

Criminal Profiling as a Psychologically Influenced Aid to Criminal Investigations

Melissa Hadley

State University of New York College at Brockport

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Criminal profiling is increasingly becoming a more highlighted part of the investigation process. By evaluating the crime scene, combining information about the victim and other evidence, a profiler deduces characteristics of the offender. The profiles that are created are sometimes construed as magical speculation; however, they are based on research, fact, and previous experience. Although they generally will not solve crimes, they can help by narrowing down long lists of suspects and providing direction for an investigation. Psychology is an essential piece of the profiling puzzle, and much of the analysis is based in data from the field. Specific disorders revealed through many aspects of the crime can help to identify possible suspects and a multitude of information about their mental processes. The criminal justice system is becoming aware of what criminal profiling can offer and the positive effects that psychological study contributes to the process.

Throughout history many claims have been made in regards to the ability of identifying criminals. An Italian physician named Cesare Lombroso was one of the first to attempt the classification of criminals. He based his conclusions on different body types and physical characteristics "Such as race, age and sex" (Turvey, 2002, p.2). These ideas were not very helpful in identifying criminals, because many people, innocent and guilty, share the same attributes. As generalizations based on physical characteristics were shown to be useless in identifying criminals, attention shifted to the mind of an offender.

Real advances in the science of criminal profiling were not made until the 1950's when a psychiatrist, Dr. James A. Brussel, began using his expertise to

assist in criminal investigations. He used a diagnostic approach in identifying “An unknown offender’s mental disorders from behaviors evident from the crime scenes” (Turvey, 2002, p.13). Brussel would make conclusions about the characteristics of criminals “by comparing their criminal behavior to his own experiences with the behavior of patients who shared similar disorders” (Turvey, 2002, p.13). As much of criminal profiling is done today, he would use characteristics and behaviors of known criminals to identify attributes of an unknown offender. Brussel received his fame for the 1956 prediction he made regarding the probable characteristics New York City’s ‘Mad Bomber’. Using the psychoanalytic method, Brussel analyzed the crime scenes and the bomber’s letters. The description he offered was of “A heavy, middle-aged man, single and living with a brother or sister and would be wearing a double-breasted suit neatly buttoned up when he was found” (Jackson, 1997, p.4). A few years later, George Metsky was apprehended, fitting the description down to his attire. More important from a psychological viewpoint, is the fact that Brussels accurately identified that the offender would suffer from a “Chronic disorder” with “Persistent delusions” (Turvey, 2002, p. 14). What seems like random guessing is not how profiling works today; however, it is much more structured and based on comprehensive research (Jackson, 1997). The important contributions made by Brussel were that of basing inferences about an offender on known characteristics of other criminals and how disorders can be deduced through the analysis of crimes.

The F.B.I. was influential in the history of criminal profiling, with Howard Teten and Pat Mullany at the head of its development. Teten combined many different influences into his approach. Starting as a law enforcement officer in California, he studied diverse fields that would contribute to his individual method of criminal profiling. Teten's mentors included criminalists, medical examiners and a psychiatrist named Dr. Douglas Kelly. This last professional is most famous for his involvement in the Nuremberg War Trials (Turvey, 2002). In 1970, Teten began to implement his profiling techniques as a special agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In a course called Applied Criminology at the F.B.I. Academy, Teten taught the techniques of criminal profiling as a supplement to other tools of the investigation process. He was joined during this time by Pat Mullany, who offered expertise on the influence of abnormal psychology in criminal profiling. They taught by first taking apart a crime, Mullany would then detail abnormal behavior relevant to the case, and Teten would explain how evidence from the scene could dictate the behavior discussed (Turvey, 2002).

The FBI was the first to conduct serious investigation into the usefulness of this approach. They started by interviewing a set of 36 "Convicted sexually-oriented serial murderers," (Jackson, 1997, p.4) and combined this and their personal experience with these types of crimes. The FBI will typically consider the crime scene, nature of attacks, forensic evidence and information about the victim. They then classify the offender and refer to predictive characteristics (Jackson, 1997).

There are four main stages in the approach used by the FBI for profiling criminals, which are widely accepted and applied. Data assimilation is first, followed by crime classification, reconstruction and evaluating the intellectual functioning of the criminal. Data assimilation is a process of collecting information from as many sources as possible. This may include police reports, photographs of the crime scene and autopsy reports. Secondly, the profiler would look at crime classification. This is where they try to classify, on the basis of all information collected in the first step, the type of crime. The third step is that of crime reconstruction. Profilers try to generate hypotheses about the sequence of events that occurred during the crime and even the behavior of the victims (Jackson, 1997). Once this has been completed a profile can be generated, which will typically include many characteristics about the perpetrator. The profiles usually demonstrate uniformity and their reports show a specific format. First, demographic information is presented such as; "Age range, race, degree of occupational skills, marital and socioeconomic status" (Jackson, 1997, p.5). The next section focuses on the criminal's intellectual functioning, including the level of education they have most likely attained. Profilers tend to include information about whether they may have a legal and arrest history, and what it might include. Military background is also considered as a characteristic, as well as information about the perpetrator's family. Next, the profile will list the supposed habits and social interests followed by crime scene evidence that might be relevant. Following this is the probable characteristics of their vehicle, such as age and type. Personality characteristics are then discussed, including possible

mental disorders that the criminal may suffer from. Lastly, the profiler will suggest techniques to use when interviewing suspects based on all the prior information. This is especially useful to police, in that they will know which questions to ask and what they are looking for (Jackson, 1997).

Brent Turvey is a private forensic scientist and criminal profiler, one of the founding members of the Academy of Behavioral Profiling and has worked on a variety of cases. He discusses data assimilation, referred to as case assessment, in greater detail as part of the process of profiling. Turvey references all the reports, evidence that should be obtained, and what information can be ascertained by each.

