

# 2

## CURRENT NONSCIENTIFIC MODELS OF PROFILING

Both the nonscientific and the scientific models and procedures for criminal profiling have been described by their creators and discussed in textbooks (Turvey, 1999), the professional literature (Holmes & DeBurger, 1985; Holmes & Holmes, 1992, 1996; Homant & Kennedy, 1998), and the popular literature (Douglas & Olshaker, 1995; Jeffreys, 1995; Kessler, 1993; Ressler & Shachtman, 1992). The presentations of these models, however, have been too cursory to be relied on for scholarly analysis. This chapter presents each of the current nonscientific models of profiling as they have been described by their creators. Each model's components, therefore, will become accessible for the critical scrutiny to which they are submitted in chapter 3.

Note that in this book, the word *model* is used broadly to incorporate heuristics, guidelines, or approaches recommended for constructing profiles. Each was developed to be used in profiling, so they are all worthy of consideration. The models discussed in this chapter are labeled *nonscientific* because, although they may refer to principles of science in varying degrees, each model implicitly or explicitly relies on an artful component to complete an offender profile.

## DOUGLAS ET AL. MODEL

To date, the most detailed description of profiling procedures comes from Douglas, Ressler, Burgess, and Hartman (1986), who categorized these procedures into six stages: Profiling Inputs, Decision-Process Models, Crime Assessment, Criminal Profile, Investigation, and Apprehension. Each stage is described in detail in the following sections. Much of the terminology used by these authors is also used by law enforcement agents and other authors writing about profiling. Thus, for the purposes of this book, the Douglas et al. (1986) terminology serves as the standard unless otherwise noted.

### Stage 1: Profiling Inputs

The basic goal of this stage is to collect information and evidence and organize it into the following categories.

#### *Crime Scene*

This category contains information about the physical evidence, pattern of evidence, body position, and weapons. The *physical evidence* includes blood spatters, footprints, tools and paraphernalia left at the scene, information about weather and traffic patterns in the area, information about the ease of access to the location, and even factors such as the social and political climate of the area. The *pattern of evidence* requires the integration of this evidence into a synopsis of the crime. *Body position* refers to the positioning of deceased victims at the crime scene, and *weapons* refers to any murder weapons as well as any weapon used to subdue the victims.

#### *Victimology*

The goal of this category is to collect evidence about the victim. If the victim is deceased, the profiler must rely on informants or records for this information. If the victim is living, he or she may be interviewed directly. According to Douglas et al. (1986), however, the profiler should still consult informants and records for a more complete assessment. First, information about the victim's background should be gathered. This would include information about his or her personality, reputation, and possible criminal history. Second, inquiries should be made regarding the victim's habits, hobbies, and social conduct. Third, information about the family structure should be gathered. This includes information about the nature of the victim's relationships with family members as well as his or her domestic situation. Fourth, it is important to ascertain where the victim was last seen. Fifth, information about the victim's age and physical condition

should be obtained. Finally, the victim's occupation, employment setting, and situation should be described.

#### *Forensic Information*

The primary source of forensic information will be the autopsy conducted on the deceased victim. Although forensic evidence may still be collected from a living victim, the nature of this evidence may differ from that collected at a murder scene. The autopsy report should provide the medical examiner's findings regarding the cause and time of death, the type of weapon used, and the sequence in which wounds were delivered. It is also important to ascertain whether wounds and/or sexual assault were inflicted pre- or postmortem. The report should make note of any sexual acts that took place and should include a full toxicology screen in the laboratory report.

#### *Preliminary Police Reports*

The police reports will include some of the same information present in the crime scene and victimology sections. In addition, it should include any observations made by officers on the scene, such as descriptions of the behavior and demeanor of witnesses, the time of the crime, information about who reported the crime, and a description of the neighborhood in which the crime was committed. This neighborhood description would include maps, directions, distances, the socioeconomic status of the residents, and the crime rate in the area.

#### *Photographs*

Three types of photographs should be included in the Profiling Inputs section: aerial photographs of the neighborhood; 8-inch × 10-inch pictures of the crime scene; and pictures of the victim, including photos of the victim's cleansed wounds.

