

victim, (2) to commit additional acts with the body, and (3) to dispose of the body. The time of day or night that the crime was committed is also important, as it may provide information on the lifestyle and occupation of the suspect (and also relates to the offender risk factor). For example, the longer an offender stays with his victim, the more likely it is he will be apprehended at the crime scene. In the case of the New York murder of Kitty Genovese, the killer carried on his murderous assault to the point where many people heard or witnessed the crime, leading to his eventual prosecution. A killer who intends to spend time with his victim therefore must select a location to preclude observation, or one with which he is familiar.

Location Factors

Information about location—where the victim was first approached, where the crime occurred, and if the crime and death scenes differ—provide yet additional data about the offender. For example, such information provides details about whether the murderer used a vehicle to transport the victim from the death scene or if the victim died at her point of abduction.

3. Crime Assessment Stage

The Crime Assessment Stage in generating a criminal profile involves the reconstruction of the sequence of events and the behavior of both the offender and victim. Based on the various decisions of the previous stage, this reconstruction of how things happened, how people behaved, and how they planned and organized the encounter provides information about specific characteristics to be generated for the criminal profile. Assessments are made about the classification of the crime, its organized/disorganized aspects, the offender's selection of a victim, strategies used to control the victim, the sequence of crime, the staging (or not) of the crime, the offender's motivation for the crime, and crime scene dynamics.

The classification of the crime is determined through the decision process outlined in the first decision process model. The classification of a crime as organized or disorganized, first introduced as classification of Lust murder (Hazelwood & Douglas, 1980), but since broadly expanded, includes factors such as victim selection, strategies to control the victim, and sequence of the crime. An organized murderer is one who appears to plan his murders, target his victims, display control at the crime scene, and act out a violent fantasy against the victim (sex, dismemberment, torture). For example, Ted Bundy's planning was noted through his successful abduction of young women from highly visible areas (e.g., beaches, campuses, a ski lodge). He selected victims who were young, attractive, and similar in appearance. His control of the victim was initially through clever manipulation and later physical force. These dynamics were important in the development of a desired fantasy victim.

In contrast, the disorganized murderer is less apt to plan his crime in detail,

obtains victims by chance, and behaves haphazardly during the crime. For example, Herbert Mullin of Santa Cruz, California, who killed 14 people of varying types (e.g., an elderly man, a young girl, a priest) over a four-month period, did not display any specific planning or targeting of victims; rather, the victims were people who happened to cross his path, and their killings were based on psychotic impulses as well as on fantasy.

The determination of whether or not the crime was staged (i.e., if the subject was truly careless or disorganized, or if he made the crime appear that way to distract or mislead the police) helps direct the investigative profiler to the killer's motivation. In one case, a 16-year-old high school junior living in a small town failed to return home from school. Police, responding to the father's report of his missing daughter, began their investigation and located the victim's scattered clothing in a remote area outside the town. A crude map was also found at the scene which seemingly implied a premeditated plan of kidnaping. The police followed the map to a location which indicated a body may have been disposed of in a nearby river. Written and telephoned extortion demands were sent to the father, a bank executive, for the sum of \$80,000, indicating that a kidnap was the basis of the abduction. The demands warned police in detail not to use electronic monitoring devices during their investigative efforts.

Was this crime staged? The question was answered in two ways. The details in one aspect of the crime (scattered clothing and tire tracks) indicated that subject was purposely staging a crime while the details in the other (extortion) led the profilers to speculate who the subject was; specifically that he had a law enforcement background and therefore had knowledge of police procedures concerning crimes of kidnaping, hiding the primary intent of sexual assault and possible murder. With this information, the investigative profilers recommended that communication continue between the suspect and the police, with the hypothesis that the behavior would escalate and the subject become bolder.

While further communications with the family were being monitored, profilers from the FBI's Behavioral Science Unit theorized that the subject of the case was a white male who was single, in his late 20's to early 30's, unemployed, and who had been employed as a law enforcement officer within the past year. He would be a macho outdoors type person who drove a late model, well maintained vehicle with a CB radio. The car would have the overall appearance of a police vehicle.

As the profile was developed, the FBI continued to monitor the extortion telephone calls made to the family by the subject. The investigation, based on the profile, narrowed to two local men, both of whom were former police officers. One suspect was eliminated, but the FBI became very interested in the other since he fit the general profile previously developed. This individual was placed under surveillance. He turned out to be a single, white male who was previously employed locally as a police officer. He was now unemployed and drove a car consistent with the FBI profile. He was observed making a call from a telephone booth, and after hanging up, he taped a note under the telephone. The call was traced to the residence of the victim's family. The caller had given instructions

for the family to proceed to the phone booth the suspect had been observed in. "The instructions will be taped there," stated the caller.

The body of the victim was actually found a considerable distance from the "staged" crime scene, and the extortion calls were a diversion to intentionally lead the police investigation away from the sexually motivated crime of rape-murder. The subject never intended to collect the ransom money, but he felt that the diversion would throw the police off and take him from the focus of the rape-murder inquiry. The subject was subsequently arrested and convicted of this crime.

Motivation

Motivation is a difficult factor to judge because it requires dealing with the inner thoughts and behavior of the offender. Motivation is more easily determined in the organized offender who premeditates, plans, and has the ability to carry out a plan of action that is logical and complete. On the other hand, the disorganized offender carries out his crimes by motivations that frequently are derived from mental illnesses and accompanying distorted thinking (resulting from delusions and hallucinations). Drugs and alcohol, as well as panic and stress resulting from disruptions during the execution of the crime, are factors which must be considered in the overall assessment of the crime scene.

Crime Scene Dynamics

Crime scene dynamics are the numerous elements common to every crime scene which must be interpreted by investigating officers and are at times easily misunderstood. Examples include location of crime scene, cause of death, method of killing, positioning of body, excessive trauma, and location of wounds.

The investigative profiler reads the dynamics of a crime scene and interprets them based on his experience with similar cases where the outcome is known. Extensive research by the Behavioral Science Unit at the FBI Academy and in-depth interviews with incarcerated felons who have committed such crimes have provided a vast body of knowledge of common threads that link crime scene dynamics to specific criminal personality patterns. For example, a common error of some police investigators is to assess a particularly brutal lust-mutilation murder as the work of a sex fiend and to direct the investigation toward known sex offenders when such crimes are commonly perpetrated by youthful individuals with no criminal record.

4. Criminal Profile Stage

The fourth stage in generating a criminal profile deals with the type of person who committed the crime and that individual's behavioral organization with relation to the crime. Once this description is generated, the strategy of investigation can be formulated, as this strategy requires a basic understanding of how an individual will respond to a variety of investigative efforts.