The first items mentioned are the crime scene video and photos. It is preferred to actually visit the scene, but when not feasible this is the next best option. The data contained within these items will be helpful in establishing the atmosphere and logistics of the place where the crime occurred. The photos will provide a closer view of specific pieces of evidence that may be involved. Items such as literature can provide psychological clues and others can help identify specific wounds on the body (Turvey, 2002).

Turvey explains how any person that enters the crime scene is usually required to complete a report of their observations and activities. He suggests obtaining copies of every one that is submitted. In his experience, the author has found young officers to elaborate and include the most details, where veterans may only include what they see as being important. "These reports reflect the personality and experience of the person writing them, so no two are precisely

alike" (Turvey, 2002, p.60). Therefore, the more that can be obtained can yield more possible details.

Crime scene sketches are also important to completing a criminal profile. It will be a rough sketch showing the relationship between physical evidence and the environment of the location where the incident occurred. This item can also be helpful in cross referencing what evidence was collected.

To help in this process, evidence logs and submission forms should be collected. These reports will not only detail each item, but inform the profiler of its location and whether it has been sent on to a laboratory for analysis. Turvey warns, "Not everything that is submitted to a crime lab for analysis gets the appropriate attention" (Turvey, 2002, p.60). This information will help to track evidence that could be significant in a case.

When testing by the laboratory is complete, one is encouraged to obtain all of the forensic analysis reports. Essential information can be gained by the scientific data from crime scene evidence. Turvey advises the criminal profiler to research and become familiar with the most common tests performed, so the data can be understood.

The medical examiner's or coroner's report is an essential piece of any investigation. The first piece of information that will be provided is a cause of death. This alone may start to give clues about the offender's characteristics, and become the start of a profile. Descriptions of injuries are best compared to photos and videos which should also be collected by the profiler. Injuries from emergency medical staff require identification and any unexplained or

documented markings should be noted. The profiler is to determine whether injuries are “antemortem, perimortem or postmortem, as these considerations are of importance when interpreting the context of offender behavior” (Turvey, 2002, p.63). Whether these wounds are inflicted prior to, during or after a murder can help in profiling the offender.

In rape cases, a sexual assault protocol may be performed, where evidence is collected off of the victim. Reports, diagrams, photos of wounds and physical items sent for testing should all be acquired. When the victim is not killed, statements will be taken and should be used to corroborate the other evidence (Turvey, 2002).

Whenever possible, accounts provided by witnesses or victims can be helpful to an investigation. Audiotapes are preferred to written transcripts in that, “The flavor of what was said, as much as the content, is important in the review of this documentation for facts and inconsistencies” (Turvey, 2002, p.64). It is essential to remember when deducting information from statements, that the truth is not guaranteed.

The abundance of data in any investigation makes it impossible for one person to analyze alone. Relationships between different elements of the crime must be established, and an understanding of what occurred. Turvey simplifies, “The aim of forensic science in every investigation is to provide useful information that helps make the facts of the case clear” (2002, p.64). This data contributes to the ability of a profiler to make educated assumptions about the characteristics of the perpetrator of a given crime.

Crime scene analysis can be helpful in compiling a profile and in the reconstruction of an offense. After data assimilation, the investigation may begin as all the details are combined to tell a story of what actually happened. This information can help by providing "General distinguishing features of a crime scene as evidenced by an offender's behavioral decisions regarding the victim and the offense location, and their subsequent meaning to the offender" (2002, p.189). The goal of which is to create an accurate criminal profile that can lead investigators to the perpetrator of a crime.

The first classification to be made in reference to the crime scene is that of location type. There are four possibilities; indoor, outdoor, vehicle or underwater. Indoor crime scenes are those "Inside of a structure with some form of cover from the elements of nature" (Turvey, 2002, p.190). Whereas, those exposed to elements of nature are referred to as outdoor crime scenes. Vehicle is in reference to those scenes which are mobile and underwater scenes include any that are under the surface of a body of water. This determination is most informative as to the nature and extent of evidence that can possibly be discovered (Turvey, 2002).

The second type of crime classification refers to the scene as in a sequence of events. As a criminal offense may occur in more than one location, there are several types of crime scenes to be considered. This crime scene identification will provide a profiler with "the relationship of the crime scene to the offender behavior, in the context of the offense" (Turvey, 2002, p.190).

The point of contact is the first scene to be considered in analysis. This location is where “The offender first approached or acquired the victim” (Turvey, 2002, p.191). It can apply to a variety of circumstances in that this may be a point of attack or simply a coincidental meeting.

Known as a primary scene is where the majority of attack or assault upon a victim by an offender. As this is where the most time during an offense is spent, a great deal of evidence will also be acquired at this location. These locations may differ in a series of crimes, with each victim and in some cases may also be the disposal site (Turvey, 2002).

The secondary scene is one that also has several possibilities, but there may be several of these locations for each victim. Here is where some of the interaction between victim and offender may occur, but not the majority of it. Basically it is “Any place where there may be evidence of criminal activity outside of the primary scene” (Turvey, 2002, p.191).

An intermediate scene is the location between the primary and disposal site scenes. This type of location is important for the transfer evidence that can be found there. Actually a type of secondary crime scene this may be a vehicle that was used in transporting the body or where the body was stored before disposing of it (Turvey, 2002).

The preceding all lead to the dumpsite or disposal site, which Turvey describes as “A crime scene where a body is found” (2002, p.191). This wording implies that the death of a victim occurred at some other location, or immediately after arriving at this scene. However, the disposal site might also be the primary

scene. It is important for the profiler to consider all evidence in making this determination. Visiting the crime scene will allow for the identification of any nearby areas that might hold an additional scene associated with the offense. Assuming that there is only one scene, excludes additional details and evidence that can be found at another location (Turvey, 2002).