### **Stage 2: Decision-Process Models**

In this stage, information from the Profiling Inputs stage is integrated into various classification categories.

#### *Homicide Type and Style*

There are six types of homicides included in this model.

1. A *single homicide* is defined as one event with one victim in one location.

2. A *double homicide* is defined as one event with two victims in one location.
3. A *triple homicide* is defined as one event with three victims in one location.
4. A *mass murder* is defined as one event involving four or more victims in one location. There are three kinds of mass murders. A *classic* mass murder involves one perpetrator operating in one location over one period of time (which can be minutes, hours, or days). The perpetrator is typically a mentally disordered individual who releases his<sup>1</sup> frustration and hostility by acting violently against a group of people otherwise unrelated to him. A mass murder is described as a *family* mass murder if four or more victims are family members. If a perpetrator commits a mass murder and then takes his own life, then the classification is *mass murder/suicide*.
5. A *spree murder* involves killings at two or more locations, with no “emotional cooling off period” (Douglas et al., 1986, p. 409) in between attacks. The killings are all part of a single event, which can be of a short or long duration.
6. A *serial murder* consists of three or more victims in three or more separate events with an emotional cooling-off period (lasting days, weeks, or months) between homicides. These murders are typically premeditated and planned.

#### *Primary Intent*

There are three basic types of intent in the commission of homicides. In each of these cases, the perpetrator can be acting individually or as part of a group. In the *criminal enterprise* category, there is no personal malice toward the victim. The primary motive is likely to be financial gain, and criminal activity is viewed by the perpetrator as essential to his or her livelihood. Examples of murders in this category include drug murders, felony murders (indiscriminate or situational), political murders, insurance-motivated murders, product tampering, gang murders, criminal competition, and contract murders. The intent in *emotional/selfish/cause-specific* types of murders can include erotomaniac murders; argument-motivated murders; hostage murders; hero killings; mercy killings; revenge murders; self-defense; murders caused by family disputes that result in infanticide, matricide, patricide, or spouse and sibling killings; murders precipitated by paranoid reactions; murders committed by individuals with mental disorders, in which

---

<sup>1</sup> Because the vast majority of violent offenders are male, *his* is used, rather than *his or her*, throughout the book.

the crime is symbolic or the result of a “psychotic outburst” (Douglas et al., 1986, p. 410); assassinations; and murders caused by religious, cult, or fanatical motivations. The third category, *sexual intent*, encompasses situations in which murder is committed as a result of, or to engage in, sexual activity, mutilation, dismemberment, evisceration, or other activities that have sexual meaning only to the offender.

#### *Victim Risk*

Factors such as victim age, occupation, lifestyle, physical stature, resistance ability, and location are considered to make a determination about how likely the victim was to be targeted. Victim risk should be classified as high, moderate, or low. High-risk victims are typically sought out where people tend to be more vulnerable, such as in isolated areas, bus stations, or high prostitution areas. Low-risk victims are those whose occupations and lifestyles do not typically lead them to be targeted for violent crime.

#### *Offender Risk*

*Offender risk* refers to the degree of risk undertaken by the perpetrator to commit the crime and is related to victim risk. For example, abducting a child from the playground of his or her school in broad daylight with other children and teachers present would be high risk for the offender. If a low-risk victim is taken under high-risk circumstances (as in the preceding example), it may imply certain beliefs held by the offender—a belief that he will not be caught, a need for excitement during the commission of the crime, emotional immaturity, and so on.

#### *Escalation*

Another issue to be addressed is whether there is a significant potential for the offender to escalate in his criminal activity or repeat the activity with another victim. Information about the sequence of acts, as well as information from other sections of the Decision-Process Models stage, is used to make this determination.

#### *Time Factors*

An important aspect of the crime(s) to note is the length of time required by the offender to kill the victim, commit additional acts (if any) with the body, and dispose of the body. This can also assist in the evaluation of offender risk: The longer an offender spends with a victim, the higher the risk that he will be caught. Another time factor to consider is whether the crime(s) took place during the day or night. This may provide information about the offender’s lifestyle and occupation.

