. Human variation appears to allow for multiple ways of dealing with social interaction.

CHAPTER 6

ADDICTION

To this point in the thesis, three central ideas have been discussed regarding the motivation and reinforcement of serial murderers and serial rapists. First, biosocial predispositions which include enhanced neurological rewards for high risk behaviors and neurological processes which increase tendencies towards excessive aggressiveness may contribute to the motivation and reinforcement of the criminal behaviors of serial murderers and serial rapists. Second, developmental factors may affect the self and self-concept of these offenders and in turn influence their behavioral choices. Serial murderers and serial rapists decide to repeat the aberrant behaviors they choose based on the value of the internal reward they receive and the likelihood that they will be rewarded again if those behaviors are repeated. This could be considered making rational choices. Third, serial murder and serial rape are situationally reinforced through the processes of social control and social bonding which contribute to the social structure or social circumstance of social disorganization. Social disorganization provides opportunity for serial murderers and serial rapists to repeatedly act out their predispositions or tendencies to obtain neurological rewards and behave aggressively without negative repercussion.

In this chapter, characteristics and types of addicts and processes of addiction are discussed in an attempt to demonstrate the parallel motivations and reinforcements that may exist between addiction and serial murder and serial rape. Because of similarities between these crimes and common addictions, reviewing fundamental characteristics of addictive behavior and theories of addiction may further explain the motivation and reinforcement of serial murder and serial rape.

One of the consistent assumptions in the literature reviewed regarding addiction is that humans pursue pleasure and/or satisfaction (Milkman & Sunderwirth, 1987; Nakken, 1988; Solomon, 1980; Wikler, 1973). As indicated in Wilson and Herrnstein's theory (1985), criminal behavior is motivated by the human tendency to choose behaviors which are the most pleasurable or gratifying and are perceived as the most beneficial choice. Psychological theories which emphasize this assumption are categorized as hedonic (Petri, 1991). Hedonic theories are based on the idea that behavior is motivated by the drive to obtain pleasure and avoid pain. Such theories imply that all stimuli are motivators of behavior because they are associated with positive or negative experiences (Petri, 1991). In this thesis, "hedonic" will thus refer to the positive or negative identification of a stimuli by an individual. Therefore, in the hedonic perspective, addicts and non-addicts are

perceived as individuals attempting to acquire positive reinforcement or pleasure and avoid negative reinforcement or pain. Addiction is often studied using hedonic perspectives and serial murder and serial rape, proposed in this work to be forms of addictive behavior, are examined using a hedonic perspective of addiction.

Characteristics of Addiction

According to Nakken (1988), addictions include the abuse of substances and events such as alcohol, drugs, eating, sex and gambling, which result in internal rewards that compel the repetition of the act. Similarly, serial murderers and serial rapists appear to commit these crimes for internal benefit and are compelled to repeat these crimes to regain the reward or feeling of satisfaction. Nakken (1988) asserts that behaviors become addictive when an individual continuously attempts to control his comfort and pleasure through a relationship with an object or event which he knows will produce a desired mood change. The repetitious nature of serial murder and serial rape may indicate that through these crimes an offender attempts to control or obtain pleasure based on previous knowledge that his crime will produce a desired mood change through internal reward. Thus, serial murder and serial rape could be considered to be addictive behaviors.

According to Nakken (1988), addiction is described as a continuously developing process of stimulation and

reinforcement which is caused by a need for intimacy. An addict tries to satisfy this need with a relationship with an event or object which differs from those which non-addicts are capable of having with the same object. For example, an alcoholic may attempt to use alcohol to satisfy his need for intimacy. His use of, and relationship with, alcohol would then seem to differ from that of a non-alcoholic. Also according to Nakken, for the addict, the mood change brought on by a substance or event is more intense and profound than it is for the non-addict. The knowledge of how to produce the desired mood change gives the addict an illusion of control over his comfort and pleasure.

Although individual needs for pleasure and comfort in life affect the likelihood of addiction, it is important to recognize the influence society has on the addiction process. Society has a strong influence on individuals' identities and the goals they strive toward as it promotes certain values and ideals which affect the choices individuals make. Many values do exist which oppose addictive behaviors and processes, such as the value which encourages helping others, but at the same time there exist other values which are consistent with addiction and addictive behaviors, such as the value which encourages individuals to strive for control over their lives (Nakken, 1988). The contradictions between these values are worth

identifying, because addictions appear to be methods by which an individual deals with these contradictions. Likewise, serial murder and serial rape may be viewed similarly as coping mechanisms. For example, drugs or alcohol may be used by individuals to cope with a lack of control over their lives. By taking a substance they know will bring them pleasure they believe that they are more in control of their lives because they know the chosen substance will make them feel better. Thus, the individual concludes he is more in control of the way he feels. Similarly, serial murderers and serial rapists may act out their chosen crimes in order to feel more in control of their lives.

Social Facilitation of Addiction

According to Nakken (1988), American society values being the best, being in control and the benefit of excess (i. e., money, power, etc.). These values are contradictions in themselves. For example, Nakken states that although most members of society are socialized with the goal to be the best, not everyone can be the best and therefore inevitably some members of society will fail to live up to those aspirations. Additionally, Nakken holds that society values control and considers it as a sign of strength and worth; however, life processes such as aging and dying illustrate that absolute control is an illusion (Nakken, 1988). The emphasis society places on frequently

unattainable values and goals such as being the best and being in control causes the individual to become frustrated. According to Nakken (1988), although excess has become a social symbol of success, the repercussions of this and other excessive behaviors are often negative. For example, Nakken contends that for some individuals the frustration which may result from failing to be the best, be in control and be able to demonstrate success and achievement through excess, may contribute to the use of a substance, event, or behavior as a method of seeking pleasure, control, and accomplishment. It seems plausible that similar frustrations could contribute to the addictive behaviors exhibited by serial killers and serial rapists. However, it is important to note that contradictions in social values alone are not responsible for the motivation of addiction because individuals vary in their methods of dealing with these contradictions and pursuing pleasure, control and success (Nakken, 1988).

According to Milkman and Sunderwirth (1987), there are three basic types of addicts, each of which has a fundamental source of motivation for his addiction. The three types of motivation are, need for satiation, need for arousal, and need for fantasy experiences. These motivations reflect an addict's primary methods for coping with stress. Milkman and Sunderwirth (1987, p. 18) assert that "people do not become addicted to drugs or mood

altering activities as such, but rather to the satiation, arousal or fantasy experiences that can be achieved through them."

The first type of addict is the "satiation addict." The satiation addict attempts to shut down negative feelings by reducing stimulation from internal or external sources. This type of coping mechanism resembles infantile coping, because to the satiation addict the mouth and skin are primary sources of experience. This type of addict uses his coping mechanisms to aid him in avoiding stimulation and confrontation (Milkman & Sunderwirth, 1987). Binge eating is a common type of this addiction.

The second type of addict is the "arousal addict." This addict seeks to feel significant and powerful in an environment he perceives as overwhelming. His extensive expenditures of mental and physical energy assist him to deny fear and helplessness. To the arousal addict, denial changes his perception of the environment. According to Milkman and Sunderwirth (1987), this too is a childlike tendency. Gambling, risk taking and drug use are common forms of this addiction. Through such activities, this individual endeavors to feel powerful and dominant (Milkman & Sunderwirth, 1987).

The third type of addict is the "fantasy addict." This addict uses fantasy to deal with stress and relies on fantasy to overcome fears. Through fantasy this addict

perceives himself as effective and important. He is often preoccupied with dreams, compulsive artistic expression or mysticism. Drugs, particularly hallucinogenic drugs, are favored by this type of addict (Milkman & Sunderwirth, 1987).