Once the physical location of each scene has been identified, there are elements of the crime that may be deduced by considering certain possibilities. The people who frequent the location and surrounding area are one example. Also, the terrain should be analyzed as to the method one must take to access it. The items located at the scene should be identified as well as any that might be missing. The activities that usually occur in this location should be considered along with the criminal activity in the area. All the crime scene locations should be compared in relation to each other. How the offender chose the scene, the transportation used and point of entry are also important factors. The profiler must also consider how familiar the offender would be the surrounding area of the crime scene. Whether the location is one an outsider might notice passing through, or some experience within the area can be inferred. These considerations will help answer questions about the crime, and help point to other areas of investigation (Turvey, 2002).

An instance of successful profiling work where crime scene locations were paid special attention and ultimately helped in the apprehension of a serial killer is in the case of John Duffy. He was responsible for a series of crimes that occurred in London, comprised of a string of rapes and murders in 1988

(Jackson, 1997). He was a suspect from the start of the investigation, but so were thousands of others. A profiler noticed that as the crimes occurred in succession they become more violent and moved farther away from a central location. It was determined that the attacker was venturing a greater distance from his home as he became more confident. This allowed the identification of the hometown of the offender, by looking at the area of the earliest attacks. The profiler also said that "he was either married or living with a woman, but that the relationship was a turbulent one with no children" (Jackson, 1997, p.86). He was eventually apprehended due to a tip from a coworker. Later discovered was the fact that Duffy felt his wife rejected him, and he was unable to have children, because of a low sperm count (Jackson, 1997). Careful attention to detail is of utmost importance to the profiler, enabling them to make case breaking conclusions such as this one.

The amount of force used by an offender is another point of analysis. Turvey explains how it "Tells us a great deal about their potential needs and motives" of the criminal (2002, p.196). These actions should be considered in terms of when force was used and when it was not, as well as what goal was to be achieved. Turvey also warns that with the victim, "The absence of physical injuries reflecting physical force does not exclude the occurrence of physical force" (2002, p.197), and still might have attempted resist.

One type of force is control-oriented, which include methods to "Manipulate, regulate, restrain, and subdue victim behavior during the offense" (Turvey, 2002, p.197). This type of force is to make the victim more complacent

during a crime, but other types will tell more about the characteristics of the offender.

Defensive force is that which is “Used to describe physically aggressive behavior that is intended to protect the individual administering it from attack, danger, or injury” (Turvey, 2002, p.126). The wounds received will most likely be on the offender, but there can be signs on the victim. For example, often there are skin cells under the fingernails of a victim and with analysis can be tied to the criminal. Also, these wounds indicate that the victim was alive during the attack in that they tried to defend themselves from the offender.

Force can also be of the precautionary type, or “Physically aggressive offender behavior that results in wound patterns that are intended to hamper or prevent the recognition and collection of physical evidence, and thwart investigative efforts” (Turvey, 2002, p.126). Examples include the removal of a victim’s hands to prevent identification through fingerprinting. Also included are misleading injuries made to a victim, usually made after death or postmortem. This might occur when a family member commits a murder but attempts to make it appear as if a stranger was the offender (Turvey, 2002). Precautionary force also tells profilers that the criminal is concerned with being apprehended, which does not apply to every offender.

Experimental force is a somewhat disturbing type, but can be informative regarding offender characteristics. Turvey defines this as, “Behaviors involving force that fulfill nonaggressive, often psychological, and fantasy-oriented needs” (2002, p.127). This is not an instance where the victim is required to be alive or

even conscious and often involves necrophiliac motivations, or those involved with dead bodies. One example would be “Perimortem stab wounds of repeated, symmetric nature or of varying depths” (Turvey, 2002, p.127). Depending on the injuries inflicted, the profiler may be able to deduce certain characteristics, including the psychological state, of the offender.

Wound pattern analysis is part of the analysis of force, and an important part of profiling. It is important to consider that “Wounds sustained by a victim or offender can be the result of intentional or accidental behavior on the part of either” (Turvey, 2002, p.113). They are part of behavioral analysis in that they indicate both action and motive in a physical form. Turvey offers suggestions to the profiler with the goal of determining the most information about a crime with the information available (2002).

Turvey first explains that through documentation of all injuries and areas where they occurred, is essential. He also emphasizes collection of “Negative documentation, or a record of areas where no injuries exist on a subject, and of associated environments that are believed to contain none of the items responsible for injury” (Turvey, 2002, p.127). It is also advised that wound analysis be performed on offenders and those suspected of committing the crime (Turvey, 2002).

Turvey warns the profiler to never analyze evidence on its own or in a vacuum. One should always consider wounds and other data in the context of the crime where it occurred. This can help in determining when the damage was

done, whether the injury was antemortem, perimortem or postmortem (Turvey, 2002).

The origin of wounds should also be determined, at least to the gathering of several possibilities. What would leave specific injuries and during what behavior they might be received is important to reconstructing the crime. These answers may take some creative thinking or even experimentation, but can provide invaluable information to the investigation (Turvey, 2002).

Wound patterns should be identified, but this is a difficult part of the analysis. Turvey suggests the recruitment of professionals that have experience in varied forensic fields. This becomes essential "in any analysis involving extensive, complex, and/or questioned injury patterns" (Turvey, 2002. p.127). By gaining multiple perspectives and differing levels of experience, one decreases the chance of misinterpreting or overlooking these patterns (Turvey, 2002).

By reconstructing a crime, wounds become open to further interpretation in terms of intent and motivation. Whether the wounds are accidental or intentional is important to the investigation. As Turvey writes, "If it was intentionally caused, then we need to further examine it and try to understand what the person inflicting the injury believed they would accomplish by doing so" (Turvey, 2002, p.128). This will give insight into the mindset of the criminal; provide clues as to what thoughts they had during the commission of the crime and help identify psychological characteristics.

