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OFFENDER CHARACTERISTICS: THE CONSTRUCTS OF MOTIVES, PERSONALITY, AND BEHAVIOR

As articulated in chapter 7, crime scene evidence is likely to be the only data that a profiling investigator will have to work with when attempting to solve a crime. From these data, the investigator will have to make predictions about the characteristics of an unidentified perpetrator. In considering how to relate pieces of crime scene evidence to offender characteristics within a scientific model of profiling, the direction of causality is likely to be the reverse of the profiling process as conducted in the field. That is, rather than positing that offender characteristics are caused by the pieces of evidence that are left at a crime scene, a scientific profiling model posits that it is an offender's characteristics that lead him to leave particular pieces and patterns of evidence during the commission of his crimes. Therefore, the goal of profiling research on offender characteristics is to empirically examine on a large scale the kinds of offender characteristics that are likely to result in particular pieces or patterns of evidence. Taken together, these offender characteristics constitute three main categories: motive, personality, and behavior.

To date, no such large-scale study on offender characteristics has been undertaken. What would be required for this endeavor would be a systematic assessment of a national sample of solved cases, examining the crime scene

evidence and the categories of offender characteristics just described, across a wide variety of crime types and offenders. As can be imagined, the investment required for a large-scale profiling research project would be significant in terms of costs, personnel, and time. However, given the appropriate approval and funding, the data are available for study. The storehouse of case information across federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies is likely to be vast.

With information on crime scene evidence and offender characteristics from a variety of sources, path models (Duncan, 1966; Werts & Linn, 1970) could be constructed and analyzed to determine the various pathways between offender characteristics and pieces or patterns of crime scene evidence. Chapter 11 discusses the methods involved in path analysis in more detail; in general, this technique allows researchers to estimate the magnitude of the direct and indirect links between multiple variables and use those estimates to elucidate underlying causal processes (Asher, 1983). As discussed in the following sections, the offender characteristics of interest to profiling consist of both observed and latent (i.e., unobserved) constructs. Any analytic tool that will be used in a scientific model of profiling must accommodate both types of constructs to provide a complete picture of important causal pathways. Path analysis would be well suited for this task because it considers both these observed and latent variables.

In the absence of information and analyses from such a large-scale research project, and with the hope that this book will facilitate such work, this chapter, chapter 9, and chapter 10 describe the components involved in examining offender characteristics and their relationships to crime scene evidence. This chapter describes the constructs of motive, personality, and behavior and discusses their relationship to a science of profiling. Chapters 9 and 10 discuss the relationships between motive and personality, respectively, to behavior and crime scene evidence. Examples from the criminological and psychological literature on offenders is provided in chapters 9 and 10 to illustrate how the categories of offender characteristics might interact and how findings from the extant literature might inform a more comprehensive science of profiling. Although the current offender literature consists of research conducted on a limited scale, it does provide clues for the study of offender motives, personality, and behavior and provides indicators of what scientists might find in a larger scale study.

MOTIVE

The construct of motive is concerned with the question of *why* a person engages in a behavior. The consideration of motive in profiling is based on an assumption that crimes are committed purposefully and that

the motives behind the commission of an offense can be readily discerned and used to infer other offender characteristics. Thus, discussions of motive have been pervasive in the profiling literature (e.g., Canter, 2000; Douglas, Ressler, Burgess, & Hartman, 1986; Holmes & Holmes, 1996; Turvey, 1999), with regard to both inferring motives from crime scene evidence (e.g., Douglas, Burgess, Burgess, & Ressler, 1992) and inferring other offender characteristics from motives (e.g., Canter & Fritzon, 1998). *Motive* can be defined in reference to three conceptual distinctions: motive versus intent, the existence of a motive versus the ability of scientists to discern it, and the relationship of a motive to a criminal act.

