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Profiling pros and cons: an evaluation of contemporary criminal profiling methods

Theresa M. Young
Northeastern University

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Profiling Pros and Cons:

An Evaluation of Contemporary Criminal Profiling Methodologies

Theresa M. Young

Professor Sean Varano, Advisor

Northeastern University
College of Criminal Justice
Junior/Senior Honors Project

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Abstract

A primary goal of policing is ensuring public safety and thus, law enforcement agencies use a plethora of tools in their efforts to apprehend offenders. Criminal profiling, a concept largely promoted by the media, is one of the contemporary techniques used by police when approaching a difficult and high-profile case. Typically applied to homicides, investigators seek the aid of a profiler, who uses either a geographic or psychologically-based strategy. Through the application of geographic and psychological typologies within geographic profiling, investigative psychology, criminal investigative analysis, and behavioral evidence analysis, a profile is created that isolates offender characteristics. Upon examination, these typologies are flawed, as are their practical application processes, and have implications in training, accessibility, and utility. Existing approaches then do not currently yield a product that is both useful and accurate, while affordable for law enforcement. Additional examination of the potential of criminal profiling is necessary, as is a revision to the media's view of the technique, to establish the most accurate and reliable approach, while considering the cost effectiveness of a contracted service as opposed to investigator training.

Final Report

Introduction

One of law enforcement's primary goals is ensuring public safety and its subsequent duties include the apprehension of offenders. Consequently, a variety of approaches to investigations are introduced, including the idea that a crime scene can provide certain details about the offense and possibly the offender. This premise is a foundation of the technique known generally as criminal profiling. Although profiling is often present in fictional media outlets, it is also used in existing cases, particularly those that are difficult to solve. These cases traditionally involve homicide but now profiling is used in instances of sexual assault and arson.

Profiling can be traced back to the character of Sherlock Holmes, as he applied logical reasoning to a scene's details thereby constructing a timeline of events. It entered the practical realm during the search for Jack the Ripper. At the time of the investigation, Dr. Thomas Bond and Dr. George Phillips, both medical doctors, compiled a list of possible characteristics; they theorized that the offender would be physically strong but appear harmless and that, because of the amount of blood present, the offender would need to wear an oversized coat or cloak in order to conceal his clothing after the crime.

Profiling was later used during World War II when the Office of Strategic Services commissioned psychoanalyst Dr. Walter Langer to detail Adolf Hitler's possible reactions if Germany lost the war. Perhaps the most well-known case of profiling is that of psychiatrist Dr. James Brussel and the so-called New York Mad Bomber. The memorable element of this case was Brussel's assertion that, upon apprehension, the offender would be wearing a double breasted suit with all the buttons properly fastened. Following an investigation, the police arrived at the home of George Metesky where, after the officers asked him to get dressed, he returned wearing a double breasted suit, buttoned. While Brussel proceeded to serve as a consultant for the New York Police and worked on the Boston Strangler case, profiling once again became the subject of fictional works.

Now profiling is popularized by the media, a movement most notably sparked by Thomas Harris's novel, *The Silence of the Lambs*. This work not only integrated profiling and popular culture but juxtaposed the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) with the technique. Even today, shows like "Profiler", "Millennium", and "Criminal Minds" use FBI agents, or former agents, to solve crimes. While profiling's popularity continues to grow in the mainstream, there is still the question of utility in law enforcement activities.

It is then necessary to examine the current geographic and psychological profiling strategies, and the typologies on which the methods are based, to determine the training, accessibility, and utility implications which ultimately decide if such a technique has a viable role in law enforcement, specifically homicide, investigations.

Profiling Strategies

Although law enforcement agencies receive profiles from a variety of individuals, the product may be achieved through different methods. Thus, while general agreement exists that crime scenes can provide information about the offender, conflict arises when determining what factors can be ascertained and are useful for law enforcement. Two broadly descriptive categories emerge from this disagreement: those focused on geography and those founded in psychology.

Geographically-Based Techniques

The geographic approaches use environmental studies to focus on the location of the crime scene, using them to provide offender information. Traditionally, geographic analysis has been used by police departments to determine resource allocation through the identification of hot spots (Ainsworth, 2001). By examining the relationship between the environment and crime trends, an understanding of the community population can be gained and this idea is then applied to the individual for profiling (Ainsworth, 2001; Tita and Griffiths, 2005). This use of geography on the personal level begins with basic typologies, which are subsequently employed by different techniques.

Geographic Typologies

Locality limitations serve as the base for environmental classifications. Such categories have evolved from the Circle Theory of Environmental Range, which asserts that an offender's home location can be discovered by examining information from the offenses (Ainsworth, 2001; Kocsis and Irwin, 1997). It is the location of these offenses that provides inferences for the operating home base. Accordingly, each offense allows for a location to be noted with increasing specificity (Godwin and Canter, 1997). These additional scenes spread out from a central location and, using the distance from the two furthest locations as the diameter, a circle can be drawn encompassing most of the offense locations and the home base.

The tendency to remain centralized demonstrates activity decay, common to both criminal and non-criminal behavior, whereby the frequency of actions decreases as the distance from home increases (Canter, Coffey, Huntley, and Missen, 2000; Laukkanen and Santtila, 2006). Often articulated as the least effort principle, the falling frequency of offenses demonstrates the tendency of individuals to select nearby sites for behavior, with other factors being equal and the exception of a buffer zone around the home where few, if any, offenses occur (Godwin and Canter, 1997). The Circle Theory is then useful in locating an offender's base through the mapping of offense locations.

While the Circle Theory visually represents the crime scene spread, routine activities theory is used to explain the distribution. Any changes in activity affect the opportunity for certain

behaviors and these activities define environmental surroundings (Hipp, Bauer, Curran, and Bollen, 2004; Tita and Griffiths, 2005). Consequently, routine exploration provides a predictable series of events and people that give way to an offending comfort zone across both time and place (Godwin and Center, 1997; Kocsis and Irwin, 1997; Tita and Griffiths, 2005). Existing criminological theory is used to explain the use of a circle in the analysis of crime although the primary input and output is geographic. The subsequent output consists of either a marauder or commuter categorization.

The Marauder

Under the marauder model, the Circle Theory is directly applied. The offender branches out from a base to commit offenses and then returns to the base (Kocsis and Irwin, 1997). In the visual representation, the majority of offenses are found within the hypothesized circle and the offender's residential base is centralized within those limits (see Figure One). Due to the central location of the home base, there is considerable and even complete overlap between the home range and the scope of criminal activity (Kocsis and Irwin, 1997). The offender is familiar with this area and its traffic patterns, allowing him or her to make informed decisions about the places most suitable for avoiding the detection of criminal behavior. Further, the clear relationship between the criminal area and residential base provides a targeted space for law enforcement searches. The marauder is then an individual who restricts action to the immediate area.

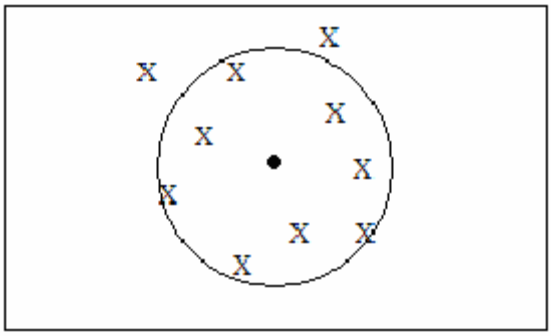

Figure One

In a visual representation of the marauder classification, the circle indicates the area of offending and the center dot indicates the offender's base.

The Commuter

In contrast to the marauder interpretation of the Circle Theory, a commuter is an individual who travels from a base to the area of offense. As a result, there is no direct relationship between the criminal range and the offender's base (Kocsis and Irwin, 1997). When graphing the offense locations, the scenes are within the circle but the offender's residential base is outside of the criminal range (see Figure Two). Consequently, there are no geographic commonalities between the home base and the area of offending (Kocsis and Irwin, 1997). This implies an access to some method of transportation, whether a privately owned automobile or public system, in order to move from one area to the next. Although the circle is seen as representing an area of familiarity, the offender may have a connection to the criminal range that is not residential in nature. As Kocsis and Irwin (1997) note, "[The commuter model] does not necessarily imply that the criminal range is unfamiliar to the

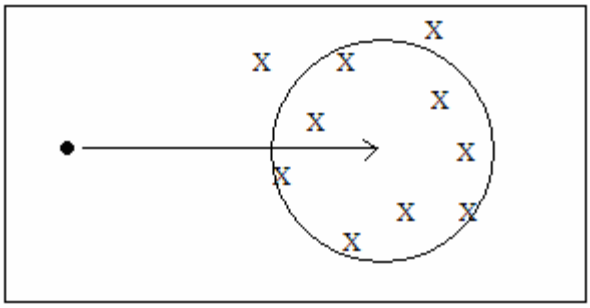

Figure Two

For the commuter model, the offender's base is outside of the proposed circle and the arrow represents mobility, providing access to the area of offending.

offender, but rather, that it is at a substantial distance from the area in which the offender regularly operates in non-criminal activities" (p.198). Therefore, in some cases, the commuter is comfortable in the offense area because, like the marauder, he or she is familiar with the location's activities. Ultimately, the commuter's criminal range circle resembles that of the marauder but the residential base is removed from the area.

Support for Geographic Typologies

As the basis for the profiling methods in practice, the categorical models must be evaluated and established as sound. Without such support, the foundation of the methods is in question. The origin of the typologies, social disorganization theory, demonstrates the negative correlation between offenders and distance from business districts and the existence of both zones and range (Ainsworth, 2001; Hipp et al, 2004). Within these zones, offenders operate in areas of familiarity although the specific locations are affected by the joint mobility of both offender and victim (Ainsworth, 2001; Tita and Griffiths, 2005). The developed classifications must then be applied to existing offenses, beyond the testing of the theoretical basis.

