U.S. Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation

National Center For The Analysis of Violent Crime

NCAVC

CRITICAL INCIDENT RESPONSE GROUP
FBI Academy
Quantico, Virginia
JUNE 1998

FBI/DOJ

The Critical Incident Response Group (CIRG)

The Critical Incident Response Group (CIRG) is an FBI field entity located at the FBI Academy in Quantico, Virginia. Established in May 1994, the CIRG was designed to provide rapid assistance to incidents of a crisis nature. It furnishes emergency response to terrorist activities, hostage situations, barricaded subjects, and other critical incidents.

The CIRG is composed of diverse units that provide operational support and training and conduct research in related areas. Expertise is furnished in cases involving abduction or mysterious disappearance of children, crime scene analysis, profiling, crisis management, hostage negotiations, and special weapons and tactics.

The National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime (NCAVC)

The National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime (NCAVC), one of the major components of the CIRG, combines investigative/operational support functions, research, and training in order to provide assistance, without charge, to Federal, state, local, and foreign law enforcement agencies investigating unusual, bizarre, or repetitive violent crimes.

Investigative/Operational Assistance

The experienced FBI Special Agents and other professionals who comprise the NCAVC staff provide advice and support in the general areas of Crimes Against Children; Crimes Against Adults; and Threat Assessment, Corruption, and Property Crimes. Typical cases received for services include child abductions or mysterious disappearance of children, serial murders, single homicides, serial rapes, extortions, threats, kidnappings, product tampering, arsons and bombings, weapons of mass destruction, public corruption, and domestic and international terrorism.

The NCAVC staff reviews crimes from both behavioral and investigative perspectives. This criminal investigative analysis process serves as a tool for client law enforcement agencies by providing them with an analysis of the crime as well as an understanding of criminal motivation and behavioral descriptions of the offender. Services provided to law enforcement agencies through this process include the following:

Crime Analysis: The NCAVC staff member reviews the initial crime scene information and preliminary investigative efforts and offers suggestions that may help direct the course of the investigation.

Investigative Suggestions: Certain investigative suggestions and strategies may be offered based on a review of the entire case, focusing particularly on an evaluation of the crime scene and an assessment of the likely offender.

Profiles of Unknown Offenders: By analyzing the details by which a crime was committed, NCAVC staff members can often identify important personality and behavioral characteristics of an offender. Certain crime scenes may reveal behavioral characteristics that give clues about an offender's personality or lifestyle and allow investigators to predict future activity.

Threat Analysis: Communicated threats are evaluated to determine whether the author or caller has the intent, knowledge, or means to carry out any stated or implied threat. A behavioral description of the unknown offender may be provided to assist in identification and apprehension. Known offenders who make threats or who appear to pose a danger may be assessed for potential dangerousness, given appropriate and sufficient background data.

Critical Incident Evaluations: NCAVC staff serve as a resource to CIRG's crisis management, tactical, and on-scene commanders during crisis situations by offering overall behavioral assessment of critical incidents, crime scenes, and potentially dangerous individuals.

Interview Strategies: The NCAVC staff can make suggestions about interview strategies of subjects, suspects, or witnesses, based on a general assessment of the person and an analysis of the crime(s) and behavior exhibited. Suggestions may relate to the most appropriate type of interviewer, desirable approach, and the best environment in which to conduct the interview.

Major Case Management: The NCAVC staff can provide guidance and resources to manage and organize a major multiagency investigation, such as those that occur in child abduction or serial murder cases. Particularly helpful to those investigating the abduction or mysterious disappearance of a child is the *Child Abduction Response Plan* prepared by NCAVC staff with the assistance of and advice from FBI and police investigators who have extensive experience working child abduction cases.

Search Warrant Assistance: Research and experience have shown that certain behavior and personality traits are commonly possessed by specific types of offenders. This information can be particularly beneficial to support affidavits for search warrants.

Prosecutive and Trial Strategies: At the request of the investigating agency or prosecuting attorney, the NCAVC staff may make recommendations regarding possible cross-examination techniques for offenders or witnesses, overall prosecutive theme development, or suggestions for jury selection.

Expert Testimony: NCAVC members have qualified to testify as experts in the areas of criminal investigative analysis, crime scene analysis, violent criminal behavior, and assessment of dangerousness.

Violent Criminal Apprehension Program (VICAP): VICAP is a behaviorally-based crime analysis tool that has been significantly redesigned and structured to address violent crime problems affecting law enforcement agencies. The new system consists of a revised VICAP Crime Analysis Report and a user-friendly computer system designed to enhance crime analysis for specific violent crimes, including solved or unsolved homicides, missing persons, and unidentified dead persons. It is available free of charge to any agency willing to become a part of this effective network of crime analysis.

In addition to the above services, the NCAVC staff can coordinate and obtain other resources to apply to a given investigation. The NCAVC maintains a reference file for experts in various forensic disciplines such as odontology, anthropology, entomology, or pathology. Staff members can coordinate acquisition of special aircraft, tracking or cadaver dogs, or use of the FBI's Evidence Response Team. The NCAVC also works closely with the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children in child abductions and other child victimization cases.

Research

The NCAVC also conducts research into violent crime from a law enforcement perspective. Of primary interest to researchers is how the offenders in the study committed their crimes and how they avoided detection, identification, apprehension, and conviction. The research is designed to gain insight into criminal thought processes, motivations, and behavior. Insights gained through the research are refined into innovative investigative techniques and applied to improve law enforcement's effectiveness against the violent criminal. College undergraduates and graduate students working as interns in the NCAVC provide assistance to the staff in many of the research efforts.

Results of the research are shared with the law enforcement and academic world through publications, presentations, and training, as well as through the application of knowledge to the investigative and operational functions of the Center. Some findings are also useful to incorporate into crime prevention programs. Past and planned research includes studies of sexual homicide, serial rape, child molestation and abduction, bombing, arson, acts using weapons of mass destruction, threatening communications, and serial murder.