### *Habits*

Here, the profile would include factors such as neatness or disorganization; drug and alcohol use; and hobbies and interests such as metalworking, athletics, and so on.

### *Beliefs and Values*

This section could include predictions about the perpetrator's beliefs about women, sexual relationships, family, politics, and so on.

### *Pre- and Postoffense Behavior*

In this section, predictions would be made about any unusual behavior the perpetrator might have exhibited before the commission of the crime, speculation about stressors that may have triggered the act, and information about what to look for in the offender's postoffense behavior (e.g., excessive drinking, bragging).

### *Recommendations*

In this section of the profile, recommendations are made about how best to proceed with the investigation. One piece of advice might be to plant information or "traps" in the news media to encourage the perpetrator to reveal him- or herself. An example of this would be to publicize the funeral or anniversary of the victim's death and then monitor the cemetery for any unusual visitors. Another example would be to issue a challenge to the offender through news coverage in the hopes that it would anger the perpetrator and lead him to write a letter to a newspaper or otherwise provide more behavioral evidence. A second piece of advice would be tips for interviewing suspects. This would include suggestions about whether to interview the suspect late at night or early in the morning as well as whether to adopt a "soft" or "hard" interrogation style.

## **Feedback Filter 1: Validation of Profile**

Between Stages 4 and 5 there is a *feedback filter* (Douglas et al., 1986, p. 401) that serves as a check between the elements of a written profile and the information used to construct it. In this stage, the profiler is looking for congruence between the profile and the information collected. Specifically, the written profile should be evaluated with attention to the crime scene and death scene information, evidence, decision models, and recommendations. If there is a lack of congruence, the profile may need to be modified.

### **Stage 5: Investigation**

In this stage, the profile has been submitted to the investigating agency, which proceeds with its attempts to identify the perpetrator.

### **Feedback Filter 2: New Evidence**

The investigation stage may result in the emergence of new evidence. There is a second feedback filter to provide an opportunity to check and modify the profile on the basis of new evidence.

### **Stage 6: Apprehension**

Ideally, the profile will assist in achieving this final stage, in which the investigation leads to the capture and prosecution of the offender.

## **HOLMES AND HOLMES MODEL**

Holmes and Holmes (1996) presented a model of profiling that, similar to Douglas et al.'s (1986), is an intuitive analysis of crime scene evidence. They described proficiency in profiling as "in part a gift reserved to certain individuals who can reach inside the criminal mind and understand it" (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 166). Their basic approach is to match case evidence to various criminal typologies, which are discussed in more detail below. These typologies are derived from various sources, including the work of Douglas, Burgess, and Ressler in the Criminal Personality Research Project (see chap. 1) and Holmes and Holmes's own research. Holmes and Holmes (1996) did not include a section in their model that integrates these various typologies; however, they did discuss the importance of accounting for geography and victim characteristics in the profiling process.

### **Typologies**

#### *Disorganized Asocial Versus Organized Nonsocial Offenders*

This typology comes directly from the work of Ressler, Burgess, and Douglas (1988). The *disorganized offender* is described as being disorganized in all facets of life: appearance, psychological state, domestic situation, and criminal activity. The asocial component reflects the offender's probable segregation from society because he is a "loner" (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 49) and is perceived by others to be strange. In contrast, the *organized offender* is organized in his lifestyle, home, and appearance. He is described as having a character disorder (unspecified) and a "masculine personality"

that results in his dressing in a “flashy manner” and driving a car that “reflects his personality” (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 54). The offender is nonsocial in that he chooses to avoid social contact because he feels that “no one else is good enough to be around [him]” (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 52).

These categories are the most general ones presented in Holmes and Holmes’s (1996) book. Note that although the FBI has dropped the terms *asocial* and *nonsocial* (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 60), Holmes and Holmes (1996) retained them in their description because they believed them to be important dimensions.

### *Serial Murderers*

The following typology is based on interviews and case studies conducted by Holmes and DeBurger (1985). It is not clear from Holmes and Holmes’ book (1996), or from the cited publications, exactly how this typology was derived from these interviews. No data are presented on the number of offenders interviewed, and no information is provided on how their statements were generalized into creating the categories of the typology.