These three types of addicts seem to parallel previously discussed motivational typologies of serial murderers and serial rapists. It seems possible that the motivations of addiction may be useful in comprehending the motivations of serial murderers' and serial rapists' behaviors. From the rapist categories previously described (Groth, Burgess, & Holstrom, 1977), because they seek stimulation, the "power rapist" and the "anger rapist" appear to be arousal addicts. Similarly, from Holmes and DeBurger's (1988) typology of serial murderers, visionary and mission oriented serial killers both seem to be fantasy experience addicts because the visionary serial murderer is motivated by illusions and the mission-oriented serial killer is motivated by a self imposed sense of importance and duty. Additionally, hedonistic killers appear to seek pleasure or satisfaction and thus seem to be satiation addicts. Power control serial killers appear to be motivated by a need to feel powerful and therefore appear to be arousal addicts. Milkman and Sunderwirth's (1987) explanation of addict motivation is useful in categorizing serial murderers' and serial rapists' behaviors based on

fundamental motivations shared between both types of offenders. However, Milkman and Sunderwirth's typology (1987) of addiction motivation does not provide an explanation for the origin and progressive development of serial murderers' and serial rapist's addictions.

Processes of Addiction

Regarding the addictive process, Wikler (1973) developed a two stage model for the origins and progress of narcotics addiction. The first stage of the model is the "acquisition phase," identified as the point of time in which the novice addict begins and continues a potentially compulsive activity because of pleasurable sensations brought about through experience. During this phase, the environment where the desired feeling occurs becomes associated with pleasure or a sense of well being. To the addict, the pleasure setting becomes a conglomeration of suggestions that stimulate craving for the need satisfying activity. For example, to the drug addict just being on the corner where he usually buys his drugs may stimulate his desire to become intoxicated. However, Wikler asserts that while still in the acquisition phase the human body begins adapting to most novel stimulation by reducing its effectiveness. The user or performer soon needs more of the mood altering activity in order to experience similar alterations in feeling. For example, Wikler (1973) discusses the addicted mountain climber who continues to

seek out more difficult mountains to climb in order to achieve the same mood alteration he previously received on easier climbs. Similarly, this may explain why serial murderers and serial rapists frequently become excessively cruel and violent with each ensuing crime (Levin & Fox, 1985; Hazelwood & Warren, 1989). It may be that in order to exact the same mood alteration, these offenders learn that it is necessary to increase the level of stimulation.

The second stage of Wikler's model is "maintenance." Wikler asserts that this stage occurs when a person is no longer motivated by a sense of pleasure. As an individual stays addicted to a substance or behavior for an extended period of time, the repetitive activity becomes a way to relieve the despair and discomfort which result when the mood altering stimuli is no longer present. Then the mood change being sought by the addict is relief from tension (Wikler, 1973). In relation to serial murder and serial rape the serial offender may eventually become motivated to murder and/or rape in order to relieve discomfort rather than murdering or raping someone to obtain a feeling of pleasure.

In addition to Wikler's two stage model explaining the origin and progress of addictions, Solomon (1980) developed the opponent-process theory which explains the motivation and reinforcement process of addiction and the impact repetition of a particular substance or event will have on

an addict's behavior. Solomon's opponent-process theory explains the processes which assist in making behaviors addictive. He suggests that stimuli of addictive behaviors, like other stimuli which cause potent mood changes and strong feelings, also trigger an oppositional biochemical process. Oppositional biochemical processes, are internally produced feeling of pleasure or pain which are then immediately followed by an opposite sensation. This process takes place when stimulation from a particular substance or event occurs and eventually ends. Solomon asserts that mood altering behavior is often sustained because people seek to avoid unpleasant effects that are set in motion by the opponent-process. Opponent-process theory is based upon two primary assumptions that are important in explaining addiction because of the hedonic processes which are involved in addictive behaviors.

Oppositional biochemical processes are also referred to by Solomon as hedonic contrast. Hedonic contrast occurs when a hedonic stimuli is presented and then removed. An example of such a contrast given by Solomon (1980) is an experiment which involves an hour old duckling and the presentation of a mother duck. The mother duck was used as a hedonic stimuli and then removed. The stimuli was presented for only one minute. However, when the stimuli was removed the duckling cried for several minutes. From this, Solomon concluded that the stimuli of the mother duck

was positive, and the duckling crying was a negative reaction to the removal of the positive stimuli. Furthermore, Solomon asserted that this event illustrated an opponent-process because it demonstrated a positive stimuli being presented and taken away and a negative reaction occurring. Another of Solomon's examples which portrays a contrasting opponent-process is the reactions of military parachutists during their first jump. During parachutists' first jump, before the parachute opens, most parachutists experience terror. However, when the jumpers land safely, the terror ends and they appeared to become elated and self satisfied. Based on the duckling, the parachutists, and other behavioral studies, Solomon concluded that the presentation of stimuli will either illicit pleasant or unpleasant states. Moreover, the termination of this stimuli, whether pleasurable or painful, will result in an opposing hedonic state. From this Solomon asserts that one progresses from a baseline state to a hedonic state to an opposing hedonic state and then back to the baseline. Figure 1 represents Solomon's opponent-process theory's sequence of events as previously described.

Solomon (1980) examines the changes which occur as a result of the repetition of a particular stimuli. He refers to this repetition as hedonic habituation. As illustrated in Figure 1 (see page 87), after the repetition of a particular stimuli, the State A response (during the

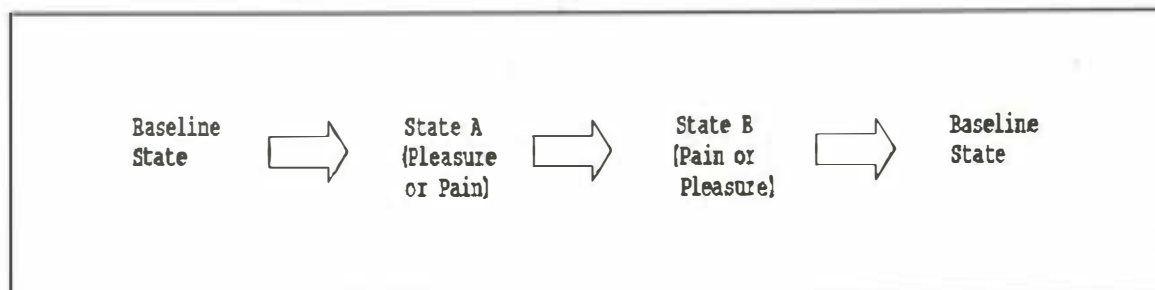


Figure 1. Dialectic of opponent-process theory.

stimuli) decreases in magnitude. Subsequently, the State B response (after the stimuli is terminated) increases in intensity and duration. In summary, after repetition of a particular stimuli, the magnitude of an individual's response to the onset of the stimuli decreases, regardless whether the response is pleasure or pain. In State B, after the stimuli is terminated the individual's opposing response to State A increases in intensity and duration whether the response is pleasure or pain.

By identifying the standard pattern of interaction which occurs when a particular stimuli becomes a repeated event, Solomon posits that three phenomena of hedonic habituation transpire.

1. The hedonic response during a particular event gradually decreases over time.

2. The hedonic response after the stimuli is terminated will grow in intensity and duration as a result of repetition of the stimuli.

3. After repetition of the particular stimuli, an individual will be motivated to repeat the stimuli in order to either increase the decreasing State A or to boost the growing intensity and duration of the State B depending on which state either brings perceived pleasure or satisfaction.

The opponent-process as explained by Solomon (1980) is considered by Milkman and Sunderwirth (1987, p. 104), to be the "an integral force behind all forms of compulsion and addiction." This process could be used in explaining the behavior of both serial murderers and serial rapists. For example, if a serial murderer or a serial rapist has an initially pleasurable response during his crimes, after repetition he may commit his crimes to increase the "decreasing pleasure" experienced during the offense. If the serial murderer or serial rapist has an initially painful or unpleasant response during his crimes but a pleasurable "after response," after repetition he may commit his crimes to promote the increasingly pleasurable response which occurs after the crime and continue attempting to decrease the unpleasantness felt during the crime.