An examination of homicides yields support for the existence of marauders and commuters. According to Kocsis and Irwin (1997), all offenses can be included within the hypothesized circle and most of the cases possess a centralized home base for the offender, assigning the marauder classification. The lack of commuters is noted and, in the instances where a commuter was present, existing technology did not identify the behavior as commuter and thus applied an inappropriate label (Godwin and Canter, 1997; Laukkanen and Santtila, 2006). As a result, the presence of commuters is limited and the marauder model is more often applied.

Within the marauder classification, the residential bases are found in a centralized location even without land use and topographical considerations (Canter et al, 2000). The Circle

Theory is generally applied to marked offense locations and has recently been modified to examine the different types of crime scenes – sites of abduction, locations of the dumped body, and any tertiary crime scenes. Accordingly, the sequence of offenses provides base indicators since the dump sites move closer as the number of incidents increases (Godwin and Canter, 1997). Although the crime scenes where the victim was discovered can be used to isolate the base, Godwin and Canter (1997) assert that the abduction locations provide a clearer pattern more quickly, with the scenes circling the offender's residence. This suggestion also counters the proposed buffer zone, which now appears to be nonexistent (Godwin and Canter, 1997). The dominant marauder model then conforms to homicides and could potentially be used in geographic methodologies.

These marauder and commuter categories divide the spatial behavior of an offender for use by certain methodologies. They are applied because of a positive correlation between location information and homicide case clearance (Godwin and Canter, 1997). Geographic classifications have the potential to isolate a search area for law enforcement, provided that the offender is either a marauder or commuter. If the offender travels without a permanent base, neither model applies and the individual is considered to be a drifter (Kocsis and Irwin, 1997). No distinguishing characteristics between the marauder and commuter appear to be present in the location and thus, a concretely accurate label is unavailable from that data alone. Still, the existing types can be used to classify offenders although the application differs. The present typologies can therefore be used in varying geographic methodologies.

Geographic Methodologies

The geographic typologies serve to classify offenders based on location information but they must be applied to existing cases. These categorizations are used to create different techniques. Each of these emphasizes different elements of the crime scenes in order to develop a profile. This single foundation is interpreted by two techniques, geographic profiling and investigative psychology, to provide information for law enforcement.

Geographic Profiling

Geographic profiling draws directly from the marauder and commuter models, stressing the location of crime scenes. It uses behavioral patterns during criminal activities to determine the offender's home base (Ainsworth, 2001; Rossmo, 1998). This approach is then focused solely on geography with little regard for other characteristics of the scene and offender. Used prominently by Rossmo, geographic profiling, sometimes called criminal geographic targeting, blends environmental criminology and mathematics in its analysis of sites where victims' bodies were found (Godwin and Canter, 1997). The sites are the primary inputs and a computer program uses this information with topographical features to construct a pattern including offense order and spatial movement. This process allows for consideration of intricate configurations and infers an offender's geographic characteristics (Rossmo, 1998; Rossmo, 2000). This technique, therefore, uses the principles of least effort and distance decay to determine a base but recognizes that the Circle Theory fails to acknowledge any

terrain features that would limit mobility or habitation. Instead, it creates a nondescript shape encompassing the sites of body discovery and the home base.

Deviation from the traditional Circle Theory, in its use of computer programming, has limited the thought input of human profilers. This method would, as a result, seemingly eliminate the subjective judgments and subsequent variation in product results. Instead of depending upon the profiler to designate probable areas of residence, the computer mapping of the offender's travel routes and eventual geographic profile provide prioritization of search areas, based on the original crime scenes, without human manipulation (Rossmo, 2000). The profile, using color coding, indicates areas where the offender is most likely to be found (see Figure Three). This system is applicable to essentially any series since contact with the location is the only necessity (Canter et al, 2000). However, the usefulness of this profile would appear minimal because, while search locales are provided, investigators do not know anything more about the offender they are seeking. It is then important to note that Rossmo (1997; 1998) underscores the need for a psychological profile to work with the geographic profile to narrow the search, reintroducing the subjective aspects.

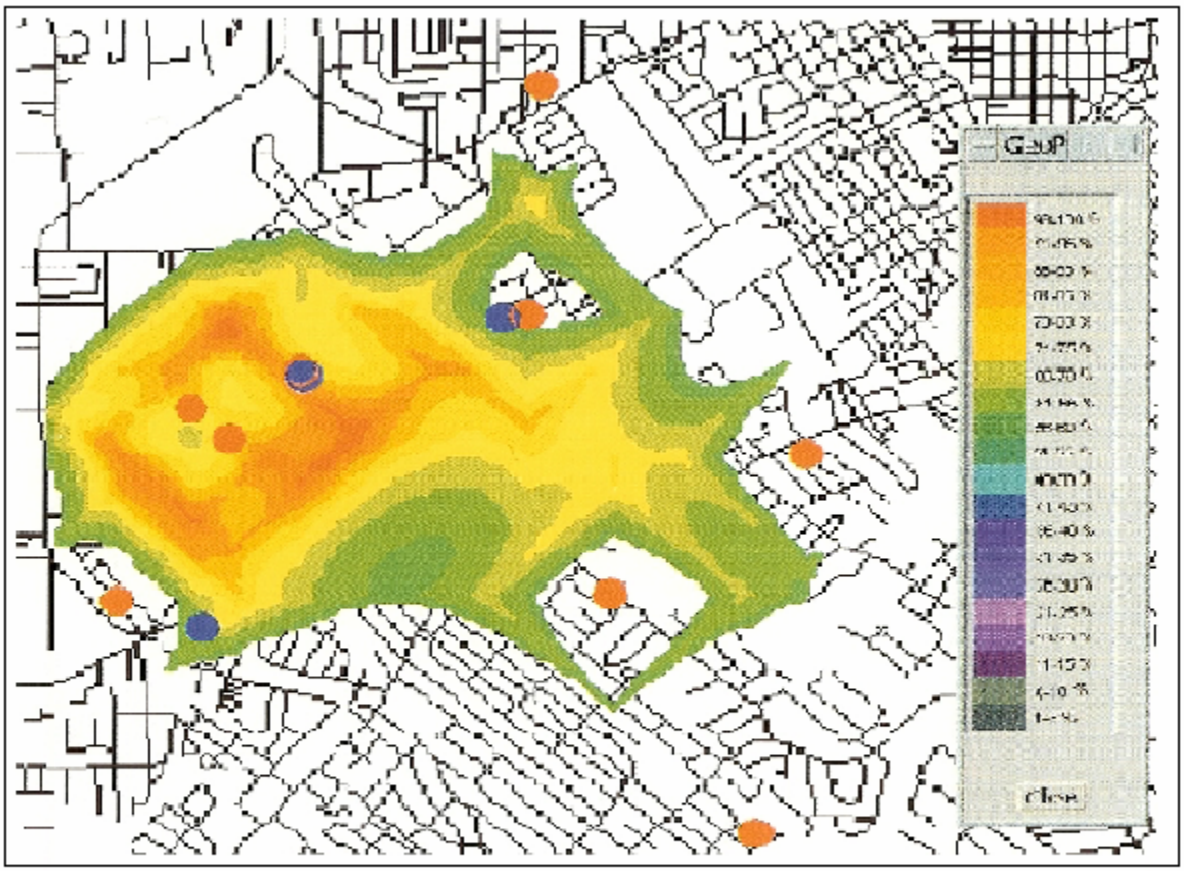

Figure Three

A geographic profile generated by a computer program is placed over a map of Lafayette, Louisiana where the warmest colors indicate likely base areas and the coolest represent the least likely places of residence. (From Rossmo, 2000)

Geographic profiling can aid in narrowing the environmental search for the offender but its reliance on locations can be problematic. First, because the geographic profile is dependent on a series of offenses, different crime scenes must be linked to a single offender. The similarities in modus operandi and signature are then determined by the investigators or profiler. The inclusion of an unrelated offense or exclusion of a related one affects the search distribution, skewing the area to an inaccurate zone. This is vulnerable to issues of linkage blindness whereby, due to a lack of information sharing, not all available offense sites are included in the analysis (Holmes and Holmes, 1998). Additionally, the dump sites are used both as evidence of linkage and primary profile inputs although the places of abduction provide more precision in locating the base (Godwin and Canter, 1997). The method might be better served if these locations were used as the profile inputs.

Second, the method follows closely with the geographic typologies. Specifically, it conforms to the findings that the majority of offenders are marauders (Kocsis and Irwin, 1997). However, the technique does not seem to have a mechanism to identify commuters. Accordingly, the areas of priority in a geographic profile would not include the home base of an offender traveling to an area of offense. This would also exclude the possibility of a drifter, lacking a permanent base and moving as offenses occur.

Finally, though identifying the areas most likely to encompass the residential base prioritizes the geographic search, the degree to which the scope is narrowed varies. The recognized areas are marked on local maps and an implied two mile radius, for example, would provide limited residential search in rural environments while the same dimensions would yield a more extensive search in a major metropolitan city. The exact ability of this approach to narrow the population for a search is unclear. Geographic profiling builds on the marauder and commuter typologies to isolate probable base locations but may suffer from similar problems in the labeling of offenders.

Investigative Psychology

Investigative psychology, referred to by some as statistical profiling, incorporates geography and behaviorism when analyzing crime scenes. This approach operates under the principle that the way in which a crime is committed contains characteristics that are routine to the behavior of the offender (Ainsworth, 2001). Behavior is then consistent, as the mannerisms present during criminal activity are also in attendance during non-criminal activities. Such actions are dictated by the individual's inner-narratives and mental maps, guiding the offender's perception of external circumstances (Ainsworth, 2001). By using these internal scripts, the offender moves within certain boundaries although the self-imposed limits may be unconscious (Ainsworth, 2001). These constraints can be both psychological, controlling the process and order, or geographic, influencing areas of offense. The environmental restrictions can be of assistance, like the geographic profile, because a base location connected to the offender would narrow the search parameters (Canter et al, 2000). Investigative psychology then blends geography and psychology to create an offender profile.

