Graye Bradman

Dr. Micol Hutchinson

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Psychological profiling, also known as criminal profiling and offender profiling, is the

use of physical evidence, statistics, logic, and information derived from past investigations to

form educated inferences about the psychological processes of an offender, which in turn will

assist in the identification of such an offender. The practice of profiling looks through the lenses

of criminology, investigative psychology, behavioral analysis, victimology, and sociology to

analyze the physical evidence left at a crime scene in order to synthesize a possible look into the

frame of mind and motives of criminal offenders. This being said, ***"What different types of clues***

are often left at a crime scene, and what information can they contribute to a psychological

profile of a criminal?" This is the initial inquiry question that this project began to answer;

however, throughout the course of research, the initial inquiry question has evolved to include

the debate of whether or not profiling should be used, due to some flaws. In order to answer

either of these questions, the practice of psychological profiling must first be fully examined and

analysed, including what a psychological profile includes, uses for psychological profiling, how

profiling is conducted, what evidence is used to form profiles, examples of standardized profiles

and cases where profiling has been used, the timeline of psychological profiling's development,

points of criticism towards profiling, why profiling needs to be improved, and how this can be

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done. In addition to the main paper, there is an appendix including the media representation and analysis of psychological profiling, as well as the complete annotated bibliography for this inquiry. It should be noted that this annotated bibliography does not contain the most recently found source at the time of submission, *Crime Classification Manual* by Douglas, John E. et al, consisting of 572 pages of comprehensive studies.

Also known as offender profiling, criminal profiling, crime scene analysis, criminal investigative analysis, behavioral evidence analysis, and criminal behavioral profiling, psychological profiling is using inferential logic based on known facts and past investigations to make educated guesses about the perpetrator of the crime. Psychological profiling uses behavioral science and physical evidence from a crime scene to reconstruct behavior patterns of the offender who committed the crime in question, which then aids investigators on deciding which suspects to focus on, most often those with similar personality traits to those who have committed the same or similar crimes to the one being investigated. Offenders who have committed the same crime will have some degree of similarity in their behavioral patterns and personality traits, meaning that profiling can tell an investigator not just what kind of criminal they are seeking, but provide them with a behavioral "blueprint" that can be used to recreate the crime and the behavior patterns of the perpetrator (O'Toole).

Psychological profiles are developed using analysis of the physical evidence at a crime scene, and can possibly provide a wealth of information on the offender responsible. The information included in a profile may include the offenders lifestyle, gender, age range, race, education level, the offender's ability to relate and communicate with others, the likelihood of prior criminal activity, the presence of mental deterioration, feelings of remorse and / or guilt concerning the crime or the victim, possible sexual dysfunction, employment and marital status.

In addition to these clues, profiling can provide information on psychological aspects of the offender, such as what motives and fantasies drove them to offend, what attracted the killer to a specific victim, what was done to the victim, and if the perpetrator attempted to cover their tracks (O'Toole).

Psychological profiling is applied most commonly to serial crimes, such as murder, sexual assualt, and bombings. However, profiling can be used also as an investigative tool in cases of kidnapping, arson, murder, and product tampering. In general, psychological profiling is almost always used in investigations where the crime(s) were committed by a stranger, as the aquantancies of a victim are always investigated as potential suspects first. Over the course of the development of psychological profiling, the types of crimes that it can be applied to has broadened, because compared to the variety of crime profiling is applied to in the present, the types of crimes where psychological profiling were used originally are now considered to be very limited. The initial FBI agents who promoted profiling claimed that it was only relevant to crimes that involved sexual offenses or clearly displayed the perpetrator's severe mental disturbance, as it was assumed that profiles would approach classifying offenders using psychiatric diagnostic categories, rather than behavioral patterns. This change over time decreased the reliance on mental health professionals and widened the areas of theorization to include the suspect's family and social circle.

Despite the increased application of psychological profiles, there are certain types of cases that profiling helps the most. Crimes that are thought to have been perpetrated by someone with psychopathy, schizoid thinking, or sadist tendencies are able to more successfully utilize profiling because it is assumed that people with these disorders are more likely to be consistent, and that these tendencies will also be apparent in their non criminal behavior patterns (Lerner).

Please note that a more specific reference was found recently, but not included in the annotated bibliography, namely *Criminal Profiling* by Brent Snook, et al.

When psychological profiling is used as an investigation tactic, it is not necessarily limited to identifying or narrowing the pool of suspects. A psychological profile can be useful when interviewing a potential suspect, as it can influence interviewing tactics by helping authorities form and ask more specific questions. One of the popular uses for psychological profiling when not applied to an offender during an investigation is creating a profile of the victim(s). Otherwise known as victimology, having an understanding of a victim's lifestyle, habits, and behavioral patterns can help to provide more information on the suspect, such as how they choose their victims. This psychological profile will focus mainly if they live a high risk lifestyle, such as a drug user or sex worker, or a low risk lifestyle, such as a mom or businesswoman. High risk victims tend to meet with a significant number of strangers, operate during the night, and their disappearance would not draw much attention. On the opposite end of the spectrum are low risk victims, who have a stable job, normal routine, stay close to home, and have close interactions with others who would involve the police if they were to go missing. Determining the potential risk a victim faces is important because it can provide clues on how the victim was selected by an offender (O'Toole).

In addition to predicting behavioral patterns of an offender, creating a psychological profile from a crime scene can connect different cases, through what it known as case linkage analysis. Case linkage is used to identify behaviors exhibited by an offender that can be used to connect separate crimes to one offender. This can help in the identification of suspects because different crime scenes have different types of evidence: one crime scene may have solid DNA evidence, while another may only have shoe or tire prints. Being able to link these two crimes

together would help to focus the investigation on looking for one perpetrator rather than two separate people. Case linkage analysis examines what is characterisitc of an offender and what is consistent about that person from one situation to another in order to identify behavioral patterns. While offenders may have similar characteristics, no crime is the same as another, and accidentally linking crimes together that have no real relation is mostly prevented because of crime signatures. A signature is a ritual or behavioral pattern that is unnecessary to commit or complete a crime, but is in some way psychologically fulfilling to the offender it belongs to (Platt). Examples of signatures include specific knots or binding methods, post mortum mutilation, and torture.

As Hazelwood, Ressler, Depue, and Douglas (1987) wrote, the ideal criminal profiler is someone who has: experience in criminal investigations and research; and possess common sense, intuition; and the ability to isolate their feelings about the crime, the criminal, and the victim. They have the ability to evaluate analytically the beahvior exhibited in a crime and to think very much like the criminal responsible (Canter). One of the most important traits a profiler can have is the ability to view the crime from the offender's eyes, as this is an important tool for recreating how a crime was carried out, and the behavioral patterns that this reveals. In order to be as effective as possible, profilers must have a deep understanding of human behavior and sexuality, and have extensive experiance in studying crime scene investigations.

Profilers who work for the FBI specifically are highly trained special agents that provide their services to law enforcements officials on federal, state, and local levels to aid in investigating violent and unusual or serial crimes. These agents must first have at least eight years of previous experience in law enforcement, then complete thirteen weeks of training that focuses on psychology, behavioral science principles, crime scene analysis and interpretation,

forensic science and pathology. Candidates then continue with on-the-job training, by working on real cases alongside a group of law enforcement professionals including other agents, forensic psychologists, psychiatrists and medical examiners. In order to complete the certification process, potential profilers must show proficiency in cases that involve domestic and international terrorism or threats, cyber behavioral assessments, and violent crimes against children and adults (Lerner).

One of, if not the most well known profiler is John E. Douglas, who created the FBI's investigative support unit in 1980, and is regarded as a renowned expert on psychological profiling and is one of the pioneers of modern criminal investigative analysis. Douglas is the FBI agent who organized and executed the first organized study in the United States regarding the methods and motivations of violent serial criminals. This research project is the foundation of psychological profiling, and contains interviews with notorious criminals including Ted Bundy, Charles Manson, John Wayne Gacy, The Son of Sam (David Berkowitz), Ed Gein, Richard Speck, James Earl Ray, and Sirhan Sirhan. Douglas retired from the FBI after more than twenty five years of service and is currently a prolific and best selling author on the subject of psychological profiling. He continues to be in considerable international demand, both as a public speaker / lecturer and as an expert consultant to law enforcement agencies and prosecuting attorneys (Lerner and Lerner).

One subset of psychological profiling is geographical profiling, which was a term coined by criminologist Kim Rossmo in the early 1990's to describe the use of computers to generate predictions on a serial offender's place of residence or base of operations (Lerner and Lerner). The computer software program that is used in geographic profiling has been applied to serial crime investigations in large urban centers with great success.