Included in the criminal profile are background information (demographics),

physical characteristics, habits, beliefs and values, pre-offense behavior leading to the crime, and post-offense behavior. It may also include investigative recommendations for interrogating or interviewing, identifying, and apprehending the offender.

This fourth stage has an important means of validating the criminal profile—Feedback No. 1. The profile must fit with the earlier reconstruction of the crime, with the evidence, and with the key decision process models. In addition, the investigative procedure developed from the recommendations must make sense in terms of the expected response patterns of the offender. If there is a lack of congruence, the investigative profilers review all available data. As Hercule Poirot observed, "To know is to have all of the evidence and facts fit into place."

5. Investigation Stage

Once the congruence of the criminal profile is determined, a written report is provided to the requesting agency and added to its ongoing investigative efforts. The investigative recommendations generated in Stage 4 are applied, and suspects matching the profile are evaluated. If identification, apprehension, and a confession result, the goal of the profile effort has been met. If new evidence is generated (e.g., by another murder) and/or there is no identification of a suspect, reevaluation occurs via Feedback No. 2. The information is reexamined and the profile revalidated.

6. Apprehension Stage

Once a suspect is apprehended, the agreement between the outcome and the various stages in the profile-generating-process are examined. When an apprehended suspect admits guilt, it is important to conduct a detailed interview to check the total profiling process for validity.

CASE EXAMPLE

A young woman's nude body was discovered at 3:00 p.m. on the roof landing of the apartment building where she lived. She had been badly beaten about the face and strangled with the strap of her purse. Her nipples had been cut off after death and placed on her chest. Scrawled in ink on the inside of her thigh was, "You can't stop me." The words "Fuck you" were scrawled on her abdomen. A pendant in the form of a Jewish sign (Chai), which she usually wore as a good luck piece around her neck, was missing and presumed taken by the murderer. Her underpants had been pulled over her face; her nylons were removed and very loosely tied around her wrists and ankles near a railing. The murderer had placed symmetrically on either side of the victim's head the pierced earrings she had been wearing. An umbrella and inkpen had been forced into the vagina and a hair comb was placed in her pubic hair. The woman's jaw and nose had been broken and her molars loosened. She suffered multiple face fractures caused by a blunt force. Cause of death was asphyxia by ligature (pocketbook strap)

strangulation. There were post-mortem bite marks on the victim's thighs, as well as contusions, hemorrhages, and lacerations to the body. The killer also defecated on the roof landing and covered it with the victim's clothing.

The following discussion of this case in the context of the six stages of the criminal-profile-generating process illustrates how this process works.

Profiling Inputs

In terms of *crime scene evidence*, everything the offender used at the crime scene belonged to the victim. Even the comb and the felt-tip pen used to write on her body came from her purse. The offender apparently did not plan this crime; he had no gun, ropes, or tape for the victim's mouth. He probably did not even plan to encounter her that morning at that location. The crime scene indicated a spontaneous event; in other words, the killer did not stalk or wait for the victim. The crime scene differs from the death scene. The initial abduction was on the stairwell; then the victim was taken to a more remote area.

Investigation of the *victim* revealed that the 26-year-old, 90-pound, 4'11" white female awoke around 6:30 a.m. She dressed, had a breakfast of coffee and juice, and left her apartment for work at a nearby day care center, where she was employed as a group teacher for handicapped children. She resided with her mother and father. When she would leave for work in the morning, she would take the elevator or walk down the stairs, depending on her mood. The victim was a quiet young woman who had a slight curvature of the spine (kyphoscoliosis).

The *forensic information* in the medical examiner's report was important in determining the extent of the wounds, as well as how the victim was assaulted and whether evidence of sexual assault was present or absent. No semen was noted in the vagina, but semen was found on the body. It appeared that the murderer stood directly over the victim and masturbated. There were visible bite marks on the victim's thighs and knee area. He cut off her nipples with a knife after she was dead and wrote on the body. Cause of death was strangulation, first manual, then ligature, with the strap of her purse. The fact that the murderer used a weapon of opportunity indicates that he did not prepare to commit this crime. He probably used his fist to render her unconscious, which may be the reason no one heard any screams. There were no deep stab wounds and the knife used to mutilate the victim's breast apparently was not big, probably a penknife that the offender normally carried. The killer used the victim's belts to tie her right arm and right leg, but he apparently untied them in order to position the body before he left.

The *preliminary police report* revealed that another resident of the apartment building, a white male, aged 15, discovered the victim's wallet in a stairwell between the third and fourth floors at approximately 8:20 a.m. He retained the wallet until he returned home from school for lunch that afternoon. At that time, he gave the wallet to his father, a white male, aged 40. The father went to the victim's apartment at 2:50 p.m. and gave the wallet to the victim's mother.

When the mother called the day care center to inform her daughter about the

wallet, she learned that her daughter had not appeared for work that morning. The mother, the victim's sister, and a neighbor began a search of the building and discovered the body. The neighbor called the police. Police at the scene found no witnesses who saw the victim after she left her apartment that morning.

Decision Process

This crime's *style* is a single homicide with the murderer's primary intent making it a sexually motivated *type* of crime. There was a degree of *planning* indicated by the organization and sophistication of the crime scene. The idea of murder had probably occupied the killer for a long period of time. The sexual fantasies may have started through the use and collecting of sadistic pornography depicting torture and violent sexual acts.

Victim risk assessment revealed that the victim was known to be very self-conscious about her physical handicap and size and she was a plain-looking woman who did not date. She led a reclusive life and was not the type of victim that would or could fight an assailant or scream and yell. She would be easily dominated and controlled, particularly in view of her small stature.

Based upon the information on occupation and lifestyle, we have a low-risk victim living in an area that was at low risk for violent crimes. The apartment building was part of a 23-building public housing project in which the racial mixture of residents was 50% black, 40% white, and 10% Hispanic. It was located in the confines of a major police precinct. There had been no other similar crimes reported in the victim's or nearby complexes.

The crime was considered very *high risk* for the offender. He committed the crime in broad daylight, and there was a possibility that other people who were up early might see him. There was no set pattern of the victim taking the stairway or the elevator. It appeared that the victim happened to cross the path of the offender.

There was no *escalation* factor present in this crime scene. The *time* for the crime was considerable. The amount of time the murderer spent with his victim increased his risk of being apprehended. All his activities with the victim—removing her earrings, cutting off her nipples, masturbating over her—took a substantial amount of time.