This method connects data from five broad factors and uses it as the informational inputs. Interpersonal coherence, the way in which an individual interacts with people, reflects non-criminal behavior although it is analyzed in terms of the offender's contact with the victim (Ainsworth, 2001). One aspect included in this factor is the victim's significance to the offender, even if the victim is a stranger. The individual criminal characteristics help to distinguish the crime type and a potential offender type. Domestic and social characteristics can be gleaned from this section since background traits will affect the type of crime committed (Ainsworth, 2001). An offender's occupational and educational history can also be inferred from offense behavior, particularly in the context of a criminal career (Ainsworth, 2001). This information will demonstrate consistency but also learning and adaptation as the series progresses. This factor co-exists with another element, forensic awareness. Through the removal or even prevention of evidence, information about a criminal biography can be obtained (Ainsworth, 2001). The final factor incorporates the significance of time and place. The importance of geography, outlined by the geographic profiling approach, is echoed by investigative psychology (Ainsworth, 2001). Once collected, the characteristics are coded and multi-dimensional scaling displays the correlation between variables (see Figure Four).

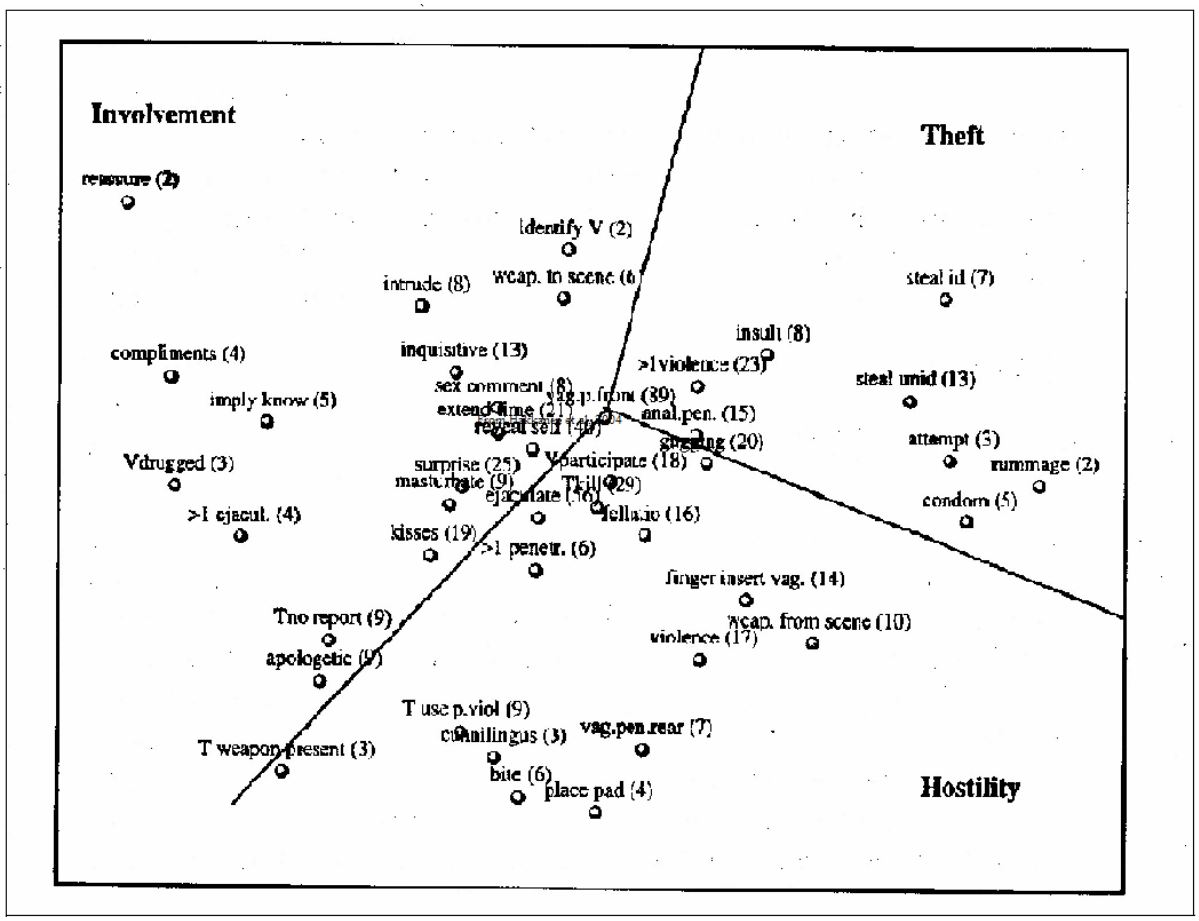

Figure Four

Through multi-dimensional scaling, variables present at the scene are correlated with one another. The profiler can then use the data to divide categories relating to the offender. (From Hakkanen et al, 2004)

The groups are based on previously collected data and this is used to construct the profile for law enforcement.

A profile obtained through investigative psychology builds on the geographic approach by including analysis of additional crime scene variables. This may help to correct the identification problem present with marauders and commuters. The multi-dimensional scaling process can focus attention on crime scene characteristics with a positive correlation with a specific typology. An offender's spatial behavior would then correspond to one of the existing categories.

However, the method's use of statistics, while informative, can lead to problems of utility. Investigative psychology compares the current case to previous cases and their information. This tactic is inductive, assuming that similar offenders yield similar crime scenes (Holmes and Holmes, 2002). When a rare crime is involved, the data availability is limited and the method is then attempting to make typical what is atypical. According to the Uniform Crime Report, murders account for only 1.2 percent of violent crimes (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2006). The limited frequency of this crime's occurrence limits the factors to be contrasted with the active investigation. Case availability for comparison will affect the ultimate product and therefore, the profile is only as good as the data that precedes it.

Another potential problem is the profile's readability. Due to the dense statistical content, the profile speaks in analysis and correlations, which can be virtually unintelligible to those without a strong background in statistics. The profile's support may then discourage its use because of the mathematical language that is not translated into terms useful for investigators. Thus, investigative psychology has some flaws in its application but it blends geographic and psychological information to create a more complete idea of the crime and offender.

Psychologically-Based Techniques

Like the geographic models, the psychological approaches use crime scene details in the creation of a profile although the interpretation differs. While the geographic location is considered in the analysis of the crime scene, these techniques also use observable behaviors to compile the psychological background beyond that of investigative psychology. Here, psychological theory is used as a method for identifying individual offenders as opposed to its traditional application of explaining crime at the individual level. Victimology and crime scene details then determine the classification, consisting of personality and demographic characteristics (Douglas, Burgess, Burgess, and Ressler, 1992; O'Toole, 1999; Canter, Alison, Alison, and Wentink, 2004). The external factors are clues from which an offender's traits can be inferred, forming typologies that serve as the foundation for varying approaches.

Psychological Typologies

The psychological typologies use behavior to infer personal characteristics. Accordingly, it holds that the origins of an individual's conduct lie in the background traits (Hartman, Burgess, Ressler, D'Agostino, and Douglas, 1985). The cause and effect relationship between personality characteristics and behavior is used conversely by interpreting behavior from the presence or absence of forensic elements and subsequently attaching personality traits. The scene's forensic aspects include the use of weapons and restraints, status of clothing, physical state of the body, location of body disposal, and means by which the victim was approached (O'Toole, 1999; Godwin, 2002). This relationship among crime scene variables, behavior, and personality results in differences noted by practitioners, which leads to a classification system (Ainsworth, 2001). These labels of organized and disorganized, attached to both scenes and offenders, enters investigations as a source of clarity from which additional information can be inferred.

The classification system, now known as the organized/disorganized dichotomy, was examined by the FBI in a study using thirty-six convicted and incarcerated sexual murderers and data collected from 1979 to 1983 (Burgess and Ressler, 1985). Following review of case records and interviews, special agents classified each of the offenders and the corresponding crime scenes. Originally, there were twenty-two individuals labeled as organized, nine as disorganized, and five mixed (Burgess and Ressler, 1985). After forcing the mixed offenders into the set categories, twenty-four were considered organized and twelve were classified as disorganized (Burgess and Ressler, 1985). The information was later divided into a five-point scale, in an effort to more appropriately describe the offender. The new distribution included sixteen very organized offenders, seven organized, two mixed, five disorganized, and six very disorganized (Burgess and Ressler, 1985). In spite of the classification diversity, the dichotomy of organized and disorganized offenders was adopted as the classification system for existing cases.

This more simplistic approach was adopted under the premise that an organized offender will commit an organized crime while a disorganized individual will leave a disorganized scene (Godwin, 2002; Canter et al, 2004). It follows that each type of offender has different personality and even demographic characteristics (Kocsis and Irwin, 1997; Ainsworth, 2001). Therefore, the crime scene, offender, and personality are described as either organized or disorganized and the overall classification moves through each of the elements while remaining in one of the types. The details of the scene, and by extension the offender and personality, do not however strictly conform to one part of the classification system but contain traits of both types. As such, the final determination is based on a majority of the characteristics (O'Toole, 1999). The organized and disorganized categories contain some overlap but are currently used to differentiate between offenders.

The Organized Offender

According to the organized nonsocial classification, the offender's personality dictates his or her actions. This offender is socially skilled, maintaining social relationships, which enables

him or her to approach a victim that is an individual unknown to the offender (Burgess and Ressler, 1985; Ressler, Douglas, D'Agostino, and Burgess, 1985). This social competence also means that the offender can successfully cohabitate and can therefore live with a partner (Ainsworth, 2001; Godwin, 2002). These traits, and a high intelligence, help the individual maintain a skilled occupation, where he or she is expected to utilize self-control and may even exercise control over other people (O'Toole, 1999; Canter et al, 2004). This is extended to the offense, as elements of control are evident at the scene. Such control may manifest itself through the meticulous execution of actions, the use of restraints, and forensic awareness (Ressler et al, 1985; Burgess and Ressler, 1985; Godwin, 2002). The conscious knowledge of forensic procedures prompts the offender to bring the weapon to the scene and remove it following the crime, in addition to minimizing the number of personal indicators left at the scene to decrease the likelihood of discovery (Canter et al, 2004). The level of organization displayed by the otherwise normal individual indicates the presence of planning in the commission of the crime (Burgess and Ressler, 1985; Canter et al, 2004). The organized offender is then responsible for a planned crime, with elements of control and forensic awareness, and is considered to be intelligent and socially stable.