The practice of geographical profiling began during the late 1980's when reasearchers from Simon Fraser University in Canada recognized that human's movements follow patterns, that can then be reconstructed and predicted. People have mental maps of their surroundings that are created through their experiences and familiarities with the location of sources that are required for their daily needs, including access routes to food, school, work, and transportation systems, with a person's primary residence being at the center of this mental map. Psychologists call this theory *The Path of Least Effort* (Lerner and Lerner). The theory posed by Ken Rossmo was that offenders prefer to use familiar territory to commit their crimes in, but because of the need to remain anonymous, there will be a buffer zone around an offender's residence to avoid being recognized. As a result, Rossomo created a mathematical algorithm that one could input information on the location of crimes and and recieve predictions on an offender's location of residence. This algorithm was developed into a computer software program the brings together criminology, mathematical modeling, statistical analysis, geography, and psychology, resulting in an adaptable map that indicates the most likely location where an offender would live. Such maps are used by law enforcement officers in order to focus their investigation efforts. Geographical profiling has been enthusiastically embraced by police agencies and was used during the 1992 case of the Washington D.C. sniper. While the geographic profile did not successfully identify the perpetrators, it was reported to be "a helpful and useful tool in strategically prioritizing information" (Lerner and Lerner). Geographic profiling has great potential as a tool for helping investigators identify and analyze possible suspects, however it's main weakness is that it is not useful when applied to solitary crimes or crimes where the offender has travelled a great distance. There is room for improvement in the field of geographic

profiling, and these issues are expected to be addressed as the demand for geographic profiling grows.

The other subset of criminal profiling is racial profiling. Psychological profiling is distinctly different from racial profiling because race is only one small factor in the assumptions that a psychological profile can include, while that is the basis of riacial profiling (Grant). For example, a psychological profile may include race as one of the predicted characteristics because in cases of sexual homicide, offenders are almost always statistically the same race as the vicitim (Platt).

Because the behavior of an offender is revealing of their thought processes, the practice of psychological profiling starts with analyzing the crime scene and looking for anything that can provide information on an offender. In addition to the crime scene, profilers will also study the case file, police reports, and physical evidence, as well as eyewitness statements, victim testimony, and autopsy reports, if available. The information from all of these sources is then compiled and used to theorize on what exactly the offender did before, during, and after the crime, which then provides insight that is included in a psychological profile. In the creation of a profile, the most important evidence that can be used is the physical evidence from a crime scene and / or a victim. Psychological profiling looks at both behavioral and psychological indicators left at a crime scene as a result of the interactions with a victim. While the whole crime scene is analyzed, there are certain clues that are more helpful than others, and thus are looked for first. These clues include DNA evidence, personal belongings that may belong to the offener, a possible weapon used during the murder or assualt, and video or photo surveillance of where the crime took place. One major clue that can yield information on an offender's motivation for offending is a crime signature. The signature of a crime is something specifically unique to one

criminal, such as how Ted Bundy was extremely particular in choosing his victims. Other examples of crime signatures can include evidence of torture or mutilation (both before and after death), excessive use of violence, posing of the victim after death, use of particular knots or other methods of binding, and any other actions done at a crime scene that were unnecessary to carry out the crime. A signature is not always does intentionally; an offender might use special knots because of past experience in the Navy, and has then integrated such behaviors into his everyday life. Another way that the scene of a crime can be connected to a suspect is through a trophy or souvenir, which is when the offender takes something from the crime scene or the victim for personal reasons rather than burglary. Something taken as a symbol of accomplishment for successfully committing the crime is a trophy, while something taken to be used to remember the crime is a souvenir (Lerner and Lerner). These items are usually personal belongings of the victim, such as jewelry or objects used everyday such as makeup or an address book, however in some severe cases it can parts of the victim's body.

Creating a psychological profile is a process based on research and years of previous experience in reviewing similar cases with similar psychological characteristics. The FBI's research of violent criminal offenders suggests that similar crimes committed for similar reasons generally are perpetrated by similar offenders. As conveyed by O'Toole, "If you want to understand the artist, you have to look at the painting (O'Toole)." The exact process used to develop a psychological profile is different for each profiler, as the procedure is based off each profiler's past experience, drawing upon their training, knowledge of psychology, and experience gained from past investigations. Common sense is also used frequently in psychological profiling, but many inferences that are reached through using common sense are also deduced through other avenues, such as training and past experience (Platt). As an example, if a body

has its fingerprints and teeth removed, then the killer was most likely trying to avoid a quick identification, if the body would be identified at all. It can be further concluded that the reason for wanting to prevent or delay identification of the body is because the victim was killed by someone that they knew or had been seen with.

Despite the different methodologies used to develop a psychological profile, the overall approach is either inductive or deductive. Inductive reasoning uses statistics, analyzing the data of a crime and comparing it to similar crimes from a database. Then, it establishes correlations between these similar cases, and using the characteristics from these previous crimes that are commonly seen in offenders who commit that particular type of crime to create a psychological profile. Contrastingly, deductive reasoning analyzes the forensic evidence from a crime scene, and creates a psychological profile using victimology, professional training, and the profiler's past experiences (Warikoo). The deductive process of creating a psychological profile that is used by the FBI follows a set order of steps. First, information is collected on the crime. Second, the crime is classified, behavioral patterns are determined, the risk of the victim is assessed, and the actions of the offender before and after the crime are predicted. Third, the crime is reconstructed in order to determine what information it provides on the offender. Lastly, a description of the offender is synthesized using the information collected from the previous steps. These steps reflect the general process of forming a profile through deductive reasoning, by first determining motive, then using victimology to determine the risk of the victim and their possible realtionship with the offender, and reconstructing the crime before concluding with a criminal profile. The process of creating a psychological profile through inductive reasoning begins with statistical analysis, comparing the crime in question to past offenses in order to identify behavior patterns and correlation between data. The possible behaviors identified

through data correlation are then compared to statistics of past offenders who committed similar crimes, before then finalizing the characteristics in an offender profile (Platt). Despite their differences, both inductive and deductive methods of profiling are dependent on the assumptions that offenders are consistent and will exhibit similar behaviors across their different crimes, and that offenders are homogenous and perpetrators of similar crimes will share similar characteristics (O'Toole).

The behavioral characteristics that are searched for during the development of a psychological profile are the level of planning that went into the crime, the level of control that the offender did or didn't display over the victim, the level of emotion shown at the scene of the crime, the risk levels of the offender and the victim, and the appearance of the crime scene upon discovery. The level of planning that it appears took place before a crime can indicate that the perpetrator considered what precautions should be taken beforehand in order to prevent leaving a forensic trail. A lack of physical evidence can point towards an experienced and / or sophisticated offender. The level of control over a victim displayed by a perpetrator is either relayed by a living victim or exhibited through markings from bindings found on the victim's body that were used as restraints. If these bindings appear to be unnecessary or excessive, this might indicate a heightened need for control or sexual sadism. The difficulty level of the bindings used could indicate experience with similar bondage behaviors, which could be another indicator of sexual sadism or previous experiance with restraining victims. The level of emotion displayed at a crime scene is indicated through the degree of physical trauma that the victim suffered, and can show escalation of emotion at the scene of the crime or the amount of anger that resided in the offender and was brought to the crime scene. Excessive trauma or injuries beyond what is needed to incapacitate or kill a victim, commonly known as overkill, is a

frequently seen sign of an offender who harbors previous emotions that were brought to the crime scene. Signs of escalation of emotion taking place during a crime include injuries to the face and defensive wounds showing that the victim fought back. Emotional escalation is important because it suggests that the interaction between criminal and victim started as a verbal altercation that was then followed by a physical assault, and the reason behind the argument that initiated the assault is essential in understanding the motive of the perpetrator. The risk levels of the offender and the victim can also been seen in the study of victimology, the premise of which is that the more information had on the victim, the more insight is provided on the offender. Risk assessment of a victim includes asking how this person would become a victim of a violent crime, taking their lifestyle, environment, behaviors, and social circles into consideration. This information reveals whether a victim would be considered a high or low risk victim. Risk assessment of an offender asks how much danger the perpetrator put themselves in by committing this crime at the time and location that they did, and taking this information into consideration, the next question to ask is why did they commit this crime at all. The appearance of the crime scene at the time of discovery is important because it addresses the overall question of whether the perpetrator is an organized or disorganized offender (O'Toole).

The broad categories of organized or disorganized are the major classifications used by the FBI when profiling sexual homicide cases. An organized offender will show signs of careful planning in order to avoid detection, and alludes to a more social offender who is less likely to have known the victim, while a disorganized offender will show signs of the crime being committed suddenly and without a predetermined course of action, and is likely to have known the victim. The organized offender will sometimes plan out a crime so thoroughtly that they bring their own tools to use in the execution of the crime, and are the most likely to hide or

dispose of a body, usually going to great lenths to do so. An organized offender is usually of average or high intelligence, with a stable lifestyle, often being employed and married. In contrast, disorganized offenders will not have a plan, using objects found at the crime scene rather than bringing a weapon, and will usually leave behind an obvious crime scene. In the event that an disorganized offender attempts to hide the crime scene and / or a body, it will be hastily done and easy to uncover. This type of offender typically lives alone or with a relative, and could be unemployed. In addition, there is the third category of mixed offenders, who share characteristics of both organized and disorganized offenders. For example, the original approach to and apprehension of the victim may be well planned out, but the attack itself frenzied and chaotic, reflecting the offender losing control. The degree of organization or disorganization is an important factor in predicting a perpetrator's style of attack, how they began the interatction with the victim, the possibility of the victim knowing their attacker beforehand, and the degree of sophistication of the attack (O'Toole). The organized / disorganized classifications are also the first and most referenced standardized psychological profiles. The next most oftenly used standardized psychological profile is that of serial murderers. Research has revealed that the majority of serial killers are males in their twenties and thirties who are almost always the same race as their victim(s). These killers will begin hunting for victims somewhat close to their location of residence, but will travel farther as their confidence grows. Those with good social skills, such as Ted Bundy, are able to trick their victims, while solitary individuals tend to attack by surprise. Their main motive tends to be domination and / or manipulation, possibly providing them with a sense of control or success that otherwise may be missing in their life (Platt).