The *location* of the crime suggested that the offender felt comfortable in the area. He had been here before, and he felt that no one would interrupt the murder.

Crime Assessment

The crime scene indicated the murder was one event, not one of a series of events. It also appeared to be a first-time killing, and the subject was not a typical organized offender. There were elements of both disorganization and organization; the offender might fall into a mixed category.

A reconstruction of the crime/death scene provides an overall picture of the

crime. To begin with, the victim was not necessarily stalked but instead confronted. What was her reaction? Did she recognize her assailant, fight him off, or try to get away? The subject had to kill her to carry out his sexually violent fantasies. The murderer was on known territory and thus had a reason to be there at 6:30 in the morning: either he resided there or he was employed at this particular complex.

The killer's control of the victim was through the use of blunt force trauma, with the blow to her face the first indication of his intention. It is probable the victim was selected because she posed little or no threat to the offender. Because she didn't fight, run, or scream, it appears that she did not perceive her abductor as a threat. Either she knew him, had seen him before, or he looked nonthreatening (i.e., he was dressed as a janitor, a postman, or businessman) and therefore his presence in the apartment would not alarm his victim.

In the sequence of the crime, the killer first rendered the victim unconscious and possibly dead; he could easily pick her up because of her small size. He took her up to the roof landing and had time to manipulate her body while she was unconscious. He positioned the body, undressed her, acted out certain fantasies which led to masturbation. The killer took his time at the scene, and he probably knew that no one would come to the roof and disturb him in the early morning since he was familiar with the area and had been there many times in the past.

The crime scene was not staged. Sadistic ritualistic fantasy generated the sexual motivation for murder. The murderer displayed total domination of the victim. In addition, he placed the victim in a degrading posture, which reflected his lack of remorse about the killing.

The crime scene dynamics of the covering of the killer's feces and his positioning of the body are incongruent and need to be interpreted. First, as previously described, the crime was opportunistic. The crime scene portrayed the intricacies of a long-standing murderous fantasy. Once the killer had a victim, he had a set plan about killing and abusing the body. However, within the context of the crime, the profilers note a paradox: the covered feces. Defecation was not part of the ritual fantasy and thus it was covered. The presence of the feces also supports the length of time taken for the crime, the control the murderer had over the victim (her unconscious state), and the knowledge he would not be interrupted.

The positioning of the victim suggested the offender was acting out something he had seen before, perhaps in a fantasy or in a sado-masochistic pornographic magazine. Because the victim was unconscious, the killer did not need to tie her hands. Yet he continued to tie her neck and strangle her. He positioned her earrings in a ritualistic manner, and he wrote on her body. This reflects some sort of imagery that he probably had repeated over and over in his mind. He took her necklace as a souvenir; perhaps to carry around in his pocket. The investigative profilers noted that the body was positioned in the form of the woman's missing Jewish symbol.

Criminal Profile

Based on the information derived during the previous stages, a criminal profile of the murderer was generated. First, a physical description of the suspect stated that he would be a white male, between 25 and 35, or the same general age as the victim, and of average appearance. The murderer would not look out of context in the area. He would be of average intelligence and would be a high-school or college dropout. He would not have a military history and may be unemployed. His occupation would be blue-collar or skilled. Alcohol or drugs did not assume a major role, as the crime occurred in the early morning.

The suspect would have difficulty maintaining any kind of personal relationships with women. If he dated, he would date women younger than himself, as he would have to be able to dominate and control in the relationships.

He would be sexually inexperienced, sexually inadequate, and never married. He would have a pornography collection. The subject would have sadistic tendencies; the umbrella and the masturbation act are clearly acts of sexual substitution. The sexual acts showed controlled aggression, but rage or hatred of women was obviously present. The murderer was not reacting to rejection from women as much as to morbid curiosity.

In addressing the habits of the murderer, the profile revealed there would be a reason for the killer to be at the crime scene at 6:30 in the morning. He could be employed in the apartment complex, be in the complex on business, or reside in the complex.

Although the offender might have preferred his victim conscious, he had to render her unconscious because he did not want to get caught. He did not want the woman screaming for help.

The murderer's infliction of sexual, sadistic acts on an inanimate body suggests he was disorganized. He probably would be a very confused person, possibly with previous mental problems. If he had carried out such acts on a living victim, he would have a different type of personality. The fact that he inflicted acts on a dead or unconscious person indicated his inability to function with a live or conscious person.

The crime scene reflected that the killer felt justified in his actions and that he felt no remorse. He was not subtle. He left the victim in a provocative, humiliating position, exactly the way he wanted her to be found. He challenged the police in his message written on the victim; the messages also indicated the subject might well kill again.

Investigation

The crime received intense coverage by the local media because it was such an extraordinary homicide. The local police responded to a radio call of a homicide. They in turn notified the detective bureau, which notified the forensic crime scene unit, medical examiner's office, and the county district attorney's

office. A task force was immediately assembled of approximately 26 detectives and supervisors.

An intensive investigation resulted, which included speaking to, and interviewing, over 2,000 people. Records checks of known sex offenders in the area proved fruitless. Hand writing samples were taken of possible suspects to compare with the writing on the body. Mental hospitals in the area were checked for people who might fit the profile of this type killer.

The FBI's Behavioral Science Unit was contacted to compile a profile. In the profile, the investigation recommendation included that the offender knew that the police sooner or later would contact him because he either worked or lived in the building. The killer would somehow inject himself into the investigation, and although he might appear cooperative to the extreme, he would really be seeking information. In addition, he might try to contact the victim's family.

Apprehension

The outcome of the investigation was apprehension of a suspect 13 months following the discovery of the victim's body. After receiving the criminal profile, police reviewed their files of 22 suspects they had interviewed. One man stood out. This suspect's father lived down the hall in the same apartment building as the victim. Police originally had interviewed his father, who told them his son was a patient at the local psychiatric hospital. Police learned later that the son had been absent without permission from the hospital the day and evening prior to the murder.

They also learned he was an unemployed actor who lived alone; his mother had died of a stroke when he was 19 years old (11 years previous). He had had academic problems of repeating a grade and dropped out of school. He was a white, 30-year-old, never-married male who was an only child. His father was a blue-collar worker who also was an ex-prize fighter. The suspect reportedly had his arm in a cast at the time of the crime. A search of his room revealed a pornography collection. He had never been in the military, had no girlfriends, and was described as being insecure with women. The man suffered from depression and was receiving psychiatric treatment and hospitalization. He had a history of repeated suicidal attempts (hanging/asphyxiation) both before and after the offense.