Lastly, Turvey warns that the preceding evaluation may only be performed with proper and complete evidence collection. When physical evidence becomes

concealed, lost, or improperly documented it takes the information out of context. "Therefore, competent and certain conclusions regarding origin, intent, and motivation may not always be possible" (Turvey, 2002, p.128). The conclusions made by a profiler should fall within the facts of the case, and when these facts are incomplete the conclusions become less applicable.

Victimology is one stage of compiling an accurate criminal profile, however it is often forgotten when investigators restrict their focus to mainly the perpetrator and evidence. It is "An investigative tool, providing context, connections, and investigative direction" (Turvey, 2002, p.138).

There is a wealth of possible leads that can be found with the victim of a crime, and it starts with a thorough consideration into all elements of their daily life. Links may be identified that are possibly "geographical, work-related, schedule-oriented, school-related, hobby-related, or victim and offender may be otherwise acquainted" (Turvey, 2002, p.139). A preliminary suspect pool can be generated based on the daily activities of the victim, and by identifying those with access or knowledge of areas that the victim frequented. Ascertained through victimology is the knowledge of how and why the particular victims are chosen. When a pattern is developed, a profiler can predict likely traits of the next victim. Inversely, when no pattern is evident a random or opportunistic process of victim selection can be assumed, which is also helpful to identify during the investigative process (Turvey, 2002).

One main element in a victimology is to perform a risk assessment, related to "The amount of exposure to a possibility of suffering harm or loss"

(Turvey, 2002, p.140). The effort someone put toward securing their own safety indicates, to a point, the exertion put forth by the criminal. This in terms of “the amount of skill and time a particular offender is willing to put into their method of approach and their method of attack” to gain access to a specific victim (Turvey, 2002, p.142). This assessment is further categorized, victim lifestyle risk and victim incident risk.

Victim lifestyle risk “refers to the overall risk present by virtue of an individual’s personality, and their personal, professional, and social environments” (Turvey, 2002, p.144). Risk, as possibility of harm or loss, is believed to be more likely for those with certain circumstances, habits and routines. This likelihood is increased further by one’s own personality traits, their prevalence and intensity. Examples of such traits include aggressiveness, anxiety, phobias, depression and a tendency toward addictive behavior (Turvey, 2002).

Victim incident risk refers to the “risk present at the moment an offender initially acquires a victim, by virtue of the victim’s state of mind, and the hazards of the immediate environment” (Turvey, 2002, p.145). There are certain factors that will affect this risk, including the aforementioned victim lifestyle risk. The victim’s state of mind, when in a distressed or agitated emotional state can also bring increased probability of harm upon themselves. Additionally, the way a victim will act in a particular situation will vary according to how safe they feel. Another consideration is the time of occurrence, where certain times of day are more risky than others, lighting and the number of people present as confounding

factors. Location is a significant indicator of incident risk, as affected by criminal activity, physical isolation, and lacking access to help. Finally, mind-altering substances, such as alcohol or drugs, will decrease physical reaction time and impair judgment. This can dramatically increase victim incident risk, even for those who normally rate low in this classification (Turvey, 2002).

An important part in the analysis of a crime to compile a profile falls on whether the criminals are organized or disorganized. Organized offenders are the ones that “Plan their crimes, display control at scene of crime, leave few or no clues, and that the victim is a targeted stranger” (Jackson, 1997, p.5). The disorganized criminal commits murders that “are not planned and crime scenes show evidence of haphazard behavior” (Jackson, 1997, p.5). They would also use whatever was at the scene as a weapon and leave it behind along with other evidence. By identifying a criminal as one of these two types, several facts about their personality and demographic types could be assumed. Organized murderers, “Would be intelligent (but possibly an underachiever), socially skilled, sexually competent, and be living with a partner” (Ainsworth, 2001, p.101). Though they may appear normal, they often suffer from antisocial or a psychopathic personality. Also, around the time of the attack the organized criminal may have been experiencing a great deal of pain or suffering from depression. After the crime they would probably leave the vicinity, but follow news reports covering his offense. The disorganized murderer is likely to live by himself near the scene of the crime. Also, they would be “Socially and sexually inept, of low intelligence and to have had some quite severe form of mental

illness” (Ainsworth, 2001, p.101). It was also common with these offenders to have suffered in childhood from physical or sexual abuse, and the crime was usually committed in a “Frightened or confused state” (Ainsworth, 2001, p.101). This type of classification was most helpful in determining whether the same person committed similar crimes. If one is disorganized and the other is organized, then police know they are looking for two criminals. However, if the two crimes fall under the same classification, then investigators can compile evidence from the two scenes to build a better case (Ainsworth, 2001). As is the main purpose of criminal profiling, these descriptions can also narrow down the list of suspects.

Profilers will often categorize a perpetrator as a psychopath, and make generalizations accordingly. However, in attempts to reference psychological text on the subject, this term may cause some confusion. In an introductory psychology textbook, the field of psychopathology is described as dealing, “With a wide assortment of disorders that generally cause considerable anguish and seriously impair the person’s functioning” (Gleitman, Fridlund & Reusberg, 1999, p.807). This definition includes hundreds of mental disorders that fall within the studies of abnormal psychology. The question arises as to how this classification can determine any characteristics of a possible offender. Only on closer examination one might notice the footnote that comments on psychopath as being an earlier version of the term sociopath, which is still used in some fields. Whereas, this could also refer to what the DSM-IV classifies as antisocial personality disorder (Gleitman, et al., 1999).

Antisocial personality disorder is defined within the realm of psychology as a “Persistent pattern of irresponsible and antisocial behavior that begins during childhood or adolescence and continues into the adult years” (Oltmanns & Emery, 2001, p.309). In the criminal justice field, a psychopath is described as “A social predator who often charms and manipulates their way through life. They are completely lacking in conscience and in feelings for others, taking what they want and doing as they please without the slightest sense of guilt or regret” (Turvey, 2002, p.413). In further discussion both sides tend to agree on four main characteristics of decreased arousal, failure to be conditioned, impulsiveness and low anxiety (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985).