Summary of the Addictive Characteristics
of Serial Murder and Serial Rape

In summary, four important generalizations about the relationship between serial murder, serial rape and addiction have been reviewed and appear to be helpful in

understanding the motivation and reinforcement of these types of serial offending. First, these offenses have been shown to be possible forms of addiction. Second, Milkman and Sunderwirth's (1987) explanation of the three basic types of addicts (satiation, arousal and fantasy) appear to illustrate possible common root motivations between the various types of serial murderers and serial rapists. Third, Wikler's (1973) two stage model of the origins and progression of addiction is useful in describing how addictive behaviors, including serial murder and serial rape, gain control over an individual's life because inherent desires to obtain pleasure compel the repetition of these types of behavior. Fourth, Solomon's (1980) opponent-process theory essentially supports Wikler's model because Solomon also asserts that repetition is motivated by an individual's inherent desire to pursue pleasure. Solomon's theory (1980) is of additional use in understanding the motivation of serial murderers' and serial rapists' criminal offenses based on pleasurable and unpleasant responses to stimuli and the changes in those response which occur when the behavior is repeated.

Although the material reviewed about addiction is helpful, it does not address biosocial variation and the impact of individual development on addictive behaviors. These two perspective have been previously discerned to be necessary to develop a more thorough and integrated

understanding of serial murder and serial rape. Additionally, in the literature about addiction, the influence of individual development (such as primary socialization) has not been discussed. While the literature does differentiate the primary motivations of various addicts, it does not distinguish what it is that produces or influences one individual to be primarily motivated by satiation, arousal or fantasy. Therefore, the addiction model seems to be helpful, but is limited in its value in explaining serial murder and serial rape because it does not include the role of biological variance between individuals and the influence of development upon responses and interpretation of stimuli in their discussions. In this thesis, it is assumed that variance and development should influence what addictive behaviors are chosen by the serial murderers and serial rapists.

In review, the factors which have been examined thus far, biosocial tendencies, developmental influences, situational circumstances and addiction, each provide partial explanations of the motivation and reinforcement of serial murder and serial rape. Therefore, by utilizing all of these influential factors serial murder and serial rape can be more thoroughly explained.

CHAPTER 7

ILLUSTRATIVE CASE HISTORY OF A SERIAL MURDERER AND
COMPOSITE STUDY OF A SERIAL RAPIST

In this chapter a case history of a serial murderer and a composite study, representative of a serial rapist developed by the FBI based upon their research of serial rapists are presented. Theodore Robert Bundy was chosen for case study because Geberth (1990) and Michaud and Aynesworth (1984) maintain that Bundy's crimes and behavioral characteristics are considered to epitomize the characteristics of many serial killers. The profile of a serial rapist represents the common offender the FBI researchers have interviewed (Hazelwood & Burgess, 1987). Although the case study of the serial rapist is only a synopsis, according to Hazelwood and Burgess, "it provides insight into the development of a serial rapist" (p. 5).

The presented studies will provide further representative information about serial murderers and serial rapists through which the previously established interrelated axioms can be illustrated. The discussed offenders will be described in order to determine if any conclusions regarding biosocial tendencies can safely be drawn. Also, by presenting the offender's family and educational history, developmental factors that influence the development of an individual's self and self-concept will be considered. Likewise, the offender's socioeconomic

status, employment and interpersonal relationships will be examined in an effort to consider situational societal factors. These situational societal factors may indicate the individual's social bond and social environment as well as the impact these elements may have had on their behaviors. In addition, criminal and serial offense histories will be examined to illustrate similarities between these two offenders and the addictive characteristic which may be implicated by their crimes. Finally, researchers such as Levin and Fox (1985), Holmes and DeBurger (1988) and Hazelwood and Burgess (1987) have implied a connection between the offenses of serial murder and serial rape and the use of pornography and detective magazines. The reviewed offenders' use of these materials will also be considered regarding their possible reinforcement value to the serial offender. First, the case of serial murderer Theodore Robert Bundy will be reviewed.

Theodore Robert Bundy

The information presented has been gathered from sources (Rule, 1980; Holmes & DeBurger, 1988; Michaud & Aynesworth, 1984; Hickey, 1990; Geberth, 1990) who had interviewed and done extensive research on Bundy.

Family and Education

Theodore (Ted) Robert Bundy was born illegitimately on November 24, 1946, in Burlington, Vermont, at a home for unwed mothers. Prior to his birth, Bundy's mother moved to

the home in Vermont from her parents home in Philadelphia in an attempt to protect her unborn child from social condemnation. Shortly after his birth, Bundy and his mother, Louise Cowell, moved to Philadelphia to live with her parents. Bundy's relatives have suggested that he was physically abused by his "violent" grandfather. Louise Cowell tried to protect Bundy from negative social reaction due to his illegitimacy by again moving in 1950, to Tacoma, Washington, to live with other relatives. In May of 1951, Louise Cowell married John Bundy, an Army cook at a local Army base. During Ted Bundy's upbringing there were no particularly major problems between him and his stepfather, but sources indicate that Bundy was not especially fond of his stepfather and believed him to be intellectually inferior. Bundy did well academically and graduated in 1965, from Woodrow Wilson High School in Tacoma. Sources indicate that Bundy was perceived by his high school classmates as having been introverted and he did not date much, but was well known. Upon graduation, Bundy received a scholarship to the University of Puget Sound where he attended for one year. In 1966, Bundy transferred to the University of Washington, where he began majoring in Chinese. Bundy graduated from the University of Washington in 1972, with a grade point average of 3.51 and a bachelor's degree in Psychology. He began attending the University of Puget Sound Law school in the fall of 1973.

Employment and Interpersonal Relationships

While Bundy was growing up he was very conscious of his family's lower middle class socioeconomic status. Based on interviews with Bundy, Michaud and Aynesworth (1984) assert that Bundy resented not having money and grew up feeling inadequate to compete with people he perceived to have a higher class standing than himself. Michaud and Aynesworth also contend that Bundy's concern about social status appears to have been a significant factor in his adult criminal and non criminal behaviors. For example, while at the University of Washington he met and fell in love with a young woman from a wealthy and influential family in California. They dated for over a year and then the woman broke off the relationship. Bundy was reportedly devastated by the break up because he had identified the woman as his ideal mate through whom he could overcome his class barrier.

After this unsuccessful relationship, Bundy began to attempt to achieve a higher social status through community activities. He became active in the 1972, re-election campaign of Washington governor Dan Evans and working on a crisis hotline. Bundy apparently went out of his way to appear to be a good citizen. For example, his noted social achievements included a commendation from the Seattle police department in 1969, for catching a purse snatcher and returning the stolen bag to the owner. Additionally, Bundy

received community recognition in the summer of 1970, for saving a toddler from drowning.

Bundy's preoccupation with social standing is further illustrated by his behavior after he had achieved positive community recognition. He had become friends with powerful state politicians, attended law school classes at night and worked for the Republican party during the day. Although Bundy appeared to be progressing in his pursuit of higher social status, his behavior seemed to demonstrate resentment for that which he had not yet successfully acquired. In 1973, Bundy was involved with a young divorced woman he had begun seeing after his break up from his college girlfriend. While still involved with the second woman, Bundy again began to pursue and became engaged to his previous girlfriend. Shortly after their engagement, Bundy became distant and negligent toward his fiance and abruptly ended their relationship in early 1974. Although it is conjecture, it seems conceivable that Bundy's obsession to win back his girlfriend and then his destruction of their relationship might have been actions that reflected his struggle against feelings of inadequacy. By taking control of the relationship he was put in a position to hurt his fiance as she had previously hurt him. This possible power of revenge may have been a precursor for his later more destructive behaviors.

Sources suspect that it was during the time of Bundy's briefly rekindled college romance that he killed the first of his victims, a hitchhiker in Olympia, Washington. This first victim, like the rest of Bundy's victims, all had similar physical characteristics to his college girlfriend and then fiance.

Criminal and Serial Offense History

Before Bundy began his killing spree, he seemed to be a relatively law abiding citizen. His criminal history reveals only that shortly after high school graduation in 1965, he was suspected of auto theft and burglary. Because this was considered a matter for the Tacoma juvenile system, there are no remaining records of adjudication or confinement in regard to this incident. It seems plausible that Bundy was guilty of stealing an automobile, because while committing his serial murders, he stole many cars to facilitate his mobility and the avoidance of apprehension.