The suspect was tried, found guilty, and is serving a sentence from 25 years to life for this mutilation murder. He denies committing the murder and states he did not know the victim. Police proved that security was lax at the psychiatric hospital in which the suspect was confined and that he could literally come and go as he pleased. However, the most conclusive evidence against him at his trial were his teeth impressions. Three separate forensic dentists, prominent in their field, conducted independent tests and all agreed that the suspect's teeth impressions matched the bite marks found on the victim's body.

CONCLUSION

Criminal personality profiling has proven to be a useful tool to law enforcement in solving violent, apparently motiveless crimes. The process has aided significantly in the solution of many cases over the past decade. It is believed that through the research efforts of personnel in the FBI's National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime and professionals in other field, the profiling process will continue to be refined and be a viable investigative aid to law enforcement.

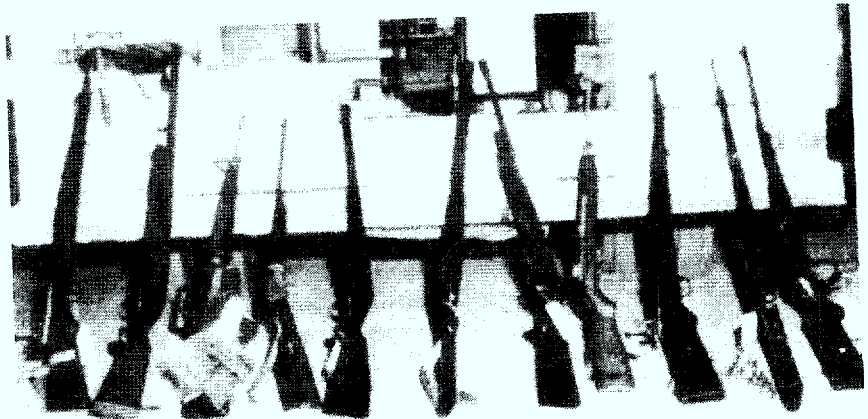
REFERENCES

- Brussel, J. S. (1968). *Casebook of a crime psychiatrist*. New York: Grove.
- Casey-Owens, M. (1984). The anonymous letter-writer—a psychological profile? *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, 29, 816-819.
- Christie, A. (1963). *The clocks* (pp. 227-228). New York: Pocket Books.
- Geberth, V. J. (1981, September). Psychological profiling. *Law and Order*, pp. 46-49.
- Hazelwood, R. R. (1983, September). The behavior-oriented interview of rape victims: The key to profiling. *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, pp. 1-8.
- Hazlewood, R. R. & Douglas, J. E. (1980, April). The lust murderer. *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*.
- Lunde, D. T. (1976). *Murder and madness*. San Francisco, CA: San Francisco Book Co.
- Miron, M. S., & Douglas, J. E. (1979, September). Threat analysis: The psycholinguistic approach. *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, pp. 5-9.
- Palmer, S. (1960). *A Study of murder*. New York: Thomas Crowell.
- Reiser, M. (1982, March). Crime-specific psychological consultation. *The Police Chief*, pp. 53-56.
- Ressler, R. K., Burgess, A. W., Douglas, J. E., & Depue, R. L. (1985). Criminal profiling research on homicide. In A. W. Burgess (Ed.), *Rape and sexual assault: A research handbook* (pp. 343-349). New York: Garland.
- Rider, A. O. (1980, June). The firesetter: A psychological profile, part 1. *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, pp. 6-13.
- Rizzo, N. D. (1982). Murder in Boston: Killers and their victims. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 26(1), 36-42.
- Rossi, D. (1982, January). Crime scene behavioral analysis: Another tool for the law enforcement investigator. Official proceedings of the 88th Annual IACP Conference, *The Police Chief*, pp. 152-155.
- Vorpagel, R. E. (1982, January). Painting psychological profiles: Charlatanism, charisma, or a new science? Official proceedings of the 88th Annual IACP Conference, *The Police Chief*, pp. 156-159.



The question remained as to whether incarcerated offenders would cooperate in such research. In order to determine the feasibility of the intended study, a pilot project was undertaken. Crimes in which the FBI either has primary jurisdiction or has traditionally assisted local agencies by providing technical assistance and special expertise, such as hostage/terrorism, skyjacking, extortion/kidnaping, assassination, and mass/multiple murder, were targeted for study. Guidelines were formulated in conjunction with the Legal Instruction Unit of the FBI Academy.

Eight convicted offenders were then approached and asked if they would be willing to be interviewed about their crimes. They were long-term incarcerated felons lodged in various State and Federal penitentiaries and were selected for the gravity of their violent crimes. The results were very encouraging. Based on this response, plans were developed for an



During the 1979 Fiesta Parade in San Antonio, Tex., a sniper, who was a former mental patient, killed 2 persons and injured 51 others, including 13 children and 6 policemen. Photos depict shooting scene and arsenal used by the sniper. Insight into the psychological behavior of persons involved in such crimes is the overall goal of this research program.



Dr. Burgess



Dr. Groth



Special Agent Ressler

extended, ongoing systematic study of convicted offenders in order to better understand the patterns and dynamics of criminal behavior. Sexual homicide was selected as the initial area of primary focus and concentration because it is a lethal type of crime that attracts a great deal of public attention.

Background of FBI Profiling

For the past few years, efforts at developing psychological profiles of suspects for individual cases of sexual assault/homicide have been undertaken by members of the Behavioral Science Unit.¹ These cases were referred to the unit by local police departments. From the available evidence and information, unit members developed a psychological composite of the suspect. The approach is one of brainstorming, intuition, and educated guesswork. The product was the result of years of accumulated investigative experience in the field and familiarity

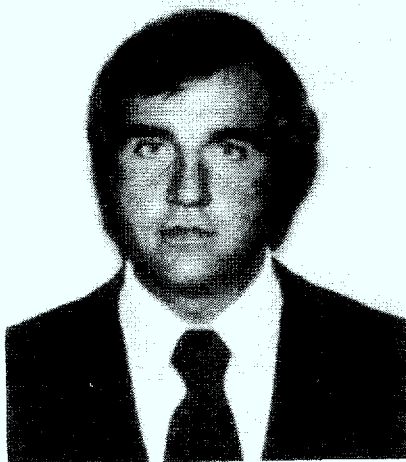
with a large number of cases. No formal data bank, however, has been developed against which new cases can systematically be compared. Also, there is little or no followup once an offender has been successfully apprehended and convicted. Consequently, there is very little subsequent input of information which would serve to sharpen and refine the existing body of knowledge.