First, although it is recognized that intent and motive are related, the two terms must be distinguished. *Intent* refers to whether an offender purposefully committed a criminal act, whereas *motive* refers to the offender's reasons for doing so. This distinction is important because, for the purposes of building a science of profiling, the interesting question is not *whether* an offender intended to commit a crime but *why* he or she chose to commit a crime. This sentiment is reflected in the wealth of psychological literature devoted to the study of motive across various types of criminal offense (e.g., Burgess, Hartman, Ressler, Douglas, & McCormack, 1986; Canter & Fritzon, 1998; Farrington & Lambert, 1994; Varano & Cancino, 2001).

Generally speaking, motive requires the presence of intent. If an individual does not intend to commit a criminal act, then an inquiry into his or her internal motivations for doing so is unnecessary. The reverse is also true: The presence of intent necessarily implies motive. If an individual commits an act with purpose, then there is likely to be an explanation for that purpose. Thus, the question regarding intent is merely one of presence or absence. The study of motive, however, is more nuanced, and motives can be organized from a variety of perspectives. For example, motives can be either *instrumental* or *expressive* (Feshbach, 1964). The former are those that are directed at some goal, including financial gain, political advantage, or the elimination of an adversary. In contrast, the latter are those in which the expression of anger or other emotions is paramount. Expressive motives include such things as jealousy, sexual gratification, and revenge. Similarly, motives can also be grouped according to crime type. For example, the types of motive one would expect to find underlying a sexual offense are likely to be very different from the motives one would expect to underlie embezzlement.

Second, although the presence of intent implies that there is an underlying motive, it is not necessarily the case that researchers, interviewers, or even the offender will be able to accurately identify that motive. For example, an adolescent who throws a rock through the window of an abandoned warehouse might report that she did so because she "just felt like it." One could argue that "feeling like it" represents a motive. However, discerning

whether that actual motive was boredom, frustration, excitement, or impulsivity may be extremely difficult. In a more general sense, this distinction between the presence and discernment of motive reflects the difference between latent and observed variables, mentioned in the previous section. Motive is a latent variable in that it cannot be directly observed. Instead, researchers have attempted to discern motives by analyzing their more overt manifestations. For example, as discussed in chapter 9, both self-report data and reconstructive methodologies that infer motives from crime behaviors have been used to attempt to clearly discern the motives that underlie fire-setting behavior. Thus, even if a motive is determined to be present, the ability of scientists to discern its specific qualities relates to both the adequacy of scientific techniques for identifying and understanding the behavioral or self-reported manifestations of motives and the degree to which these manifestations accurately reflect the latent motives that are believed to generate them.

Third, a distinction must be made between motives to commit a crime or criminal acts and the way those motives and crimes are legally considered. In some situations, the law will view an individual as having committed a crime solely on the basis of that individual's behavior, without regard for the actor's intent and motive to commit the crime (i.e., the person's *mens rea*). For example, if an individual's home was searched, and a container of plutonium was discovered in her hall closet, that individual would be in violation of the law. Whether she intended to break the law is irrelevant, because simply possessing the plutonium would violate federal statutes. In profiling research, however, the presence of intent and the discernment of motives provide critical information, regardless of how the related acts are perceived by the legal system. With regard to the example just given, the interesting questions for profiling purposes would center around why this individual had the plutonium, where she obtained it, and what she intended to do with it—questions that might exceed the bounds of the specific law that was violated. For this reason, the presence of intent and motive are offered for their value in facilitating the discussion of profiling rather than for their accuracy as legal terms.

In addition to defining motive and making the conceptual distinctions previously described, understanding the construct of motive can be further assisted by an appreciation of its role in the commission of a crime. As demonstrated in chapter 9, the offender literature tends to treat motives as clear and separate entities, whereas in reality motives may be quite complex and changeable over even short periods of time. Although researchers strive to understand more specific relationships between individual motives and different types of crime and crime scene evidence, it may be worthwhile to devote equal time to attempting to understand the general roles that intent and motive can play in criminal behaviors. It may be that in addition to