In addition to the perscribed methods, while used almost exclusively as an aid in identifying suspects, an alternative use of psychological profiling was developed in the form of a

computer software program known as Compstat in 1994. It was first used in New York City to keep the NYPD aware of their crime statistics, using the software program to gather and analyze data to ensure effective crime fighting strategies. Over time these statistics began to be used as an indicator of effectiveness, and Compstat staff developed profiles for each precinct commander in the city. These profiles showed information about their appointment date, years in rank, education and specialized training, more recent performance evaluations, and previous command positions. Over time, these profiles began to include information on the precinct as a whole, including community demographics, crime statistics, available resources, average response time for delivery of services, domestic violence incidents, and any instances of absent officers. This development was born from the need of a tool to improve precinct's accountability and performance, leading to increased responsibility and productivity. Integrity monitoring was added later, collecting data on citizen complaints and instances of police brutality and misconduct in order to force responsiblity onto individual precincts and officers. Profiles for detectives include the percentage of crimes that are solved, the number and ranks of law enforcement personnel, rates of absence, and the number of executed search warrants. Compstat is an essential tool that utilizes profiling in performance assessment and the evaluation of personnel, turning the profilers into the profiled (Silverman).

Traditional applications of psychological profiling to real criminal cases goes back around one hundred fifty years ago; even though some of the features that are found in modern profiles were first noted by Sherlock Holmes, such as the concept that some criminals return to the scene of the crime, the first instance of psychological profiling that bears a resemblance to modern profiling is that of Jack the Ripper (Canter). Beginning in 1888, the serial murderer known as Jack the Ripper would kill at least five women, and is still known today because of his

strikingly gory signature of, at minimum, partially dissecting his victims. In November of the same year, Dr. Thomas Bond created a psychological profile of Jack the Ripper, stating that he possessed previous medical knowledge and would suffer episodes of homicidal urges and mania, though this psychological condition may be caused by what is known today as mental illness. He was likely a solitary and eccentric man who looked like a normal middle aged man, dressed neatly in probably a cloak or overcoat which would have hidden the bloodstains as he fled the scene. While this profile did not lead to the identification of the true Jack the Ripper, it is notably similar to those created in the present time period (Canter).

The first modern psychological profile is that of George Metesky, the Mad Bomber of New York City. His crimes began in late 1940 when an unexploded bomb was found in a Manhattan building belonging to the company Consolidated Edison, with a note attached addressed to "Con Edison crooks." This incident was written off as someone with a grudge and filed away until September of the next year when another bomb was found on 19th Street, which hadn't detonated due to faulty construction. Three months later the Manhattan police headquarters received a letter stating that there would be no more bombs throughoutt the course of World War Two, a promise which the bomber honored. Another bomb was not found until early 1950 in Grand Central Station. While it also did not detonate, it showed clear improvement in its construction, and a month later a bomb successfully exploded in a phone booth at the New York Public Library. Multiple additional bombs where later found that failed to detonate. In order to avoid a mass panic, police downplayed the attacks; however, this angered the Mad Bomber, who threatened to increase his attacks. As a result, over fourteen bombs were placed from 1951 to 1955, twelve of which exploded. The letters from the bomber became longer and angrier, claiming that "these bombings will continue until Con Edison is brought to justice." The next

bomb detonated at the end of 1956 in Brooklyn's Paramount Theater and injured six, creating a major campaign to find the Mad Bomber. This lead an inspector working on the case to approach Dr. James Brussel for his assistance. Brussel, a psychiatrist working in a private practice who was noted to be able to make detailed deductions from a case file, was given the information collected by the police and created the following profile, as described in *The Casebook of Forensic Detection*. The Mad Bomber would be an introverted and paranoid man in his fourties to fifties, who lived a solitary lifestyle without a partner, and possibly lived with a relative. He would be tidy, organized, and neat with tools, possibly a mechanic. He would have a good education, and come from Slavic origins, but might become violent when criticized. Additionally, he may have been fired from working at Con Edison or holds a grudge against the company for another reason, but his resentment would keep growing. The letters were postmarked from Westchester County in New York, but the perpetrator would have been smart enough to not send them from where he lived. He likely lived in Bridgeport, Connecticut, which passes through Westchester to reach New York City and had one of the highest concentration of Polish citizens at the time. It was noted that the Mad Bomber would have significant health troubles, and most specifically, at the time of his capture would be wearing a fully buttoned double breasted suit. A letter was publicly published with the intention of provoking the bomber, and as a result he sent in a series of letters which included the date of the incident that sparked his anger at Con Edison. This date led police to a Con Edison file from 1937 containing a letter that included several of the phrases used by the Mad Bomber, which had been written by George Metesky. Metesky had been knocked over because of a boiler explosion and complained of pain and headaches, however doctors weren't able to find any physical injuries. As a result, Con Edison gave him sick pay and insurance benefits for a year before terminating his employment.

Metesky attempted to sue the company; however, compensation claims had to be filed within two years of the initial injury, meaning that it was too late. George Metesky was a 54 year old man of Polish ancestry who had a tuburcular lung and lived with two older sisters. It was noted that when he answered the law enforcment at the door, he was wearing pajamas, however Metesky changed into a double breasted, fully buttoned suit when taken into custody in early 1957. A bomb making workshop was discovered at his residence, and he openly admitted that he was the Mad Bomber. Dr. Brussel's reasoning behind the psychological profile was that paranoia develops over time, explaining the age range given, and the prediction of his paranoia came from his neat handwriting, obsessiveness, notions of being intellectually superior, and his ability to hold a long term grudge. The Mad Bomber was predicted to be Slavic due to the historical popularity of bombs in Central Europe, and the letters read as if they had been translated into English, with the only slang being the phrase "Con Ed", which is what New Yorkers say instead of the full name of the company. George Metesky was found unfit to stand trial and sent to the Matteawan Hospital for the Criminally Insane, before it was decided he was cured and released in 1973 after all charges were dropped. This profile is a notable example in the history of psychological profiling due to how specific and accurate it is, which brought an abundance of public attention to the profession (Evans) .

The practice of psychological profiling became commonly used by law enforcement agencies because of the creation and use of profiles of drug couriers in the 1970's. Consisting of seemingly irrelevant characteristics, law enforcement agencies utilize these profiles to identify and stop drug trafficking. There is no single profile used across the nation; however, all psychological profiles of drug couriers share similarities. The court case of United States of America, Plaintiff - Appellee, v. Alex Moore from the United States Court of Appeals, Fifth

Circuit in 1979 outlined the several primary characteristics of these profiles, as created by FBI Agent Markonni (Edge). This profile outlines that a drug courier may carry little or no lugage, use a fake name, carry unusually large amounts of money, and display nervousness beyond that of an average airline passenger. In addition to these primary characteristics, the court case also outlined four secondary characteristics: making phone calls immediately after exiting the plane, using a false phone number, using almost exclusively public transport, and excessively travelling to and from source cities such as Miami. The currently used psychological profile of drug couriers includes several additional predictions, such as the age range between 25 and 35, paleness of skin typically associated with intense anxiety, carrying rather than checking any bags, lack of identification tags of luggage, purchasing airline tickets the day of the flight, and discarding the ticket soon after the flight lands (Edge).

Psychological profiling was also used in the case of Richard Chase, also known as the "Vampire of Sacremento" because of what he did to Theresa Wallin in 1978. Her husband came home and found her body in their bedroom, next to a yogurt container that looked as if it has been used to drink Theresa's blood. Robert Ressler and Russ Vorpagel predicted that her killer was a twenty five to thirty five year old white man, who had a thin and malnourished appearance. His home would be dirty and unkempt, with obvious evidence from the crime scene. The killer was clearly a disorganized offender who most likely had a history of mental illness and lived a solitary lifestyle of unemployment. Due to the nature of the crime scene and the extent of Theresa's injuries, the profilers concluded that the killer was likely having a psychotic episode that had probably been ongoing for years, meaning there may be records of the perpetrator receiving psychiatric care. Someone suffering fom such severe mental distress would have little regard for personal hygiene, leading to a malnourished and dishelved appearance,

which can also be applied to his living conditions and employment history. Most importantly, it was likely that the perpetrator would kill again, and sadly this prediction came true three days later within a mile's distance from the residence of this first victim. This time, Evelyn Miroth (age 36), her son Jason (6), and family friend Daniel Meredith (52) had been killed by gunshots, and Evelyn's infant nephew Michael was missing from the scene, having been most likely been abducted by the killer, and was assumed to be deceased because of the amount of blood found in his playpen. The perpetrator hadn't tried to disguise the fact that he drank the blood of his victims, before leaing in Daniel's stolen car, which was found a short distance away, having been abandoned. The most important detail the profilers provided to the police was that the killer would live close to the site where the car was abandoned, as to not have been seen walking home covered in blood. This car was then used as the center of a search radius that the investigation was focused on. This radius was the focus of searches for possible witnesses, house searches, and interviews of neighbors. Less than forty eight hours after the second crime occured, a woman reported being assualted by a former high school classmate. She did not recognize him at first, due to his emaciated look, bloody sweatshirt, and a "thick yellow crust" around his mouth. The name she gave was Richard Chase, who was proven to live less than a block from where the stolen car was abandoned. At the time of his apprehension, Chase was carrying Daniel Meredith's wallet and a pistol whose bullets matched those from the second crimes, as well as a pin from Michael's diaper and pieces of tissue from his brain. The refrigerator in Chase's apartment contained a half galloon container holding brain tissue and body parts, three blenders filled with blood and human tissue, and the abused corpse of baby Michael. Richard Chase was a twenty seven year old white male who lived alone, with no stable employment. He had previously been sent to a mental institution, where he would eat the heads of birds taken from the