Despite conflicting theories of socialization versus biological predisposition, studies have shown that those diagnosed with antisocial personality disorder have lower arousal levels than the normal population (Gleitman, et. al., 1999). One study of the electroencephalogram (EEG) waves of psychopaths produced patterns reminiscent of those seen during sleep, despite the subjects being fully awake. The machines commonly referred to as “lie detectors,” measure the skin conductivity of a person, which rises at times of heightened alertness. These also show a diminished response to subjects known as psychopaths. There is “Agreement in the data, that psychopaths’ skin conductance responds especially weakly to aversive stimuli” (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985, p.200). This is an important fact that profilers should remember when interviewing suspects of a crime. If characteristics of the crime indicate the offender might be a psychopath, persons who pass a lie detector test should not

immediately be considered innocent, but remain on the list of suspects. With the body constantly at a decreased level of arousal, it becomes obvious why a person might turn to crime. Wilson and Herrnstein elaborate, "The psychopath might then be engaged in a restless search for external stimulation to compensate for the lack of stimulation inside" (1985, p.199).

The failure to be conditioned is related to a decreased ability to learn by experience. Robert Hare and Michael Quinn conducted an experiment at a Canadian prison, with psychopathic inmates and a control group of inmates who were not diagnosed with the disorder. Seated in a comfortable chair, a ten second long tone would sound in headphones they wore, followed by either a mild shock or a provocative female picture seen on a screen. Both groups experienced a slowed pulse rate and constricted blood vessels during the tones. However, the control group became conditioned to the tone, showing increased alertness determined by the conductance of their skin. The psychopathic group showed mild reaction to both stimuli, but no conditioning to the tone. Wilson and Herrnstein document that although "The psychopath may know that punishment is coming," the emotional response "is particularly dormant until the punishment actually arrives (and, even then, is often muted)" (1985, p.203). A common school of thought in criminal justice is the principle of deterrence. Where it is believed that if the punishment of a crime is undesirable, people will cease from committing those offenses. If those diagnosed with antisocial personality disorder lack the ability to associate a crime with future punishment, then nothing dissuades them from committing crimes.

In definitions of antisocial personality disorder, psychopath and sociopath, impulsiveness is an essential characteristic of this individual. Wilson & Herrnstein define impulsiveness, "As the inability to forgo a small, immediate reinforcer instead of waiting for a more valuable one to come later" (1985, p.174). As Gleitman, et. al., explains, central to the diagnosis of antisocial personality disorder is a lack of concern for the consequences of one's actions. He elaborates "Sociopaths are creatures of the present whose primary object is to gratify the impulses they feel now, with little concern for the future and even less remorse about the past." (1999, p.804) Carver & Scheier, describe how the person with antisocial personality disorder has an overactive behavioral approach system (2000, p.181), or "A general mechanism to go after things you desire" (p.163). Impulsiveness can be both the cause and effect of the lack of conditioning in psychopaths. More often than the non-psychopath, they will discount future events, especially those of an aversive nature (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985).

The last recognized trait of this type of disorder is a low level of anxiety. Oltmans & Emery define anxiety as "A diffuse emotional reaction that is out of proportion to threats from the environment," and add that usually is in apprehension over future events, not circumstances of the present (2001, p.646). In following with this concept, the absence of anxiety causes future consequences to become little concern to the psychopath. Wilson and Herrnstein explain, "Fleeting, even if intense, resentments, irritations, or urges should take the place of the more lasting worries or goals of the nonpsychopath" (1985,

p.206). For some criminals, the cost may outweigh the benefits for committing a crime. Whereas the psychopath will only consider what urges they presently possess and act on them, without a second thought of what the effects will be.

The preceding four characteristics of a psychopath are complementary in that the explanations of each blend together and help justify the others. The next concern is what this information can lend to the process of criminal profiling. The psychological text offers a few traits that should be predominate in the population of those diagnosed with antisocial personality disorder. Gleitman, et al., characterizes this person as being a loner, exhibiting superficial charm and above average intelligence. He also cites that "Nearly 75 percent are alcoholics or drug abusers," with an "Unstable lifestyle" and "Spotty work behavior" also being listed as enduring characteristics (1999, p.805).

Turvey details a more comprehensive list of traits that can be associated with a psychopath and how they can be inferred from the crime they committed. The criminal profiler comes to these conclusions with the physical evidence of the crime scene and by reconstruction of the offender's behavior. All of these characteristics are related in some way to the four that were previously discussed. He does warn the criminal profiler, that inferences should be made only in the context of other criminal behavior and with sufficient documentation. Even then, Turvey cautions that there are always other possibilities.

The first characteristic of a psychopath that Turvey cites is a lack of empathy. This is "Suggested by the inability to understand the situation, feelings, or motives or others" (Turvey, 2002, p.414). He explains how during the crime

this would be evidenced by the perpetrator showing no interest in how the victim was reacting to suffering.

Secondly, Turvey characterizes the psychopath as having a conning or manipulative nature. This trait can be inferred by "Behavior that is intentionally deceptive for personal gain" (Turvey, 2002, p.414). In committing a crime the offender will be identified as using a "Con method of approach" (Turvey, 2002 p.414) to gain access to the victim. Turvey defines this approach as "a simple ploy to divert attention momentarily" or it can be a more complicated process to gain the victim's trust and corporation (2002, p.193). This is in comparison to other methods of gaining access to the victim that involve elements of surprise or overpowering force.

Criminal versatility is the next trait correlated with the psychopathic criminal. Turvey, explains how this can be inferred by the discovery of criminal skills not necessary for the given offense. One example would be a rapist proficient in burglary skills, as evidenced by disabling alarms, wearing gloves and stealing items that are not easily traced but passed on without difficulty. Physical evidence from the crime scene could also link a perpetrator to other criminal activities of a different nature.