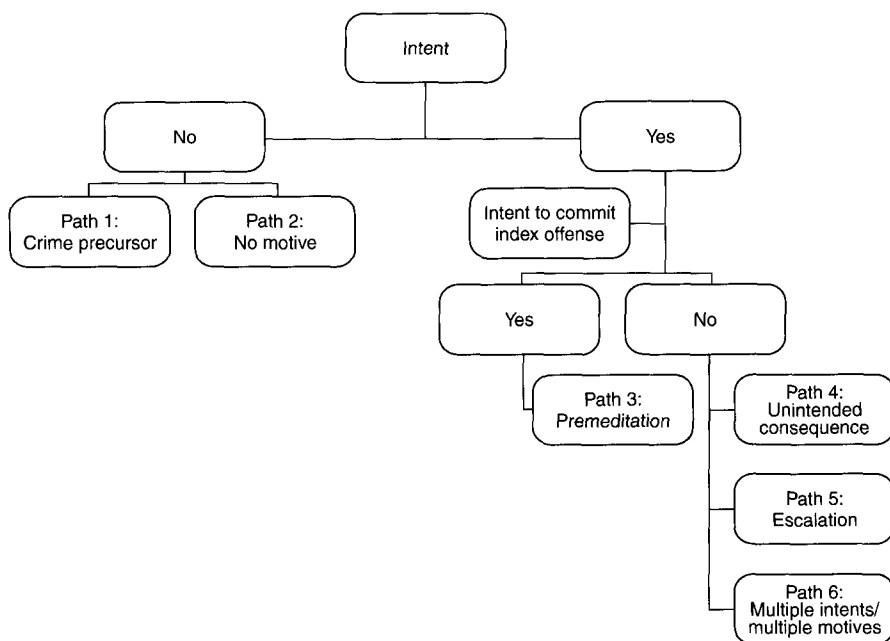


Figure 8.1. Motive pathways.

the specific content of motives (e.g., jealousy, financial gain), the timing and more general roles of motives could also differentially predict crime behaviors and crime scene features. For example, an individual whose long-standing motive of financial gain guides the premeditated murder of his brother might commit different crime behaviors and leave different patterns of crime scene evidence than an individual who, also motivated by financial gain, kills his brother in the heat of a dispute over a loan. The difference between these two crimes lies not in the specific motives, which are identical, but in the role that the motive plays in the development of the crime. In the first case, the motive appears much earlier in time and guides the offender to plan and execute the crime. In the second case, the motive arises more spontaneously and results in a more impulsive execution of the crime. The following model discusses motive in this more general context and discusses the different paths that motive may take in criminal behavior.

In the most general sense, criminal or harmful acts can be assessed according to whether there is any intent to commit a crime. Each answer, yes or no, leads to separate pathways for considering motive. This set of pathways is illustrated in Figure 8.1.

If there is no intent to commit a crime, then it remains to be determined whether there was an intent to commit some precursor to the crime. A crime precursor would involve any behavior that could and does foreseeably

lead to a later criminal behavior. For example, an individual might choose to stop taking medication that regulates his or her mood, despite having a history of becoming violent when experiencing agitated mood states. If, after having discontinued the medication, this individual then experiences a severely agitated mood and provokes a physical altercation with a coworker, the voluntary discontinuation of the medication would be considered a crime precursor. If there is no intent to commit a crime, but there is an intentional commission of a crime precursor, then there is potential value in attempting to discern a motive (Path 1). If the individual foresees potential harm, diminished judgment, or loss of control associated with a crime precursor, it could be fruitful to examine why this individual was willing to risk behaving in such a manner.

If there is no intent to commit a crime or crime precursor, there is necessarily no motive (Path 2). Examples of this type of situation would include true accidents, behaviors arising directly from medical conditions (e.g., seizures), and severe acute episodes of mental illness.

If there is intent to commit a crime, then one must determine whether there is an intent to commit the particular crime or crimes at issue. As can be seen in Figure 8.1, if the answer is yes, then the crimes involved are likely to be premeditated and might include such things as murder and burglary (Path 3). In these situations, because the crime has been committed purposefully the role of motive is likely to be fairly direct, as compared with the previously described situation of crime precursors.