garden of the hospital, which led to two staff members quitting their jobs. Chase freely admitted

to his crimes because he did not think he was doing anything wrong. His mental conditions

caused him to become convinced that his organs were moving around inside his body and

turning his blood into sand, so he had to consume fresh blood from others to replenish what he

thought he had lost. Possibly the most disturbing evidence taken from Chase's apartment was a

calendar, which marked the dates of the murders, each labelled with the word "today", and

showed fourty four other labelled dates throughout the rest of the year. Richard Chase convicted

of six counts of first degree murder, and received the sentence of death. He was transferred to

death row at the notorius San Quinten State Prison, where bullying from fellow inmates caused

what was left of his sanity to completely give way, and he was reported to be "psychotic, insane,

and incompetent, and chronically so," (Evans). This led to his transfer to a facility for the

criminally insane, where he continued to deteriorate until his suicide on Christmas of 1980.

The case of John Duffy, the Railway Rapist, was the first murder case in Britain that

psychological profiling had a significant role in solving. His crimes began in 1982, when a series

of rapes that would last four years was started by two men in London and the surrounding

counties. Together they committed eighteen acts of simultaneous rape; however, an attack in

November of 1984 revealed that one of the men was beginning to execute instances of rape

without his partner. He would approach women and strike up a friendly conversation so that the

women would let their guards down, before suddenly threatening her with a knife, and binding

the victim's hands with rope, before continuing on to commit his assaults. The majority of these

attacks took place near railroad tracks, which led to the moniker *the Railway Rapist*. These

attacks reached their peak on a July night in 1985 when three separate attacks took place within

the span of a few hours, which finally convinced law enforcement authorities that this situation

required special measures. This led to the creation of Operation Hart, which became the most comprehensive search in Britain since the end of the search for the Yorkshire Ripper (Evans). Authorities from Scotland Yard, Hertforshire, Surrey, and the British Transport Police all joined forces to apprehend the perpetrator. John Duffy, an ex - carpenter from the British Rail, was arrested on unrelated charges the month after, and was released on bail; however, this brought his name into Operation Hart's suspect file. In early December of 1985, the Railway Rapist escalated to murder, when nineteen year old Alison Day was dragged from a train in East London, taken to an isolated garage in Hackney, and strangled to death, before then being weighed down and dumped in the River Lea. Her body would stay there until January fourteenth of 1986, by which point most forensic evidence had been washed away, except for a small number of fibers found on her coat. Alison Day's murder was not linked to the Railway Rapist until April seventh, 1986, when fifteen year old Maartje Tamboezer was raped and strangled to death on a bike ride to West Horsely in Surrey. Her body was surrounded by small footprints, meaning that her killer was a man of small stature, which matches earlier descriptions of the Railway Rapist being a short man. There were attempts made to destroy forensic evidence; however, there remained a fluid sample that was large enough to test, and this revealed that the perpetrator had Type A Blood. The results of this testing meant that four out of five suspects from Operation Hart could be scientifically eliminated. One of the main pieces of physical evidence linking this case to earlier attacks committed by the Railway Rapist was that the victim's hands had been tied in a prayer position with brown string that was described as "unusually wide". Anne Lock disappeared on her commute home from work on the night of May eighteenth in 1986. Her body was not found until two months later, but remaining fluid samples matched her attack to those of the man who was now becoming known as *the Railway Killer*. The suspect file of Operation Hart originally

contained over 4,900 men, which was narrowed down to 1,999 potential suspects who matched the fluid sample. Name 1,505 on this list was John Duffy, who was interviewed on the seventeenth of July in 1986, after which he immediately committed himself to a psychiatric hospital (Evans). Law enforcement authorities requested the help of Professor David Canter, who was considered an official on behavioral science to develop a psychological profile of the Railway Killer. He predicted that the killer may be living in the Kilburn area of London, were he was married without children. He would have a history of domestic violence and few close male friends. The comparison of this profile to the remaining list of possible suspects made John Duffy's name stand out, and at this point he had signed himself out of the psychiatric institution. He then attacked a fourteen year old girl, letting her go alive even though she had seen him when her blindfold slipped. Duffy was then the subject of twenty four hour surveillance before being arrested. He would be linked to the murder of Alison Day when technicians were finally able to forensically match fibers found on her coat to a sweater of John Duffy's. The psychological profile was correct on thirteen out of seventeen predictions, one of the main characteristics being his lack of children, caused by his low sperm count that angered Duffy. He was convicted on the twenty sixth of February in 1988 and given seven counts of life in prison; however, detectives have not been able to take Duffy to trial and officially solve the earlier rape cases due to lack of physical evidence (Evans).

In spite of psychological profiling being used successfully in multiple investigations, many law enforcement agencies and authorities are hesitant to utilize the practice. Psychological profiling is most often criticized for not being statistically and empirically proven; however, the use of inductive reasoning rather than deductive reasoning is a pre - existing solution to the answer, as inductive reasoning is based on statistics and information from past investigations

compiled into an official database. The most widely reported issue with psychological profiling is the lack of uniformity and homogeny on all levels. Creating a standardized definition of profiling, increasing the frequency of the peer review process during the publication of profiling literature, developing a standard training program to ensure that all profilers are properly educated and trained, establishing a list of standardized profiles, setting guidelines for the information that can be included in a profile, and providing a clear and comprehensive review of investigations that have used profiling in order to determine accuracy are all essential to the continued and future use of profiling (Lerner and Lerner).

Overall, psychological profiling is a tool that can be useful, but must be used with caution, as advised by Dr. Meriah Crawford, a professor at Virginia Commonwealth University, as well as being a private detective (Personal interview, (4 / 18 / 2021)). The practice of profiling has proved that it can be successful in narrowing the suspect pool, opening new avenues for investigation, identifying likely behavioral patterns of an offender, and developing plans to manipulate an offender into revealing more clues about their identity. While psychological profiling is a relatively new practice when compared to most "traditional" investigative tactics, it has been applied to many high profile cases throughout history, including the cases of Jack the Ripper, Ted Bundy, and the Atlanta Child murderer. Yet also as a new practice, there is much room for improvement, and this future improvement is crucial to the future of profiling, as well as its reputation, usage, acceptance, accuracy, and usefulness. Profiling is not an exact science, and as a result is recognized as an imperfect practice, as it rightly should be. However, psychological profiling has potential, and has been shown to be an important asset in some investigations. In its current form, psychological profiling is still effective in many ways, but deconstructing the processes used in profiling and applying them to

other types of crime will result in a better understanding of how profiling can identify behvaioral patterns. Shifting to more scientific and statistically based methodologies will greatly aid in solidifying the validity of psychological profiling. It must not be forgotten that as the practice of profiling will evolve, so too will the behavioral patterns and abilities of offenders. This means that for psychological profiling to remain relevant, the practice must be adapted to predict and accommodate new variables and changes to criminal routines. Criminal profilers recognize that there are yet to be discovered criminal behavioral patterns, and in turn, yet to be discovered methods of developing psychological profiles.

Appendix

Media analysis

Profiling has received a huge media attention in the past few decades, with one of, if not the most impactful pieces of media being the books written by Thomas Harris, followed by the popular movie and television adaptions. What makes *The Silence of the Lambs* by Thomas Harris arguably the most influential piece of media on profiling is the fact that it introduced a new definition of the word "profile" by bringing the practice of psychological profiling into the eye of the public. Despite this significant step foreward, the media can create false impressions that differ from the reality of profiling, which is still establishing an identity as a scientific process. These incorrect media portrayals only widen the gap between the public's view on profiling and the reality of profiling as a still imperfect practice. It is because of this that I have decided to analyze the most well known examples of fictional media on the subject of psychological profiling.

In *The Silence of the Lambs*, profiling is still in its first stages of development, with the initial interviews of serial offenders that will be used in the first comprehensive study of serial

offenders in the US still taking place. While these events did happen in reality, the database

mentioned in the text began development in 1976 and was completed in 1979 after interviewing

thirty six serial offenders. In *The Silence of the Lambs*, which was published in 1988, the

database is still being developed, and there were only thirty two known serial offenders to be

interviewed. In reality, psychological profiling was already being utilized across the country by

1988. However, these can be dismissed as relatively insignificant details. What cannot be

dismissed is that the creation of a profile of an active serial killer, Buffalo Bill, is done by a

student who has not yet graduated from the FBI's training program, but somehow was asked to

consult a serial offender so dangerous he's kept behind three gates and doors, and is smart

enough to have publications in psychiatric journals. While this student, Clarice, has a

background in both law enforcement training and has a valid counselor's license, which are good

qualifications to consider oneself a profiler, it is simply unrealistic for this interaction facilitated

by the FBI to take place with a student as one of the participants.

