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Historically, crime and criminals have galvanized the attention of law-abiding citizens. Whatever the reason, be it the romance of a Capone or a Dillinger, or the utter lack of any understanding of how or why criminals can do what they do, books, TV, and movies flood the market with police and crime. Russell Vorpapel (1998), an ex-FBI agent, speaks of his own contributions to the development of psychological profiling in the early years with the FBI. In his book, *Profiles in Murder: An FBI Legend Dissects Killers and Their Crimes*, he claims that he along with Ressler, Douglas, and others were, pioneers in the process of crime scene analysis. Further, Vorpapel states that he was instrumental in helping Detective Ray Biondi in Sacramento, California, with the Richard Trenton Chase murder case. Unfortunately, Vorpapel was not able to profile Chase's suicide by pills while Chase was in Vacaville prison.

Robert Ressler, another retired FBI agent, speaks of the same Richard Chase case in his book co-authored with Tom Shachtman, *Whoever Fights Monsters* (1992), but with only one line devoted to the help of Vorpapel in developing a separate profile, amazingly similar to Ressler's own: "The fact that Chase so precisely fit the profile that I had drawn up in conjunction with Russ Vorpapel was gratifying to me . . ." (p. 9). Ressler continues to mention other serial killers, such as Ted Bundy, John Wayne Gacy, David Berkowitz, Edmund Kemper, Peter Sutcliffe, Jeffrey Dahmer, and mass killer Richard Speck. Unfortunately there is no mention of an interviewing methodology used in the meetings. Ressler has published another book with Shachtman entitled *I Have Lived in the Monster: Inside the Minds of the World's Most Notorious Serial Killers* (1997). In this book, interesting stories abound that relate to Ressler's work with many serial killers during his career in the FBI.

Not to be outdone, John Douglas and his co-author Mark Olshaker wrote *Mind Hunter: Inside the FBI's Elite Serial Crime Unit* (1995). In this book, Douglas lays claim to a friendship with Thomas Harris, the author of *The Silence of the Lambs* (1981), *Red Dragon* (1988), and *Hannibal* (1999). He takes the reader along the steps in his work in several major cases and the effects that the profiling work has on mind and health. The book jacket claims that he is the model for Jack Crawford in Harris's book *The Silence of the Lambs*, a claim, however, that Harris denies (T. Harris, personal interview, June 20, 2000). The book jacket also says that Douglas has interviewed dozens of serial killers and assassins—including Richard Speck, Charles Manson, and James Earl Ray among them. He has published two other books, *The Cases That Haunt Us: From Jack the Ripper to JonBenet Ramsey, the FBI's Legendary*

*Mindhunter Sheds Light on the Mysteries That Won't Go Away* (Douglas & Olshaker, 1999) and *The Anatomy of Motive: The FBI's Legendary Mindhunter Explores the Key to Understanding and Catching Violent Criminals* (Douglas & Olshaker, 2000). Douglas and his co-author lead the reader through several celebrated unsolved homicides. One is the JonBenet Ramsey case, in which Douglas offers reasons for his belief that the JonBenet's parents were not involved in the murder of the young beauty queen. He reacts with some vigor to the criticisms of his own professionalism and reacts to the criticism aimed at him by his former colleagues in the FBI. Douglas also offers a profile of his own on the infamous Jack the Ripper case. Both books address Douglas's law enforcement career and his involvement with serial murderers.

*The Evil That Men Do: FBI Profiler Roy Hazelwood's Journey Into the Minds of Sexual Predators* is another book written by a retired FBI profiler, Roy Hazelwood, along with Stephen Michaud (2001). Hazelwood was known as a profiler of sexual predators, especially rapists. In this publication, the reader is once again privy to the special talents of the FBI agents and the manner in which they were of aid of police departments across the world in the successful resolution of their cases.

As profilers, we have met many people involved in the field. Some of these encounters have been pleasant and some not. As a general rule, we have found that those who don't advertise their rates in their Web pages are the most reputable. Colleagues like Eric Hickey, Steve Egger, and a few more enjoy favorable reputations in the criminal justice system.

Regardless, there is a tremendous amount of interest in the field of profiling. But we must remember that it is only one tool and by itself has never solved a murder case, despite the statements made by some.

Profilers are often also seen on TV. These shows illustrate the work of a profiler and how neatly the whole crime is resolved in a one-hour program. But unlike a vintage *Dragnet* episode, criminals are not always brought to justice. Every killer is not peacefully arrested with nothing more than an MO or a quick confirmation of the identity of the perpetrator. This MO (method of operation or modus operandi) holds to a basic principle: Each perpetrator commits his crime in a certain manner. Therefore, each time a person commits a crime, he will do it in the same or at least similar fashion. This is a prodigious step in logic, and one that has been validated by tradition and common sense, both, however, less-than-reliable sources of knowledge.