If there is an intent to commit a crime but no intent to commit the index crime, then there are three basic scenarios to consider. The first scenario is that the offender sets out to commit one crime and there are unintended consequences that result in the commission of another crime (Path 4). For example, an offender may decide to set a fire at his workplace as an act of revenge for being fired. He does this over the weekend when the building is abandoned but, as it turns out, a fellow employee has come in to finish some extra work and is killed in the fire. In this situation, the examination of motive is likely to be most valuable in terms of considering why this individual started the fire. Looking into a motive for the death of the coworker, however, is unlikely to yield useful information because this is an unintended consequence. The second possible scenario is that the offender intends to commit one crime, and the situation escalates such that the offender commits an additional crime (Path 5). For example, an offender might decide to rob a convenience store. In the course of the robbery, the store clerk decides to resist and attempts to take the offender's weapon. The offender and clerk engage in a physical struggle, and the offender shoots the clerk. Again, this offender intends to commit one crime but ultimately commits an unintended, second crime. However, this scenario is distinct

from the previous scenario because the offender engages in a second set of behaviors that result in the commission of the second crime. Whereas a single set of actions in the first scenario leads to both the fire and the death of the coworker, in this second scenario the offender commits the robbery and then willingly engages in the struggle with the clerk and shoots him. Here, therefore, there may be value in examining the offender's motive for the shooting as well as the robbery. The third scenario is that the offender sets out to commit one crime and in the course of that crime develops the clear intent to commit a second crime (Path 6). For example, an offender might decide to break into a home to steal property. On entering the home, he discovers that there is a woman sleeping in one of the bedrooms. Rather than leave with the property he has acquired, he decides to sexually assault the woman. In this scenario, although the offender arrives at the house to commit one type of offense, he later forms the intent to commit the second crime. As in the second scenario, the offender commits two separate sets of criminal behaviors, but unlike the second scenario, there is no escalation of circumstance involved. Given the opportunity to leave after the completion of one crime, the offender forms the intent to commit another.

Each pathway considers motive from a slightly different perspective. Path 2 treats the situation as being without motive. Behaviors along this pathway are either accidental or otherwise unintentional. Path 1 asks what motivations lead an offender to put himself in a situation that is likely to lead to harmful behavior. Path 3 deals with offenses that are purposeful and likely to have been planned. This pathway considers motives to have been developing over some period of time, as opposed to arising out of impulse or opportunity. Path 4 inquires into the offender's motivations for committing the initial crime. Similar to the crime precursor pathway (Path 1), it might also be valuable to examine whether the offender considers secondary consequences to his actions and whether he chooses to commit an act that might result in further harm. Path 5 asks why an offender chooses to commit the initial crime, as well as why his response to an escalation of circumstances leads to the commission of a second crime. Finally, Path 6 asks for multiple motives for multiple behaviors in a criminal event.

This model suggests that motives have different paths and can develop at different points during the commission of a crime. Thus, in addition to considering specific types of motives, an important component of understanding the construct of motive is to ask whether different motive pathways (e.g., revenge, jealousy, financial gain) differentially predict crime behaviors and crime scene evidence. To date, this type of inquiry into the construct of motive has not been undertaken. Although the literature discussed in chapter 9 addresses differences between motives that are expressive versus instrumental, or motives that involve planning versus those that are more

impulsive, a more systematic and comprehensive examination of motive roles is needed to clarify the construct of motive and its relationship to criminal investigations.

PERSONALITY

Personality is perhaps the most frequently cited offender characteristic in the profiling literature. Douglas et al. (1986) described profiling as a process of "identifying the major personality and behavioral characteristics of an individual" (p. 405). Holmes and Holmes (1996) stated that "Inherent within the premise of the validity and reliability of a profile is that the person . . . has a personality that reflects pathology" (p. 2). According to Turco (1990), a crime scene is "a projection of the underlying personality" (p. 150). Turvey (1999) discussed profiling as a process that infers "distinctive personality characteristics of individuals" who commit crimes (p. 1). Also, there are numerous references to personality in the individual studies and review articles that make up the profiling research literature (e.g., Annon, 1995; Boon, 1997; Dutton, 1988; Grubin, 1995; Pinizzotto & Finkel, 1990).