There is evidence which links Bundy to the murders of at least 30 young women in five states yet it is suspected by some law enforcement agencies that the number of his victims could be larger. His victims ranged in age from 12 to 26, all whom appeared to come from middle and upper middle class backgrounds and the majority of which had medium length to long straight hair which was parted in the middle.

Likewise, the murders Bundy committed suggest that he preferred to match wits with his victims and provide himself with somewhat of a mental challenge. This was evidenced by the fact that the majority of his victims were either college students or successfully employed. These types of victims would pose more challenge than the common prostitute or hitchhiker pursued by other serial killers (Holmes & DeBurger, 1988). Furthermore, Bundy used a variety of props to lure his victims to his car including police identification to gain trust and orthopedic casts and crutches to gain sympathy and appear harmless. Bundy was very clever and meticulous about his stalking and choosing dumpsites for the bodies in order to outwit law enforcement. For example, Bundy admitted that he kept up on news media about his crimes and the latest leads the police had on his cases. Bundy would then change his behaviors to further confuse law enforcement (Geberth, 1990). Bundy used a variety of methods to kill and torture these young women including clubbing, strangulation and cutting the throat. He raped most, if not all, of his victims, and aberrant sexual behaviors were evidenced through this feature of his crimes. Bundy sexually mutilated, bit, and inserted foreign objects inside his victims.

Pornography and Detective Magazines

In July 1979, Bundy was convicted of the 1978, murders of two Florida State University sorority women, and the

murder of 12 year old Kimberly Leach of Lake City, Florida, and he was sentenced to die in the Florida electric chair. Prior to his execution, Bundy participated in multiple interviews with law enforcement investigators; however, he did not confess his crimes until the day before his death. When he finally decided to confess to the murders he committed, he expressed the opinion that his use of pornographic materials and detective magazines contributed to his violent criminal actions (Geberth, 1990). Interestingly enough, this aspect of Bundy's confession, may indicate extensive self insight and reasoning on the part of this serial killer.

Conclusions Regarding Theodore Robert Bundy

Based upon this case study, three basic conclusions are suggested regarding the application of the previously developed propositions of serial murder and serial rape to the behaviors of Ted Bundy.

1. Bundy's early development, including his illegitimacy, the suspected physical abuse by his grandfather, and Bundy's perception of his socioeconomic status may have impacted his self and self-concept. These events and circumstances may have manifested themselves as Bundy's apprehension regarding social status.

2. These developmental obstacles appeared to impair Bundy's behavior toward, and perception of society. Bundy's behavior may demonstrate a lack of respect for social rules

and laws. Additionally, it seemed that his perception of social circumstances may have heightened his desire to manipulate appearances and situations to benefit himself regardless of the consequences to others. For example, Bundy may have manipulated others' perception of him by portraying himself as an active and concerned citizen which may have influenced others to trust him. It may also have influenced others to come to his defense because of disbelief that Bundy could have actually committed the crimes of which he was accused. The aggressive behaviors in Bundy's crimes and his apparent heightened drive to manipulate appearances may have been influenced by biosocial predispositions. Although such a conclusion cannot validly be drawn or supported by the information available, the behaviors Bundy chose seem to be extreme and atypical responses to his developmental and social circumstances. For example, while it has been asserted that he was abused in childhood, and this may have been a contributing factor toward his violent actions, it has also been contended that not all abused children react in a manner that results in multiple murder.

3. Bundy's serial crimes appeared to demonstrate needs for all three of the previously discussed types of addicts. First, it seems plausible that Bundy may have felt that his needs for satiation could be met by releasing anger and seeking revenge on society, more specifically on the type of

individual who had prevented him from obtaining what he wanted. Second, Bundy seemed to need an excessive amount of arousal which he may have sought through acts of power, control and violence. His murder victims, it would appear, provided him with a captive audience that may have satisfied his need for self importance. Third, his use of stalking, pre-determining dumpsites, and use of pornography and detective magazines may imply that he utilized fantasy to plan his crimes, because all of his murders indicated premeditation. Additionally, sources indicate that he revisited his dumpsites and collected media information about his killings. This may further indicate his use of fantasy to relive the pleasure he gained through his killings.

Composite Study of a Serial Rapist

The information in this composite study of a serial rapist is based on the synopsis developed by the FBI from its research on 41 convicted serial rapists (Hazelwood & Burgess, 1987). The units of analysis included convicted rapists who had exhausted all appeals in the courts, and who had each committed ten or more rapes. The objective of this research was to understand common patterns of behavior used by serial rapists and techniques used to successfully elude apprehension. The information which is presented below is a synopsis of a composite developed by Hazelwood and Burgess (1987) that was based on the conclusions drawn from the FBI

research. In addition to the shared characteristics of serial rapists, previously discussed in this thesis, such as age, race, intelligence and employment, conclusions drawn from this research (Hazelwood & Warren, 1989) include common personality characteristics and deviant behavioral tendencies.

It was reported that personality characteristics common to serial rapists include dominance in interpersonal relationships as well as manipulative and impulsive tendencies. While these characteristics seem to contribute to the strong and confident image most serial rapists apparently present to other people, when questioned extensively these offenders commonly revealed a much less confident perception of themselves. Additionally, the research indicates that serial rapists often have deviant compulsive tendencies which began during their childhoods, including window peeping and various forms of fetishism. The characteristics considered to be common among serial rapists will be illustrated by the following hypothetical case study. The composite character will be referred to as John.

Family and Education

John, born in 1944, was the only son in a family with three children. He was raised by his mother and stepfather, and he did not meet his natural father until he was an adult. John's stepfather was a logger, a profession which

required his family to move frequently. John stated that as a child he was often in trouble with his parents, but felt that more often than not the trouble was caused by his sisters. He further stated that he felt neglected as a child, and contended that his parents only talked to him when he was in trouble. Additionally, John reported that he was both verbally abused and beaten by his mother. John asserted that his mother was definitely the dominant parent in the family.

John stated that at the age of nine, he began having a fondness for women's panties. He reportedly hid under tables so he could look up his sisters dresses. He also said that he made attempts to see the panties of babysitters who would come to his home to care for him and his sisters. John also asserted, that during pre-adolescence, he began to peep on female family members when they were undressing. He stated that he preferred to watch women in only their panties as opposed to totally naked. John said that, while he did peep on family members, he did not peep on his mother because "that's taboo" (Hazelwood & Burgess, 1987). John indicated that at the age of nine, he began to steal panties off of clotheslines and masturbate with them. Likewise, he stated that when panties were not available, he fantasized about panties while he masturbated. In addition to using panties for masturbatory purposes, he began to occasionally wear them as a teenager.

John, despite an I.Q. of 125, had to repeat several grades in his primary education and failed to finish high school. While in prison, at the age of 26, he obtained his high school equivalency degree. At the time of his last incarceration for rape, John had accumulated almost 100 hours of college credit from prison programs.

Employment and Interpersonal Relationships

Throughout his life, John had an erratic employment record. At the age of 17, he entered the military. Records indicate that he excelled in basic training and completed four years of service. However, he reportedly had problems with his superiors and accepting authority. When John was 21, he was released from the military. After his military service, he was consistently employed and he held employment as a logger, a truck driver, a construction worker and factory laborer. John stated that he changed jobs frequently because he became bored with the jobs and he believed that his immaturity at the time facilitated his instability.

Both John's employment record and his marital history were erratic. The first of John's multiple marriages occurred when he was 20 years old, due to an unplanned pregnancy. Shortly after the wedding, the couple split up. John married for the second time two years after his first marriage. This second marriage lasted two years and produced two children. John asserted that his own

irresponsibility caused the divorce. John's third marriage occurred a year after his second divorce, when he was 25 years old, and lasted six months. He stated that they separated after six months because they "couldn't stand each other" (Hazelwood & Burgess, 1987, p. 7). John married for the fourth time while he was imprisoned for rape. When he was released from prison, the couple lived together for two months before ending their relationship. John contends that his fourth wife treated him as if she were his parole officer. However, after the break up of his fourth marriage, John took custody of the couple's son.