Training

The NCAVC staff participates in numerous training functions throughout the year. The NCAVC is represented at major law enforcement conferences such as the International Association of Chiefs of Police and National Sheriff's Association. Staff members take part as attendees and speakers at symposia sponsored by such organizations as the American Professional Society on the Abuse of Children, Academy of Forensic Sciences, International Homicide Investigators Association, American Bar Association, and the Academy of Criminal Justice Science.

Requests for training or presentations by the NCAVC should be made through the local FBI field office.

NCAVC toll-free number: 800-634-4097

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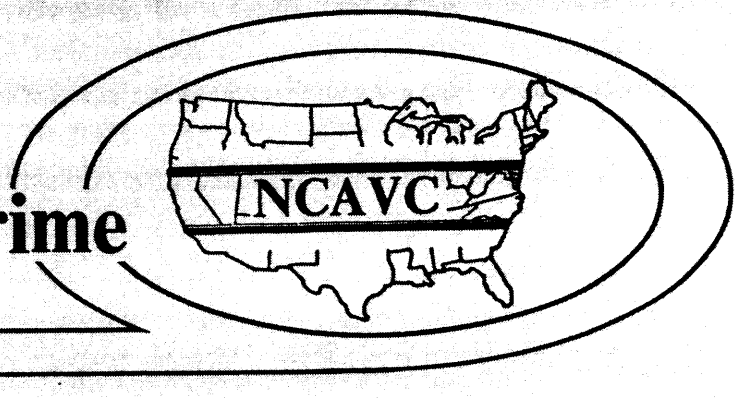

CRIMINAL INVESTIGATIVE ANALYSIS

SEXUAL HOMICIDE

1990

NCAVC FBI ACADEMY Quantico, Va.

NATIONAL CENTER FOR THE ANALYSIS OF VIOLENT CRIME

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FOREWORD

This booklet is a compilation of articles written by members of the Behavioral Science Units, National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime, at the FBI Academy. Topics covered in this booklet are:

Criminal Investigative Analysis (Profiling)

Sexual Homicide

Criminal Investigative Analysis

Special Agents assigned to the Criminal Investigative Analysis Program (CIAP) of the National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime provide operational and investigative support to FBI field offices and law enforcement agencies investigating violent crimes. The terms "psychological profile" and "criminal personality profile" are no longer used in describing the work done by the analysts. Although the "profile" or description of the type of person who would be likely to have committed the crime or crimes analyzed is part of the service provided, it is secondary to the overall crime analysis. The analysts also provide suggestions for investigative strategy, interviewing and investigative techniques, search warrant information, and prosecutive strategy. In some cases, the Agents may testify in court as expert witnesses about the process of criminal investigative analysis.

The articles included in this section describe criminal investigative analysis in general. Some articles that deal with analysis in particular crimes such as homicide or rape are included in books or sections dealing with that crime.

Sexual Homicide

The FBI's Behavioral Science Units conducted research into sexual homicide. The project involved the interview of 36 convicted, incarcerated killers, many of whom were serial killers. The articles in this section describe results of that research.

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CRIMINAL INVESTIGATIVE ANALYSIS

Criminal Profiling: A Viable Investigative Tool Against Violent Crime
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Offender Profiles: A Multidisciplinary Approach
A Psychological Assessment of Crime: Profiling

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Criminal Profiling

A Viable Investigative Tool Against Violent Crime

By
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Quickly apprehending a perpetrator of a violent crime—rape, homicide, child abduction—is a major goal of all law enforcement agencies. Unlike other disciplines concerned with human violence, law enforcement does not, as a primary objective, seek to explain the actions of a violent offender. Instead, its task is to ascertain the identity of the offender based on what is known of his actions. Described by one author as an emitter of signals during commission of a crime,[1] the criminal must be identified as quickly as possible to prevent further violence. While studies explaining why certain individuals commit violent crimes may aid them in their search, law enforcement investigators must adapt the study findings to suit their own particular needs. Criminal profiling is a tool law enforcement may use to combine the results of studies in other disciplines with more traditional techniques in an effort to combat violent crime.

The Profiling Process

The profiling process is defined by the FBI as an investigative technique by which to identify the major personality and behavioral characteristics of the offender based upon an analysis of the crime(s) he or she has committed. The process generally involves seven steps.

1) Evaluation of the criminal act itself,

2) Comprehensive evaluation of the specifics of the crime scene(s),

3) Comprehensive analysis of the victim,

4) Evaluation of preliminary police reports,

5) Evaluation of the medical examiner's autopsy protocol,

6) Development of profile with critical offender characteristics, and

7) Investigative suggestions predicated on construction of the profile.

The process used by the person preparing a criminal personality profile is quite similar to that used by clinicians to make a diagnosis and treatment plan: Data is collected and assessed, the situation reconstructed, hypotheses are formulated, a profile developed and tested, and the results reported back.

Criminal personality profiling has been used by law enforcement with success in many areas and is viewed as a way in which the investigating officer can narrow the scope of an investigation. Profiling unfortunately does not provide the identity of the offender, but it does indicate the type of person most likely to have committed a crime having certain unique characteristics.

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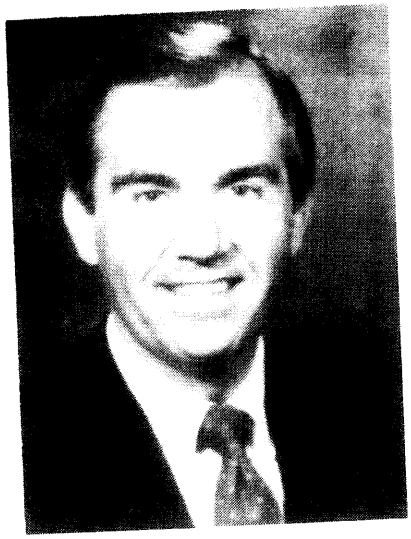

Special Agent Douglas

Special Agent Burgess

Profile Applications

One area in which criminal profiling (personality assessment) has been useful is in hostage negotiation.[2] Law enforcement officers need to learn as much as possible about the hostage taker in order to protect the lives of the hostages. They must be able to assess the subject in terms of his probable course of action and his reactions to various stimuli. In such cases, police obtain information about the offender through verbal contact with the hostage taker and possibly through access to his family and associates.