The Disorganized Offender

Like the organized offender, the disorganized asocial offender's characteristics can be inferred from behavior. This counterpart is sometimes described as the polar opposite to the organized offender classification. The disorganized offender possesses limited social skills, separating him or her-self from community interactions (Burgess and Ressler, 1985; Ainsworth, 2001). As a result, the offender will live alone, without family members, a partner, or a roommate (Ressler et al, 1985; Godwin, 2002). This isolation is evident in the offender's approach to the victim. Unlike the organized offender who genially approaches the target, even using a ruse to solicit aid, the disorganized individual uses a blitz style of attack thereby surprising and immediately subduing the victim (Burgess and Ressler, 1985; Ainsworth, 2001). This style is not only used during initial contact but carries throughout the crime. Accordingly, the primary crime scene will appear to be in disarray with no indication of planning (Ressler et al, 1985; Canter et al, 2004). Although these elements are connected to the style of attack and lack of social skills, they also indicate the presence of low impulse control (Burgess and Ressler, 1985; Godwin, 2002). This need for immediate gratification prevents the organization and awareness that exists in the organized crime scene. It also explains the lack of forensic awareness exhibited by the offender since the crime is almost opportunistic with little attention paid in advance (Ressler et al, 1985; Ainsworth, 2001). In non-criminal activities, the lack of self-control is reflected in an inconsistent work history (Ressler et al, 1985). The individual, while perceived as possessing a low level of intelligence, cannot maintain a position due to a tendency to concede to personal impulses (Burgess and Ressler, 1985; Ainsworth, 2001). By failing to hold a job, the individual suffers economic consequences. When the offender is unable to sustain the funds necessary for personal transportation, he or she becomes geographically limited. This prompts the offender to commit crimes near the home, which further supports the suddenness of the offense, as a place of retreat to avoid discovery is necessary (Ainsworth, 2001; Godwin, 2002). The disorganized offender is then one who lacks control, taking advantage of the

opportunity for crime, and leaves a scene that appears random but contains more personal identification evidence than that of the organized offender.

Other Psychologically-Based Typologies

Although the organized and disorganized typologies are used most often, other psychological variants exist. One of these alternate classification schemes is the division of offenders into motivational categories: visionary, mission, hedonistic, and power-control. The visionary offender is not grounded in reality and may be considered psychotic (Godwin, 2002). This individual offends under the command of voices and visions, which instruct the offender throughout the commission of the crime (Holmes and Holmes, 2002). In contrast, the mission style offender is in touch with reality and perceived as normal (Holmes and Holmes, 2002). The offender kills because he or she is acting on a self-imposed obligation to eliminate a group of people from the broader social community (Godwin, 2002). A hedonistic offender, also known as a lust or thrill killer, receives sexual gratification from the act, performing each offense in a ritualistic manner (Godwin, 2002; Holmes and Holmes, 2002). Finally, the power-control type disregards social norms, opting to follow a personal code instead, and receives sexual gratification from domination of the victim (Godwin, 2002; Holmes and Holmes, 2002).

A second classification format seeks to explain the offense behaviors. According to this approach, the power reassurance offender suffers from low self-esteem and feels inadequate, engaging in criminal behavior to improve self-perception (Holmes and Holmes, 2002). This type of offender tends to be non-aggressive and may even show concern for the victim (Godwin, 2002). The power assertive offender, however, looks to establish dominance using both verbal and physical violence (Godwin, 2002). With this offender there exists a belief of entitlement, looking to secure complete compliance from the victim (Holmes and Holmes, 2002). The anger retaliatory offender is often defined by a short temper but engages in criminal activity in an effort to correct perceived wrongs committed by a specific group, represented by the victim (Holmes and DeBurger, 1998; Holmes and Holmes, 2002). In a departure from the other typologies, the anger-excitation offender functions in fantasy, achieving sexual gratification from physical and psychological pain (Holmes and DeBurger, 1998; Holmes and Holmes, 2002). While these categories provide more narrow definitions of offenders, they are applied within the existing organized/disorganized dichotomy. These alternate schemes are used as additional information rather than as their own method, mentioned in a profile but still explained as a subcategory of the dominant typologies.

Support for Psychological Typologies

Like the geographic models, the psychologically-based types should be evaluated because they serve as the basis for the methodologies and any flaws will be reflected in a method's application. The foundation of the psychological methods is the belief that crime scene behaviors are attributes of the offender's personality. These personalities can be classified, using the organized/disorganized dichotomy, and then applied proactively to an investigation.

As Burgess and Ressler (1985) assert, “There are, in fact, consistencies and patterns in crime scenes that are objectively quantifiable and that distinguish organized and disorganized sexual murderers” (p.32). While the basis for psychological typologies is a tenet of personality theory, the organized/disorganized dichotomy should be considered against existing case information.

The FBI’s original study, cited as the origin for the psychological classifications, provided a way to easily categorize offenses but possesses several flaws. While this study is described as “an exploratory one” with two additional phases, the later examinations were never performed (Burgess and Ressler, 1985, p.24). These findings then stand as the justification for the classification dichotomy. Additionally, the sample of offenders was non-random, using thirty-six currently incarcerated male volunteers (Canter et al, 2004). The small sample size was explained through its exploratory intent, noting that the study “did not seek to determine whether or these characteristics are representative of the entire population…no generalizations may be made” (Burgess and Ressler, 1985, p.12). However, later in the report, Burgess and Ressler (1985) state “It is reasonable to believe these thirty-six offenders are not unique, but rather can be used to indicate general characteristics of serial/multiple sexual murderers” (p.20). In addition to disregarding the small sample size, the study fails to consider the offender’s motivation for volunteering. Volunteers tend to represent the extremes and, as such, the distribution may not be representative of the broader population. The volunteer offenders are then used as support for the organized and disorganized typologies, although the selected sample does not meet any of the accepted criteria for a representative sample. Further, it does not consider the existence of minority and female offenders who may be responsible for similar offenses.

This group was interviewed by FBI agents, two agents per offender, and the number of interviews conducted by the teams varied (Burgess and Ressler, 1985). These agents used the interviews and case research to classify the offenders and their scenes as either organized or disorganized (Burgess and Ressler, 1985). The order of procedures for the FBI’s study then creates a self-fulfilling prophecy (Canter et al, 2004). By using an existing classification system to establish the categories, the dichotomy was studied after it had been used in practice and was applied to the study as pre-existing categories rather than looking for similarities and then providing labels. Further, the dichotomy was established only after manipulation since the original classification included a mixed category. The study then, although providing labels for offenders, contained some problems in its development and the typologies are untested. It also fails to account for the existence of offenses where organized offenders appear disorganized. In those offenses, involving revenge, interruption, and the influence of drugs, elements of the scene appear disorganized despite the organized characteristics of the offender. The classification scheme is basic and, although clear, does not address the types themselves.

Crime scenes can present different characteristics from which an offender’s personality may be inferred. Accordingly, variations in personal traits between the organized and disorganized categories exist, which are reflected in the crime scene patterns (Burgess and Ressler, 1985). Although these distinctions may be present, the problem arises in the application of a categorical label. First, the behavior characteristics are not mutually

exclusive, with the potential for elements from both categories to exist at a single scene (Burgess and Ressler, 1985; Holmes and DeBurger, 1998; Godwin, 2002). The label is then applied based on a majority of the factors falling into one of the categories. The individual factors are not weighed in any way to imply that one characteristic is more indicative than another (Godwin, 2002; Canter et al, 2004). The correlations garnered from multi-dimensional scaling suggest that certain traits do tend to be more highly associated with one type and, as such, should be considered more highly. Further, the descriptions of the organized and disorganized characteristics do not always match the checklist's classifications (Godwin, 2002). The factors listed on the crime scene section of the checklist can be pulled from either description of the dichotomy because the explanation is vague and lacks evidentiary support.

This contributes to the largest problem with classification, interrater reliability. The final classification is dependent upon the profiler's perception of the crime scene characteristics. During an examination of the crime scene elements, the agreement rates of agents ranged from sixty-two to eighty percent on several crime scenes (D'Agostino, Ressler, Douglas, and Burgess, 1985). This wide range, the result of differences in experience, indicates that the type of classification is determined by the individual profiler (D'Agostino et al, 1985). The organized or disorganized categorization is then determined by the profiler and not the evidence from the crime scene. The potential problems with classifying crime scenes and the subsequent offender characteristics are exacerbated when the organized/disorganized dichotomy itself is questioned.

The existing organized/disorganized dichotomy classifies crime scenes and offenders according to the presence or absence of certain elements. These factors often overlap with many characteristics shared between the two categories (Holmes and DeBurger, 1998). Accordingly, it appears that the labels of organized and disorganized are not distinct categories but parts along a continuum (Ainsworth, 2001). However, in a more recent evaluation, that interpretation is also questioned. Canter et al (2004) selected one hundred sexual serial homicides in the United States matching the definitions set by the FBI's original study. These findings indicate that all the crimes possess organized components and thus, organization is standard of this population (Canter et al, 2004). The distinctions are, consequently, in the disorganized elements and these can be used to differentiate modus operandi and signature (Canter et al, 2004). Such a finding is not surprising considering that the original classification distribution heavily favored the organized label. The organized and disorganized typologies are perhaps inappropriately applied because the organized elements are common, thereby creating a need for subcategories within the disorganized label. With these issues, the existing dichotomy easily characterizes information but seems to lack practical application.