Given the opportunity to interview identified offenders and realizing the need to develop a protocol to insure systematic retrieval of pertinent data, the Training Division engaged the services of Dr. A. Nicholas Groth and Dr. Ann Wolbert Burgess, two experts in the field of sexual assault who had been conducting specialized police schools on rape and child molestation for law enforcement agents at the FBI Academy. This professional affiliation provided a multidisciplinary approach to the study of the sex murderer, combining contributions from both law enforcement and the behavioral sciences.

From a review of the pertinent literature and from the direct, firsthand field experience and prior work of the researchers, this team proceeded to develop a data schedule for investigative inquiry and offender assessment.

This instrument provided not only guidelines for interviewing subjects but also a system of recording and coding relevant data to permit computer analysis and retrieval. This protocol (which continues to undergo revision and refinement) is divided into five sections: (1) Physical characteristics of the offender, (2) background development, (3) offense data, (4) victim data, and (5) crime scene data. It encompasses the offender's physical description, medical/psychiatric history, early home life and upbringing, schooling, military service, occupation/vocational history, sexual development and marital history, recreational interests, criminal history, the characteristics of his offense, modus operandi, victim selection, and the scene of his crime.

Once the assessment schedule had been designed, it was administered to three groups of sexual offenders—sex murderers, rapists and child molesters, and sex offenders confined to a mental health facility. During the first year (1979) of the study, interviews with 26 men who were convicted of a



Special Agent Douglas



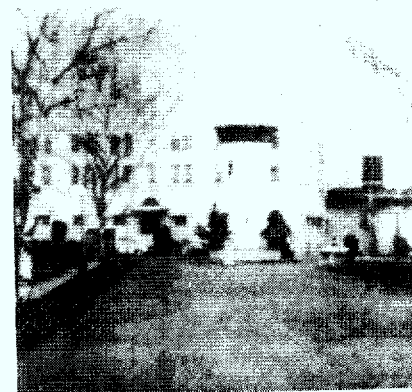
Edmund E. Kemper, a mass murderer, is interviewed by SA Douglas.

sex-related homicide and were incarcerated in various institutions across the country were completed. The second group—rapists and child molesters incarcerated in a maximum security prison—consisted of approximately 125 adult male offenders who were administered the interview schedule. These subjects were equally divided between those who had sexually assaulted adults and those who had sexually assaulted children. Sex offenders committed to a security treatment (mental health) facility following conviction but prior to disposition comprised the third group. Approximately 100 men were interviewed, again equally divided between rapists and child molesters.

Computer programs were then written to process the data. It is anticipated that as this body of data accumulates, it will provide information about a number of issues pertaining to the sexual offender.

Interestingly, institution officials have been supportive of the research investigation efforts, and the offenders themselves have been very receptive to our solicitation for their help and participation in this study. Although a few have denied or minimized their culpability, the majority have provided information consistent with the known facts of the case.

What prompts convicted offenders to cooperate with law enforcement agents? A variety of reasons exist. For those troubled by what they have done, cooperation may be an effort to gain some perspective and understanding of their behavior or an effort to compensate and make some type of restitution. Others, especially if they feel forgotten or ignored, may respond to the fact that someone is paying attention and showing some interest in them. A selected number of multiple murderers appear to be fascinated with law enforcement, as evidenced by their attempts to become identified with the profession, i.e., posing as law enforcement officers, holding positions such as security guards or auxiliary police, etc. These offenders welcome an opportunity to again associate themselves with investigative efforts. Some may expect that cooperation will result in favors or benefits; others may feel



Selected inmates of the Oregon State Penitentiary participated in the research program.

they have nothing to lose, since all their appeals have been exhausted and no realistic hope for parole or pardon exists. Finally, others may participate in the study because it provides an opportunity to dwell on and recapture the fantasies, memories, and accompanying feelings of the original offense. Whatever their reasons, noble or selfish, healthy or pathological, each in his own way contributes something toward understanding the variety and complexity of this category of crime.

Statistical Procedure

The reliability and the validity of the data retrieved from the study of these offenders will ultimately be tested by the accuracy with which predoc-trines (offender profiles) derived from this data pool are fulfilled. It is from these data that various types of offender profiles are beginning to emerge. Although no two offenders are exactly alike, and there is a wide range of individual differences found among offenders who commit similar offenses, they also share some similarities or common traits. It will be both these important differences and the important similarities that serve to differentiate and identify different kinds or specific types of offenders within the same offense category.

Goals and Purposes of Program

This criminal personality research program is designed to contribute to advances in the study of sexual homicide—a subject about which little dependable information is currently available—by establishing a national data bank from which reliable information can be retrieved. From the data derived from this research, offender

profiles will be developed based on identifiable behaviors, traits, and characteristics. The profiles, in turn, will aid local law enforcement agencies in the investigation of the crime and the identification and apprehension of offenders. In addition, such profiles and related information will serve to improve interrogation techniques and interviewing skills and to identify those techniques which will be most productive with each type of offender.

Knowledge gleaned from this research will have important implications

study, which addresses sexual assault, is unique in that it represents the combined approaches of law enforcement/criminal justice and behavioral science/mental health professionals, as well as active participation and direct contribution from convicted felons, to combat this major type of serious crime.

FBI

Footnote

¹Richard L. Ault, Jr. and James T. Reese. "A Psychological Assessment of Crime: Profiling." *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, vol. 49, No. 3, March 1980, pp. 22-25.

“. . . an extended, ongoing systematic study of convicted offenders [was initiated] in order to better understand the patterns and dynamics of criminal behavior”

for crime prevention by identifying important biopsychosocial factors of an offender. It will assist by attempting to provide answers to such questions as:

- 1) What leads a person to become a sexual offender and what are the early warning signals?
- 2) What serves to encourage or to inhibit the commission of his offense?
- 3) What types of response or coping strategies by an intended victim are successful with what type of sexual offender in avoiding victimization?
- 4) What are the implications for his dangerousness, prognosis, disposition, and mode of treatment?