At this point in the book, where the investigation of an active serial killer has stalled due

to a lack of physical evidence, it makes sense for detectives to turn to psychological profiling.

Despite the practice of profiling still being in the early stages of development in the book, the

sparse profile created and the evidence it includes is realistic in comparison to modern

psychological profiles. Similarities between the dump sites of the victims are noted but

unhelpful, and no correlations could be drawn from mapping the abduction sites. The only factor

that concretely ties these crimes to the same offender is the fact that all of the bodies are missing

pieces of skin, that were carefully removed from the bodies, for an unknown reason. This

example of case linkage analysis is extremely realistic, with the only other connecting evidence

being the heavy set physique of the victims and the bodies being found in rivers, which can be

easily dismissed as coincidences between unrelated cases. It can be also be said that the placing of moth cocoons in the victim's throats is an example of case linkage analysis; however, in some victims this was attributed to the bodies being found in rivers with leaf litter and animals, whereas the removal of skin was clearly does purposefully and with great care.

The investigation is significantly slowed due to the lack of an apparent motive, an issue that occurs in reality as well. This slow pace is only quickened once it is realized that the killer is taking women for their skin, and the investigation accelerates to a much faster pace when the first victim is shown to have connections to workers in the sewing industry. A tactic seen in real life that is used in the book as well is the killer taking extra care to hide the body of a victim that they knew, in order to prevent their identification, as people who knew the victim are always the first potential suspects.

The abduction of the final victim plays out on the pages of the book, and the strategy used by the perpetrator to make the victim relax, wearing a cast to fake an injury and seem less threatening, is a real tactic that was used by Ted Bundy to lure his victims. The motivation of Buffalo Bill and his psychological processes closely mirrors, if not is a direct reflection, of the crimes committed by real life criminal Ed Gein.

The ending of the book is only somewhat unrealistic, as Clarice confronted Buffalo Bill on her own rather than calling for backup in order to avoid embarassment if she was incorrect, which almost resulted in her death, in an act that would not actually happen (Harris).

Overall the depiction of psychological profiling in *The Silence of the Lambs* is an accurate representation of psychological profiling, with the only main flaws being the pushed forward developmental timeline of profiling, and the inaccurate pairing of an FBI student and an extremely dangerous serial murderer being encouraged to work together.

The most recent piece of profiling media that has gained a large following is the television show *Hannibal*. While also being based off of a Thomas Harris book and the character of Hannibal Lecter being central to the creation of psychological profiles, it is best described as a procedural drama with an additional conflict lasting throughout each season. The main conflict of season one is introduced as the problem to be solved in episode one, and while a conclusion is reached, new clues appear continuously until the season finale.

Episode one introduces us to Will Graham, a professor at the FBI base at Quantico and a well known psychological profiler due to his high levels of empathy, which enable him to look at a crime scene as if he were the criminal. He is bought back into the investigative field, to profile and help apprehend a serial killer in Minnesota. Will immediately begins to work on the profile, bringing attention the that fact that victims were all kidnapped on Fridays, meaning that the killer spends the weekend erasing evidence of the crimes, and points out the obvious victim type the killer is hunting for. This observation poses the question of why this specific type of victim was chosen. Will starts an argument on why he was chosen to work on the case, with his coworker saying he chose him because he "makes jumps that can't be explained", to which Will replies by saying that he only uses evidence when making psychological profiles. This is an allusion to debates over whether inductive or deductive methods should be used in the creation of psychological profiles. A local psychiatrist named Hannibal Lecter is also contracted to help create psychological prrofiles of the victims and their killers. The body of the last victim, Elise, had been returned to her bed in one piece, even though the remains of the other victims where never found. Will notices that there is antler velvet in her wounds, which is used to promote healing, and concludes that this is the killer apologizing for not honoring her the way he did his other victims, by eating them. Because the perpetrator removed her liver and then sewed it back

in place, Will predicted that he didn't eat it because something was "wrong with the meat". Elise's autopsy would later reveal that she had liver cancer, confirming this prediction. A scrap of metal is found on Elise's nightgown that leads Will and Hannibal to a construction site that worked with that specific type of metal. Will is looking through files when he finds a resignation letter from Garrett Jacob Hobbs, which stands out due to lack of an address. Will then theorizes that Hobbs may be motivated or urged to commit these crimes because he can't stand the reality that his only daughter will leave for college, which is a reflection of how Hobbs takes his victims from college campuses. Will and Hannibal then go the Hobbs house to speak with Garrett, however he had been tipped off about the FBI coming to see him, and by the time they arrive he has killed his wife and is about to kill his daughter, Abigail. Will shoots Hobbs to death and Hannibal saves Abigail after her father slit her thoat in an act of attempted murder. A copycat killer stages a crime scene that reflects the wounds found on Elise's body; however, Will quickly recognizes this as a copycat killing as it seemes to mock the detectives, and while the body is missing its lungs, Will predicts that this shows the motive of the copycat killer is not destruction, but rather consuming from the inside out. Will profiles the copycat as an intellectual psychopath with no clear motive or pattern, and therefore will likely never kill in this fashion again. Scenes that are only shown to the audience reveal that Hannibal is most likely the copycat, as he is seen to have called Hobbs to warn him about the upcoming visit, and is seen preparing a dish for dinner that includes what appear to be human lungs (Episode 1, "Apéritif." *Hannibal* Television).

In the second episode of *Hannibal*, it is noted that Abigail would be ideal bait to attract victims to her father, however Will is insistant that Hobbs killed alone. A crime scene is found where humans have been buried alive and are being kept unconscious through the manipulation

of their blood sugar, and they are being supplied oxygen while being used as living fertilizer for several mushroom colonies. This crime scene is easily connected to the disappearances of several diabetics after picking up new insulin perscriptions, and a local pharmacist becomes the lead suspect. He was the technician who signed off on their prescription, and another victim was found in the trunk of his abandoned car, thankfully still alive. Upon being captured by Will, the perpetrator admits his admiration of mushrooms and fungi's ability to connect, as what looks like a mushroom colony can actually be one giant fungi. The perpetrator explains how thoughts leap from one person to another and mutate in ways similar to fungi. He sees the process of burying a person and using them as living fertilizer for mushrooms as a way to reach back out, describing how mycelium fungi reach out first. It seems that the perpetrator believes that this "reaching out" is a truer form of communication, better than the ways humans use to communicate (Episode 2, "Amuse-Bouche." *Hannibal* Television).

The third episode returns to the crime of the first episode, as Abigail Hobbs is explained by her father in a flashback or dream that eating a living being you have killed and using all of the body parts honors the victim, while not doing so is "just murder." Will is working on profiling the Hobbs copycat killer, suggesting that the copycat wants the investigators to believe that he is better than Hobbs, and explains that the copycat must be well read in order to so accurately recreate the original crime, and in doing so possibly elevates the action to a form of art. Hannibal points out that the copycat killer's crime was not done by Hobbs because he did not honor her body, leading Will to question whether or not Hobbes and the copycat knew each other. He predicts that the copycat killer was the one who tipped off Hobbs, which is another clue insinuating that Hannibal is the copycat, as it was revealed to viewers that Hannibal made the call to Hobbs' house (Episode 3, "Potage." *Hannibal* Television).

The first episode of *Hannibal* is realistic in its depiction of what the FBI considers the

work experience of profilers to be, the methodologies used in creating profiles, and how physical

evidence is used in the development of psychological profiles, as well as the thought processes

and behavioral patterns exhibited by offenders. The second episode does not directly depict the

usage of psychological profiling, but includes how an offender's thought processes affect their

behavioral patterns, and in turn how these influences can be used to predict future behaviors. The

last episode of *Hannibal* that I analyzed as part of this commentary on media representation of

profiling accurately portrays case linkage analysis by indicating the small differences between

two crimes, and what these small variations can imply about an offender's thought processes and

motivations.

Overall, the most popular fictional media that covers psychological profiling is the

television show *Ciminal Minds*, which ran for fifteen seasons over almost two decades. The first

episode of the first season, which aired in 2005, depicts a professor from the Behavioral Analysis

Unit being consulted in the case of a serial murderer, who has four victims that show escaltion

and perfection of the routine used to carry out the crime. Physical evidence from the crime

scenes is used in the creation of a psychological profile, and the problem of what to do when

profiles of the same crime are conflicting is addressed, with the solution being to go back to the

beginning. The big plot twist of the episode is when it is revealed that the crimes are being

carried out by two partners, in which case having a psychological profile of one of the

perpetrators can lead to the identification of the second offender (Season 1 Episode 1, "Extreme

Aggressor." *Criminal Minds* Television).

The first episode of the twelfth season, which aired in 2016, is similar to the above

episode in the methodologies used to develop profiles, however the more recent episode includes

the profiling of much more intricate offenders, including several people that have multiple personality disorders, where only one personality or "alternate" is the perpetrator of the crime. These two episodes of *Criminal Minds* show how much the processes of psychological profiling has developed and become more multifaceted, as well the representation of these developments in the media (Season 12 Episode 1, "The Crimson King." *Criminal Minds* Television).