Criminal profiling techniques have also been used in identifying anonymous letter writers[3] and persons who make written or spoken threats of violence.[4] In cases of the latter, psycholinguistic techniques have been used to compose a "threat dictionary," whereby every word in a message is assigned, by computer, to a specific category. Words as they are used in the message are then compared to those words as they are used in ordinary speech or writings, and the vocabulary usage of a particular author or speaker may yield "signature" words unique to that individual. In this way, police may not only be able to determine that several letters were written by the same individual but also learn about the background and psychology of the offender.

Rapists and arsonists also lend themselves to criminal profiling techniques. Through careful interview of the rape victim about the rapist's behavior, law enforcement personnel may be able to build a profile of the offender.[5] The theory behind this approach is that behavior (sexual, physical, verbal) reflects personality, and by examining the behavior of the rapist during the assault, the investigator may be able to determine what type of person is responsible for the offense. Common characteristics of arsonists have been derived from an analysis of the Uniform Crime Reports.[6] Knowledge of the arsonist's psychodynamics can aid the investigator in identifying possible suspects, predicting location of subsequent arsons, and developing techniques and strategies for interviewing suspects.

Criminal profiling has been useful in investigating sexual homicides because many of these crimes appear motiveless and thus offer few obvious clues about the killer's identity. In murders that result from jealousy or a family quarrel, or take place during commission of a felony, the readily identifiable motive generally provides vital information about the identity of the killer. Because many sexual homicides fail to provide this information, investigators must look to methods that supplement conventional investigative techniques to identify the perpetrator.

Case in Point

Criminal profiling uses the behavioral characteristics of the offender as its basis. Sexual homicides, for example, yield much information about the mind and motivation of the killer. A new dimension is provided to the investigator via the profiling technique, particularly in cases where the underlying motivation for the crime may be suddenly hidden from even the more-

"Criminal profiling uses the behavioral characteristics of the offender as its basis."

On occasion, NCAVC profilers or major case specialists will conduct on-site consultations. Pictured from left are Special Agents Robert Hazelwood, Ray Phelps, James Wright (kneeling), Robert Ressler, and Alan Burgess.

experienced detective. The following case will illustrate this point.

During the fall of 1982, an urban Midwest police department detective telephonically contacted the FBI's Behavioral Science Unit at the FBI Academy asking for some assistance. The detective described in detail the rape/murder of a 25-year-old white married woman. The detective advised that the apartment where the victim was killed had been ransacked, but they were unable to determine at that time if anything was taken by the killer. In view of the fact that many leads were still outstanding and information concerning the autopsy, laboratory examinations, background of the victim, previously reported neighborhood crimes, etc., was still pending, the detective was advised that a profile could not be provided at that time. After approximately 1 week, the detective forwarded the necessary information to the local FBI field office criminal profile coordinator. After reviewing the case for completeness, the profile coordinator forwarded the materials to the Behavioral Science Investigative Support Unit at the FBI Academy for analysis.

Color 8 x 10 crime scene photographs re-created the crime and revealed that the victim was killed in her living room, with no evidence of any struggle or defense attempts by her. The victim was lying face up on the living room floor. Her dress was raised up over her hips exposing her genital area, and her panties were pulled down to her knees. The murder weapon (hammer) belonging to the victim was found in kitchen sink, and it appeared that the victim's blood had been washed off the hammer by the subject. Crime scene photographs further revealed that the subject opened dresser drawers and closet doors. Investigative reports indicated the victim's husband advised that jewelry belonging to victim was missing.

The victim and her husband had lived in the apartment for approximately 6 months, and neighbors and associates reported they were friendly and quiet and kept to themselves. The medical examiner concluded in his

"Profiling . . . does not provide the identity of the offender, but it does indicate the type of person most likely to have committed a crime having certain unique characteristics."

Profilers in "think tank" session. Seated: SAs James Wright, Patricia Kirby, and Ronald Walker. Standing: Lt. Thomas Cronin, Chicago PD, Police Fellow (left) and SA R. Stephen Mardigian (right)

protocol that there was no apparent indication that the victim was sexually assaulted. Laboratory reports indicated that the victim had been drinking at the time of the assault, and there was no evidence of semen present in or on the victim or her clothing.

From the above information, the criminal profiler advised the detective that he had already interviewed the killer. The surprised detective was presented with the following probable crime scenario.

The victim was drinking with the offender prior to her death. An argument ensued, reaching a threshold where the offender could not take it any longer. Angered, he obtained a "weapon of opportunity" from a kitchen cabinet and returned to the living room where he confronted the victim face to face and repeatedly struck victim about her head and face. After killing her, the offender realized that the police would surely implicate him as the obvious murderer. He then washed blood from his hands in the kitchen sink and also cleaned blood and fingerprints from the hammer. He rolled the victim over in a face-up position and "staged" the crime to appear the way he felt a sexually motivated crime should look. He conducted the staging by making it appear that the offender searched for money or personal property in the apartment.

Upon hearing this analysis of the crime, the detective exclaimed, "You just told me the husband did it."

The detective was coached regarding suggested reinterview techniques of the victim's husband. In addition, the detective was further advised that if the victim's husband were given a polygraph examination, he in all probability would react more strongly to the known fact that he was "soiled" by his wife's blood than to questions concerning his wife's murder. The detective was told to have the polygraph examiner direct questions at the husband, acknowledging the fact that he got blood on his hands and washed them off along with the hammer in the kitchen sink.