Current emphasis is on the rape-murderer, since the Training Division receives annually close to 100 unsolved, sex-related homicides for review and analysis. This research program is envisioned as ultimately expanding to encompass a broader variety of felony crimes to include hostagetaking and techniques to improve hostage negotiation. A further benefit will be the improvement of techniques of interviewing, interrogation, and informant targeting in criminal and espionage matters. The present

A Psychological Assessment of Crime **PROFILING**

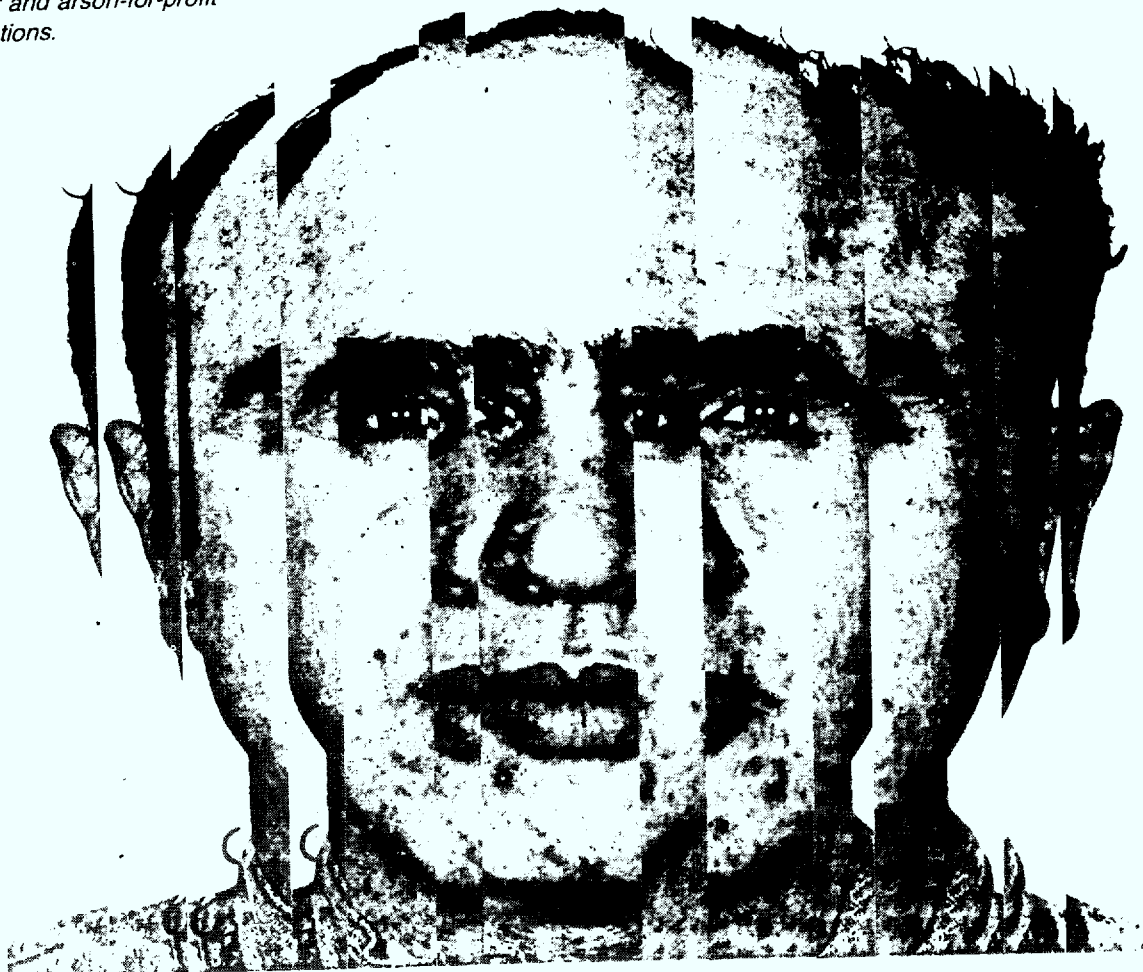
By RICHARD L. AULT, JR. and JAMES T. REESE

*Special Agents
Behavioral Science Unit
FBI Academy, Quantico, Va.*

Editor's Note: As an adjunct to its instructional programs in abnormal psychology, the Behavioral Science Unit, FBI Academy, Quantico, Va., has attempted to assist the law enforcement community in the preparation of psychological profiles in selected unsolved criminal cases. "A Psychological Assessment of Crime: Profiling" is the introductory article in a three-part series of reports on the use of psychological criminal analysis as an investigative technique. Subsequent articles will feature the specific application of this technique to lust murderer and arson-for-profit investigations.

During the summer of 1979, a woman in a suburban city on the east coast reported to the police that she had been raped. After learning the facts of this case, the investigating officer realized that this was the seventh rape within the past 2 years wherein the same *modus operandi* was used. There were no investigative leads remaining in any of these incidents. The investigation conducted thus far had yielded no suspect.

The incident reports, together with transcripts of interviews with the victims, were forwarded to the FBI Training Division with a request from the police department that a psychological profile of the suspect or suspects be provided. After careful examination of the submitted materials by the FBI Academy's Behavioral Science Unit, a psychological profile was constructed and provided to the requesting agency. The Behavioral Science Unit advised that these rapes were probably committed by the same person and described him as a white male, 25 to 35 years of age (most likely late 20's or



early 30's), divorced or separated, working at marginal employment (laborer, etc.), high school education, poor self-image, living in the immediate area of the rapes, and being involved in crimes of voyeurism (peeping tom). It was likely that the police had talked to the rapist in the past due to his being on the streets in the neighborhood in the early morning hours.

Three days after receiving the profile provided to them, the requesting agency developed approximately 40 suspects in the neighborhood who met the age criteria. Using additional information in the profile, they narrowed their investigation to one individual and focused their investigation on him. He was arrested within a week. This case demonstrates how psychological profiling can be of assistance.

The role of the police officer in American society has never been accurately defined. Daily, it seems, police are burdened with new responsibilities and are required to be experts in responsibilities already assigned to them.¹ There has, in recent years, been an increase in the public's awareness of the nature of police work. This additional insight has been provided primarily through the use of the media (TV, books, newspapers); however, this awareness is largely focused upon the police function of investigating crimes. Studies have indicated that criminal investigations actually occupy less than 15 percent of the police department's time.² The irony of this is that the function of investigating and solving crimes is extremely important to the public at large and is a major gage by which departments are rated by city officials who provide funding. This is especially true when a crime is committed which is so bizarre and shocking to the community that the public demands swift and positive action.

As the crime rate grows in this country and the criminals become more sophisticated, the investigative tools of the police officer must also become more sophisticated. One such sophisticated tool does exist and may help answer the question commonly voiced by police and others at the scene of a violent crime, "Who would do a thing like this?" This tool is the psychological assessment of crime—profiling.

The solution of crimes is the most difficult task for the police. The officer must arrive at the scene of a crime, work backward in an effort to reconstruct that crime, formulate a hypothesis of what occurred, and then launch an orderly and logical investigation to determine the identity of the criminal. During this process, items of evidence are carefully collected, identified, initialed, logged, and packaged for later examination, perhaps under laboratory conditions.