John's fifth and final marriage took place when he was 32 years old. According to John, the couple was happy until John revealed his fetish for women's panties to his wife. John's fetishism seemed to have become progressively important to him over the years and appeared to partially motivate his rape crimes. Although, the marriage became strained as a result of this disclosure, they stayed together until he was again sent to prison for rape. Even during this incarceration, John's fifth wife visited him regularly and waited for his release. Thirteen days after John's release from prison, he was returned to prison because of another rape and John's fifth marriage ended.

Criminal and Serial Offense History

John's criminal history began in his childhood. As a juvenile he was frequently apprehended by authorities for

running away from home. As a young man, John expressed a desire to be a policeman but got into trouble with the law repeatedly. At the age of nine, he had been caught in a neighbor's house trying to steal panties out of her dresser. When John was 13 years old, in addition to peeping on his family members, he had begun window peeping on strangers. He admitted that he continued to peep until his last arrest for rape. At the age of 16, he was arrested, along with several of his friends, for forging checks. Additionally, John's juvenile delinquency included stealing gasoline and hubcaps. As an adult, John had been arrested for burglary, breaking and entering and rape. John estimated that he was responsible for over 5,000 burglaries, claiming that his primary objective was to steal women's panties. He further stated that he stole valuables in less than half of the homes he burglarized.

Records indicate that John probably committed at least 18 rapes. According to John, the majority of the rapes occurred during a panty theft. Hazelwood and Burgess (1987) suggest that the first offense of the composite offender may typify his behaviors during his crimes. John's first rape offense occurred when he was 24 years old. His second wife was out of town and John was out drinking with some of his friends. Late in the evening he and one of his friends went to a home where his friend had consensual sex with a babysitter. After driving his friend home, John returned to

did not see rape as a form of harm. "None of my victims were ever harmed and for a person to kill somebody after raping them, it just makes me mad" (Hazelwood & Burgess, 1987, p. 8).

Conclusions about John, the Serial Rapist

Based upon the synopsis of John's character and behavior, three conclusions have been drawn regarding the developed propositions of serial offending as they apply to the behaviors of the serial rapists studied.

1. John's early development, particularly his relationships with his mother and his sisters, appears to have affected his self and self-concept. The conflict that he associated with his sisters and the verbal and physical abuse he associated with his mother may have produced feelings of resentment which manifested themselves in his sexual assaults on women. This psychological association seems likely, because although he seemed to know that raping women was wrong, he was still adamant that he never hurt his victims. Furthermore, John's admission of his perceptions regarding his family and its treatment of him seem to imply that he felt as if he was unwanted within the family unit. He seemed to have learned that unacceptable behaviors gained the attention of his parents.

The generalized attitudes John may have internalized from his family environment appear to have promoted a negative self-concept. In summary, John's negatively

perceived early life experiences with the women in his family and the development of a negative self-concept may have contributed to his adult crimes against women.

2. The developmental difficulties of John's childhood appear to have influenced the progress of his bond to society. This weakened bond appears to be evidenced not only by his crimes but in his employment and marital history as well. John's attachment to his parents appears to have been weak as indicated by the behaviors he learned to repeat in order to gain their attention.

Additionally, John's commitment to and involvement in conventional social practices seems unsubstantial. His employment and marital history appears to disregard customary social aspirations and social norms. John's behavior in the military indicated a problem with figures of authority and power, which may further illustrate his weak bond to conventional beliefs. John's behavioral decisions seem dominated by his own wants and desires with little regard for the rules and laws of society or external reinforcements. For example, while John was repeatedly apprehended and punished for the rapes he committed, he continued to rape. This may be founded in biosocial tendencies which favor neurological rewards. While the information available does not provide clear evidence of this supposition, it is neither refuted. Additionally, as stated in the case study of Theodore Bundy, while the

developmental and social situational circumstances of the composite serial rapist appear contributory, it seems unlikely that these conditions alone would cause extreme repetitive aberrant behaviors such as serial rape. Furthermore, the developmental and social situational circumstances alone seem inadequate in explaining why some individuals in these circumstances react by becoming serial rapists and others do not.

3. John's repeated crimes of rape appear to demonstrate all three of the previously discussed types of addicts. First, it seems that John may have felt needs for satiation which he learned to satisfy through taking possession of females' intimate apparel and through his ability to exercise control of women. Earlier in his life, John appeared to have felt dominated by women; therefore, he may have found that his needs for satiation could be met by taking revenge on those whom he blamed for frustration which occurred previously. Second, John seemed to excessively desire high levels of arousal which he may have sought through sexual experiences with women's panties and sexual acts of control and dominance. John's rape victims provided him with attentive women who may have made him feel important and powerful. Third, John's behaviors may also illustrate the excessive dependence on fantasy in his life in order to achieve pleasure or satisfaction. His fetish for womens' panties seemed to indicate his use of fantasy

experiences to excite and satisfy his sexual desires. Furthermore, fantasy experiences John associated with women's panties may often have been the stimuli which triggered his decision to rape.

Summary of Case Studies

Based on these case studies, the previously discussed interrelated propositions demonstrate the motivation and reinforcement of serial murder and serial rape as follows. First, the information about biosocial motivations is not adequate to validly draw conclusions regarding the biosocial motivations of these offenders regarding their tendencies to commit their respective serial offenses. However, there are limitations to what extent external factors to explain behavior variation among serial killers, serial rapists and non offenders whom have experienced identical circumstances. This merely indicates that further research needs to be done to make available information regarding the influence of internal or biosocial motivations on serial murderers and serial rapists.

Second, the individual development of the self and self-concept of these serial offenders appears to have had a significant influence on their behavioral choices and their perception of the value of specific deviant behaviors. This is evident in that both of these types of offenders had circumstances of frustration from their past which can be associated with their particular crimes. Additionally, both

were aware that their actions were wrong and had severe consequences, yet they chose to pursue the internal reward they appear to have received from their crimes.

Third, the societal factors of weak social bonding and social disorganization appears to provide reinforcement for their aberrant behavioral tendencies. Both of these types of offenders seemed to have weak or broken bonds to society and had learned to manipulate existing social circumstances to facilitate their crimes.

Fourth, these offenders both displayed compulsions to satisfy their own needs for intimacy and pleasure. The three previously described types of addicts, satiation, arousal and fantasy experience, all appear to be motivations for these serial offenders' criminal behaviors. Finally, these offenders appear to place the pursuit of their own constant pleasure or satisfaction above all else, and therefore seem to aspire to find the behavior which is most beneficial regardless of the consequences to others.

The discussed case history and composite study seem to assist in elucidating interrelationships between the multiple motivations and reinforcements of serial murder and serial rape. However, it is important to clearly delineate the dialectics between the contributing factors and theories which are asserted in this thesis to explain serial murder and serial rape.

CHAPTER 8

FOCUSED INTEGRATION OF THE LITERATURE

The review of the literature has provided insight into the explanation of the possible motivation and reinforcement for the crimes of serial murder and serial rape. However, none of the discussed perspectives taken alone are adequate to explain the motivations and reinforcements of the perpetrators of these crimes, because each perspective lacks adequate consideration of the biosocial, developmental and situational influences which may affect the behavior of serial murderers and serial rapists.

Because "senseless" serial crimes such as serial murder and serial rape are seldom addressed by researchers, an integrated theory is needed to better understand the motivational and reinforcement factors which influence the perpetrators of these crimes. Therefore, the five suggested ideas proposed previously to further an explanation of the motivations and reinforcements of serial offenders will be discussed based on the information reviewed about serial murderers and serial rapists.

Discussion

The five ideas presented in the introduction will now be examined in relation to the literature reviewed.

1. Serial murderers and serial rapists are fundamentally motivated by biosocial predispositions that

enhance an individual's propensity to commit their respective serial offenses.