Psychological Methodologies

The psychological approaches to profiling aim to provide information relating to the offender's personality and behavior, rather than geographic location. As defined through the organized/disorganized dichotomy, elements of the crime scene are used to infer these

aspects about the offender. These methods, while sharing a goal of aiding law enforcement, may provide different characteristics about the individual from the same information. They are further distinguished through the actual process of compiling a profile and these differences are most apparent in the two dominant psychologically-based methodologies: criminal investigative analysis and behavioral evidence analysis.

Criminal Investigative Analysis

Criminal investigative analysis, the method used by the FBI, employs the psychological typologies to organize information and construct a profile. The premise holds that elements of the crime scene represent the offender's personality (Hartman et al, 1985; Holmes and Holmes, 2002). This approach aims to provide the most likely characteristics, both personality and demographic, possessed by the unknown offender for the police investigation (Ainsworth, 2001). The result is achieved using "brainstorming, intuition, and educated guesswork" (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1980, p.3). The process can then be contrasted with the geographic models, as it uses the individual to evaluate the crime scene rather than complex computer programming. This approach began in the 1970s when the FBI informally assisted local police departments during investigations (Burgess and Ressler, 1985; D'Agostino et al, 1985). It has maintained its position within the FBI as a service available to law enforcement with most information remaining the same, although the process is more formal.

The more formalized procedures detailed by the FBI include many inputs and classifications with continuous review of all information. The first step includes consideration of elements from the crime scene. This includes a complete victimology, police reports, witness statements, autopsy reports, forensics reports, and photographs from both the crime scene and autopsy (O'Toole, 1999). These factors are used to classify the type of homicide. In addition to determining the presence and absence of specific elements, this stage recognizes any patterns in the crime from which motive can be inferred (Keppel and Birnes, 2003). This process filters into the crime assessment, analyzing the progression of events and behavior. Combining this information with previous knowledge, this step examines the amount of planning, degree of control, any changes in emotional state during the commission of the crime, risk level, and general crime scene appearance (O'Toole, 1999). From these elements and analysis, a profile is created.

The profile is intended to aid law enforcement by narrowing the field of potential suspects. It can include characteristics such as race, gender, emotional age, marital status, socioeconomic level, occupation, level of education, arrest and offense history, personal background and history, and the location of the offender's residence relative to the crime scene (D'Agostino et al, 1985; O'Toole, 1999). These characteristics are pulled from the organized/disorganized dichotomy, which uses previous experience to dictate the appropriate categories. Once the profile is complete, the agency applies it to the investigation and the existing suspect pool.

Theoretically, the information should be reevaluated following the creation of the profile to ensure that each factor is considered and once again during the investigation phase when new information is received, since it has the potential to alter the profile. These review steps are rarely conducted, however, due to the amount of time required on the part of both profilers and police agencies to communicate and transfer the new information, processing it through each of the profiling phases. Once a profile has moved into the hands of the policing agents, and a suspect is apprehended, there is no follow-up to compare the profile's interpretation to that of the convicted offender (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1980). Further, there is not a system that collects information from new cases, which would expand the database of characteristics defining organized and disorganized, instead relying on the original information as the foundation for this process (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1980). By failing to incorporate new information, the data set cannot be improved since more information amounts to a better view of the existing population and it cannot account for changes in crime over time. The phases for criminal investigative analysis are then dependent on past statistics establishing the psychological typologies, personal experience of the profiler, and intuition.

Criminal investigative analysis is a more accessible option for law enforcement due to its use of materials and processing methods. By omitting the complex statistical discussion present in the geographic methodologies and only implying a statistical presence through diction, the profile is more easily readable. The mathematical jargon that provides the product's support may seem superfluous to law enforcement agents who are looking for information that can be directly applied. The elimination of this information makes for a more attractive method. This is furthered by the use of organized and disorganized labels that possess contrasting connotations which are easily identifiable, even to those unfamiliar with psychological theory. Additionally, the interaction with policing agencies and use of police reports establishes a relationship between the profiler and law enforcement to make the process more inclusive, potentially easing jurisdictional tension. It also includes more variables during the input stage to increase the amount of information available to police in the profile. The FBI's method is then more approachable than its geographic counterparts although its accuracy and subsequent utility may be questionable.

The most evident problem, one shared by investigative psychology, is its inductive style. The profile consists of information obtained from previous similar offenses, however limited those cases may be (Holmes and Holmes, 2002). Again, this process generalizes from a rare occurrence and these conclusions are skewed based on the original sample. It is more vulnerable to this criticism when it fails to introduce new case information. As a result, the method uses dated information that does not incorporate data on both minorities and women and does not acknowledge the evolution of criminal offenses with advancements in technology. It also fails to consider instances where organized offenders appear disorganized, neglecting the identification of any distinctive characteristics for these situations. Although the simple solution would be to conduct research to confirm the typology characteristics, and evaluate the organized/disorganized dichotomy in the process, as Ainsworth (2001) notes, "the pragmatic pressure to produce profiles, especially in the USA, has tended to surpass the need to conduct research into the presumptions upon which

such techniques are based" (p.114). The inductive approach then, while potentially identifying problems in the process, can also question the utility of the profile's information.

The goal of the profile is to narrow the scope of an investigation and, as such, the information within the profile should be clearly applicable. While characteristics like gender, race, occupation, and geographic location can help to decrease the suspect pool by looking for similarities and differences, other parts of the profile may be of less help. The profile's wording, a result of the inductive nature, speaks only in probabilities (see Appendix A). By listing elements that may or may not be present, no concrete characteristics are included. On occasion, this is directly stated but such a conclusion is often subtly implied. In a 2002 profile, the FBI states that the decision to attack the victims "may have been spontaneous or impulsive" but that "knowledge of these women's schedules and lifestyles…would have lessened the 'recklessness' of having made a spontaneous decision" (para.15). The offender then, while impulsive, is also lacking impulsivity in the attacks of the victim.

Problematic traits such as emotional age, for one, will be of little help to investigators because of the variations in the relationship to chronological age. Although emotional age is meant to compensate for time spent incarcerated or mental disability, there is no way to determine if the emotional age positively correlates to the chronological age prior to the period of incarceration. Without a baseline age, attempts to adjust for other events will be of little use when the offender is unknown. This is also true of the characteristics given as part of the personal history. Often, these include elements conforming to psychodynamic theory such as an offender's meticulous behavior when cleaning a crime scene being indicative of a parent's attention to cleanliness. The profile may suggest that the behavior can be traced back to childhood when all the furniture was covered in plastic. Although this speculates on the causes of behavior, it provides little investigative support. Criminal investigative analysis then may offer an approachable method to profiling but still has problems centering on the inductive nature and utility.

Behavioral Evidence Analysis

Behavioral evidence analysis also follows the belief that crime scene characteristics provide information about the offender. However, it contrasts itself with other profiling methods in its information processing. Because behavioral evidence analysis is a fairly recent addition to the profiling realm, it recognized the flaws in previous methodologies and aimed to correct some of these problems. In this way, behavioral evidence analysis uses a deductive, rather than inductive, approach. Deductive reasoning requires that each case be studied individually and on its own merits rather than comparing it to previous cases for conclusions (Turvey, 2002). This avoids the generalizations from limited data and minimizes the use of the psychological typologies. For example, while the inductive methods might determine that the offender likely drove a car because the majority of such crimes involve offenders with cars, the deductive approach would state that the victim's body was dumped in a remote area and tire tracks found at the site; therefore, if the tracks belonged to the offender than the offender has access to a vehicle (Turvey, 2002). The deductive approach then moves through

each of the crime scene characteristics to process the premises and conclusions for each element.

This approach, with a different foundation, shares the basic process for analyzing an offense. Following the idea that the offender's behavior, a derivative of the offender's characteristics, can be logically concluded from a scene's premises, there are several stages with many inputs (Turvey, 2002). The first series of inputs is the equivocal forensic analysis. This section involves an evaluation of all physical evidence from the offense (Turvey, 2002). Not only does this include tests to determine the crime itself, reports, and photos but information from a crime scene reconstruction, which can isolate the elements unique to the offense. The reconstruction is not traditionally performed by the profiler; instead an expert in evidence dynamics, including wound pattern analysis, is retained to aid in the investigation (Turvey, 2002). In addition to the physical aspects, a victimology should be included in the input stages. A thorough examination of the victim reveals the individual's routine activities, risk assessment, and subsequently, the offender's selection process for victims (Turvey, 2002). Understanding the victim then aids investigators in the construction of a timeline leading up to the offense and may also outline possibilities for the offender's behavior. Next, the crime scene characteristics for the specific scene are evaluated. Characteristics such as the location, method of approach, method of attack, use of force or control, weapon use, planning, and sequence of events are evidence of the offender's behavioral choices and their personal meaning (Turvey, 2002). This information adds detail to the existing timeline, potentially accounting for any gaps in time from abduction through discovery.

These first three stages are used to assess the complete behavior of the offender. Since the information has been compiled and processed, the offender's characteristics are determined using the deductive process. From the available facets, the profile may include any evidence of criminal skill, relationship to the victim, knowledge of the crime scene's dynamics, and familiarity with materials (Turvey, 2002). Each of these elements is supported by the logical reasoning, which interpret each of the facts present at the scene. This reasoning is included in the profile, as justification for each conclusion so investigators can understand the inclusion of each characteristic. Evident in Turvey's assessment of an Arkansas murder case, more widely known as the case of the West Memphis Three, Leveritt (2002) includes a portion of the profile:

> The profiler also offered his assessment of the site where the bodies were found. He concluded that this was not where the boys were murdered, and that "at least four crime scenes" were involved. He identified these as what he called "the abduction site," where the boys were apprehended; "the attack site," a nearby structure or residence where they were killed; "the dump site," the ditch where the bodies were found; and "the vehicle" that was used to transport the bodies from the attack site to where they were dumped. He cited three reasons for his conclusions. One: "The nature and extent of the wounds inflicted upon these victims, especially the emasculation of Chris Byers, required light, required time, and required uninterrupted privacy. As it was dark in those woods, and as search parties were traveling in and out of the area all evening, this dictates a secluded structure of some kind away from the area of immediate attention." Two: "The nature and extent of the wounds inflicted upon these victims, especially the emasculation of Chris Byers, would have resulted in a tremendous amount of blood loss. Very little blood was found at this scene on the banks of the drainage ditch." And three: "The stabbing injuries and emasculation injuries inflicted

> upon Chris Byers alone, because Chris was conscious during at lease part of the assault…would have resulted in a great deal of screaming." Of all the sounds reported that evening by searchers and local residents, screaming was not among them. The fact hat the three boys were apprehended together and that their wounds showed they put up "limited resistance" suggested to the criminal profiler that they had been approached by "someone that the victims knew and trusted." (p.316)

The reasoning displays the importance of crime scene evidence and the attention it warrants. Although the profile is considered complete, behavioral evidence analysis dictates that the product is reevaluated with the introduction of any new evidence.