About 5 days later, the detective called the criminal profiler to advise that the victim's husband was charged with murder. According to the detective, the husband failed the polygraph and subsequently admitted his guilt to the polygraph examiner.

The Profiling and Consultation Program

The FBI's profiling program has grown considerably since the late 1970's from "informal" analysis and profiling during criminal psychology classes at the FBI Academy to the present formalized program. Currently, the program consists of one program manager and seven criminal profilers and crime analysts. These Agents were selected primarily for their investigative experience, expertise, and educational backgrounds. The Behavioral Science Investigative Support Unit has found that anyone seeking transfer into this highly specialized program must possess above all other attributes and accomplishments a strong investigative background that includes participating in, supervising, and managing major case assignments.

During 1985, the Criminal Profiling and Consultation Program received over 600 requests for profiling assistance. It is anticipated that once the FBI's Violent Criminal Apprehension Program (VICAP) is fully operational, the number of profiling requests will nearly double annually.

One key link to the success of the FBI's Criminal Profiling Program is its criminal profile coordinators who are located at every one of the FBI's 59 field offices. These highly trained and selected Agents are responsible for screening cases and for providing preliminary investigative suggestions to investigators. While the field coordinators do not have the authority to provide profiles to requesting law enforcement agencies, they are authorized to prepare preliminary "rough draft" profiles which are reviewed by the profiling staff at the FBI Academy prior to being disseminated to the requesting agency.

Criminal profiling is available to local, State, Federal, and foreign law enforcement agencies or departments. It should be noted that not every violent crime matter lends itself to the profiling process. The criminal profile coordinators in the FBI field offices determine during review of the case whether it can be profiled. However, while a case may not be suitable for profiling, the coordinator may still submit it to the Behavioral Science Unit for other types of services. Criminal profilers at the FBI Academy may assist the law enforcement community by providing interview/interrogation techniques, investigative suggestions and techniques, establish probable cause for search warrants as a result of National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime violent offender research findings, assist prosecutors relative to prosecutive strategies, and possibly provide testimony as a witness for the prosecution or as an expert witness during the sentence phase of the trial. All cases must be submitted to the local FBI field office for review and administrative handling by that criminal profile coordinator.

Lt. Commdr. Vernon J. Geberth of the New York City Police Department wrote in his book, *Practical Homicide Investigation: Tactics, Procedures and Forensic Techniques*, "This program has proven to be beneficial to law enforcement and has provided homicide detectives with a viable investigative tool. . . ." [7]

Criminal profiling will never take the place of a thorough and well-planned investigation nor will it ever eliminate the seasoned, highly trained, and skilled detective. Criminal profiling has, however, developed itself to a level where the detective has another investigative weapon available to him in solving a violent crime. The offender, on the other hand, has an added worry that in time he will be identified, indicted, successfully prosecuted, and sentenced for his crime.

FBI

Footnotes

[1] M. Willmer, *Crime and Information Theory* (Edinburgh, England: The University of Edinburgh, 1970).

[2] M. Reiser, "Crime-specific Psychological Consultation," *The Police Chief*, March 1982, pp. 53-56.

[3] M. Casey-Owens, "The Anonymous Letter Writer—A Psychological Profile?" *Journal of Forensic Science*, vol. 29, 1984, pp. 816-819.

[4] M. S. Miron and John E. Douglas, "Threat Analysis: The Psycholinguistic Profile," *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, vol. 48, No. 9, September 1979, pp. 5-9.

[5] R. R. Hazelwood, "The Behavior-oriented Interview of Rape Victims: The Key to Profiling," *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, vol. 52, No. 9, September 1983, pp. 8-15.

[6] A. O. Rider, "The Firesetter—A Psychological Profile," *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, vol. 49, No. 6, June 1980, pp. 4-11.

[7] Vernon J. Geberth, *Practical Homicide Investigation: Tactics, Procedures and Forensic Techniques* (New York: Elsevier, 1983), p. 399.

Criminal Profiling from Crime Scene Analysis

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Carol R. Hartman, R.N., D.N.Sc.

Since the 1970s, investigative profilers at the FBI's Behavioral Science Unit (now part of the National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime) have been assisting local, state, and federal agencies in narrowing investigations by providing criminal personality profiles. An attempt is now being made to describe this criminal-profile-generating process. A series of five overlapping stages lead to the sixth stage, or the goal of apprehension of the offender: (1) profiling inputs, (2) decision-process models, (3) crime assessment, (4) the criminal profile, (5) investigation, and (6) apprehension. Two key feedback filters in the process are: (a) achieving congruence with the evidence, with decision models, and with investigation recommendations, and (b) the addition of new evidence.

> "You wanted to mock yourself at me! . . . You did not know your Hercule Poirot." He thrust out his chest and twirled his moustache.
>
> I looked at him and grinned . . . "All right then," I said. "Give us the answer to the problems—if you know it."
>
> "But of course I know it."

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Preparation of this manuscript was supported by an Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention grant (84-JN-K010). The authors wish to acknowledge Allen G. Burgess, Cynthia J. Lent, and Marieanne L. Clark for contributions to this manuscript. *Correspondence and reprint requests should be addressed to: John E. Douglas, FBI Academy, Quantico, VA 22135.*

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> Hardcastle stared at him incredulously . . . "Excuse me, Monsieur Poirot, you claim that you know who killed three people. And why? . . . All you mean is that you have a hunch."
>
> I will not quarrel with you over a word . . . Come now, Inspector. I know—really know . . . I perceive you are still sceptic. But first let me say this. To be sure means that when the right solution is reached, everything falls into place. You perceive that in no other way could things have happened."
>
> (Christie, 1963, pp. 227–228)

The ability of Hercule Poirot to solve a crime by describing the perpetrator is a skill shared by the expert investigative profiler. Evidence speaks its own language of patterns and sequences that can reveal the offender's behavioral characteristics. Like Poirot, the profiler can say, "I know who he must be."