Psychopaths can also be linked to a crime through their failure to accept responsibility. The offender will demonstrate this while committing a crime by blaming others, such as the victim or authorities. As discussed previously, the psychopath will not consider the consequences of their behavior and blame is placed on everyone except themselves (Turvey, 2002).

“Glib and superficial” Turvey describes as referring to “behaviors that are done with little concern or thought, with intent to be evasive or conceal a lack of emotional depth” (2002, p.415). The inferred sincerity of this behavior depends on the skills of the psychopath, and the ability of the person encountering it to gauge deception and an ulterior motive. This characteristic stems from the con method of approach, whereas the offender will try to charm the victim to gain their trust. The trait is evidenced by a well-spoken offender, using insincere and superficial charisma to gain control over their prey (Turvey, 2002).

Turvey also writes the psychopath will possess a “Grandiose sense of self-worth” evidenced through “An inflated view of themselves and their abilities” (2002, p.415). The perpetrator’s speech will be extremely arrogant, as will their actions. They will refrain from precautionary acts and be callous toward present and future attempts by authorities to apprehend them (Turvey, 2002). This can be linked to the inability to be conditioned and low level of anxiety of the psychopath previously discussed.

Impulsivity is another trait considered earlier, as the psychopath is not known for considering consequences. Here Turvey explains how this component of their personality is inferred from the aspects of a crime. It will be of a reactionary nature, lacking in planning or other considerations. Referring to another type of classification, the offense will be disorganized and lacking a preset plan.

Turvey then discusses remorse and guilt as being “Characterized by moral anguish and regret for actions” (2002, p.415). These traits are not evident in

crimes committed by a psychopath. In reaction to the suffering of a victim, this type of person will show no emotion, anger or delight. This characteristic of a psychopath becomes blatant when after extreme acts of violence the person will engage in regular, nonviolent activities and appear to be unaffected (Turvey, 2002). The psychopath feels no consequences for their actions, as illustrated again.

The last trait discussed by Turvey is poor behavioral controls, which stems back to impulsivity. Referring to "Violent, damaging, or reactionary behavior that is not controlled" (2002, p.416), even when it could be damaging to the perpetrator. This lack of inhibition is seen during the crime when the offender becomes easily angered or frustrated. Overt aggression is often the reaction taking on a verbal or physical manifestation (Turvey, 2002).

To clearly view all of the traits of a psychopath, one only needs to study the profiling work of Gregg McCrary in the case of Arthur Shawcross. McCrary worked for the Investigative Support Unit of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on this case of a serial killer who took the lives of prostitutes in Rochester, New York. The murders Shawcross committed from 1972 until 1988 totaled eleven deaths (McCrary & Ramsland, 2003).

This serial killer displayed characteristics common to the psychopath. Impulsivity being an essential element, Shawcross was a normal "John," in that he frequently used the services of the prostitutes on Lyell Avenue in Rochester. It was only on several, of many opportunities he had, that Shawcross made the decision to murder these women. Also, he used the con method of approach; he

was trusted by the prostitutes, so surprise and overpowering force were unnecessary. McGrary writes, "They all knew him as 'Mitch,' a regular customer who'd never been a problem" (2003, p.61). The inability to be conditioned is demonstrated by the fact Shawcross served fifteen years in prison after he killed two young children, yet continued to murder soon after he was released. Another characteristic was his charming disposition, which helped convince the parole board to release him after the minimum time served. He blamed all of the killings on the victims, saying one tried to steal his wallet, another bit his penis and commented that the killings were just "Business as usual" (McCrary & Ramsland, 2003, p.64). Shawcross was egocentric in explaining away one of the murders by the fact that he didn't have sex with black women. Irresponsible behavior started at an early age for Shawcross. At nineteen, he dropped out of the ninth grade. Having some minor criminal offenses, he spent time in jail and was on his fourth wife. One poignant trait of the psychopath is their low level of arousal; Shawcross displayed neither remorse nor anxiety. He also had trouble performing sexually, with maintaining erection and achieving copulation (McCrary & Ramsland, 2003). This may be related to the decreased sensitivity of psychopaths.

Shawcross was diagnosed by psychiatrist, Dr. Park Dietz as suffering from antisocial personality disorder and as a situational child molester (McCrary & Ramsland, 2003). In addition to being psychopathic, this meant he "Molests children when available but can also rape adults or engage in other types of sexual crime" (McCrary & Ramsland, 2003, p.67). Shawcross had killed a ten-year-old boy and an eight-year-old girl in 1972, which resulted in his first prison

sentence. McCrary explains that this type of pedophile chooses victims who are “accessible and easily controlled” (2003, p.67). This is illustrated through the victims Shawcross chose; children, prostitutes and one mentally challenged individual named June Stott (McCrary & Ramsland, 2003).

Besides demonstrating the characteristics of one diagnosed with antisocial personality disorder, this case holds special value in the field of criminal profiling. A fairly accurate profile was contrived by McCrary, which helped not only during the investigative process, but actually contributed to the apprehension of Arthur Shawcross.

McCrary predicted that the offender would be “a white male with a history of sexually violent crimes – including sexual homicide – who lived in Rochester and had a low-paying job” (McCrary & Ramsland, 2003, p.66). That he had a wife and girlfriend, and frequently visited the prostitutes on Lyell Avenue which didn’t suspect him to be the killer. McCrary elaborates “He’d been an extraordinarily ordinary nobody whose socioeconomic level was only one step above theirs” (2003, p.66). Sexual dysfunction was hypothesized as the reason why the prostitutes lacked signs of overt sexual assault, and the offender’s age was placed from late twenties to early thirties. Lastly, this criminal profiler made the observation that the killer was familiar somehow with the areas around the dumpsites he used for the bodies, which were located in the Genesee River Gorge. McCrary predicted that the offender fished in the area (McCrary & Ramsland, 2003).