The purpose of this article is to acquaint the police officer with the fact that there are certain clues at a crime scene which, by their very nature, do not lend themselves to being collected or examined, and to familiarize the officer with the concepts of profiling. Clues left at a crime scene may be of inestimable value in leading to the solution of the crime; however, they are not necessarily items of physical evidence. For example, how does a police officer collect rage, hatred, fear, love, irrationality, or other intangibles? These aspects may be present at the crime scene but the untrained officer will miss them. Nothing can take the place of a well-executed investigation; however, the use of psychology to assist in the assessment of a crime is an additional tool which the police officer should use in solving crimes.

The purpose of the psychological assessment of a crime scene is to produce a profile; that is, to identify and interpret certain items of evidence at the crime scene which would be indicative of the personality type of the individual or individuals committing the crime. The term "profile" is defined in *Webster's Dictionary of the American Language* (1968)³ as "a short, vivid

biography briefly outlining the most outstanding characteristics of the subject." The goal of the profiler is to provide enough information to investigators to enable them to limit or better direct their investigations. For example, in one case, a profile provided enough information that officers recalled an individual whom they had already questioned that fit the profile description. When they returned to the individual, he confessed.

The officer must bear in mind that the profile is not an exact science and a suspect who fits the description is not automatically guilty. The use of profiling does not replace sound investigative procedures.

Profiling is not a new concept. During World War II, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) employed a psychiatrist, William Langer, to profile Adolf Hitler. Langer assembled all that was known about Hitler at the time, and based upon the information he received, attempted a long-range "diagnosis," as well as some predictions about how Hitler would react to defeat.⁴

Police officers are often carefully trained in the techniques of crime scene searches. Forensic scientists constantly provide law enforcement personnel with the results of research which enable officers to maintain and update skills in gathering physical evidence. The concept of profiling works in harmony with the search for physical evidence. Behavioral scientists are busy in their attempts to research and catalog nonphysical items of evidence, such as rage, hatred, fear, and love. However, these attempts are usually oriented toward therapy rather than forensic applications.⁵ Nonetheless, the results may be applied to teach police officers to recognize the existence of these emotions and other personality traits in a crime scene. Once recognized, police may then construct a profile of the type of person who might possess these emotions and/or personality traits.

The basis for profiling is nothing more than the understanding of current principles of behavioral sciences, such as psychology, sociology, criminology, and political science.

Behaviorial science is, at best, an inclusive science. It is often referred to as an "art form."⁶ However, its use does have validity in law enforcement. Human behavior is much too complex to classify, yet attempts are often made to do so with the hope that such a vastly complicated system can be brought into some control. The Diagnostic and Statistic Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM II), used by mental health professionals, is one example of this attempt.⁷ While attempts to neatly classify behavior are mostly unsuccessful, one must remember why these attempts are made. There are many types of "normal" and "abnormal" behavior.⁸ Many of these behaviors may have a label attached to them by behavioral scientists. It is most important to bear in mind that such a label is merely an abbreviated way to describe a behavior pattern. It is nothing more than a convenience by which professionals communicate. The important aspect is the specific characteristics or symptoms of each person. The symptoms are revealed in the way the individual "acts out" and in the responses which the individual may make to the professional. The labels may differ from doctor to doctor because they are simply each doctor's interpretation of the symptom.

A symptom, then, is the "visible evidence of a disease or disturbance,"⁹ and a crime, particularly a bizarre crime, is as much a symptom as any other type of acting out by an individual. A crime may reflect the personality characteristics of the perpetrator in much the same fashion as the way we keep and decorate our homes reflects something about our personality.¹⁰

A crime scene is usually confined to the area in which the crime was committed. For the purposes of this article, the term crime scene includes the following: The scene of the crime; the victim of the crime, as in the case of rape; and all other locations involved in the crime, including such areas as the recovery site when a homicide is committed in one location and the body deposited in another.

The victim is one of the most important aspects of the psychological profile. In cases involving a surviving victim, particularly a rape victim, the perpetrator's exact conversation with the victim is of utmost importance and can play a very large role in the construction of an accurate profile.

The profile is not all inclusive and does not always provide the same information from one profile to another. It is based on what was or was not left at the crime scene. Since the amount of psychological evidence varies, as does physical evidence, the profile may also vary. The profile information may include:

- 1) The perpetrator's race,
- 2) Sex,
- 3) Age range,
- 4) Marital status,
- 5) General employment,
- 6) Reaction to questioning by police,
- 7) Degree of sexual maturity,
- 8) Whether the individual might strike again,
- 9) The possibility that he/she has committed a similar offense in the past, and
- 10) Possible police record.

These profiles are not the result of magical incantations and are not always accurate. It is the application of behavioral science theory and research to the profiler's knowledge of patterns which may be present at various crime scenes.¹¹ It is important that the profiler have wide exposure to crime scenes so that he may see that these patterns may exist. It is also important that the individual attempting to profile crime scenes have some exposure to those criminals who have committed similar crimes.

The entire basis for a good profile is a good crime scene examination and adequate interviews of victims and witnesses. When officers find individuals who are willing to attempt psychological evaluations of crime scenes, they often ask the profiler what materials should be sent to him. Necessary items for a psychological profile include:

- 1) Complete photographs of the crime scene, including photographs of the victim if it is a homicide. Also helpful is some means of determining the angle from which the photographs were taken and a general description of the immediate area. One enterprising police officer developed the excellent technique of photocopying his crime scene sketch, attaching one copy to each photo, and then outlining in red the area which was included in the photograph.

- 2) The completed autopsy protocol including, if possible, any results of lab tests which were done on the victim.

- 3) A complete report of the incident to include such standard details as date and time of offense, location (by town as well as by actual site of incident), weapon used (if known), investigative officers' reconstruction of the sequence of events (if any), and a detailed interview of any surviving victims or witnesses. These items are usually a part of all investigations and do not generally require extra report writing or extra written material. Also included in most investigative reports is background information on the victim(s). Yet, this seems to be the area where the least amount of information is available to the profiler. Usually, this is because the investigative officer cannot possibly write down all of the many details concerning the victim which he collects while investigating the crime.