Outside of profiling, the construct of personality has enjoyed a long history as a major focus of psychology research. There have been two major views of the construct of personality, each of which places a particular emphasis on either internal or external factors as essential to the definition of personality and considers personality characteristics in terms of either the person or the situation.

The Person

One view of personality, championed by Gordon Allport (1897–1967), Raymond Cattell (1905–1998), and Hans Eysenck (1916–1997), among others, holds that the essence of personality is internal to the person. According to this view, individuals have global, internal personality traits that are long-standing and stable across time, situations, and environments. For example, if an individual is said to demonstrate a high level of the trait "friendliness," one would expect that person to have been friendly for a significant portion of his or her life; to be friendly at work, home, and in recreational settings; and to be friendly to various types of people.

Researchers who approach personality from this paradigm have attempted to identify the basic personality traits important to human functioning. Allport pursued the study of traits by examining individual case histories and searching for the key traits evident in those histories (McAdams, 1990). He determined the significance of a particular trait by assessing its frequency, range of situations in which it is present, and intensity (Allport, 1961). For

example, if hostility were a particularly significant trait for an individual, this would be revealed by frequent incidents of hostility, hostility across a variety of situations, and a particular intensity when that individual was being hostile.

Cattell favored a more quantitative assessment of personality traits. By conducting factor analyses of a variety of traits, he arrived at 16 basic factors, or source traits, that he believed could be used to comprehensively assess an individual's personality. He divided traits into three categories: dynamic traits, ability traits, and temperament traits. *Dynamic traits* are those that set people in motion to accomplish goals; *ability traits* are those that determine how effective people will be in achieving goals; and *temperament traits* are related to the speed, energy, and emotional reactivity of people's responses (McAdams, 1990). Subsequent research has reduced Cattell's 16 source traits into five underlying factors, typically called the *Big Five*. Researchers have had various interpretations of how to describe these five factors (Digman & Inouye, 1986; Eysenck, 1973; McCrae & Costa, 1987), but the general dimensions involved are Extraversion/Introversion, Neuroticism, Openness to Experience, Agreeableness/Antagonism, and Conscientiousness/Undirectedness (McAdams, 1990). These five traits are believed to be the most basic descriptors of human personality.

The Situation

A second view of personality considers personality characteristics to be situationally dependent. In his controversial 1968 book *Personality and Assessment*, Walter Mischel proposed that the concept of traits as internal, stable, and global was a myth and that personality was in fact malleable and specific to individual situations. Other research findings have since supported the influence of situations on personality and behavior, highlighting the importance of gender, ecological settings, race and social class, and culture and history, among other factors (Block, 1971; Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Kagan, 1984; McAdams, 1990; Miller, 1984; Moos, 1973). Mischel's critique of the concept of personality traits began a debate between the two views of personality that still has not been conclusively reconciled. Over time, the field has settled on a compromise position whereby behavior is seen as a combination of personality traits and their interaction with the environment (McAdams, 1990).

Despite the compromise position taken by scholars in the field of personality psychology, the clinical, criminal, and profiling literatures still seem to treat personality as a trait-based construct, with little discussion of situational factors. Although the person-versus-situation debate in personality is revisited after reviewing some of the offender literature in chapter 10, for now it is noted that, regardless of one's perspective, personality, like

motive, is a latent construct in the study of offender characteristics. Whether personality comprises internal, stable traits, or varies according to context and situation, it is nonetheless an inner experience that is not directly observable. If one considers the various measures of personality in the field of psychology, such as projective tests and personality inventories, it is apparent that scholars have access to personality characteristics only when they are brought out of the individual and manifested in some type of directly observable statement or behavior. Thus, as with motive, the accuracy of the inferences that can be made about personality within a science of profiling will be directly related to the validity and reliability of the tools that are used to infer personality characteristics from statements and behaviors as well as the degree to which behaviors and self-reported statements accurately reflect latent personality characteristics.

BEHAVIOR

From a profiling perspective, offender behaviors are the characteristics that are likely to be of the most direct value in identifying and apprehending an unknown perpetrator. Behaviors are observable, tangible, and more easily described and used for investigation than are motive and personality characteristics. Motive and personality characteristics, although they are important to an understanding of offenders and their offenses, are limited in their utility for investigations in two main ways: (a) motive and personality are latent constructs that are not directly accessible and (b) using latent constructs in practice (i.e., investigations) is challenging, if not impossible. By focusing on behavior, however, investigators can access these two latent constructs.