McCrary had correctly identified all the preceding traits of Arthur Shawcross, except for his age. He was actually forty-three when he started killing prostitutes. McCrary blames this on the fifteen year sentence Shawcross served which he explains as a time of "Arrested development. Once released, he simply picked up murdering where he'd left off" (McCrary & Ramsland, 2003, p.66). The sexual dysfunction is actually what brought Shawcross to murder on several of the routine encounters he had with prostitutes. It seems they would berate him and this humiliation would cause the bursts of anger that ultimately led to the murders.

The break in the case came with McCrary's analysis of the murder of June Stott. The conclusion was made that a few hours after Stott was asphyxiated, the killer returned to perform postmortem mutilation on the body. McCrary postulated that the perpetrator was becoming increasingly comfortable with the corpses as he committed more murders. In a meeting with investigators McCrary warned, "He was just dumping the bodies and leaving. Now he's changed his behavior, and we believe this will be the trend" (McCrary & Ramsland, 2003, p.55). When four women went missing, more proactive measures became necessary. On the advice that the killer would most likely revisit dump sites to mutilate the bodies, patrols were dispatched to find a body and wait for him to return. Helicopters found the body of June Cicero, on top of the ice in Salmon Creek, under a bridge. When the body was found, they also sighted Arthur Shawcross on top of the bridge, performing lewd acts on himself (McCrary & Ramsland, 2003).

Arthur Shawcross was sentenced to 25 years to life on ten counts of murder in the second degree; he will have to serve 250 years before eligible for parole (McCrary & Ramsland, 2003). Not only can criminal profiling help narrow down a list of suspects, but on this occasion it was central to the capture of one serial killer.

An approach for classifying criminals performed by the FBI, specifically for use with rapists, is as selfish or unselfish. This "Distinction refers to the extent to which the rapist showed any consideration towards the victim during the act" (Ainsworth, 2001, p.103). The unselfish perpetrator concentrates on the victim, tries to make them feel involved. They will seek intimacy and not attempt to harm the victim; minimal force is used only to restrain them. This type of rapist "Wants to believe the victim is a willing participant" (Ainsworth, 2001, p.103). To help identify which category a rapist will fall into; special attention is paid to words used by the assailant as identified by interviewing the victim. The unselfish rapist will typically use "Language which is reassuring, complimentary, self-demeaning, ego-building, concerned, personal, non-profane, inquisitive and apologetic" (Ainsworth, 2001, p.103).

The selfish rapist is typically found to have a "complete disregard for the victim, her feelings or her welfare," (Ainsworth, 2001, p.103) the primary motivation for them seems to be domination and aggression with no attempt at intimacy. Large amounts of force will be used along with varied sexual acts. However, the language they use will be "Offensive, threatening, profane, abusive, demeaning, humiliating, demanding, impersonal, and sexually oriented"

(Ainsworth, 2001, p.104). These types of classifications will help in profiling criminals because each will possess a different personality type. The unselfish rapist will lack confidence, while the selfish one will have more self-confidence, but desire to dominate others (Ainsworth, 2001).

This type of basic categorization was later followed by another system, developed by Hazelwood. His classification relied on the belief that power, anger and sexuality were essential pieces of all rapes. As different perpetrators would commit a rape to fulfill their different needs, this system provided more information about the killer based on their crimes. The further categorization provided by Hazelwood's types of rapists could provide even more information to investigators. This again will confirm whether the same offender committed two similar attacks. Also, by looking at the specific kind of rapist involved, predictions can be made as to whether they will strike again, and in what timeframe it will occur. Lastly it will provide clues to "whether the assailant's next attack is likely to be more violent, and whether it might lead to the victim being killed" (Ainsworth, 2001, p.108). Not only are investigators learning about the perpetrator, but they can also make predictions about what will happen in the future.

Hazelwood classified the first group as power reassurance type, which is statistically shown to be the most common kind of rapist. Their motivation tends to be in the "removal of doubts or fears about their sexual inadequacy and masculinity" (Ainsworth, 2001, p.104). These criminals will plan their offense and even stalk a victim, and usually prefer late evening or early morning for the time of the rape. A weapon is not usually involved and the victim is usually the same

age as the attacker. This is the type of perpetrator that may keep an item of the victims and a careful record of his crimes (Ainsworth, 2001). Lastly, this rapist will continue to commit rapes until he is apprehended and incarcerated.

The second group was referred to as the power-assertive type. This kind of rapist has no doubts about their sexuality, thinking of their crimes as expressions of masculinity and dominance. The pattern used will be that of a friendly, calm demeanor at first, then changing dramatically to a person using a high level of force to get what they want. Victims are usually obtained in places where the offender is "familiar and in which he feels safe" (Ainsworth, 2001, p.105). The rapist may tear the victims clothing and repeat sexual acts more than once. "If the man has driven the victim to the location of the rape, he may well leave her there without her clothing," (Ainsworth, 2001, p.106) and the crimes will be few and irregular.

The anger-retaliatory type uses rape to express their "rage and hostility" (Ainsworth, 2001, p.106). Women in general are the target of his anger, and pleasures in the degradation of his victims. Extreme violence is used and the criminal partakes in a significantly selfish form of rape. The attack is unplanned, emotional and impulsive. The crime will "tend to be over fairly quickly, once the assailant has released his pent-up anger both sexually and physically" (Ainsworth, 2001, p.106). The victims will be the same age as the rapist and may represent another for whom he resents. They will commit these rapes at regular intervals when anger builds to a certain point (Ainsworth, 2001).