This approach to profiling is entirely dependent on the case information. Instead of using past statistics and potential case similarities to guide the profiling process, behavioral evidence analysis uses only the characteristics from the current case. This tailors the procedures to the individual offense, acknowledging the rarity of the crime in question and not attempting to include more sweeping generalizations. Further, the inclusion of additional reports, specifically the crime scene reconstruction, designed for the case provides maximum information from existing characteristics. The large number of inputs on which each premise must be evaluated removes the more intuitive aspects. Additionally, the need for extensive personal experience to develop trait perception is cancelled out by the use of field experts. This also ensures that the conclusions reached by separate profilers are uniform. Unlike other methods that emphasize individual perception, behavioral evidence analysis stresses evidentiary premises from which conclusions are drawn. These apparent advantages are accompanied by some practical problems.

Behavioral evidence analysis, with its improvements from previous methodologies, still possesses some application problems. With the goal of limiting the suspect pool, law enforcement agencies look for clear characteristics of the unknown offender. Traits such as age and sex are two factors deemed most helpful. A profile compiled through behavioral evidence analysis, however, does not possess these elements, instead referring to age, sex, and intelligence as "problem characteristics" (Turvey, 2002, p.342). These areas are considered problematic because they can rarely be determined from the crime scene evidence and victimology. Age and sex, for example, are reliant on ideas of what behavior is most likely from certain groups. It then depends on stereotypes of behavior, the idea that women are less aggressive for example, in determining the offender characteristics. Behavioral evidence analysis holds that such judgments are not reached logically from the evidence and, as such, do not belong in the profile. For intelligence, the decision is made from an examination of criminal skill, whose relationship to intelligence is not concrete. An offender with low intelligence may exhibit little skill due to a lack of planning or display a high level of criminal skill due to extensive offense experience (Turvey, 2002). There is then no way to deduce the intelligence level of the offender since it is not represented in crime scene behaviors. Current police practices find it difficult to operate without this information in an investigation.

While the perception of the profile's utility possesses potential problems, an additional issue for law enforcement is the length of the behavioral evidence analysis process. Both the crime reconstruction and forensic testing require extensive time to complete. Once this is

compiled, the profiler considers each of the characteristics and evaluates them accordingly. The entire process requires much effort and time, since it does not use a standardized checklist to determine offender characteristics (Turvey, 1998; Holmes and Holmes, 2002). Thus, while police receive a more tailored profile, they must wait longer for the product. This is further complicated because the approach insists that a profile not be issued unless ample information is available (See Appendix B). In these cases, a threshold assessment is produced, where the profiler explains, "After reviewing the case materials given, it is the examiner's opinion that defense counsel did not adequately deal with physical evidence provided in the case" and provides "a plan of action" (Torres, 2002, p.661). The product will consequently outline what can be inferred and recommend areas of further investigation. In contemporary investigations, with pressure from both the public and the media, this time is not always available. More importantly, with the passage of time during an investigation, the number of offenses can increase, adding more victims and delaying the creation of a profile since, under this method, the profile should be reevaluated when new information is available. The profiling process can potentially continue indefinitely as the linked crimes continue. Behavioral evidence analysis then maintains some of the practical problems of profiling despite its attempts to provide a more thorough and accurate profile, as compared to the inductive approaches.

Implications

Although the concept of criminal profiling was strengthened through fictional accounts, it continues to gain momentum in current investigations. The profiler's presence, while noted during court testimony as in the cases of *The Estate of Samuel H. Sheppard v. State of Ohio* and *Texas v. Andrea Yates*, is most publicized during the investigative process, as witnessed recently in the Ohio highway shootings (Morse, 2003) and the Washington DC metropolitan area snipers (David and Morello, 2002). Thus, the role of profiling in law enforcement continues to increase. Although the typologies and methods possess their own problems, they indicate larger issues in the field.

Profiler Training

While criminal profiling remains a tool available to law enforcement agencies, there is extensive variation in the product that will be received. Not only will each of the different profiling methods lead to the distinctions in information, but the individual profiler's background will further affect the final profile. With the exception of behavioral evidence analysis, each of the currently dominating approaches rely on the individual's experience when classifying offense characteristics and even behavioral evidence analysis considers experience in the interpretation of information. During the assignment of a typological label, the profiler determines the final radius of the circle and the trait relationships for geographic methods and the characteristic interpretations for use of the psychological typologies. The individual's background must then include exposure to case-specific investigations that include similar behavior (O'Toole, 1999; Keppel and Birnes, 2003). Experience and training

are therefore extraneous factors influencing a profile that are not included in the methodology.

The dependency on experience demonstrates a problem area for law enforcement when selecting a profiler. The differences in homicide investigation training are most evident in examinations of interrater reliability (D'Agostino et al, 1985; Holmes and Holmes, 1998). For the organized/disorganized dichotomy, the agents categorizing the crime scene characteristics disagreed, at best, twenty percent of the time but could extend to as high as thirty-eight percent (D'Agostino et al, 1985). It is then possible that the preliminary classification will agree in less than two-thirds of the cases. This variation affects the product, making selection difficult since interpretations can be completely different (Berkerian and Jackson, 1997). A standardized system outlining training and experience, and perhaps licensure, can correct these selection problems.

The lack of uniformity in the profiles, even within the same method, can be remedied through the implementation of qualification guidelines. Professionalization of the criminal profiling field will create minimal education, training and field experience requirements and a license will require some element of evaluation which would allow law enforcement to have a basis of knowledge for selecting a profiler. A preliminary system has been proposed by the Academy of Behavioral Profiling (2004), which aims to "[develop] and [promote] multi-disciplinary education and training, practice standards and peer review for those who engage in evidence based criminal profiling" (para.1). Through a professional organization, law enforcement agencies would be able to access a profiler's credentials and case history. This will not only allow investigators to select a profiler by their qualifications and methodological approach but will also encourage the individual profilers to possess a vested interest in the case beyond the investigatory phase. By maintaining a role through the apprehension and prosecution phases, the profiler's base of knowledge is expanded and the individual can isolate any potential flaws in the process. Law enforcement agencies would be better served by such professionalization, as it would allow investigators to be better informed in their decision.

Profiler Accessibility

Due to the lack of uniform standards, law enforcement agencies choose the profiler for a case with little recommendation. As a result, criminal profilers are hired as consultants and, in the United States, the majority of this outsourcing is fielded by active and retired FBI agents. While the FBI Academy's Behavioral Science Unit can be contacted for consultation, the Unit is also responsible for training and teaching, minimizing the direct interaction between the agents and the case. The case information is sent to Quantico, where it is interpreted, and a profile is sent back to the investigators. The demands on this Unit limit relations and, in the wake of incidents such as the *USS Iowa* (Poythress, Otto, Darkes, and Starr, 1993) and Waco (Clark, 2000) and national events, availability of funding is limited, leading investigators to turn to profilers in the private sector.

There are currently profilers representing each methodology in the private sector but the most well-known are those that were, at some point, affiliated with the FBI. Although their approach of criminal investigative analysis relies heavily on the flawed organized/disorganized dichotomy, it has been heavily lauded, and thus reinforced, by the media thereby allowing it to be viewed as an authentic strategy (Canter et al, 2004). Profiler selection is then based on marketing and not on quality and accuracy, although that is not to say that the two are mutually exclusive. Still, with existing flaws in the methodologies, it is plausible that some approaches, and by extension profilers, are more accurate than others and instead of investigators choosing the most useful approach, name recognition is the deciding factor.

The final product applied to the investigation is meant to narrow the suspect pool. The importance of its usefulness to a case is compounded by the fees that accompany this service (Holmes and Holmes, 1998). It must be acknowledged that profilers in the private sector are involved in a business venture and retention of services carries a significant sum. Fees tend to be calculated based on the individual case and the amount of effort required, plus investigative expenses, although a minimal consultation will range in the thousands of dollars. Initial estimates for retention of services in the Andrea Yates case, for example, exceed three hundred thousand dollars (Wood, 2002). Investigators, particularly those in smaller departments, may not have funding readily available for these services. Consequently, these agencies continue the investigation without aid, potentially delaying apprehension and resolution, although they may receive some assistance from the FBI's Behavioral Sciences Unit. A limited budget is then an obstacle to securing profiling services and affects an active investigation.

Profiling Utility

While problems within criminal profiling have been identified, the ultimate concern is the profile's utility for law enforcement. While no concrete definition of effectiveness exists, the intent of this technique is to identify an offender's characteristics, both geographic and behavioral (Keppel and Birnes, 2003). Accordingly, the profile is meant to serve as an "investigative tool" and its utility is determined by the assistance provided to investigators (O'Toole, 1999, p.44). Thus, the profiler's ability to narrow the investigative suspect pool is identified as the indicator of usefulness although the exact nature of this assistance remains vague. According to Burgess and Ressler (1985), "a 1981 FBI evaluation review of the profiling service stated the behavioral profiling helped focus the investigation in seventy-seven percent of those cases in which the suspect was identified" (p.3). Despite acknowledgment that this examination was conducted prior to the completion of the study establishing the organized/disorganized dichotomy, this finding continues to use a nondescript measurement of usefulness. Additional examinations of utility have not been introduced for public review although, in recent years, the news media have looked for matching characteristics between an accessible profile and the apprehended offender. A concrete measure of utility for any profiling method is still lacking and mere assistance does not necessarily involve any new information.