Overall, the most realistic piece of fictional media on psychological profiling is *Hannibal*, followed by *Criminal Minds*, and lastly *The Silence of the Lambs. Hannibal* provided accurate information on a multitude of variables that may be presented in a crime scene, such as the existence of a copycat killer. On the opposite end of the spectrum, *The Silence of the Lambs* provided the most glaringly incorrect representation of psychological profiling and profilers, however, this can be attributed to its age, as it is around thirty years older than both television shows.

Common words, phrases, and names

1. Case linkage analysis - linking crimes together through psychological profiling that might not have been connected through forensic evidence.

2. Direct evidence - physical evidence taken from a crime scene and / or a victim's body.

3. Indirect evidence - intangible evidence such as eyewitness testimony and video or photograph surveillance.

4. Compstat - a widely used program that analyzes data from law enforcement agencies to hold them accountable and encourage improvement.

5. John Douglas - a renowned expert of psychological profiling who conducted the first US study on criminal's methods and motivations, and a best selling author of psychological profiling literature.

6. David Canter - an expert who has pioneered the use of psychological profiling in England and the United Kingdom.

7. Robert Ressler - one of the first FBI profilers and author of the most cited piece of psychological profiling literature.

8. Macdonald triad - three commonly occurring behavior patterns that are thought to be precursors of predatory sexual and homicidal behaviors.

9. Geographic profiling - the use of mathematical algorithms to determine an offender's residence using the coordinates of their crimes.

10. Organized offenders - are a type of offender who exerts effort in covering up their crimes to avoid detection, and shows high levels of self control when committing their crimes.

11. Disorganized offenders - are a type of offender who commits their crimes in a brazen and frenzied manner, taking little or no care to avoid detection.

12. Behavioral Sciences Unit - the FBI unit specializing in psychological profiling and behavior patterns; currently known as the Behavioral Analysis Unit.

The following three figures show the most prolific authors in the field of psychological profiling, the frequency of the peer review process, the most referenced publications and self proclaimed author affiliations of 426 publications on psychological profiling from 1976 to 2016, as well as five proposed standardized profiles for cyber criminals. Figures A, B, and C derive their data from the following source: *What Have We*

Learned From Offender Profiling? A Systematic Review and Meta - Analysis of 40 Years of Research **by Bryanna Fox and David P. Farrington.**

Figure A : Most published authors of psychological profiling publications

Most published authors	Number	Lead on peer reviewed articles	Frequency
R Kocis	30	R Kocis	22
L Alison	24	C Bennell	11
D Canter	24	D Canter	11
C Bennell	16	P Santilla	8
E Beauregard	15	C G Salfati	7
R Hazelwood	14	E Beauregard	6
J Douglas	13	B Snook	6
P Santilla	13	L Alison	5
R Ressler	11	B Fox	5
C G Salfati	11	A Goodwill	5
A Burgess	10	M Tonkin	5
J Woodhams	10	N Deslauriers - Varin	4
D Farrington	9	H Hakkanen	4
A Goodwill	9	H chan	3
B Snook	9	J Davis	3
J Warren	9	L Miller	3
H Hakkanen	8	L Schlensinger	3
R Bull	7	J Warren	3

R Holmes	7	J Woodhams	3

The above chart is a ranking of the most published authors in the field of psychological profiling from 1976 to 2016, and the frequency that these authors were the lead writer of peer reviewed articles. This shows not only the most prolific authors in the field, but also the prevalence of the practice peer review.

Figure B : Most cited publications on profiling

Title	Author(s)	Year of publication	Number of citations
Sexual homicide : Patterns and motives	*R Ressler*, A Burgess, *J Douglas*	1988	919
Serial murderers and their victims	E Hickey	1991	692
Criminal profiling : An introduction to behavioral evidence analysis	B Turvey	1999	504
Profiling violent crime : An investigative tool	R Holmes, S Holmes	1996	487
Criminal shadows : Inside the mind of the serial killer	*David Canter*	1995	459
Serial murder	R Holmes, S Holmes	1998	451
Using murder : The social construction of serial homicide	P Jenkins	1994	372
Offender profiling and	P Ainsworth	1997	299

crime analysis			
Mind hunter : inside the FBI's elite serial crime unit	*J Douglas*, M Olshaker	1995	299
Differentiating arsonists : A model of firesetting actions and characteristics	*D Canter*, K Fritzon	1998	254
Offender profiling and criminal differentiation	*D Canter*	2000	251
The organized / disorganized typology of serial murder : Myth or model?	*D Canter*, L Alison, E Alison, N Wentink	2004	207
Differentiating sex offenses : A behaviorally based classification of stranger rapes	*D Canter*, C Bennell, L Alison, S Reddy	2003	174
Can we profile sex offenders? A review of sex offender typologies	G Robertiello, K Terry	2007	150
Offender profiling	*D Canter*	2010	96

The above chart shows the fifteen most cited pieces of literature on criminal profiling published from 1976 to 2016. This reflects the most impactful authors in the field of psychological profiling, and the recognition that more research on psychological profiling needs to be done beyond the foundations of the field to prepare for changes in offender behaviors.

Figure C : Author Affiliaion
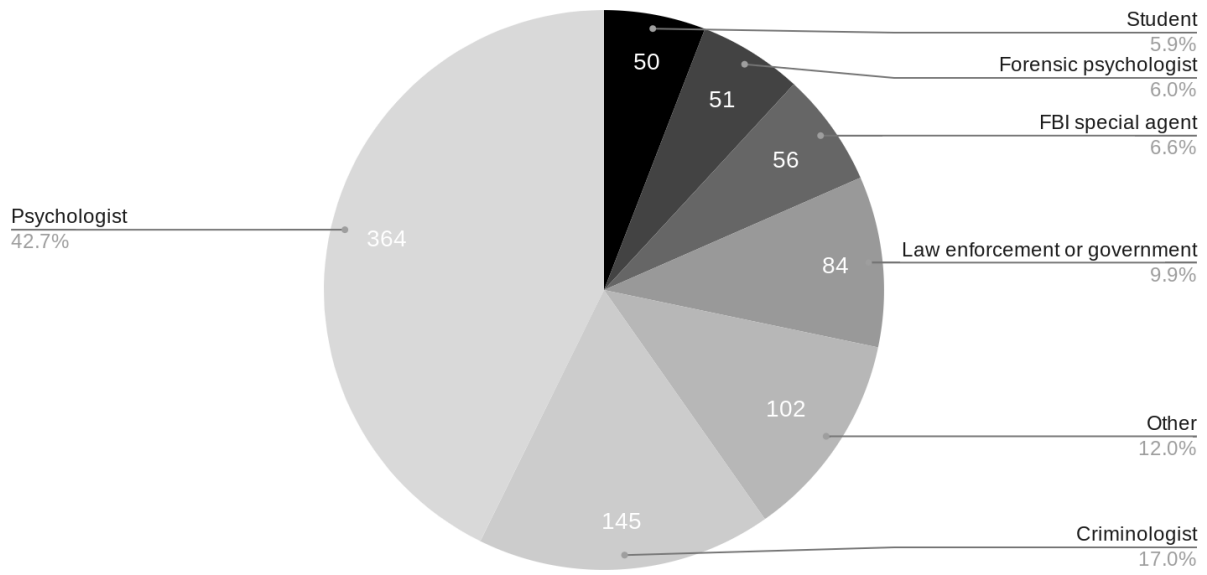
The above graph is a depiction of how authors of psychological profiling literature classify themselves in relation to career. This is essential because it is a demonstration of the fact that anyone can identify as a profiler, whether or not they have a background in law enforcement and / or psychology. Leading the graph are psychologists, followed by criminologists and authors of other affiliation.

Figure D : Proposed profiles for cyber criminals (Warikoo, 172 - 178).

Cybercriminal profile	Motive	Level of structure	Level of motivation	Level of skill	Attack severity
Novice "hacktivists"	Fun, thrill, political	Unorganized	Basic to intermediate	Low to high	Low to medium

		activism			
Cyber criminals	Financial gain	Unorganized with some level of collaboration	Intermediate	Intermediate	Medium to high
Cyber crime syndicates	Financial gain	Organized, well funded	Intermediate to advanced	High	High
Cyber spies	Espioage, IP theft	State sponsored, highly organized, well funded	Highly advanced	High	Critical
Cyber terrorists	Disruption	Well funded, work in small groups	Basic to intermediate	Medium	Low to medium

The above chart provides an example of possible general catagories to be used when creating a psychological profile of criminals who commit cyber crimes. This is an important new development in the field of profiling due to its depiction of modern methods and crimes.

Annotated Bibliography

Canter, David. "Offender Profiling and Investigative Psychology." Journal of Investigative

Psychology and Offender Profiling, vol. 1, no. 15, 2004, pp. 1–15., doi:10.1002/jip.007.

In this source, Canter introduces the concept of criminal profiling and outlines the main issues with the practice, including lack of standardization, the use of criminal typologies, and the need for common methodologies. Also, Canter introduces the main psychological inquiries related to offender profiling, such as which criminal behaviors are determined as important,

behavioral consistency, differentiation between criminals, and the possibility of linking serial offenses.

These points make the article integral at looking at criminal profiling through a critical lens and force the reader to take a more objective position by bringing up valid criticisms of the practice of criminal profiling, and therefore also include pathways of improvement. Psychology is more closely tied to the concept of offender profiling through the article's inquiring of criminal behavior.