For the homicide investigator, where the motives of normal killings are absent, a psychological profile may be the investigative tool essential

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to a successful resolution of the case (Douglas & Burgess, 1986; Douglas, Burgess, Burgess, & Ressler 1993; Palmiotto, 1994; Sears, 1991). How accurate are the profiles? This will obviously depend on the expertise of the persons involved in such an assessment. Kocsis, Orwin, & Hayes (2000) reported that profilers appear to have higher skills when compared to other groups. They claim the most accurate groups are, in order of accuracy: professional profilers, psychologists, students, police officers, and self-declared psychics. That psychologists ranked second in the study suggests that psychologists are better at this endeavor than police officers, perhaps because of their understanding of human behavior. The researchers also reported that psychics are the least reliable of the groups. They apparently depend more on the stereotypes of murderers than of a true understanding of the mind and mentality of a killer. The research also suggests that police probably would do better at profiling if they were educated in the principles of the process (Peterson, 1997).

Thus profiling, or criminal investigation assessment, is an *educated* attempt to provide investigative agencies with specific information as to the type of individual who committed a certain crime (Geberth, 1981).

Of course, profiles are not suitable in all cases, even in some murder cases (Holmes & Holmes, 1992, 2000). They are usually more efficacious in cases where the unknown perpetrator has displayed indications of psychopathology (Geberth, 2006; Holmes & Holmes, 2000). Crimes most appropriate for psychological profiling are those where discernable patterns are able to be deciphered from the crime scene or where the fantasy/motive of the perpetrator is readily apparent. Table 1.1 suggests a few of these appropriate crimes; however, this list is not exhaustive, and any of these specifically mentioned crimes may not present enough evidence to develop a useful profile.

It is important to come to a general understanding of the type of person who would commit an offense such as a lust murder or spree killing. Inherent within the premise of the validity and reliability of a profile is that the person who commits these crimes has a personality that reflects pathology. In some cases the crimes may be thoroughly planned and executed, as in many of the recent school shooting cases (e.g., Virginia Tech and Northern Illinois). In other crimes, chaos, the lack of planning, mutilations, and other elements reflected in the crime scene are also usually reflective of his/her personality. Therefore, the crime scene itself reflects pathology.

**Table 1.1** Crimes Most Suitable for the Development of an Offender Profile

<i>Suggested Crimes for Profiling</i>
Sadistic sexual assaults
Sexual homicide
Postmortem cases of abuse and humiliation
Motiveless fire settings
Lust and mutilation murders
Rape
Occult and ritualistic crimes
Child sexual abuse including pedophilia
Bank robberies
Anonymous obscene communications

### THE SHOOTINGS AT NORTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY



In February 2008, 27-year-old Steven Kazmierczak, a former graduate student majoring in sociology at Northern Illinois University, entered a lecture hall and shot 21 students and then killed himself. Four females and one male student were killed. The killer carried his weapons in a guitar case. Kazmierczak, well liked by other students and the professors at the university, was reported to have recently stopped taking medication for depression.

There are no known reasons for his action; however, he did have a history of mental problems, and he had been admitted to a psychiatric setting after high school, but he stayed only a short time. He enlisted in the army in 2001 but was discharged 6 months later for unspecified reasons. One possible motive could be that he broke up with his girlfriend a few days previous to the mass murder. Students put up six white crosses on campus in front of the Holmes Student Center; one had no name: Kazmierczak's.

As we will mention later in this text, each offender will leave part of him- or herself at the crime scene. Additionally, we have discovered in the crimes we have profiled for various police departments across the world, now over 500, that offenders commit their crimes in certain manners. If it is a serial crime, the crimes are similar—not always identical, but similar. It is the responsibility of the profiler to offer insight

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from the physical evidence of the pathology exhibited in the crime scene (Michaud, 1986).

Also worthy of note is the fact the crime profiles are usually completed after the fact. While the police and other public health officials often know that people are not right and are capable of very heinous violence, there is no simple way that we or any psychologist or psychiatrist can predict the future behavior of these offenders. Hence, even the development of a psychological profile of the two most recent school shooters before their murderous events would not have been of much use to police or other officials before they went on their homicidal sprees.

Of course, a good criminal investigative assessment will also depend to some extent to the working relationship between the police agency desiring a profile and the profiler. This should be self-evident, but nonetheless it is important to state and understand. One reason for this is that if the police agency has no faith in the process or the profiler, information may not be included that is vital to the profile itself. This omission can be simply negligence or it could be intentional; hopefully, it is usually unintentional.