This article focuses on the developing technique of criminal profiling. Special Agents at the FBI Academy have demonstrated expertise in crime scene analysis of various violent crimes, particularly those involving sexual homicide. This article discusses the history of profiling and the criminal-profile-generating process and provides a case example to illustrate the technique.

INTRODUCTION: HISTORY OF CRIMINAL PROFILING

Criminal profiling has been used successfully by law enforcement in several areas and is a valued means by which to narrow the field of investigation. Profiling does *not* provide the specific identity of the offender. Rather, it indicates the kind of person most likely to have committed a crime by focusing on certain behavioral and personality characteristics.

Profiling techniques have been used in various settings, such as hostage taking (Reiser, 1982). Law enforcement officers need to learn as much as possible about the hostage taker in order to protect the lives of the hostages. In such cases, police are aided by verbal contact (although often limited) with the offender, and possibly by access to his family and friends. They must be able to assess the subject in terms of what course of action he is likely to take and what his reactions to various stimuli might be.

Profiling has been used also in identifying anonymous letter writers (Casey-Owens 1984) and persons who make wri ten or spoken threats of violence (Miron & Douglas 1979). In cases of the latter, psycholinguistic techniques have been used to compose a "threat dictionary," whereby every word in a message is assigned, by computer, to a specific category. Words as they are used in the threat message are then compared with those words as they are used in ordinary speech or writings. The vocabulary usage in the message may yield "signature" words unique to the offender. In this way, police may not only be able to determine that several letters were written by the same individual, but also to learn about the background and psychology of the offender.

Rapists and arsonists also lend themselves to profiling techniques. Through

careful interview of the rape victim about the rapist's behavior, law enforcement personnel begin to build a profile of the offender (Hazelwood, 1983). The rationale behind this approach is that behavior reflects personality, and by examining behavior the investigator may be able to determine what type of person is responsible for the offense. For example, common characteristics of arsonists have been derived from an analysis of the data from the FBI's *Crime in the United States* (Rider, 1980). Knowledge of these characteristics can aid the investigator in identifying possible suspects and in developing techniques and strategies for interviewing them. However, studies in this area have focused on specific categories of offenders and are not yet generalizable to all offenders.

Criminal profiling has been found to be of particular usefulness in crimes such as serial sexual homicides. These crimes create a great deal of fear because of their apparently random and motiveless nature, and they are also given high publicity. Consequently, law enforcement personnel are under great public pressure to apprehend the perpetrator as quickly as possible. At the same time, these crimes may be the most difficult to solve, precisely because of their apparent randomness.

While it is not completely accurate to say that these crimes are motiveless, the motive may all too often be one understood only by the perpetrator. Lunde (1976) demonstrates this issue in terms of the victims chosen by a particular offender. As Lunde points out, although the serial murderer may not know his victims, their selection is not random. Rather, it is based on the murderer's perception of certain characteristics of his victims that are of symbolic significance to him. An analysis of the similarities and differences among victims of a particular serial murderer provides important information concerning the "motive" in an apparently motiveless crime. This, in turn, may yield information about the perpetrator himself. For example, the murder may be the result of a sadistic fantasy in the mind of the murderer and a particular victim may be targeted because of a symbolic aspect of the fantasy (Ressler et al., 1985).

In such cases, the investigating officer faces a completely different situation from the one in which a murder occurs as the result of jealousy or a family quarrel, or during the commission of another felony. In those cases, a readily identifiable motive may provide vital clues about the identity of the perpetrator. In the case of the apparently motiveless crime, law enforcement may need to look to other methods in addition to conventional investigative techniques, in its efforts to identify the perpetrator. In this context, criminal profiling has been productive, particularly in those crimes where the offender has demonstrated repeated patterns at the crime scene.

THE PROFILING OF MURDERERS

Traditionally, two very different disciplines have used the technique of profiling murderers: mental health clinicians who seek to explain the personality and actions of a criminal through psychiatric concepts, and law enforcement

agents whose task is to determine the behavioral patterns of a suspect through investigative concepts.

Psychological Profiling

In 1957, the identification of George Metesky, the arsonist in New York City's Mad Bomber case (which spanned 16 years), was aided by psychiatrist–criminologist James A. Brussel's staccato-style profile:

> "Look for a heavy man. Middle-aged. Foreign born. Roman Catholic. Single. Lives with a brother or sister. When you find him, chances are he'll be wearing a double-breasted suit. Buttoned."

Indeed, the portrait was extraordinary in that the only variation was that Metesky lived with two single sisters. Brussel, in a discussion about the psychiatrist acting as Sherlock Holmes, explains that a psychiatrist usually studies a person and makes some reasonable predictions about how that person may react to a specific situation and about what he or she may do in the future. What is done in profiling, according to Brussel, is to reverse this process. Instead, by studying an individual's deeds one deduces what kind of a person the individual might be (Brussel, 1968).

The idea of constructing a verbal picture of a murderer using psychological terms is not new. In 1960, Palmer published results of a three-year study of 51 murderers who were serving sentences in New England. Palmer's "typical murderer" was 23 years old when he committed murder. Using a gun, this typical killer murdered a male stranger during an argument. He came from a low social class and achieved little in terms of education or occupation. He had a well-meaning but maladjusted mother, and he experienced physical abuse and psychological frustrations during his childhood.

Similarly, Rizzo (1982) studied 31 accused murderers during the course of routine referrals for psychiatric examination at a court clinic. His profile of the average murderer listed the offender as a 26-year-old male who most likely knew his victim, with monetary gain the most probable motivation for the crime.

Criminal Profiling

Through the techniques used today, law enforcement seeks to do more than describe the typical murderer, if in fact there ever was such a person. Investigative profilers analyze information gathered from the crime scene for what it may reveal about the type of person who committed the crime.