ACCESSING THE LATENT CONSTRUCTS OF MOTIVE AND PERSONALITY

To understand why behavior is helpful in elucidating motive and personality, one should first consider the three possible methods of accessing the latent constructs of motive and personality. The first potential method for accessing latent motive and personality characteristics is projective testing. Projective tests, which are rooted in the psychoanalytic tradition, attempt to tap into internal motivations and personality characteristics by presenting the respondent with ambiguous stimuli, such as pictures and ink blots, and asking him or her to interpret these stimuli in some meaningful way. Examples of projective tests include the Rorschach Inkblot Test (Rorschach, 1921) and the Thematic Apperception Test (Murray, 1943). Because the

stimuli used in these tests are ambiguous, the individual's responses are believed to reflect his or her subconscious motives, needs, and drives. As mentioned in chapter 5, projective tests have come under increased scrutiny by the scientific community (e.g., Lilienfeld, Wood, & Garb, 2000). Although the techniques are described briefly here because they were designed to assess latent internal states and because they continue to be used by some researchers in the study of offenders (e.g., Turco, 1990), they are not included in the discussions of motive and personality that follow in chapters 9 and 10. Criticisms of the use of projective measures in a scientific context render them unsuitable for inclusion in a scientific model of profiling.

The second method used to access offender motive and personality is self-report. Self-reported motives or personality characteristics can be direct (e.g., "I killed her for the insurance money"; "I am a friendly, outgoing person"), or they can be assessed through self-report inventories. Self-report inventories are typically paper-and-pencil questionnaires that contain a variety of questions designed to tap into various personality constructs. Examples of these inventories include the California Psychological Inventory (Gough, 1957), the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (Hathaway & McKinley, 1983), and the Millon Clinical Multiaxial Inventory (Millon, 1982). As discussed further in chapters 9 and 10, self-report methods in research are both widely used and problematic, particularly with regard to offenders. Although numerous studies have been conducted on offenders using self-report inventories (see chap. 10), results have yielded few consistent, valid, or practical inferences that can be offered to investigators with regard to motive and personality. Thus, although self-report research should not necessarily be abandoned, it is not an ideal method with which to assess offender motive and personality. In terms of its utility for investigation, self-report is simply not a viable way to access information about offender motives and personality. This is because self-reported data are not likely to be available from an offender until after he is apprehended, at which point the investigation will have already been successful.

The third potential method for accessing latent offender motive and personality characteristics is through studying their expression in behaviors. Behaviors have an advantage over both projective and self-report measures in that they can be directly observed rather than being filtered through an offender's self-description or interpretation. To the extent that latent motive and personality characteristics are accurately reflected in behavior, behavioral observation allows an assessment of these characteristics in a more direct and tangible manner. For example, whereas hostility is an internal state that is not directly observable, the manifestation of hostility as aggression is observable. As a behavior, aggression can be observed, measured, and even further operationalized in such examples as physical fighting, verbal insults, and throwing objects.

USE OF LATENT CONSTRUCTS IN INVESTIGATION

Motive and personality are also limited in their utility for investigations because, without translating them into behavioral characteristics, the description and use of latent or internal states for investigative purposes is challenging. For example, an investigative effort directed at urging law enforcement officers and members of the community to be on the lookout for a narcissistic offender motivated by greed would not likely prove fruitful. The description and use of behavioral information, although not perfect, achieves a higher degree of precision and utility. Thus, describing the narcissistic, greed-motivated offender as an individual who primarily targets affluent homes and financial institutions, who is not likely to display empathy for victims, and who is more likely to commit suicide than surrender if cornered, brings law enforcement a step closer to identifying the offender. Furthermore, depending on the amount and quality of crime scene evidence and the strength of the relationships between internal states and offender behaviors, there is a wide range of predictable offender behaviors possible, from broader behaviors, such as social relationships and associations, to very specific choices, such as vehicle selection. Thus, behaviors represent the transformation of motive and personality into usable variables for investigation. Behaviors are external to the offender, directly observable, and can be described and used by members of both law enforcement and the public.