The fourth type of rapist is the anger-excitement type, someone who “appears to derive pleasure and sexual excitement by the viewing of his victim’s suffering and fear” (Ainsworth, 2001, p.106). They will inflict great amounts of pain on the victim, and the attack will be well planned, even rehearsed. The victim will probably be a stranger but the perpetrator will bring with him all necessary supplies. High levels of violence are used and often the victim is killed. Physical restraint and torture are common, and photographs or videos of the victim are taken. “His attacks are unlikely to occur at regular intervals, as he prefers to initiate an assault only when his detailed planning is complete” (Ainsworth, 2001, p.107).

This fourth type of rapist could also be described as sadistic, a term that marks another intersection between the fields of criminal profiling and psychological diagnosis. Oltmans describes the sadist in abnormal psychology text, as being “Someone who derives pleasure by inflicting physical or mental pain on other people” (2001, p.425). He supports this view with the DSM-IV definition of sexual sadism, which includes fantasies, impulses or actions which are intense to the point of sexual satisfaction and involve physical or psychological suffering of another person. Achieving dominance over a victim where power and control are experienced can be as important as the infliction of pain (Oltmans & Emery, 2001).

A prominent figure in the field of psychology is Sigmund Freud, whose theories on aggression and sexual energy contribute to the concept of sadism. Whereas, Freud described sexual and aggressive energies as usually being

released in different activities, there is discussion of instances where they combine. In several studies the effects of sexual stimuli have been found to affect levels of aggressiveness inversely depending on how erotic the stimuli were.

In 1974, a study by Baron a sample of men were angered, shown pictures and then allowed to act out aggression. When the pictures featured erotic images such as nude women, the men showed decreased aggression. A similar study was performed by Zillmann with contrary findings. Following the same design as the previous experiment, however, "highly erotic, explicitly sexual" films were shown instead of nude pictures (Carver & Scheier, 2000, p.202). The findings for this study showed increased arousal in the already angry men with the exposure to this overtly erotic material (Carver & Scheier, 2000). Clearly, there can be a relationship between sexual and aggressive drives, one that becomes evident in cases of sadistic behavior.

The term sadism is actually based on the name of a French author who lived between 1740 and 1814, Donatien-Alphonse-Francois de Sade, also known as Marquis de Sade. Regarded by some as an important reference, his work *Justine*, "Effectively, intelligently, and indelibly rendered descriptive images of sexual arousal driven by physical suffering" (Turvey, 2002, p.427). Marquis de Sade spent 27 years of his life in prisons, dungeons and asylums for the various crimes he committed. One example is the case of Rose Keller, a homeless woman who he lured to a rented cabin and severely tortured her for hours (Turvey, 2002).

Turvey proposes a behavioral requirement within the realm of criminal profiling to use when describing offenders as possessing sadistic characteristics.

1. The intentional infliction of psychological or physical suffering on a conscious victim who is able to experience pain and/or humiliation.
2. The infliction of such suffering over a period of time, to support an inference that the suffering was inflicted intentionally and that the offender was sexually aroused by it.
3. The association of the intentional infliction of suffering with sexual arousal of gratification on the part of the offender (Turvey, 2002, p.430).

This guide for those who work in the criminal justice field is closely related to the definitions offered in the field of psychology. However, Turvey explains two common generalities that are made in regards to sadistic behavior. He warns that punishment and anger are not necessarily sadistic as well as postmortem mutilation. The offender must be aroused by suffering, committed on a conscious person (Turvey, 2002).

Although murders may be sensationalized with the term sadistic, few possess the necessary elements to satisfy all criteria. One case that exemplifies this diagnosis or classification is Paul Bernardo of Canada. He began as a serial rapist and graduated to murder, taking the lives of fourteen-year old Leslie Mahaffy and fifteen-year-old Kristen French. Bernardo enjoyed torturing these girls and by it was sexually satisfied. The hair of French was cut short, which McCrary and Ramsland explain, "Satisfies the sexual sadist's need to punish and degrade others" (2003, p.120). He also raped the two, and humiliated them by videotaping everything, including the girls urinating and Bernardo urinating on

them (McCrary & Ramsland, 2003). Even with his own wife, “Bernardo was unable to achieve an erection without inflicting pain on her or making her afraid” (McCrary & Ramsland, 2003, p.121). He was driven by the sexual urges to cause suffering; such is the method of the sadistic killer.

McCravey actually profiled this case twice, once as Bernardo was committing rapes and secondly as the killer of Mahaffy and French. His primary profile of the sadistic rapist led him to predict that his tendencies would eventually lead to murder, and he was correct. Other characteristics he correctly identified were the age of the offender being in the late twenties, and that he had a wife or girlfriend towards which he was abusive. Another suggestion was made by McCravey, that this type of killer is known to videotape their victims. Six eight-millimeter tapes were eventually found, which consisted of several rapes including those of Mahaffey and French (McCrary & Ramsland, 2003). In the initial case of the rapes, Bernardo was actually interviewed by police and provided a DNA sample. They police collected 224 samples, and took two years to identify the one belonging to Bernardo as a match (McCrary & Ramsland, 2003). If McCravey’s profile has been applied to the early rapes committed by Bernardo and used to focus the investigation, deaths could have been prevented.

Criminal profiling is a technique that has developed over the past few decades. Starting as what seemed to be a lucky guess, it has evolved to be something of worthwhile consideration in criminal investigations. Only with the continued use of this process in identifying characteristics of serial rapists and killers, can we learn more about its effectiveness. Studies into the criminal mind

by psychological experts can also be a helpful contribution to this base of knowledge. As many of the roots of criminal profiling are in psychology, the study of such should be emphasized in the education of future profilers. Nothing can replace the intuitive technique and experience of a criminal investigator.

However, in attempting to prevent future crimes on society all disciplines should be given a chance to offer their assistance. Whether its offender characteristics or possible locations for the next crime, a criminal profile provides leads and directions for investigations into crimes that might otherwise go unsolved.

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