The biosocial literature reviewed indicates that internal neurological rewards can be of more value to an individual than forms of positive external reinforcement (Bandura, 1969, 1979; Bozarth, 1988; Grove & Wilmoth, 1990; Olds, 1956; Wikler, 1973; Wise, 1981). For example, Olds' (1956) research which examined rats, demonstrated that when learned behavior resulted in electrochemical reinforcement by the pleasure center of the brain, the rats pursued the neurological reward rather than the positive external reinforcements of food. Based on this and subsequent animal experiments, Olds asserted that the human brain may also have the same capacity to internally reinforce learned behaviors which activate the pleasure center. In addition, Bandura (1969, 1979) asserts that it can be assumed that learned behaviors are reinforced because they recur. It appears that the aberrant behaviors of serial murderers and serial rapists are reinforced because they recur. Also, according to Bozarth (1988), Grove and Wilmoth (1990), Wikler (1973), and Wise (1981), the apparent lack of external reinforcement, which is a characteristic of these serial offenses, may indicate that internal neurological rewards caused by the dopamine system occur and reinforce the crimes of serial murder and serial rape.

Additionally, based on the biosocial literature which addressed the interaction of brain functions and aggression (Bandura, 1979; Bandura et al., 1975; Ginsburg, 1971, 1978; Gottesman, 1974; Petri, 1991), it appears that the highly aggressive behaviors serial killers and serial rapists exhibit are likely to be exacerbated by predispositions towards aggressiveness. Research indicates that the interaction of aggressive predispositions and social circumstances in which an individual learns extremely aggressive behaviors can partially account for the occurrence of violent behaviors (Bandura, 1979; Ginsburg, 1971, 1978; Gottesman, 1974; Petri, 1991). Therefore, it would seem that the interaction between a serial murderer's or a serial rapist's predisposition towards aggressiveness and social circumstance may also partially explain the occurrence of these particular serial offenses. The research of Bandura (1969, 1979), Bandura et al. (1975), Bozarth (1988), Grove and Wilmoth (1990), Ginsburg (1971, 1978), Gottesman (1974), Olds (1956, 1973), Petri (1991), Wikler (1973) and Wise (1981) seems to support the influence of biosocial predispositions on behavior. Thus the literature reviewed maintains the plausibility that these biosocial motivations and reinforcements are fundamental to the commission of serial murder and serial rape.

2. The individual psychological development of a serial murderer's and a serial rapist's self and self

concept influences behavioral choices that are then repeated based on the value of the rewards to the offender, which result from those behavioral choices.

The work of Mead (1934), Feldman et al. (1990), Cooley (1904), Kohut (1971, 1972) and Kohut and Wolf (1973) indicate the importance of the development of an individual's self and self concept because these individual constructs affect behavioral choices and successful interaction of an individual within society. Furthermore, Mead (1934) suggested that the processes of the self and stages of the development of self are influenced by environment and circumstance. Considering common developmental circumstances for serial murderers and serial rapists, which typically includes various forms of child abuse, it would likely follow that the self and self concept of serial murderers and serial rapists would be somewhat eccentric. Cooley (1904) hypothesized that the development of an individual's perception of himself is based upon how others perceive and respond to him. This in turn influences the individuals' responses toward the society which has responded to him. One may conclude that a serial murderer's and a serial rapist's self concept may be affected by others' perceptions of him, and therefore his serial offenses may be his responses to the society which is responsible for how he perceives himself, in this case negatively. Therefore, the research of Mead (1934), Feldman

et al. (1990), Cooley (1904), Kohut (1971, 1972) and Kohut and Wolf (1973) seem to support the importance of the development of the self and self concept in regards to serial murderers' and serial rapists' chosen behaviors.

It has also been shown that people choose to repeat or not repeat behaviors based upon the value of the results or rewards that occur as a consequence of those behaviors (Homans, 1961). Serial killers' and serial rapists' decision making processes through which they choose to repeat or not repeat their crimes appears consistent with Homans' (1961) five interlocking propositions of rational choice. These propositions indicate that rational decision making to repeat a particular behavior depends upon five interrelated catalysts. These include the past success of the particular behavior and the value of the results of that behavior (Homans, 1961). Although the behaviors serial murderers and serial rapists have chosen appear aberrant, the decision making process to repeat those choices appears to follow the same pattern of rationality that most people use in choosing to repeat or not repeat noncriminal behaviors.

Furthermore, Homans' (1961) propositions of rational choice (1961) help to demonstrate that although the individual serial killer or serial rapists chooses aberrant behaviors, he rationally chooses to repeat these behaviors based on his perceived best interest. It would likely

follow that the atypical development of the offender's self and self concept affects the offender's perception of value and self interest, but his decision process appears to follow the same rational decision making criteria that non criminals use to decide to repeat or not repeat behaviors. The literature reviewed indicates that the offenders' self and self concept influences behavioral choices, which are then repeated based on their value to the individual.

3. Situational social factors can facilitate and reinforce the commission of serial murder and serial rape

The literature reviewed has indicated that social processes such as social control and social bonding are partially responsible for the attitudes and behaviors of individual members of society toward society and social circumstances (Hirschi, 1969; Yablonsky, 1990). Specifically, Hirschi (1969) asserts that the stronger an individual's social bond, determined by his levels of attachment to, commitment to, involvement in and shared beliefs with society, the less likely he is to commit criminal or deviant behaviors. Based upon Hirschi's components of social bond, it appears that serial murderers and serial rapists tend to have weak or broken bonds with society.

Therefore, one may conclude the social rules for behavior and systems of social control may hold little meaning to serial murderers and serial rapists; they may

perceive that they rules do not apply to them.

Additionally, it has been demonstrated that social control and social bonding processes affect the social structure and contribute to social disorganization (Blumer, 1937, 1955; Elliot & Merril, 1941; Kramer, 1943; Park & Burgess, 1921; Turner, 1954). It appears that social disorganization in turn, may enable serial murderers and serial rapists both the opportunity to commit the crimes of their choice and a probability of avoiding punishment for their offenses.

The work of Yablonsky (1990), Hirschi (1969), Elliot and Merril (1941), Blumer (1937, 1955), Kramer (1943) and Turner (1954) seems to support the assertion that the social processes of social control and social bond may have influence on the attitudes and behaviors of serial killers' and serial rapists' toward the greater society. Therefore, this literature indicates the plausibility that situational social factors can facilitate and further reinforce the commission of serial murder and serial rape.

4. Serial murderers and serial rapists exhibit clear characteristics of addiction.

Based upon the research of Milkman and Sunderwirth (1987) and Nakken (1988) regarding addiction, addictive behaviors are extreme methods of seeking pleasure and satisfaction and dealing with stress. Through the comparison of the behavioral characteristics of serial murderers and serial rapists (Hazelwood & Burgess, 1987;

Hazelwood & Warren, 1989; Hickey, 1991; Holmes & DeBurger, 1988; Levin & Fox, 1985) and the characteristics of addicts (Milkman & Sunderwirth, 1987; Nakken, 1988), serial offending has been shown to be a likely form of addiction. Furthermore, the basic motivations of addicts identified by Milkman and Sunderwirth (1987) seem to parallel the motivations identified by the typologies of serial murderers and serial rapists developed by Holmes and DeBurger, (1988), and Groth, Burgess, and Holstrom (1977). For example, both addicts and serial offenders appear to be motivated by drives for satiation, arousal, and fantasy.

Additionally, the motivational and reinforcement processes of addiction noted by Solomon (1980) and Wikler (1973) appear valuable in explaining learning and biochemical processes which may motivate and reinforce individuals to commit and repeat serial murder and serial rape. It has previously been indicated that these offenses are likely forms of addiction because of common characteristics and parallel motivations. It would likely follow that the biochemical processes which reinforce addiction may also reinforce serial murder and serial rape.

The work of Milkman and Sunderwirth (1987), Nakken (1988), Wikler (1973) and Solomon (1980) appear to support the idea that serial murder and serial rape are forms of addictive behavior and thus also support the notion that these offenders exhibit clear characteristics of addiction.

5. Serial murderers and serial rapists choose their particular offenses based upon their perceptions of what activities and behaviors are most beneficial.