When the investigator provides information concerning a victim to a profiler, some items which the officer should include are:

- 1) Occupation (former and present),
- 2) Residence (former and present),
- 3) Reputation, at work and in his neighborhood,
- 4) Physical description, including dress at the time of the incident,
- 5) Marital status, including children and close family members,
- 6) Educational level,
- 7) Financial status, past and present,
- 8) Information and background of victim's family and parents, including victim's relationship with parent,
- 9) Medical history, both physical and mental,
- 10) Fears,
- 11) Personal habits,
- 12) Social habits,
- 13) Use of alcohol and drugs,
- 14) Hobbies,
- 15) Friends and enemies,
- 16) Recent changes in lifestyle, and
- 17) Recent court action.

The primary psychological evidence which the profiler is looking for is motive. After a survey of the evidence, the profiler applies an age-old rule known as "Ockham's razor" which, originally stated, is "what can be done with fewer assumptions is done in vain with more."¹² This 14th century philosophy has, in investigative circles, generally come to mean that given a problem with several alternative solutions, the most obvious answer is usually correct. An aid to the application of Ockham's razor is the intangible evidence that the observer gathers from the crime scene to tell him such things as whether the crime appears to be planned or whether it is the result of an irrational thought process.

Profiling is a valuable investigative tool but is not a magical process. Police officers do a great deal of profiling during the course of their work days. They constantly build mental images or profiles based upon crime scenes and then use these profiles in an attempt to limit the scope of their investigations. These profiles are based upon the officer's extensive knowledge of the type of crime he is investigating. When a crime so bizarre that it is out of the scope of the officer's experience occurs, there are behavioral scientists available who can assist by providing these types of profiles. The FBI provides limited service in the area of profiling and these limitations are based on the amount of time and manpower available to conduct such profiles.

Instruction is the primary purpose of the Behavioral Science Unit of the FBI Training Division. Courses in applied criminology, abnormal psychology, sociology, hostage negotiations, interpersonal violence, and other behavioral science-related areas are taught at the Academy to FBI Agents and police officers. In the past, as an adjunct to its instructional programs, the Training Division has attempted to assist law enforcement agencies with the preparation of psychological profiles. During the initial stages of the FBI's involvement in profiling, these profiles were limited to students attending the FBI National Academy. During the past year, however, over 100 unsolved cases have been received by the Training Division from law enforcement officers nationwide. Due to increased instructional and research commitments, it was necessary to implement guidelines and control measures to manage and monitor effectively this investigative technique.

It is most important that this investigative technique be confined chiefly to crimes against the person where the motive is lacking and where there is sufficient data to recognize the presence of psychopathology at the crime scene. Psychological analysis is not a substitute for basic investigative princi-

ples, and all logical leads must be exhausted before requesting this service. This technique is usually confined to homicides, rapes, etc., in which available evidence indicates possible mental deficiency or aberration on the part of the perpetrator. Cases will be profiled on a "time available" basis, with the more severe cases being given priority. It should also be understood that analysis is for lead value only, and clinical opinions will not be offered. Cases which, in the opinion of the Training Division, fail to meet these criteria will be returned to the requesting agency. Under no circumstances should physical evidence be transmitted to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, since the possibility exists that information received may not be returned to the agency.

An agency requesting a psychological profile should contact the Federal Bureau of Investigation field office located within the territory of the department and provide to them the information as requested herein. The agency should make it known to the field office that they are requesting a psychological profile from the Behavioral Science Unit, Training Division.

FBI

Footnotes

- ¹ James Q. Wilson, *Varieties of Police Behavior* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 30.
- ² George G. Killinger and Paul F. Cromwell, *Issues in Law Enforcement* (Boston: Holbrook Press, 1975), p. 212.
- ³ *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language* (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1978), p. 1163.
- ⁴ Walter C. Langer, *The Mind of Adolph Hitler* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1972).
- ⁵ James C. Coleman, *Abnormal Psychology and Modern Life* (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1980).
- ⁶ "Son of Sam: Implications for Psychiatry" (letter), *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 135 (1): 131, Jan. 1978.
- ⁷ *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, 2d ed., (Washington, D.C.: American Psychiatric Association, 1968).
- ⁸ Coleman, pp. 3-23.
- ⁹ J. V. McConnell, *Understanding Human Behavior* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Wilson, Inc., 1974), p. 25.
- ¹⁰ Sherill Whiton, *Elements of Interior Design and Decoration* (New York: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1963), p. 751.
- ¹¹ R. Brittain, *The Sadistic Murderer*, *Medical Science and the Law*, Vol. 10, 1970, pp. 198-204; Donald Lunde, *Murder and Madness* (San Francisco: San Francisco Book Company, Inc., 1976).
- ¹² *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1967), Vol. 8, p. 307.

* * * * *

SEXUAL HOMICIDE

Sexual Homicide: A Motivational Model
Sexual Killers and Their Victims:
Identifying Patterns Through Crime Scene Analysis
Murderers Who Rape and Mutilate
The Men Who Murdered
The Split Reality of Murder
Classifying Sexual Homicide Crime Scenes:
Interrater Reliability
Crime Scene and Profile Characteristics
of
Organized and Disorganized Murderers
Interviewing Techniques for Homicide Investigations
The Lust Murderer
Rape and Rape-Murder: One Offender and Twelve Victims

* * * * *



THE FORUM

The Forum presents major reviews of empirical research, theoretical conceptual formulations, or manuscripts of major significance to the field.

The findings from this exploratory study are reported in terms of the descriptive background characteristics of 36 sexual murderers, their behaviors and experiences in connection with their developmental stages, and the central role of sadistic fantasy and critical cognitive structures that support the act of sexual murder. A five-phase motivational model is presented: (1) ineffective social environment, (2) formative events, (3) critical personal traits and cognitive mapping process, (4) action toward others and self, and (5) feedback filter.

Sexual Homicide A Motivational Model

ANN W. BURGESS

University of Pennsylvania

CAROL R. HARTMAN

Boston College

ROBERT K. RESSLER

JOHN E. DOUGLAS

FBI Academy

ARLENE McCORMACK

University of Lowell

For many years, motiveless murder has baffled law enforcement officials and mental health professionals (Satten, Menninger, Rosen, & Mayman, 1960). Motiveless killings, usually serial in nature (carried out by a single individual over a period of time), leave virtually no clues about the murderer's motive or

Authors' Note: Preparation of this article was supported by Department of Justice grants: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (#84-JN-K010) and National Institute of Justice (#82-CX-0065). We wish to acknowledge gratefully Allen G. Burgess, Marieanne L. Clark, and Mary Francis Jett for contributions to this article.

JOURNAL OF INTERPERSONAL VIOLENCE, Vol. 1 No. 3, September 1986 251-272
© 1986 Sage Publications, Inc.