Law enforcement has had some outstanding investigators; however, their skills, knowledge, and thought processes have rarely been captured in the professional literature. These people were truly the experts of the law enforcement field, and their skills have been so admired that many fictional characters (Sergeant Cuff,

Sherlock Holmes, Hercule Poirot, Mike Hammer, and Charlie Chan) have been modeled on them. Although Lunde (1976) has stated that the murders of fiction bear no resemblance to the murders of reality, a connection between fictional detective techniques and modern criminal profiling methods may indeed exist. For example, it is attention to detail that is the hallmark of famous fictional detectives; the smallest item at a crime scene does not escape their attention. As stated by Sergeant Cuff in Wilkie Collins' *The Moonstone*, widely acknowledged as the first full-length detective study:

> At one end of the inquiry there was a murder, and at the other end there was a spot of ink on a tablecloth that nobody could account for. In all my experience . . . I have never met with such a thing as a trifle yet.

However, unlike detective fiction, real cases are not solved by one tiny clue but the analysis of all clues and crime patterns.

Criminal profiling has been described as a collection of leads (Rossi, 1982), as an educated attempt to provide specific information about a certain type of suspect (Geberth, 1981), and as a biographical sketch of behavioral patterns, trends, and tendencies (Vorpagel, 1982). Geberth (1981) has also described the profiling process as particularly useful when the criminal has demonstrated some form of psychopathology. As used by the FBI profilers, the criminal-profile-generating process is defined as a technique for identifying the major personality and behavioral characteristics of an individual based upon an analysis of the crimes he or she has committed. The profiler's skill is in recognizing the crime scene dynamics that link various criminal personality types who commit similar crimes.

The process used by an investigative profiler in developing a criminal profile is quite similar to that used by clinicians to make a diagnosis and treatment plan: data are collected and assessed, the situation reconstructed, hypotheses formulated, a profile developed and tested, and the results reported back. Investigators traditionally have learned profiling through brainstorming, intuition, and educated guesswork. Their expertise is the result of years of accumulated wisdom, extensive experience in the field, and familiarity with a large number of cases.

A profiler brings to the investigation the ability to make hypothetical formulations based on his or her previous experience. A formulation is defined here as a concept that organizes, explains, or makes investigative sense out of information, and that influences the profile hypotheses. These formulations are based on clusters of information emerging from the crime scene data and from the investigator's experience in understanding criminal actions.

A basic premise of criminal profiling is that the way a person thinks (i.e., his or her patterns of thinking) directs the person's behavior. Thus, when the investigative profiler analyzes a crime scene and notes certain critical factors, he or she may be able to determine the motive and type of person who committed the crime.

THE CRIMINAL-PROFILE-GENERATING PROCESS

Investigative profilers at the FBI's Behavioral Science Unit (now part of the National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime [NCAVC]) have been analyzing crime scenes and generating criminal profiles since the 1970s. Our description of the construction of profiles represents the off-site procedure as it is conducted at the NCAVC, as contrasted with an on-site procedure (Ressler et al., 1985). The criminal-profile-generating process is described as having five main stages, with a sixth stage or goal being the apprehension of a suspect (see Fig. 1).

1. Profiling Inputs Stage

The profiling inputs stage begins the criminal-profile-generating process. Comprehensive case materials are essential for accurate profiling. In homicide cases, the required information includes a complete synopsis of the crime and a description of the crime scene, encompassing factors indigenous to that area to the time of the incident such as weather conditions and the political and social environment.

Complete background information on the victim is also vital in homicide profiles. The data should cover domestic setting, employment, reputation, habits, fears, physical condition, personality, criminal history, family relationships, hobbies, and social conduct.

Forensic information pertaining to the crime is also critical to the profiling process, including an autopsy report with toxicology/serology results, autopsy photographs, and photographs of the cleansed wounds. The report should also contain the medical examiner's findings and impressions regarding estimated time and cause of death, type of weapon, and suspected sequence of delivery of wounds.

In addition to autopsy photographs, aerial photographs (if available and appropriate) and 8 × 10 color pictures of the crime scene are needed. Also useful are crime scene sketches showing distances, directions, and scale, as well as maps of the area (which may cross law enforcement jurisdiction boundaries).

The profiler studies all this background and evidence information, as well as all initial police reports. The data and photographs can reveal such significant elements as the level of risk of the victim, the degree of control exhibited by the offender, the offender's emotional state, and his criminal sophistication.

Information the profiler does *not* want included in the case materials is that dealing with possible suspects. Such information may subconsciously prejudice the profiler and cause him or her to prepare a profile matching the suspect.

2. Decision Process Models Stage

The decision process begins the organizing and arranging of the inputs into meaningful patterns. Seven key decision points, or models, differentiate and