Depending on the profile, the characteristics included may only confirm existing beliefs, without any additional knowledge. The limitation on the profile's assistance is due, in large part, to the method's dependence on typologies. The applicability of these categorizations is minimal since the geographic types possess no traits distinguishing the marauder from the commuter a priori and the psychological types do not exist as a dichotomy. The inability of these classifications to be generalized for investigations, in addition to the difficulties in assigning these labels, inhibits the effectiveness of the profiling methodologies (Holmes and Holmes, 1998; Holmes and DeBurger, 1998; Godwin, 2002; Keppel and Birnes, 2003; Canter et al, 2004). The actual profile then adds little to the findings of an active investigation, beyond reassurance. Hence, Holmes (1998) asserts that a single profile, with its broad characterizations and questionable accuracy, should be considered with products from other profiles and the similarities should be used by investigating officers. Such a requirement further restricts accessibility and implies a need for a more accurate and law enforcement appropriate method. The exact utility of existing methods then appears limited although some alteration may aid investigators in accurately isolating elements of the crime.

Recommendations

The downfalls of profiling are centered on the corresponding typological classifications and its overall effectiveness appears to be geared toward validation of existing ideas. This implies two evolutionary changes in the criminal profiling field which would maximize utility for law enforcement agencies. The first involves a shift in the foundation of the profiling process from its application as an art form to one more consistent with the scientific process (Godwin, 2002). This would shy away from existing typologies, a step already initiated by behavioral evidence analysis, and instead uses evidence from the individual scenes. Yet, according to those currently practicing this method, the logic and scientific process present mirror that used by investigators and for that reason, a skilled investigator can also serve as a capable profiler (Turvey, 2002).

The second alteration to the existing organization is then the elimination of the consultant that compiles the data from the crime reconstructionist and forensic professionals. Instead, additional training can be introduced for homicide detectives which would address this process of analysis. By integrating this process within the department, policing agencies are only paying for the services of the reconstructionist since state forensics labs are already factored into the budget, as is the work of investigators, instead of using third party contracts.

While such changes to the existing profiling process seem simple, further study is required. Initial action should involve examination on the part of academics to compare profile characteristics to those of the actual offender and expand upon the reviews of current methodologies and their typologies. These findings should be carried beyond academic circles and into the mainstream media, which presently promote the strength of existing profiling methods as investigative tools. Only through this combined effort can public demand less and the material be used to formulate this new approach for proactive investigation.

This improved method can borrow from current processes, specifically behavioral evidence analysis, in the development, provided each of the past problems is addressed. Although it may appear that the deductive approach is, in its present form, the solution to these issues, the considerable time required for the process is problematic. Behavioral evidence analysis is better suited for retroactive application to an investigation, such as a cold case or one that has completed the apprehension phase, where the necessary time is free from the pressures of an active investigation. The new process needs to address these stressors and the time-sensitive nature of the investigation. Perhaps most importantly the process should be open to review so as to isolate any flaws and identify a means of correction.

Though this preliminary evaluation indicates that the actions of a profiler can be incorporated into the duties of law enforcement investigators, later review may indicate otherwise. In the event of a finding that department detectives are unable to fill this role or that training costs would exceed those asked by a consultant, criminal profiling should remain an outsourced position. The profiling field, both public and private, however should undergo professionalization and the creation of general standards of practice. This should include academic and field training, in addition to ethnical guidelines, in light of incidents like Waco and the Andrea Yates case. Further, to ensure a constant process of individual performance review, a licensure program should be implemented. This will both help to make certain that law enforcement receives a qualified profiler and build a positive reputation in the policing field. While many criminal justice practitioners perceive profiling as “voodoo” and profilers as “glorified mystics”, licensing procedures will more closely align this technique with the professional sciences (Grezlak, 1999, para.3). With each of these suggestions, the most important aspect is evaluation, as it will aid in the development process and help the technique to evolve into a viable investigative technique.

Conclusions

Offender profiling, while dominated by the media, has entered into the practical realm of law enforcement. Although public opinion asserts that this is a viable tool for policing investigators, the typologies and methodologies are troublesome. While the existing geographic types are valid only after the offender is identified, the psychological classifications lack a solid foundation. Consequently, the methods currently in practice possess basic flaws. However, this does not imply that criminal profiling is inherently unqualified to serve as a tool since the goal of profiling is identical to standard investigative practices. The concept can be used for investigations although not in the method traditionally emphasized; instead, the case-specific analysis of forensic evidence is a variation on existing procedures used by investigators and can be introduced within departments.

Existing methods must accordingly be sacrificed for the development of an accurate and cost-effective procedure to aid in the investigation of homicides. Additionally, this same process for review should be applied to other crimes now using profiling techniques, from sexual assault to arson and even stalking, since these offenses differ in their characteristics and a precisely identical process may not be appropriate. The dominant practices of

geographic profiling, investigative psychology, criminal investigative analysis, and behavioral evidence analysis each offer a unique approach to understanding an offense and can thus contribute its perspective to a more specific and effective method.

Ultimately, criminal profiling requires further study so that it does not continue to be subject to existing problems. Despite critics' recommendations that the entire practice be eliminated, it has cemented its position in the eyes of the public as a practical technique and refusal to seek profiler assistance would lead to a negative portrayal of investigating officers. For this reason, the presence of profiling must be acknowledged, although it can be modified. Crime is not static and therefore the field of criminal profiling should simultaneously evolve. The need for continuous exploration into the field itself will help to improve this practice, while the basic tenets of investigation remain constant. In the end, criminal profiling in its current state better serves fictional storylines than active cases. However, if practitioners are able to introduce a new profiling approach that mirrors an established professional technique, the modern view of this tool as nothing more than an elaborate con can be curtained and law enforcement will be better equipped to address these high profile and difficult cases.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Criminal Investigative Analysis Example

The following is an example of a profile submitted by the FBI's Behavioral Science Unit, referred to as the Behavioral Analysis Unit, to the Baton Rouge Police. Note that the FBI includes the fact that it does not generally release its actual profiles for public evaluation. (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2002).

Criminal profiling is a process now known as "criminal investigative analysis." Profilers, or Criminal Investigative Analysts are highly trained and experienced FBI Agents who study every behavioral and forensic aspect and detail of an unsolved violent crime scene in which a certain amount of psychopathology has been left at the scene. Psychopathology is an offender's behavioral and psychological indicators that are left at a violent crime scene as a result of this physical, sexual, and in some cases verbal interaction with his victim(s). A profile, or criminal investigative analysis is an investigative tool, and its value is measured in terms of how much assistance it provides to the investigator.

Baton Rouge law enforcement and the FBI recognize that it is not typical to publicly release any portion of a profile in a serial homicide investigation. However, it is the opinion of the FBI's Behavioral Analysis Unit (BAU) that there are persons in the Baton Rouge area who know this offender and may even suspect he is responsible for the deaths of Gina Green, Charlotte Murray Pace, and Pam Kinamore. Identifying what the BAU believes some of the offender's key personality and behavioral traits, gleaned from the three crime scenes, may give the person who knows him, whether it is a co-worker, family member, or friend, the confidence to contact law enforcement.

It is important to note that no one or two traits or characteristics should be considered in isolation or given more weight than the others. Any one of the traits, or several, can be seen in people who have never committed a crime. Instead, these behavioral traits and characteristics should be considered in their totality.

- Based on the age range of the victims and their physical appearances, the age of this male offender is estimated to be somewhere between 25 and 35 years of age. However, no suspect should be eliminated on the basis of his chronological age.

- This offender is physically strong and capable of lifting a weight of at least 155-175 pounds. Crime Scene information indicates a shoe size of approximately 10 to 11.

- His socio-economic situation is likely average or even below average for the Baton Rouge area. In other words, his finances would be tight. His employment is likely to be in a job which requires physical strength, and does not involve significant or regular interactions with the public. He does not have a certain amount of mobility either from his employment, lifestyle or both.

- These homicides occurred on two Fridays and a Saturday. It is possible that one of these days this offender was not accountable to anyone, unlike the rest of the week where he was accountable due to his employment or for some other reason.

- This offender appears to have developed limited information about the three victims – before the homicides. Because he put himself in a position to see them, observe them, or even casually run into them prior to the assaults, he would have obtained information about where they lived, and something about their patterns of behavior. However, it is important to point out that following these women could have involved merely "spot" checks which would not have raised the women's level of suspicion or awareness. This offender may also have perceived more of a "relationship" with these women than what was there. He may have even "bragged" to other, co-workers, other male friends, about having relationships with certain very attractive – well off – women, without identifying these women specifically.

- This offender wants to be seen as someone who is attractive and appealing to women. However, his level of sophistication in interacting with women, especially women who are above him in the social strata, is low. Any contact he has had with women he has found attractive would be described by these women as "awkward". He might demonstrate an overt interest in certain women, complimenting them, etc., in an effort to get closer to them. However, he may misperceive the intentions of some women who are "nice" to him because they don't want to hurt his feelings. His misperceptions might cause him to think there could be more to their "friendship" than what the women perceives.

- It is likely this offender spends a significant amount of time watching women and following those in whom he is interested. Whether he is at work, at a bar, on his days off, alone or with others, he watches women. At times, this behavior could be excessive and something he engages in to the exclusion of other daily activities. Watching women and following them would be exciting for him. When questioned about it, he would defend this behavior and attempt to normalize it by telling others "I just like women".