"Clarice Starling and The Silence of the Lambs." Profiling Violent Crimes: An Investigative

Tool, by Ronald M Holmes and Stephen T Holmes, 3rd ed., Sage Publications, Inc, 2002, pp. 20–21.

This text analyzes the methods and execution of profiling in *The Silence of the Lambs*, which was written by Thomas Harris, whose books greatly contributed to bringing the practice of psychological profiling into the eye of the public. It then compares how profiling was used in the book to how it is used in reality, and explains how Harris's representation of profiling is unrealistic.

This is an important source because it analyzes how profiling is represented in *The Silence of the Lambs* and compares this to reality, which is also done in the above inquiry, as well as with other media examples. Information in this source is used to explain and support claims made in the research inquiry above.

Davis, Jeff. "Extreme Aggressor." Criminal Minds, season 1, episode 1, Netflix, 2005.

In this source, profiling is used shown as a tool used by the FBI's Behavioral Analysis Unit to find a woman who has disappeared, however it turns out that her kidnapping is connected to three insolved murders in the area. Her life is saved the killer captured, using profiling as a main investigative tool in doing so.

This source is used as an example of media focused on profilng that is analyzed in the above inquiry. It depicts the most common application of psychological profiling, in the identification and apprehension of serial murderers, as well as showing profiling methodologies. This is essential because the above inquiry analyzes the representation of profiling in media and how it compares to the realities of profiling.

Davis, Jeff. "The Crimson King." Criminal Minds, season 12, episode 1, Netflix, 2016.

In this source, profiling is used in case linkage analysis and in behavioral analysis as a tool used to identify and apprehend a copycat killer. It applies profiling to a more intricate case than the original crimes imitated by the copycat, which shows how profiling methodologies had changed.

This source is used as an example of how profiling is represented in the media, and how this representation compares to reality. It is also compared to another example of how profiling was used in the same form of media that was produced over a decade beforehand, showing how the representation of profiling has changed over time. This is then compared to the historical development of profiling.

Douglas, John, and Mark Olshaker. The Killer Across the Table: Unlocking the Secrets of Serial
Killers and Predators with the FBI's Original Mindhunter. HarperCollins, 2019.

Douglas and Olshaker compare their experiences exploring the possible opportunities of psychological profiling, before going on to found the Behavioural Sciences Unit of the FBI. They go in depth into the interviews they conducted with well known offenders throughout the country, what they learned from the interviews, and how the interviews proved some existing theories towards offender's psychology erroneous.

This text provides information from primary sources, including one of the founders of the Behavioural Sciences Unit of the FBI and pioneers of psychological profiling. Information from the original interviews with offenders are quoted and analyzed to explain how psychological profiles are made.

Edge, Christine Ivie. "Profiling, Drug Courier." Encyclopedia of Law Enforcement,

doi:10.4135/9781412952415.n156.

Edge explains in the text how criminal profiling has been to used to identify drug couriers entering the United States in order to curb the influx of drugs being internationally distributed. The article describes in detail the characteristics usually exhibited by drug couriers, displaying multiple of which will trigger suspicion in law enforcement officials. The text discusses the history of profiling drug couriers, and the legality of such practices.

This source provides information on one of the types of profiling that is not related to serial rape or murder, the crimes which most commonly have profiling involved. Information on the different types of characteristics is explained in detail on how it can be used to spot a drug courier.

Evans, Colin. The Casebook of Forensic Detection: How Science Solved 100 of the World's

        Most Baffling Crimes. John Wiley & Sons, Inc, 1996.

        Evans text provides context and information on some the earliest psychological profiles

of criminals. Including the cases of George Metesky, John Duffy, and Richard Chase, the book

describes in detail the profiles that were created, and how evidence from the crime scences

helped to produce some of the first accurate offender profiles.

        This source gives examples of cases where psychological profiling was used, and along

the way shows how the process of psychological profiling has changed. It provides context for

the attitudes towards psychological profiling and how the process became more accepted in the

eyes of law enforcement and the public.

Finn, Robert. "Criminal Profiler Shares Some Secrets of the Trade." Clinical Psychiatry News,

        vol. 36, no. 5, May 2008. Criminal Justice E-Journal Collection.

        Robert Finn interviews Steven E. Samuel, a clinical psychologist, about the uses of

psychological profiling, including its use in suspect interoogation. The text compares one of the

first successful instances of psychological profiling, the case of George Metesky with modern

day views on the practical applications of criminal profiling. Finn also compares the uses of

psychological profiling and the attitudes of law enforcement towards it through different time

periods.

           This source compares and contrasts the uses of and views toward psychological

profiling from the first professional uses to its use in the field of law enforcement in modern

times. Because of this information, it is easier to see how the opinions of law enforcement and

psychologists have changed over time towards the practice of psychological profiling.

Fox, Bryanna, and David P Farrington. "What Have We Learned From Offender Profiling? A

Systematic Review and Meta - Analysis of 40 Years of Research." Psychological

Bulletin, vol. 144, no. 12, 2018, pp. 1247–1263., doi:10.1037/bul0000170.

Bryanna Fox and David Farrington analyze forty years of data from 426 pieces of

literature published in the field of criminology in order to see how far the field has advanced,

what professionals have learned so far, and what improvements can be made in order make the

field of offender profiling more scientifically verifiable. They review the previous three meta -

analysis done in the past, as well as provide statistics on the most published authors and most

cited in the field, such as John E Douglas, Richard N Kocsis, and Laurence Alison.

This publication is essential because it provides a wealth of information on the history,

evolution, and findings of offender profiling, as well as naming the most important publications

and authors in the field. It discusses the uses and accuracy of case linkage, and provides steps

that should be taken to expand the field of offender profiling in a scientific manner.

Fuller, Bryan. "Amuse-Bouche." Hannibal, season 1, episode 2, Netflix, 2013.

This fictional source covers the case of a multiple murderer, whose capture and

identification was mostly due to psychological profiling, because of a lack of physical evidence

at the crime scene. The victim from the previous episode who lived wakes up in the hospital, and

is able to provide further insight into the behavioral patterns of her attacker.

This source is important because it depicts how psychological profiling can greatly

benefit an investigation when there is a lack of physical evidence, as well as how eye witness

statements and victimology can be used in further developing a psychological profile, even after the offender has been identified and is no longer alive.

Fuller, Bryan. "Apéritif." Hannibal, season 1, episode 1, Netflix, 2013.

In this fictional source, a professor at the FBI's base located in Quantico is asked to assist in the case of a serial kiler by working together with the investigative team and a psychiatrist in forming a profile to aid in identifying the offender. A combination of psychological profiling and traditional investigation tactics are successfully used to pinpoint and apprehend the offender before his last victim dies.

This source provides an eample of how profiling is represented in the media, including the physical evidence that is used to form profiles, how this physical evidence exhibits behavioral patterns, and how behavioral analysis is used in tandem with what are thought of as traditional investigation techniques.

Fuller, Bryan. "Potage." Hannibal, season 1, episode 3, Netflix, 2013.

In this source, the psychological profile of a killer is used to further reveal his behavior patterns in order to recreate his routines, with the hopes of finding the remains of his victims, and possibly linking him to further cases. This psychological profile is used to eliminate him as a possible subject, leading to the creation of a separate profile for an offender copying him.

This source is relevant because it explains how a psychological profile can be used to theorize potential behavior patterns of the offender, which can be used to link other cases to the same offender, prevent future offenses, and identify suspects. The application of psychological profiling to possible copycat crimes is also explained and analyzed.

Grant, Heath B. "Profiling, Criminal Personality." Encyclopedia of Law Enforcement, edited by

      Larry E Sullivan, vol. 1, SAGE Publications, 2005, pp. 376–378.

      In this article, Heath Grant explains how criminal profilers see the relathionship between

offender behavior and possible psychological conditions. Instead of looking at a crime scene and

using to clues to infer that the offender may have paranoid schizophrenia, profilers will look at a

crime scene as a reflection of the offender's behavior; therefore, coming to the conclusion that

the offender has paranoid compulsions, and possibly paranoid schizophrenia. This is important

because it does not narrow focus onto suspects that only have a diagnosed mental illness.

      This text is important because it discusses the links between offender profiling and

mental ilness. It's a common thought that criminals are mentally ill, and while an offender profile

would not be able to confirm this, it can describe certain symptoms that a criminal may

experiance, regardless of whether or not they meet the formal criteria for diagnosis for mental

illness.

Harris, Thomas. The Silence of the Lambs. St. Martin's Press, 1988.

      This text is one of, if not the first, popular depictions of offender profiling in the media. It

tells the story of Clarice Starling, who is tasked with interviwing psychologist and serial killer

Dr. Hannibal Lector with the intent of gaining insight into the mind of an active serial killer who

has been kidnapping, skinning, and killing women. The clues given on the killer's personality

and motive by Dr. Lecter, as well as traditional police techniques, lead to the killer's capture

without additional victims.

This text is an important example of how profiling is depicted in the media, the early actions that developed the field of criminal profiling, early methods of criminal profiling, and how criminal profiling was practiced by law enforcement in the beginning of its conception.

Jordan, Casey. "Evidence." *Encyclopedia of Law Enforcement*, vol. 3, 15 Dec.