*Spatial Mobility.* Holmes and Holmes (1996) argued that there is a meaningful distinction to be made between serial murderers who live in one area and kill in that same area, or a nearby area, and those who travel to commit their murders. The former type is termed *geographically stable*, and the latter is labeled *geographically transient*.

*The Visionary Serial Killer.* This type of killer is induced to murder because he sees visions or hears voices telling him to do so. His victims are typically strangers, and he is usually psychotic (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 64), resulting in him often being declared incompetent or insane in court.

*The Mission Serial Killer.* These killers are described as feeling “a need on a conscious level to eradicate a certain group of people” (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 64). Unlike the visionary serial killer, the mission killer is not psychotic and is typically of the organized nonsocial type of offender described earlier in this section. The drive for these offenders is to eliminate some identifiable class of people (e.g., prostitutes, Jews).

*The Hedonistic Serial Killer.* This type of serial murderer either derives sexual pleasure or some personal gain from the act of killing. In the former case, the offender will typically prolong the killing of the victim to commit further acts of mutilation, torture, dismemberment, domination, or necrophilia. In the latter case, termed *comfort-oriented serial murder* (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 66), offenders kill because there is some profit to be realized from doing so. This category can include professional assassins as well as individuals who murder family members for financial gain.

*The Power/Control Serial Killer.* The power/control killer derives sexual pleasure from exerting power, control, and domination over a helpless victim.



This type of offender prolongs the killing scene and kills with “hands-on weapons” (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 67), often strangling victims.

#### Arsonists

Holmes and Holmes (1996) cited research that seems to establish arsonists as conceptually distinct from other types of offenders (Kolko & Kazdin, 1992; Sakheim, Vigdor, Gordon, & Helprin, 1985). Indeed, the setting of fires is not a behavior typical of other kinds of criminals unless it is done to conceal a crime or produce some secondary gain. Holmes and Holmes (1996) further argued that personalities, motives, and behaviors differ within arsonists as a group. To illustrate this, they described two typologies of arsonists.

Rider (1980a, 1980b), who presented the first typology, believes that there are four types of arsonists. The first is the *jealousy-motivated adult male*, an arsonist who sets fires in reaction to incidents that “impair his vanity and impugn his personality” (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 97). The second type is the *would-be hero*, who sets fires and then rushes to the scene to save lives and appear to be the hero. Third is the *excitement fire-setter*, who sets fires out of a need for personal excitement. Fourth is the *pyromaniac*, an arsonist who sets fires compulsively for sensual satisfaction and tension reduction.

The second typology is that suggested by Douglas, Burgess, Burgess, and Ressler (1992) in the *Crime Classification Manual*. Similar to the jealousy-motivated arsonist in Rider’s (1980a, 1980b) typology, Douglas et al. (1992) identified a category of *arson for revenge*. The fires set by this group of arsonists are usually precipitated by some sort of real or imagined insult to the offender. There is typically only one fire set, targeted at the individual or organization that is the source of the perceived injustice. Other characteristics of revenge arsonists include setting fires on the weekend, near their homes, having a lower-class background, and using alcohol to lower inhibitions for fire-setting. A second category, similar to Rider’s (1980a, 1980b) excitement fire-setter, is that of *arson for excitement*. Typical targets for this type of arsonist include vegetation, trash cans, and construction sites. The excitement arsonist sets fires for attention—he will often observe the fire and ensuing chaos from a safe distance. This type of arsonist usually has an arrest record and commits his crimes alone. There are four subtypes of the excitement arsonist: the thrill seeker, the attention seeker, the recognition seeker, and the sexually perverted arsonist. These subtypes are not defined or discussed by Holmes and Holmes (1996) or in the *Crime Classification Manual* (Douglas et al., 1992). The third category in this typology is *arson for vandalism*. These arsonists are typically juveniles, and the targets are typically schools. Vandal arsonists come from lower-class backgrounds, live