An underlying assumption in all of the literature regarding motivation and reinforcement (Bandura, 1969, 1979; Bandura et al., 1975; Blumer, 1937, 1955; Bozarth, 1988; Cooley, 1904; Elliot & Merril, 1941; Feldman et al. 1990; Ginsburg, 1971, 1978; Gottesman, 1974; Grove & Wilmoth, 1990; Hirschi, 1969; Homans, 1961; Kohut, 1971, 1972; Kohut & Wolf, 1973; Kramer, 1943; Mead, 1934; Milkman & Sunderwirth, 1987; Nakken, 1988; Olds, 1956, 1973; Petri, 1991; Solomon, 1980; Turner, 1954; Wikler, 1973; Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985; Wise, 1981) is that humans and animals choose to behave in ways which assist in their own individual pursuit of pleasure, satisfaction and avoidance of pain. Variation between individuals in biosocial behavioral tendencies, developmental and social circumstances does not appear to change this most basic hedonistic motivation. However, the variation does seem to influence an individual's perspectives and decisions. Therefore, the assumed primary hedonistic motivation interacts with biosocial behavioral tendencies, developmental and social circumstances and seems to affect an individual's perception of beneficial behaviors. Hence, serial murder and serial rape appear to be the offender's

choice of behaviors, which he perceives as the best method of pursuing self satisfaction, pleasure, or avoiding pain.

Additionally, what may separate these offender's from conforming members of society is the affect the biosocial, developmental and social situational circumstances have on this most fundamental motivation. The research in this thesis regarding individual motivation and reinforcement (Bandura, 1969, 1979; Bandura et al., 1975; Blumer, 1937, 1955; Bozarth, 1988; Cooley, 1904; Elliot & Merrill (1941), Feldman et al., 1990; Ginsburg, 1971, 1978; Gottesman, 1974; Groth, Burgess & Holstrom, 1977; Grove & Wilmoth, 1990; Holmes & DeBurger, 1988; Homans, 1961; Kramer, 1943; Mead, 1934; Milkman & Sunderwirth, 1987; Nakken, 1988; Olds, 1956, 1973; Petri, 1991; Turner, 1954; Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985; Wikler, 1973; Wise, 1981) therefore appears to support the idea that a serial murderer or a serial rapist chooses his offenses based upon his perception of what activities or behaviors benefit him the most.

Integration

Through the integration of these ideas, an understanding of the motivation and reinforcement of serial murder and serial rape is elucidated. Fundamental biosocial motivations which predispose an individual to excessively endeavor to achieve internal rewards and act aggressively can affect an individual's development, if developmental circumstances strengthen and activate those predispositions.

For example, from the literature reviewed (Levin & Fox, 1985; Holmes & DeBurger, 1988; Hickey, 1991; Hazelwood & Burgess, 1987; Hazelwood & Warren, 1989), it seems that child abuse, which is common to serial murderers and serial rapists, may be a developmental circumstance which can strengthen and activate biosocial predispositions to seek out neurological rewards and to act on aggressive tendencies (Bandura, 1979; Bandura et al., 1975).

Additionally, although it appears that serial murderers' and serial rapists' primary motivations may be initiated by biosocial and developmental sources, significant social situational factors also seem to influence the likelihood that an individual will become a serial murderer or a serial rapist. Specifically, social bonding has been shown to be a social process which is important in determining the extent to which an individual will conform to social rules and regulations. When an individual's social bond is weak or broken, one's propensity to commit crime may increase (Hirschi, 1969). While the developmental circumstances seem to contribute to social conformity (Cooley, 1904; Feldman et al., 1990; Kohut, 1971, 1972; Kohut & Wolf, 1973, Mead, 1934), it also seems likely that variation between individuals' biosocial behavioral predispositions may affect the social bonding process and in turn influence the strength of individuals' social bonds.

Likewise, the review of social disorganization (Blumer, 1937, 1955; Elliot & Merrill, 1941; Kramer, 1943; Park & Burgess, 1921; Turner, 1954) indicated that ineffective social control and social bonding contributes to social disorganization which in turn may facilitate opportunities for serial killers and serial rapists to commit their crimes. Therefore, through the interaction of the perpetrator's biosocial behavioral tendencies, his psychological developmental and the surrounding social situational circumstances, the serial murderer and serial rapist is reinforced by social disorganization, which facilitates the availability of potential victims and the opportunity to commit his crimes and avoid punishment.

In summary, it is assumed that the likelihood of an individual to develop into a serial killer or a serial rapist depends upon the influence of biosocial, developmental and social situational factors. Given that all of these factors may contribute to an individual's behavioral motivation and reinforcement, they may influence the behaviors chosen, through which the individual pursues pleasure, satisfaction and the avoidance of pain. While other members of society may choose other behaviors or substances as methods through which to deal with personal experience and circumstances, serial murderers and serial rapists choose predatory violent crimes to cope with themselves, others, the social environment, and to pursue

sources of self satisfaction and pleasure. The previously discussed interrelated ideas demonstrate the multiple influences which affect the choices of serial murderers and serial rapists. The relationships between the biosocial, developmental and situational factors proposed is illustrated in Figure 2 (see page 125). The arrow between the smaller boxes represents the dialectics of the relationships between the biosocial predispositions, developmental influences on the self and self-concept, and the situational circumstances that affect social control, social bonding and social disorganization.

The interrelationships between the discussed causal influences of serial murder and serial rape have been clarified. It is important now to discuss the possible contribution to the social sciences and implications of this integrated explanation. These issues, as well as a discussion of the need for further research on serial murder and serial rape is presented in the following chapter.