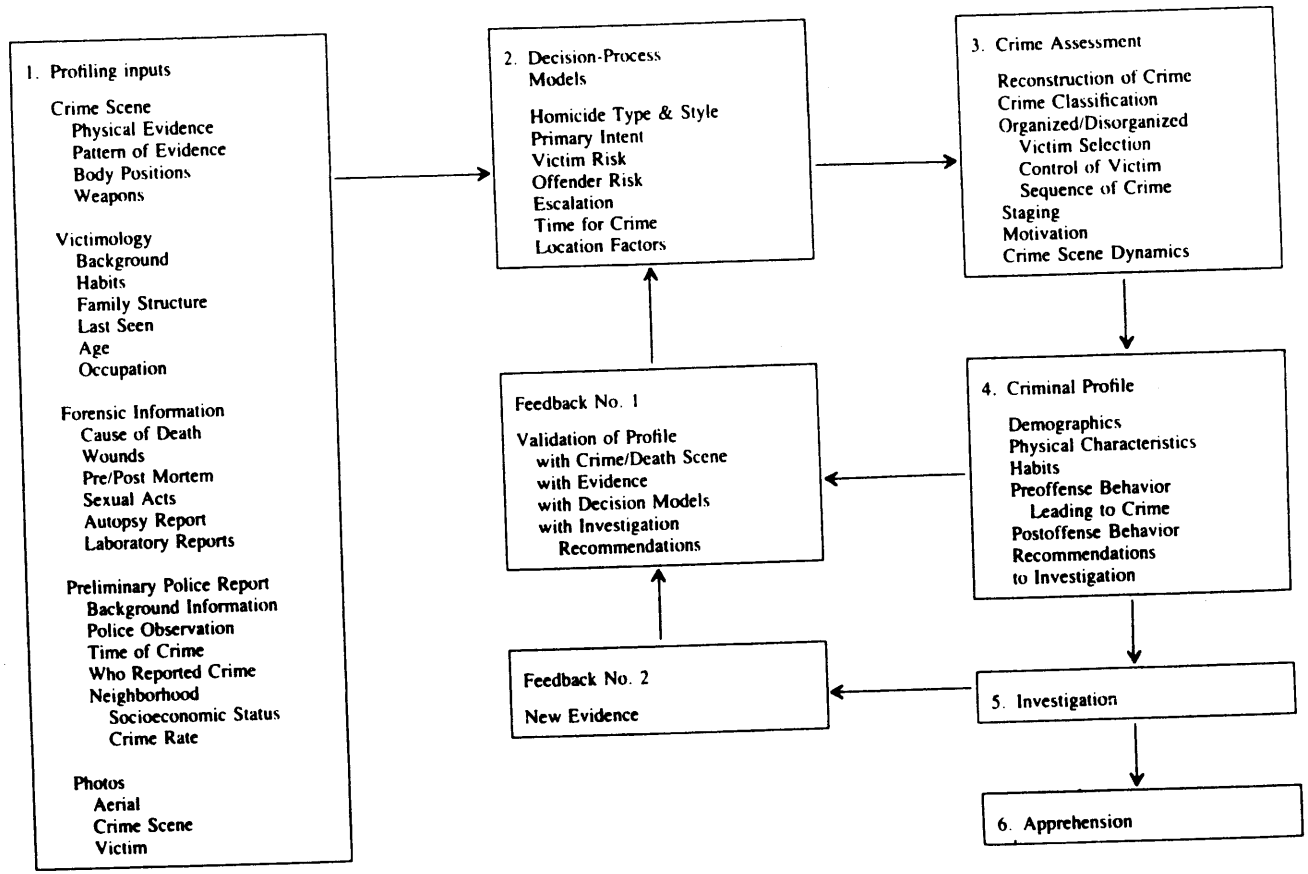

Figure 1. Criminal profile generating process.

organize the information from Stage 1 and form an underlying decisional structure for profiling.

Homicide Type and Style

As noted in Table I, homicides are classified by type and style. A single homicide is one victim, one homicidal event; double homicide is two victims, one event, and in one location; and a triple homicide has three victims in one location during one event. Anything beyond three victims is classified a mass murder; that is, four or more victims in one location, and within one event.

There are two types of mass murder: classic and family. A classic mass murder involves one person operating in one location at one period of time. That period of time could be minutes or hours and might even be days. The classic mass murderer is usually described as a mentally disordered individual whose problems have increased to the point that he acts against groups of people unrelated to these problems. He unleashes his hostility through shootings or stabbings. One classic mass murderer was Charles Whitman, the man who armed himself with boxes of ammunition, weapons, ropes, a radio, and food; barricaded himself on a tower in Austin, Texas; and opened fire for 90 minutes, killing 16 people and wounding over 30 others. He was stopped only when he was killed during an assault on the tower. James Huberty was another classic mass murderer. With a machine gun, he entered a fast food restaurant and killed and wounded many people. He also was killed at the site by responding police. More recently, Pennsylvania mass murderer Sylvia Seegrist (nicknamed Ms. Rambo for her military style clothing) was sentenced to life imprisonment for opening fire with a rifle at shoppers in a mall in October 1985, killing three and wounding seven.

The second type of mass murder is family member murder. If more than three family members are killed and the perpetrator takes his own life, it is classified as a mass murder/suicide. Without the suicide and with four or more victims, the murder is called a family killing. Examples include John List, an insurance salesman who killed his entire family on November 9, 1972, in Westfield, New Jersey. The bodies of List's wife and three children (ages 16, 15, and 13) were discovered in their front room, lying side by side on top of sleeping bags as if

TABLE I Homicide Classification by Style and Type

Style	Single	Double	Triple	Mass	Spree	Serial
Number of Victims	1	2	3	4+	2+	3+
Number of Events	1	1	1	1	1	3+
Number of Locations	1	1	1	1	2+	3+
Cool-Off Period	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	No	Yes

in a mortuary. Their faces were covered and their arms were folded across their bodies. Each had been shot once behind the left ear, except one son who had been shot multiple times. A further search of the residence discovered the body of List's mother in a third floor closet. She had also been shot once behind the left ear. List disappeared after the crime and his car was found at an airport parking lot.

In another family killing case, William Bradford Bishop beat to death his wife, mother, and three children in the family's Bethesda, Maryland, residence in March 1976. He then transported them to North Carolina in the family station wagon where their bodies, along with the family dog's, were buried in a shallow grave. Bishop was under psychiatric care and had been prescribed antidepressant medication. No motive was determined. Bishop was a promising mid-level diplomat who had served in many overseas jobs and was scheduled for higher level office in the U.S. Department of State. Bishop, like List, is a Federal fugitive. There is strong indication both crimes were carefully planned and it is uncertain whether or not the men have committed suicide.

Two additional types of multiple murder are spree and serial. A spree murder involves killings at two or more locations with no emotional cooling-off time period between murders. The killings are all the result of a single event, which can be of short or long duration. On September 6, 1949, Camden, New Jersey, spree murderer Howard Unruh took a loaded German luger with extra ammunition and randomly fired the handgun while walking through his neighborhood, killing 13 people and wounding 3 in about 20 minutes. Even though Unruh's killings took such a short amount of time, they are not classified as a mass murder because he moved to different locations.