   2004, pp. 178-83. *Academic Search Complete*.

This text studies the evidence that is and can be left at a crime scene, and what information this evidence can provide to the creation of a psychological profile of the offender who committed the crime. It details what behavioral patterns could have resulted in this evidence found at the crime scene and then applies them to psychological profile and how they would reflect on the offender's lifestyle in order to aid in the identification process.

This source is integral because it provides information on what forms of physical evidence can be used in the creation of a profile, which is important in showing the methodologies behind profiling and and the beahvioral patterns that form a profile.

Lehman. "Criminology." West's Encyclopedia of American Law, 2nd ed., Gale Cengage

   Learning, 2004, pp. 291–294.

The text focuses on the psychological and philosophical causes of crime, explaining the multiple different theories behind what may cause crime, and the different sociological approaches to how the structure of society may be the cause of crime, as well as how the way a person is raised may or may not make them predisposed to a life of crime. This article briefly covers the history of multiple theories of how criminals become criminals, what what motivates them to break laws.

This text has showed it's importance by contributing a multitude of new information to my research, including explaining the different theories of why people commit crime, how society may drive people to commit crime, and if how the way someone was raised may have made them more likely to commit crime. It explains these theories as well as providing the history of each individual theory, adding to the timeline of psychological profiling's development.

Lerner, K Lee, and Brenda Wilmoth Lerner. "Criminal Profiling." World of Forensic Science, vol. 1, Thomson Gale, 2006, pp. 181–182.

In this text, Lerner and Lerner cover the basic history of criminal profiling, an overview of the information used to create a psychological profile, as well as some of the most common ways that a psychological profile can catagorize criminals. These catagories consits of organized or disorganized offenders; how the killer chose their victims and why; and the prevalence and information that a killer's "signature" reveals.

This text gives a brief overview of the uses of criminal profiling, how a psychological profile is formed, and the most broad categories that an offender can be catagorized into. This information is crucial to the introduction of psychological profiling and providing further background information for those without previous knowledge.

Lerner, K Lee. "Geographic Profiling." World of Forensic Science, edited by Brenda Wilmoth Lerner, vol. 1, Thomson Gale, 2006, pp. 326–327.

This paper introduces the practice of geographic profiling, a subset of psychological profiling. Geographic profiling analyzes where crimes were committed in order to create a map

of were the offender most likely lives or spends a majority of their time. The text explains the history of geographic profiling, how the theories behind geographic profiling were formed, the mathematical algorithms behind geographic profiling, which types of cases would benefit from geographic profiling, and how geographic profiling is related to psychological profiling.

Lerner and Lerner use this text to introduce geographic profiling, a subcategory of psychological profiling, and explain how a person's thought processes may affect their spatial decisions in relation to committing crime. This article is important because it discusses a type of psychological profiling that is not as common as what the media portrays criminal behavioral profiling as, and can help provide clues that would not normally be revealed in a typical psychological profile.

Lerner, K Lee, and Brenda Wilmoth Lerner. "Profiling, Ethical Issues." World of Forensic
        Science, vol. 1, Thomson Gale, 2006, pp. 554–556.

This piece is important because it introduces the potential ethical issues with criminal profiling and addresses the fact that psychological profiling is not admissible in court, as well as the creation of the first international group of professionals that work to make the practice of psychological profiling more standardized and professional.

The article proves that psychological profiling is an important tool for law enforcement by describing how the practice is becoming more standardized and homogenous, therefore making the process more trusted and professional.

Lerner, K Lee, and Brenda Wilmoth Lerner. "Psychological Profile." World of Forensic Science.

In this piece, the definition, uses, and brief history of psychological profiling is explained in order to prove the importance of the process. The authors cover the three main types of offenders; organized, disorganized, and mixed, as well as how to place an offender in one of these catagories and what that can predict about a person's behavior. The importance of taking trophies or souvenirs and the use of a signature is highlighted and explained as to how it relates to psychological profiling.

This piece provides an overview into the practice of psychological profiling, including what it means, what it is used for, a brief history of the process, and a real life example, the case of Richard Chase. It explains the three main types of criminal offenders, including information on why such classification in helpful in providing further clues into an offenders behavior patterns.

Lerner, K Lee, and Brenda Wilmoth Lerner. "John E. Douglas." World of Forensic Science, vol.

1, Thomson Gale, 2006, pp. 237–238.

This text provides background information on the renowned profiler John E. Douglas, covering his popular publications, and well known cases he covered. It discusses Douglas's history with the FBI and his role in the founding of the FBI's Behavioral Sciences and Investigative Support units, as well as his an overview of his methods of psychological profiling. The text provides examples of well known cases and offenders that Douglas was involved in creating psychological profiles of.

This text proves the importance and qualifications of John E. Douglas, one of the most well known and influential figures in the field of criminal profiling. It also lists several of the criminals that he has interviewed and cases he has worked on, providing leads for further

research. Because of his extensive history with criminal profiling and behavioral science, I have decided to reach out and contact Dr, Douglas.

Monroe, Kristen Renwick. "Explanation." *Encyclopedia of Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity*, pp. 327–330.

In this source the topics of victim blaming and social categorization are introduced in relation as to how criminals distance themselves from their victim(s) in order for offenders to justify their actions and to reduce or eliminate feelings of guilt or responsibility.

This source presents theories, such as dehumanization, as to how offenders are able to psychologically distance themselves from their victim(s). This information can provide clues as to how the victim(s) were chosen, what motivates the criminal to offend, the self justication of their actions, and if the offender will show guilt as a result of their actions, which, in turn, can provide vital information to a criminal profile.

O'Toole, Mary Ellen. "Criminal Profiling: The FBI Uses Criminal Investigative Analysis to Solve Crimes." Corrections Today, 1999, pp. 44–46.

This source summarizes the process of interpreting behaviors to form a psychological profile, how the practice of victimology provides information on the offender's mind, and what behaviors a psychological profile can provide insight on. O'Toole explains what evidence can be used to show planning, escalation, risk, and control or lack thereof, and how this information is synthesized into a psychological profile.

O'Toole uses this piece to explain what types of behavioral characteristics can be deduced from information left at a crime scene and experiances of the victim or victims, and how such characteristics are used to create a psychological profile, which catagorizes the offender so

as to provide further information on their psyche based on past psychological profiles that proved to be successful.

Shelton, Dinah L, editor. "Sociology of Victims." Encyclopedia of Genocide and Crimes Against

   Humanity, Thomson Gale, 2004, pp. 971–972.

   This article introduces the subject of victimology, the study of the relationships between an offender and their victim(s). In the text, an explanation of the primary theories attempting to provide an explanation for victimization is given. These theories are Marxist - Economic, Radical Conflict theory, and Labeling theory. The article introduces a brief history of the field of victimology, and the impact of victim blaming in said field. Contemporary criminologists place solid distinctions between cause and blame, stating that people are often "victimized based on who they are and what they have done" therefore placing blame on the perpetrator instead of victim blaming.

   This article is important because it details how explaining the relationship between victim and perpetrator can be used to gain insight into the psychology, logic, and thinking processes of the perpetrator. The text also introduces the labeling theory, one of the main theories on how criminal offenders are able to distance themselves from their victim(s) and redirect blame away from themself.

Silverman, Eli B. "Compstat." *Encyclopedia of Law Enforcement*, vol. 3, 15 Dec.

 2004, pp. 82-87. *Academic Search Complete*.

This article covers the history, techniques, and uses of the computer program Compstat, which applies the usage of psychological profiling to law enforcement officers and entities in order to assess their effectiveness, effienciancy, and integrity.

This source is essential because it depicts a different application of psychological profiling than what is seen as it's only usage, for the identification of serial offenders. This increased usage and applications are essential when discussing the effects of profiling and how why profiling must be improved.

Smith, Roger W. "Perpetrators." Encyclopedia of Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity, pp. 790–794.

Further information on the psychological processes of offenders related to the contextualization and justification of their actions is included in this article. Moreover, the multiple strategies that can be used to explain how an offender might not feel responsibility, remorse, or guilt for their actions. Importance is placed on dehumanization and disensitization as main factors in these processes.

This source is important as it adds theories as to the psychological reasonings of criminals both before and after a crime has been committed that can be an important piece of a psychological profile, which in turn would help apprehend criminals and prevent further offenses. Although the emphasis in the article is placed on apply these theories to perpetrators of genocide, they can be applied to criminals who commit offenses such as serial killings.

Warikoo, Arun. "Proposed Methodology for Cyber Criminal Profiling." Information Security

      Journal: A Global Perspective, vol. 23, 2014, pp. 172–178.,

      doi:10.1080/19393555.2014.931491.

      This text provides information on different methods of criminal profiling, using the

profiling of cyber crimes to better explain and provide examples. There are five standardized

profiles included for different types and degrees of cyber criminals, such as novice hacker, cyber

criminal, cyber criminal syndicate, cyber spies, and cyber terrorists. Each detail of the profiles

are explained as to why they are important individually, and how some them may affect other

aspects as well.

      Five standardized profiles are included in this article, which are an important example of

the different details that can be included in a criminal profile, how these details may be reflected

in the behavior of the offender, and how all of these details affect one other and come to weave a

web of theories that eventually leads to a criminal profile