### THE VIRGINIA TECH SCHOOL SHOOTINGS



On April 16, 2007, 23-year-old Seung Hui Cho killed two students at West Ambler Johnson resident hall and then returned to his dorm room and changed his clothes. He then mailed a package to NBC News in New York containing an 1,800-word diatribe, pictures of himself, and various video clips.

He then marched across campus to Norris Hall and chained the three exit doors shut from the inside. In the next 11 minutes, the shooter killed 30 more students and himself, firing between 150 and 200 rounds.

All told, Cho killed 32 students and himself, making this episode one of the most deadly school shooting incidents in the history of the United States.

### ❖ INDUCTIVE VERSUS DEDUCTIVE PROFILING

There are two different postures to adopt to develop a profile. One is the inductive approach, and the other is the deductive approach. At first glance they seem to be mutually exclusive, but on a closer examination they share some commonalities.

### **Inductive Criminal Investigative Assessments**

The inductive approach to profiling rests with a simple premise, an assumption that if certain crimes committed by different people are similar, then the offenders must also share some type of common personality traits. The information gathered comes from past crimes, past known offenders, and other sources of information, including the media.

There are obvious advantages to this type of profile. It is quick, inexpensive, and there is no need to blend the academic disciplines of sociology, psychology, criminology, and psychiatry. Thus the profiler does not necessarily need any special skill or knowledge of the field of human behavior. For example, this type of profiler would not need to know the work of some of the early pioneers in the field of psychology, such as Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), William James (1842–1910), John Watson (1878–1958), and B. F. Skinner (1904–1990). Their valuable work in human behavior could be ignored, as what happens in the inductive approach is that an assessment of one crime is offered simply from similar crime scenes.

### **Deductive Criminal Investigative Assessments**

This method is slightly different. From a thorough analysis of the crime scene and the evidence left at that scene, the profiler is able to construct a mental picture of the unknown offender. As profilers, we know from experience that the one of the most vital elements in the analysis of a crime is victimology. Despite a profiler's request that a police agency disclose all known information about the victim, this is the one element that typically lacks adequate information. The more one knows about the victim, the more one knows about the offender. Thus from this perspective the profile is drawn from the physical and nonphysical (love, hate, rage, fear, etc.) evidence.

The profile drawn from this perspective is agonizingly slow. Much care is taken in the examination of forensic reports, victimology, etc., and the report will take much longer to develop using only this approach. Looking at the crime scene evidence is imperative. This is one problem we have with the profile done for the Ramsey family on the murder of their young daughter, JonBenet. The crime scene was destroyed by the time the profiler was able to develop an assessment. It would have been important to know, for example, the exact positioning of the hands, the manner in which the garrote was found, and the position of the body in relationship to the opening of the door to that small room. There are other questions that needed to be addressed,

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and the answers could have only been obtained from the examination of the physical evidence present at the scene. The physical evidence will also be an indicator of the nonphysical evidence.

For example, in a southern state an elderly White female was beaten to death in her home. The killer had been in the home when she arrived from a night out with two companions. As she undressed in her unlit bedroom, the killer came upon her from the back and hit her over the head and bludgeoned her to death. From the crime scene it was apparent that the killer had been there for some time, perhaps awaiting her return from an evening of entertainment on the town. He had a bottle of wine sitting in the hallway, and it was uncorked. This victim was a very clean housekeeper and would not have left that container of spirits in the hallway. The killer felt comfortable enough to drink some of the wine, and he also apparently knew where the bottle had been kept in the pantry. Before she came home, he went into the bedroom and placed pictures in frames of the victim's nieces and nephews face-down in the bedroom.

From the description of this crime scene it is easy to see there is a combination of inductive and deductive reasoning. Knowing something of the academic disciplines of psychology, sociology, criminology, and psychiatry, a clear picture of the mind and mentality of the unknown killer is revealed. Also, we can gather some information from similar cases, when oftentimes the victim is killed by a relative—elderly female, no sexual assault, the picture frames detail—and these other similar cases can educate us to the possible identity of the killer.

Ideally, then, we can use both methods to develop a psychological profile. It is important to use both methods simply because there are benefits to both. One may be quicker to develop, while the other takes more time but can evaluate the unknown offender from a perspective that is different from the other offenders who have committed similar crimes. There are items to bring to the assessment from both the deductive approach and the inductive approach. With the deductive approach, for example, one assumption is that any crime is accompanied by a fantasy. Certainly in looking at the forensic evidence at a similar crime scene, with persons arrested for a similar crime, in the deductive method a profiler can “interpret” the crime scene and examine the fantasy present in the crime scene itself.