Serial murderers are involved in three or more separate events with an emotional cooling-off period between homicides. This type killer usually premeditates his crimes, often fantasizing and planning the murder in every aspect with the possible exception of the specific victim. Then, when the time is right for him and he is cooled off from his last homicide, he selects his next victim and proceeds with his plan. The cool-off period can be days, weeks, or months, and is the main element that separates the serial killer from other multiple killers.

However, there are other differences between the murderers. The classic mass murderer and the spree murderer are not concerned with who their victims are; they will kill anyone who comes in contact with them. In contrast, a serial murderer usually selects a type of victim. He thinks he will never be caught, and sometimes he is right. A serial murderer controls the events, whereas a spree murderer, who oftentimes has been identified and is being closely pursued by law enforcement, may barely control what will happen next. The serial killer is planning, picking and choosing, and sometimes stopping the act of murder.

A serial murderer may commit a spree of murders. In 1984, Christopher Wilder, an Australian-born businessman and race car driver, traveled across the United States killing young women. He would target victims at shopping malls or would abduct them after meeting them through a beauty contest setting or dating service. While a fugitive as a serial murderer, Wilder was investigated,

identified, and tracked by the FBI and almost every police department in the country. He then went on a long-term killing spree throughout the country and eventually was killed during a shoot-out with police.

Wilder's classification changed from serial to spree because of the multiple murders and the lack of a cooling-off period during his elongated murder event lasting nearly seven weeks. This transition has been noted in other serial/spree murder cases. The tension due to his fugitive status and the high visibility of his crimes gives the murderer a sense of desperation. His acts are now open and public and the increased pressure usually means no cooling-off period. He knows he will be caught, and the coming confrontation with police becomes an element in his crimes. He may place himself in a situation where he forces the police to kill him.

It is important to classify homicides correctly. For example, a single homicide is committed in a city; a week later a second single homicide is committed; and the third week, a third single homicide. Three seemingly unrelated homicides are reported, but by the time there is a fourth, there is a tie-in through forensic evidence and analyses of the crime scenes. These three single homicides now point to one serial offender. It is not mass murder because of the multiple locations and the cooling-off periods. The correct classification assists in profiling and directs the investigation as serial homicides. Similarly, profiling of a single murder may indicate the offender had killed before or would repeat the crime in the future.

Primary Intent of the Murderer

In some cases, murder may be an ancillary action and not itself the primary intent of the offender. The killer's primary intent could be: (1) criminal enterprise, (2) emotional, selfish, or cause-specific, or (3) sexual. The killer may be acting on his own or as part of a group.

When the primary intent is criminal enterprise, the killer may be involved in the business of crime as his livelihood. Sometimes murder becomes part of this business even though there is no personal malice toward the victim. The primary motive is money. In the 1950s, a young man placed a bomb in his mother's suitcase that was loaded aboard a commercial aircraft. The aircraft exploded, killing 44 people. The young man's motive had been to collect money from the t avel insurance he had taken out on his mother prior to the flight. Criminal enterprise killings involving a group include contract murders, gang murders, competition murders, and political murders.

When the primary intent involves emotional, selfish, or cause-specific reasons, the murderer may kill in self-defense or compassion (mercy killings where life support systems are disconnected). Family disputes or violence may lie behind infanticide, matricide, patricide, and spouse and sibling killings. Paranoid reactions may also result in murder as in the previously described Whitman case. The mentally disordered murderer may commit a symbolic crime or have a psychotic outburst. Assassinations, such as those committed by Sirhan Sirhan and Mark Chapman, also fall into the emotional intent category. Murders in this

category involving groups are committed for a variety of reasons: religious (Jim Jones and the Jonestown, Guyana, case), cult (Charles Manson), and fanatical organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan and the Black Panther Party of the 1970s.

Finally, the murderer may have sexual motives for killing. Individuals may kill as a result of or to engage in sexual activity, dismemberment, mutilation, eviseration, or other activities that have sexual meaning only for the offender. Occasionally, two or more murderers commit these homicides together as in the 1984–1985 case in Calaveras County, California, where Leonard Lake and Charles Ng are suspected of as many as 25 sex-torture slayings.

Victim Risk

The concept of the victim's risk is involved at several stages of the profiling process and provides information about the suspect in terms of how he or she operates. Risk is determined using such factors as age, occupation, lifestyle, physical stature, resistance ability, and location of the victim, and is classified as high, moderate, or low. Killers seek high-risk victims at locations where people may be vulnerable, such as bus depots or isolated areas. Low-risk types include those whose occupations and daily lifestyles do not lead them to being targeted as victims. The information on victim risk helps to generate an image of the type of perpetrator being sought.

Offender Risk

Data on victim risk integrates with information on offender risk, or the risk the offender was taking to commit the crime. For example, abducting a victim at noon from a busy street is high risk. Thus, a low-risk victim snatched under high-risk circumstances generates ideas about the offender, such as personal stresses he is operating under, his beliefs that he will not be apprehended, or the excitement he needs in the commission of the crime, or his emotional maturity.

Escalation

Information about escalation is derived from an analysis of facts and patterns from the prior decision process models. Investigative profilers are able to deduce the sequence of acts committed during the crime. From this deduction, they may be able to make determinations about the potential of the criminal not only to escalate his crimes (e.g., from peeping to fondling to assault to rape to murder), but to repeat his crimes in serial fashion. One case example is David Berkowitz, the Son of Sam killer, who started his criminal acts with the nonfatal stabbing of a teenage girl and who escalated to the subsequent .44-caliber killings.

Time Factors

There are several time factors that need to be considered in generating a criminal profile. These factors include the length of time required: (1) to kill the