INFERRED BEHAVIORS AND PREDICTED BEHAVIORS

There are two different levels of offender behavior relevant to a science of profiling: inferred behaviors and predicted behaviors. At the first level, there are behaviors that can be inferred from crime scene evidence. These are the types of behaviors that are discussed in chapter 7 with regard to crime reconstruction. For example, if a portion of the crime scene evidence in a given case consists of shell casings, a victim with a bullet wound, and a bullet recovered from the victim's body, then one can logically infer that the offender's behavior included firing a gun.

Inferred behaviors have also been discussed in the existing profiling models (see chaps. 2 and 3) under the rubric of *modus operandi* (MO) and *signature*. As described by these models, MO consists of those behaviors necessary to the successful commission of a crime. For example, committing a crime at night, breaking into a home through a back window, wearing gloves, and stealing valuable items are all elements of a burglar's MO. *Signature* is described as consisting of those behaviors that fulfill some type of deeper psychological need within the offender. Examples of signature behaviors might include ritualistic posing of bodies, asking victims to say

or do particular things, and choosing a particular physical type of victim. Although these other profiling models appear to treat MO and signature as special cases of behavior worthy of separate study, within a scientific model of profiling these constructs can be considered to be part of the construct of behavior previously described, for two reasons. First, as discussed in chapter 3, there is no clear evidence to demonstrate that MO and signature represent special types of behavior; neither is there sufficient information provided by the extant profiling models to effectively distinguish between the two terms. Instead, there is a commonality between existing definitions of MO and *signature* in that both terms are considered to be behaviors. Barring compelling evidence that demonstrates that MO and signature are distinct from the types of behavior discussed in this chapter, they should be considered as part of other offender behaviors. Second, another common feature of MO and signature appears to be that both are behaviors that reflect an offender's objectives and inner needs. This is consistent with this chapter's description of behavior as reflecting latent aspects of motive and personality. This book therefore considers the types of behaviors that might be considered by other profiling models to be representative of MO and signature to fall under the more general category of inferred behaviors.

At the second level there are the behaviors that can be used to identify and apprehend an unknown offender. In some cases, these will incorporate behaviors from the first level. For example, the first-level crime scene behavior, "fired a gun," predicts the second-level offender behavior, "fires gun." In other cases, personality or motive characteristics will have to be inferred from behaviors on the first level, and these characteristics will then be used to predict behaviors on the second level. For example, the first-level crime scene behavior "fired a gun" might also predict a certain degree of hostility in the offender's personality. Hostility might in turn predict a prior history of altercations with the victim or with other individuals and might predict prior convictions for assault or other arrests for public disturbances. In addition to those second-level behaviors that are inferred from first-level behaviors, or from motive and personality characteristics that are derived from first-level behaviors, it is also possible that second-level behaviors will also be predictable from other second-level behaviors, either directly or by means of other motive and personality characteristics. For example, the second-level behavior "previous conviction for assault" might lead to the further prediction that the offender will have acquired prison-related tattoos. Likewise, the second-level behavior "previous conviction for assault" might be indicative of a certain degree of impulsivity, which might in turn predict behaviors related to poor credit and financial instability.

As demonstrated by the complexity in these different levels, it is impossible to consider offender behavior as an independent construct. Instead, in the same way that motive and personality characteristics are of

limited use to investigations without a consideration of behavior, behavior is also inextricably related to motive and personality and cannot be considered in isolation from the offender characteristics that generate it. Even in cases in which it is possible to go directly from a single first-level behavior to a single second-level behavior, the constellation of behaviors that would be necessary to provide a comprehensive picture of an offender that would be of value to law enforcement requires considering the plausible internal motivational and personality states of offenders and determining the plausible range of behaviors that are consistent with those states. For this reason, chapters 9 and 10 discuss motive and personality together with a consideration of their relationships to behavior, to more adequately reflect the interplay between these three offender characteristics.