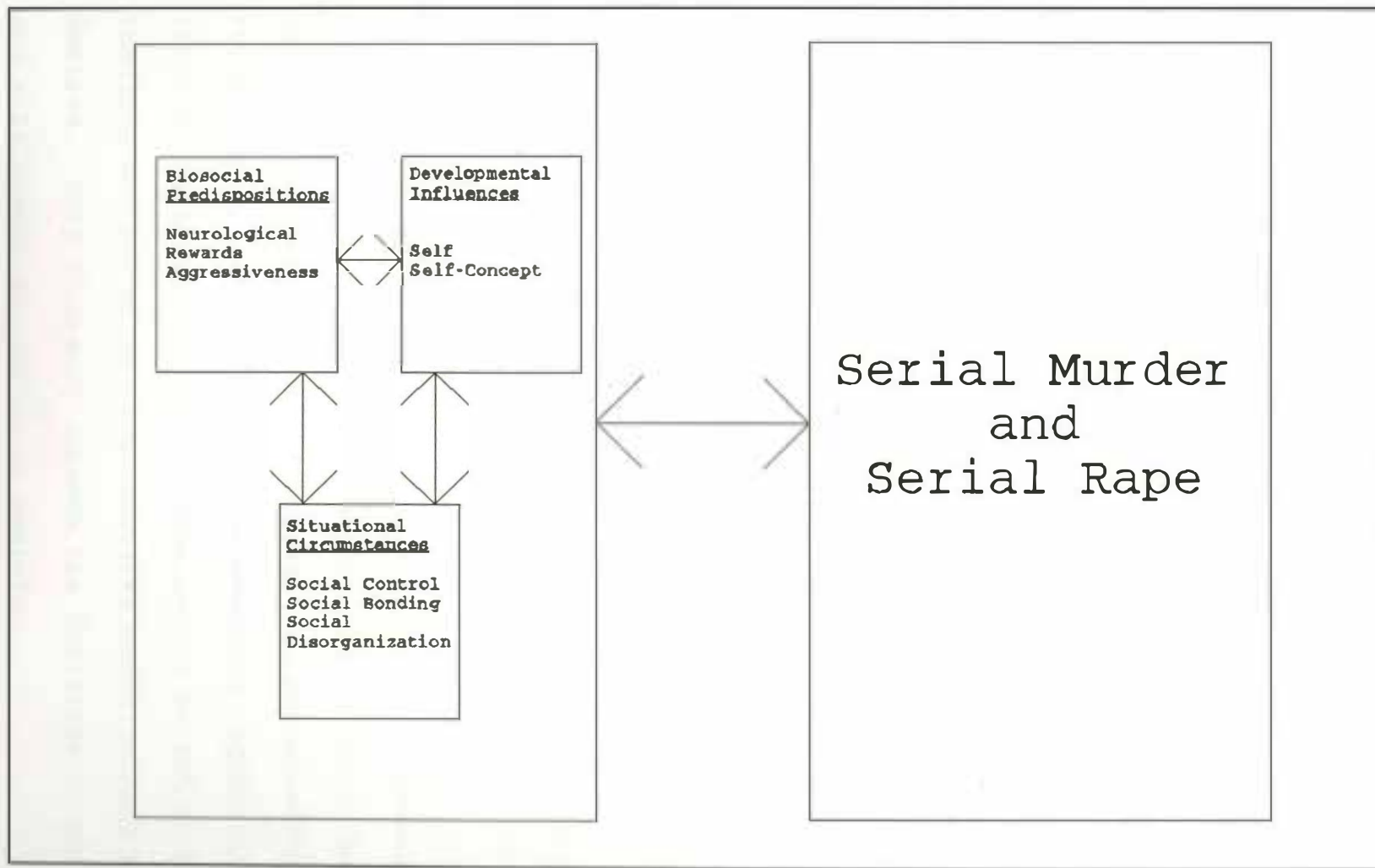


Figure 2. Relationship between biosocial, developmental, and situational factors of serial murder and serial rape.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS

Summary and Critique of Thesis Explanation
of Serial Murder and Serial Rape

Summary

This thesis explanation of serial murder and serial rape may be described as a metaphorical jigsaw puzzle in that the proposed explanation indicates that the likelihood of an individual becoming a serial murderer or serial rapist is dependent upon multiple interrelated causal elements. The primary assumption of this explanation is that in order to understand the motivations and reinforcements of serial murder and serial rape, biosocial, developmental and social situational influences on behavior must all be considered. This explanation is summarized as follows.

1. Serial murderers and serial rapists commit their crimes compulsively in an attempt to acquire internal pleasure and satisfaction.
2. Serial murderers' and serial rapists' developmental circumstances are such that inherent tendencies to desire neurological rewards, and of aggression, are elicited and strengthened. Through these developmental circumstances (such as child abuse) the offender learns to act on aberrant impulses and learns to find behaviors which satisfy those desires. This adversely impacts the individual's ability and willingness to conform to society.

3. Although the primary motivation of these offenders appears to come from within, and society as a whole condemns these crimes, social values and social environments seem to facilitate and reinforce serial murder and serial rape.

Through the application of the interrelated ideas discussed in this explanation, the case studies have provided an illustration of its plausibility. However, the generalizability of this explanation has yet to be considered.

Critique

It has been the objective of this thesis to develop an integrated explanation of serial murder and serial rape, which considers the primary motivations and reinforcements of these criminal behaviors. This task has been implemented through the review and integration of existing theoretical concepts that may explain both the internal and external motivations and reinforcement of serial murderers' and serial rapists' aberrant behaviors. As an integrated explanation, emphasis has been placed on the relationships between the proposed causal factors. However, the utility of the explanation of serial offending in this thesis seems limited to propagating further research. Primarily this limitation stems from the difficulty of empirically testing and measuring the influence of biological factors that seem to interact with social circumstances and predispose individuals to certain behaviors. While there is ongoing

research specifically focusing on neurology and behavior, substantiated information on the relationship between neurology and behavior is currently limited. This limitation creates a significant obstacle to the verification and quantification of this particular variable within the developed explanation of serial murder and serial rape.

However, Liska et al. (1989, p. 18) assert that "a clear sign of a successful theoretical integration will be the emergence of theoretical statements which will open up new research agendas." Therefore, despite the current technical limitations, the usefulness of this explanation lies in its ability to generate new "intellectual puzzles" (Liska et al., 1989, p. 18) and stimulate research in the biosocial connection between the brain and learned behaviors of serial murder and serial rape. Should technical advancements be made, such research conducted and this explanation further substantiated, the implications of this explanation may include the plausibility of preventing serial murder and serial rape.

Implications Regarding the Prevention of Serial Murder and Serial Rape

The offenses of serial murder and serial rape are described in this thesis as progressively developing individual tendencies that are rooted in biology, yet dependent upon the external enabling of innate tendencies.

Because the developmental environment appears to be crucial to the activation of biosocial predispositions, there is substantial promise for preventative measures which may inhibit further growth in the rising number of serial murderers, serial rapists and their victims. These preventative measures include prevention through social practices and public policy.

Prevention Through Social Practices

The prevention of serial murder and serial rape may begin by cultivating methods of changing social practices which appear to enhance and individual's likelihood of developing into a serial murderer or a serial rapist. Three major social institutions which seem capable of deterring the early developmental progress of potential serial murderers and serial rapists, include the family, social services and the juvenile justice system.

As previously discussed, the family is an initial source of socialization (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985). Therefore, the family seems to be a likely place to begin preventing the development of serial murderers and serial rapists. The family has been shown to be partially responsible for the promotion of an individual offender's aberrant self and self-concept, through events such as child abuse, which may in turn encourage eccentric behavioral choices. Alternately, family members may be able to detect early a child's aberrant behavioral tendencies and intervene

by facilitating the development of a positive self and self-concept through attentive and nurturing treatment.

Therefore, if social emphasis is placed on providing positive family environments for children, progress may be made in diverting the development of the aberrant self and self-concept which appear to contribute to the eccentric behavioral decisions of serial murderers and serial rapists.

Additionally, governmental departments of social services and juvenile justice may also be able to implement programs to prevent troubled children from developing into serial murderers and serial rapists. Social Services could encourage positive family environments by providing counseling to concerned families with children who exhibit deviant tendencies. Furthermore, the juvenile justice system could implement early treatment and supervision of young delinquents who commit compulsive and "senseless" crimes. The key to all of these measures of prevention is the early detection of aberrant behavior and intervention in detrimental developmental processes which appear to affect an individual's behavioral choices.

Prevention Through Public Policy

Prevention through public policy may entail the use of policies and laws which enforce the previously described social practices, and administer the handling of convicted serial murderers and serial rapists in the most appropriate manner. These offenders have been shown to be addicts to

their compulsive and destructive behaviors. While alcoholics and drug addicts may feasibly distance themselves from their sources of compulsion, this does not appear to be plausible for serial murderers and serial rapists. The extreme destruction these offenders are capable of imposing on society makes treatment a high-risk option for dealing with serial murderers and serial rapists. Therefore, after an individual has developed this type of destructive compulsive tendency, the most appropriate manner of preventing the further victimization of society may be permanent isolation through incarceration.

In conclusion, social practices enacted to alter developmental environments and change those social circumstances which facilitate and reinforce serial murder and serial rape, may result in a decreasing number of serial offenders. This, one would hope, would then result in a decreasing number of victims because fewer individuals would be exposed to the successive elements of reinforcement which promote these crimes. Because it appears that there is promise for early intervention and prevention of serial murder and serial rape, further research of this growing trend in criminality and of this explanation seems important.

Call for Further Research

A problematic issue of this integrated explanation of serial murder and serial rape is the assertion of biosocial

variation which may predispose some individuals to seek neurological rewards and express aggression through serial offenses. It has been suggested that serial murderers and serial rapists share negative developmental experiences such as child abuse and exposure to social influences such as pornography and detective magazines with many individuals who do not become perpetrators of these crimes. Therefore, it seems logical that some predisposition within the offender may be that which separates those, who when put in an enabling environment develop excessively destructive behavioral patterns from those who in the same enabling environment do not. While the amount of literature which addresses biosocial tendencies appears to be increasing, the empirical research to support and explain human neurology and predispositional desires and tendencies, seems quite limited. Hence, in order to further explore the applicative value of this explanation of serial murder and serial rape a call for research is needed which focuses on the ability to measure individual neurological chemical capacity to influence behavior, as well as a more complete understanding of the variation which exists in innate human aggressiveness. Future technological advancements in biosocial research utilized in the research of serial murder and serial rape may advance the ability to predict and prevent these crimes.

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