While inductive profiling may not be as reliable as the deductive method, there is no reason to ignore the possible benefits derived from the utilization of this method, and combining the benefits of both is truly the correct response.



## ❖ GOALS IN PROFILING

There is some confusion when the topics of goals and objectives are discussed. Simply stated, goals are broad general statements of what is to be accomplished. Objectives are specific, measurable statements to be accomplished by a given time (Craig, 1980, p. 24). Goals are usually statements individuals or organizations offer to direct their efforts toward some reward. Obviously, these efforts take varied forms. It may be a certain number of units manufactured by a truck plant per time period, or a number of violent personal crimes cleared by arrests. Objectives are the means to be used to satisfy the goals of the organizations, and objectives must be measurable.

Goals in profiling are not distinctly unique. They exist to aid the criminal justice system in its battle against crime. As such, there are three major goals.

### **Goal 1: To Provide the Criminal Justice System With a Social and Psychological Assessment of the Offender**

The purpose of this goal is very simple. It should provide basic and sound information concerning the social and psychological core variables of the offender's personality. This assessment should include race, age range, employment, religion, marital status, education, and so on.

This psychological packet will focus the investigation. Instead of dealing with a wide range of possible perpetrators, the profile will reduce the scope of the investigation. This will have a direct effect on the number of days and weeks spent on the case by positioning the police toward a successful resolution.

A profile contains information that alerts the law enforcement professional to the possible psychological traits present in a crime scene. It can predict future possible attacks as well as probable sites of attacks.

#### *Case Study*

Recently a profile was completed for a police department in a southern city where in the course of 4 months four young women were murdered, throats cut. None of the four women was sexually molested, but there were several commonalities.

The profile offered information as to the age, education, residence, and a predicted period of time when the perpetrator would strike again. The profile was accurate even to the day that the next attack

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would occur. The police department, with confidence in the profiling packet, redoubled their efforts with the positive benefit of the apprehension of the attacker on the night predicted.

**Goal 2: To Provide the Criminal Justice System With a Psychological Evaluation of Belongings Found in the Possession of the Offender**

This particular goal is very important to investigators when they have a prime suspect. It may be that all of the physical evidence, witness reports, and all pertinent information point toward one suspect. The psychological profile may suggest items the offenders may have in their possession: souvenirs, photos, pornography, and so on. These items will serve as a reminder of the violent episode. In the case of a serial pedophile, we are familiar with pedophiles' child pornography collection. By analyzing the collection, the profiler can offer the police interrogator with a plan to interview the alleged offender as to choice of victim, seduction or capturing strategies, and other pertinent information gleaned from the collateral evidence found in the possession of the charged offender. This same statement can be said of other types of offenders undergoing interrogation—offenders such as arsonists, serial killers, and rapists.

*Case Study*

Jerry Brudos was a serial killer who was sent to the Oregon State Penitentiary for the brutal and sadistic killing of young women in the late 1960s. He died in prison only recently. Brudos had a shoe fetish, and he had stolen a pair of high-heeled black shoes during the course of a robbery and rape. He often wore the shoes around his home and demanded his wife to do the same. One victim, a young National Merit scholar, was forced to wear the shoes even as he hung her from the rafter in his garage. In addition, Brudos was involved in triolism, a sexual behavior in which sexual gratification is gained by seeing oneself and/or others in sexual scenes. Combining his transvestism with triolism, Brudos took pictures of himself wearing the high-heeled shoes, panties, bra, and stockings. He also took pictures of his wife nude and photographed three of his four victims. One victim was already dead when he photographed her (Stack, 1983).

If profiling had been popular and used by the Salem Police Department, such a profile might have alerted the police to the possibility of finding souvenirs or trophies in the possession of Brudos. This

physical evidence, if listed on a search warrant, could have been invaluable material to be used in his trial. It might have also alerted police to the possibility of film that might display nude females or other suspicious pictures coming through local businesses for development. As it did transpire, Brudos convinced his wife that she could pose for him in the nude because big labs process too much film to look at every picture. They look at the first or the last and that's all (Stack, 1983, p. 33). Brudos apparently used this same subjective rationale when he photographed his victims.

### **Goal 3: To Provide Interviewing Suggestions and Strategies**

Once a subject is apprehended, a profile packet should contain information regarding proper and effective methods of interviewing and interrogation. This can be crucial.