- This offender does not just follow women from a distance and it is [possible] he will attempt to interact with them. He has interacted with other women in the Baton Rouge area that he has not killed. However, his low-key style would not have caused suspicion. What may draw attention to him is when his watching and following women becomes obviously inappropriate. He may be so intent on watching them, he can become almost oblivious when he "crosses the line", and they finally notice him or even confront him about it. Persons who know this offender would likely be aware of his behavior and probably have made comments to him about it. He would deny his behavior is inappropriate.

- Women who have been or will be questioned by investigators may not even think to mention this individual because he seems so harmless. The women he follows, watches, or interacts with may not even be aware of him because he "blends in" with

the community and his physical appearance is normal. He may come across to some women as a "nice guy" who might have tried to get a little too close too soon, but otherwise is a non-threatening person. He may go out of his way to be helpful to women in an effort to get closer to them. This veneer of harmlessness is his shield of protection from suspicion.

- This is a person who will not handle rejection – real or imagined – well, particularly by women, and he will become angry, sullen, and determined to retaliate.

- There are behavioral aspects of each of the three assaults which are considered very high risk for the offender. This includes home intrusions at times when people are around, or could return home and find him. This high risk behavior exposes this offender to being identified or even apprehended. However, he does it anyway because it is probably enjoyable for him and adds to his sense of thrill and excitement. People who know this offender will recognize his propensity to engage in behavior which is high risk, to live on the edge – even in normal, everyday activities.

- This is an "impulsive" individual. When determined to do something, he disregards the consequences of his acts. However, his impulsivity has likely brought him to the attention of law enforcement in the past, even if for seemingly minor offenses, including trespassing, breaking and entering, and peeping. His decision to attack each of the three women when he did may have been spontaneous or impulsive. However, because he had knowledge of these women's schedules and lifestyles, it would have lessened the "recklessness" of having made a spontaneous decision.

- The BAU believes that this offender lost control during the assault of Charlotte Murray Pace. Loosing control would have angered him. He does not like loosing control, and he would have been noticeably angry and agitated for sometime after the Pace homicide. People around him would have seen this agitation and will recall any disparaging remarks he might have made about Mr. Pace when her homicide was discussed – either by others or in the media. He would have appeared very interested in media reports following the homicide.

- If the offender was accountable for his time on the day Pace was murdered, and he had to return to his normal schedule, his distraction would have been very noticeable to others around him. However, if at all possible, he would not have returned to his normal schedule, and his absence from that schedule would have been noted by others.

- People who know this offender, know that he hates loosing control – even in everyday situations. But when he does, he becomes very agitated and upset – and blames other[s] for what happens.

- This offender is determined and mission oriented. Even under stress he is able to complete his assaults on his victims – which was his intention when he entered their

residences. This ability to be cool under pressure, is also a trait that those who know him will have seen in the past. At times, when others are upset, and unable to function, he will appear unaffected and detached.

- This is a determined individual who likely became upset at certain time in the past twelve months since the death of Gina Green on Sunday, September 23, 2001. People who know him or were around him specifically during key critical times will be aware of his anger and would have seen his agitation. People should pay particular note of these times, which are outlined below.

    - Following the death of Charlotte Murray Pace on Friday, May 31, 2002, this offender would have likely behaved in a very angry and agitated manner for a period of time. News reports and other mention of Ms. Pace and what happened to her would have precipitated his making particularly disparaging remarks about her, even blaming her for what happened.

    - On July 10th, when it was made public that the Green and Pace homicides were connected through DNA, this offender would have again felt agitated and angry and seemed preoccupied. He might have asked those around him seemingly casual questions about the reliability of DNA analysis and how DNA is obtained. He would also make disparaging comments about law enforcement; for example, they were unable to solve these murders because whoever is responsible is too smart to get caught.

    - This offender did not want, nor did he expect for Pam Kinamore's body to be found. On Tuesday, July 16, 2002, when it was announced that her body was found near the Whiskey Bay Exit off of Interstate 10, he would have been noticeably upset – agitated, angry, and preoccupied. Thos around him may recall his having made comments that there was no way the Kinamore murder was connected to the other two.

- This offender may have even returned to the Whiskey Bay area – to scene where he left Kinamore's body – because he was so perplexed about her having been found. This return to that area may have appeared to have been for "legitimate" reasons, for example he was "curious" about what the area looked like.

- This offender has followed this investigation in the media. His attention to the media reports would be inconsistent with his prior behavior about current events in Baton Rouge, in which he displayed little interest. On Friday, July 12, 2002, two days after the announcement of the Pace and Green murders were connected by DNA, Pam Kinamore is taken out of her home. It is likely this change in his MO is a direct result of his having learned about the Pace-Green connection through the media.

- If involved in a relationship with a woman, or living with a female, (mother, sisters, etc.), he can become unpredictably moody, volatile and abusive. These women

would know this side of him and be afraid of him. They would also likely describe him at times as being cold and without empathy.

- This offender may have given "gifts" to women in his life – even at times when there was no apparent reason. These gifts could have been wrapped as though they were new, and may have seemed strange to the received, because they did not reflect personal "taste" or it was something they neither wanted nor needed.

- This offender will be very interested in the release of the "profile" information today. While on the outside he may try to appear very disinterested, he will in fact feel very anxious that some of his own traits as identified by the FBI might make him suspicious to others.

Since the Kilamore homicide this offender has felt less anxious and concerned about being arrested. His level of confidence has increased over time and things have retuned to "normal" for him. However, the release today of some of the offender's traits and characteristics will raise his anxiety level back up and also produce some paranoia in him. The offender now knows that he has made mistakes before, during and after the commission of these crimes, but he cannot go back in time and fix them. These mistakes make him vulnerable.

Appendix B: Behavioral Evidence Analysis Example

The following is an excerpt from the Threshold Assessment provided by Angela Torres in the case of *Illinois v. Gerald Simonson*. It is important to note that this evaluation is provided following apprehension and requests additional information. (Torres, 2002)

Body found: Friday, June 26, 1992 at approximately 4:35 a.m. by a passing motorist.

Investigating Agencies: Marion County sheriff's department, Fayette County sheriff's department, Marion County coroner's office, Farina police, state police in District 12, and Department of Criminal Investigation.

After reviewing the case materials given, it is the examiner's opinion that defense counsel did not adequately deal with physical evidence provided in the case. No independent forensic laboratories or consultants were hired by the defense to translate complicated biological and serological evidence. In addition, other forensic testing may have been completed to more adequately inform and prepare the defense. These included tests performed by blood pattern analysts, forensic pathologists specializing in wound analysis, as well as experts in crime reconstruction. Finally, in some cases, the results of tests on physical evidence were not followed up on by the defense, such as the seminal fluid-like substance near the victim's left eye.

…

Examinations performed:

The reviewer of *Illinois v. Simonson* made this Threshold Assessment based upon an inspection of available case material:

- Selected newspaper clippings from area newspapers following the Simonson case
- Crime scene photos
- Autopsy photos
- Police reports
- Various crime laboratory reports
- Various lab results and medical reports on Gerald Simonson
- Trial transcripts
- Various suspect, witness, and related person interviews

…

Equivocal Analysis of Autopsy Findings

The autopsy was performed by Dr. Heidingsfelder at approximately 3:00 p.m. on June 26, 1992 at St. Mary's Hospital Morgue. The report and coroner's inquest was complete and thorough; however, there are two aspects of hits case that should have been investigated further:

- The head wounds on the top-right area of the victim's skull are inconsistent with a claw hammer. Further investigation into wound analysis should have been done instead of an assumption that a single weapon was used for the entire attack.
- Dr. Heidingsfelder mentions that Ms. McLean's body was smeared with her blood. He did not go into whether or not this smearing is a product of a struggle or if the perpetrator explicitly decided to smear the victim's blood. This would illuminate possible post-offense behaviors important to behavioral profiling.

Equivocal Analysis of Other Investigations

It is this examiner's opinion that the following areas lacked sufficient investigative efforts:

- Blood in the home and in the front yard should have been examined further by someone trained in blood spatter analysis, as well as crime reconstruction, to help explain pre-, peri-, and post-offense behavior.
- A more thorough examination of the burned car should have been made with a more intensive attempt at recovering evidence.
- The seminal-like fluid found on the victim was not adequately investigated and tested.

Appendix C: Personal Qualifications

During my time at Northeastern University, my professional exposure to the topic of criminal profiling has been limited. Some of my coursework has included elements of geographic profiling through the consideration of so-called "hotspots." One course, Psychology of Crime included some of the psychological elements of offenders, but an examination of profiling in law enforcement was minimal. I did however conduct an independent study in high school on criminal profiling and the foundations of the FBI's approach.

Last spring, I completed a course entitled Criminal Profiling at Bond University in Australia. This looks at the different varieties of profiling and applies them to various offenses. I was instructed by Wayne Peterick, who has recently started applying profiling methodologies to stalking. The tutorial meeting each week for this class generally involved examining the facts of a case and generating a profile of the offender.

During my time in Australia, I attended a seminar on sex crimes investigation. This course was lead by Brent Turvey, a forensic scientist who advocates the behavioral evidence approach. This covered profiling's integration with sexual crimes.

For one of my co-op experiences, I worked in a branch of federal law enforcement. This allowed me to not only observe the government environment but also see how the agents would use past case experience to predict the behavior patterns of the individuals they investigated. They also generalized characteristics to certain offenders who committed similar crimes. Although these cases rarely involved violence crime, similar principles were applied.

When I have been enrolled in classes, I work part-time with Northeastern's Public Safety Division as an Administrative Clerk. Although my duties include basic administrative responsibilities, I also worked with payroll and finances. This experience, while helping to build my criminal justice experience, has helped me to realize the pressures faced by a small department and the relationship with the media.

My background, although not specifically pursuing profiling, allows me to approach this topic from several different angles. Academically, my course experience provides a basic overview and my work experience has exposed me to the practical aspects of policing. My administrative exposure has allowed me to examine some of the non-investigation related elements of the department. With this understanding, I can evaluate these strategies from different angles and recognize previously neglected elements.