The profile packet should contain information regarding different personalities and effective strategies in soliciting information from a diverse group of offenders. Not all people react to questioning in the same fashion. For one type of offender, one strategy may be effective, but it is a drastic mistake to assume all offenders will respond to the same interviewing strategy. For example, not all serial murderers kill for the same reason, and not all respond to the same type of interviewing strategy. Violent personal offenders also vary with their motives as well as their responses to interrogation.

#### *Case Study*

In a small Midwestern town, 15-year-old Diana Harris and her boyfriend were shot. Their bodies were found in his car parked in a lonely lovers' lane area. She died of one shot to the left temple, and her male companion was mortally wounded with a single shot entering under his left armpit. One additional bullet was fired through the passenger-side window. No physical evidence other than the bullets was obtained.

The police department investigated this case thoroughly but unsuccessfully. After talking with the mother and stepfather, one detective believed that the stepfather was not telling all he knew. Most people feared Mr. Harris. A football coach, he carried himself in such a manner that defied anyone to doubt his virility, masculinity, or intelligence.

The detective interviewed the stepfather about the case. After questioning him for several hours, the police officer asked him pointedly if he had killed his stepdaughter and her boyfriend.

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Breaking into profuse perspiration, the man replied, "Not in my right mind did I kill them. You'll have to prove that I did." Instead of keeping some pressure on the stepfather, a coffee break was taken. After regrouping himself psychologically, Mr. Harris denied any knowledge or responsibility in this case. All progress stopped, and the investigation came to a halt. All strategies used provided no further information.

Finally this police department requested direction in the interrogation of Mr. Harris. Suspecting he demanded to be in control but with a flaw in his personality, a far different strategy was offered. The suspect was taken into an interrogation room where pictures of the crime scene lined the four walls. The suspect was told that the police really wanted to solve the crime of the murder of his stepdaughter. Despite all they had done, they were getting nowhere, and they needed help. The pictures of the crime scene served as constant reminders of what had occurred, not only to his stepdaughter but to the boy as well.

After the suspect believed that he was now in control of the investigation and could offer some helpful suggestions to the police, he became fully engrossed in the case. The more he talked, the more familiar he became with the details of the crime. After more than 8 hours, the man broke down and cried. Then the detective resumed his questioning, and the man confessed to the double homicide.

#### ❖ PROFILING: AN ART, NOT A SCIENCE

Not everyone agrees that psychological profiling is of benefit to law enforcement (Jenkins, 1994). Indeed, not all crimes are suitable for the profiling process.

While virtually any crime showing mental, emotional, or personality aberration can be analyzed for profiling purposes, certain crimes are particularly appropriate for the process; these crimes include a series of rapes, serial murders, child molesting, ritualistic crimes, threat communications, violence in the workplace, and serial arson. (Hazelwood & Burgess, 1995, p. 12)

Vernon Geberth, a retired homicide commander with the New York Police Department and author of many books dealing with homicide investigations, was in 1994 and still is being misquoted today as

saying that he “was not aware of one serial murder case where a profile led to an arrest.” In a personal communication with Geberth, he said that the actual quote should be as follows:

Criminal profiling is an excellent law enforcement tool. However, it is just one of many tools and does not replace good investigative techniques. In fact, I don’t know of any profile in and by itself that has resulted in an actual arrest.” (V. Gerberth, personal communication, February 6, 1995)

While there may be some truth to this criticism, it is reasonable to expect that the profiler’s years of education and training will be of value to law enforcement in its attempts to solve heinous and difficult crimes. But again, we agree with Geberth: By itself, a profile does not solve any crime. It is only one forensic tool of many that should be utilized in the investigation of a crime.

There are a few discrete rules to adhere to in the profiling of a difficult criminal case. Of course, educated guesses are made. They are, however, aided by knowledge gained from the profiler’s experience in the criminal justice system and from his familiarity with relevant concepts in criminology, sociology, psychology, and psychiatry. In addition, the profiler is aided by an intuitive sense in the profiling process. That is, he develops a feel for the crime. This is the art dimension. Nonprofessional sources of information seldom have the mixture of competencies essential for efficient profiling.

## ❖ CONCLUSION

There are obvious cases that are more suitable and appropriate for psychological profiling than others. The role of the profiler, then, is to assist the police department in its investigations of the cases in which additional aid is sought for the successful resolution of a case, such as lust murder, rape, and the like. The successful profiler will blend his educational and training background to offer insight into the type of person who would commit the crime currently under investigation. It is, however, more than a simple list of suspected characteristics. The profiler will keep in mind his role in assisting the police by fulfilling fundamental processes in the profiling endeavor. The goals, then, are reached as much through education and training as they are through the acquired art of profiling itself.

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