with their parents, and set fires at times when school is not in session. After setting fires, these arsonists typically flee the scene. The fourth category is *arson for crime concealment*. This type of arsonist sets fires to destroy evidence or mislead law enforcement. The offender is likely to be a single adult male from a lower-class background, living alone. The crime-concealment arsonist typically operates late at night or early in the morning and flees the scene once the fire is set. Finally, there is the *arson for profit* category. This type of arsonist sets fires solely for material gain, such as collecting insurance money, and is usually a single male, living alone, and not living near the crime scene. He is of average intelligence and may have had extensive contact with the criminal justice system. Douglas et al. (1992) also applied the organized–disorganized typology to these categories of arsonists. Organized arsonists are more likely to use elaborate incendiary devices (e.g., bombs equipped with timers), leave less physical evidence at the crime scene, and set fires with a more methodical approach. Disorganized offenders are more likely to use common incendiary devices and accelerants, such as matches and gasoline; use materials that happen to be available; and leave more physical evidence at the scene.

### *Rapists*

Citing Groth, Burgess, and Holmstrom (1977), Holmes and Holmes (1996) argued that the elements of power, anger, and sexuality present in rape “lend themselves well to psychological profiling” (p. 117). They proposed a largely psychodynamic model of the etiology of rapists, focusing on the presence of a rejecting, controlling, and seductive mother as influencing the development of a rapist’s behavior. A rapist’s hostility toward women is therefore the product of the “pain he suffered at the hands of . . . his mother” (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 118). The authors asserted that “the professional literature suggests that parental rejection, domination, cruelty, and seductiveness are important factors in the early life of the rapist” (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 118).

The typology endorsed by Holmes and Holmes (1996) for the profiling of rapists is a taxonomy based on Groth et al.’s (1977) research and further elaborated on by Knight and Prentky (1987), who divided rapists into four categories: power reassurance, anger retaliation, exploitive, and sadistic.

*Power Reassurance.* The power-reassurance rapist is a passive social loner with feelings of inadequacy. He is single and nonathletic and lives with his parents while working at a menial job. He may be involved in other inappropriate sexual activities, such as exhibitionism and voyeurism. This type of rapist rapes to “elevate his own self-status” (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 120). He attacks victims in his own neighborhood in the early morning hours, travels on foot, and believes that the victim enjoys the rape.

For this reason, he may contact victims at a later date to inquire about their well-being. Interviewing strategies for this type of offender include appealing to his sense of masculinity, playing a sympathetic role to allow him to feel “understood,” or both (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 122).

*Anger Retaliation.* This type of rapist has a “general overarching purpose to hurt women” (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 123). He is typically socially competent and athletic, with an action-oriented occupation. He is likely married, but he hates women and frequents bars. Characteristics of the rapes include a sudden, unplanned attack; use of profanity; selection of victims near his home; use of weapons of opportunity; anal and oral sex; and an intent to harm the victim. Interviewing recommendations specify that the interviewer should be male, owing to the suspect’s hatred of women. The interview should be businesslike, and the interviewer may attempt to ally himself with the suspect against a female officer or against women in general. This is designed to lead the suspect to increase his cooperation with the interviewing officer.

*Anger Exploitive.* The anger–exploitive rapist believes he is entitled to rape in an expression of dominance. He is typically athletic, with a “macho occupation” (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 126), flashy car, and a series of unsuccessful marriages. He frequents bars and may have a history of property offenses as well as a dishonorable discharge from the military. His rape offenses contain both verbal and physical assault. He tends to commit rapes in a 20- to 25-day cycle, which Holmes and Holmes (1996) described as “strangely similar to the length of a menstrual cycle” (p. 127). This type of rapist picks his victims up at bars and does not attempt to conceal his identity from victims. He plans his attacks and uses aggression to force the victim’s compliance. Holmes and Holmes (1996) described this type of rapist as being sociopathic/psychopathic. Thus, interview strategies are not likely to be successful if they are geared to appeal to the suspect’s emotions or sense of remorse or if they focus on intimidation. Instead, it is suggested that interviewers be familiar with the details of the case and maintain a professional demeanor.

*Sadistic.* This type of rapist is considered the most dangerous. He has “made a vital connection between aggression and sexual gratification—in other words, he has eroticized aggression and violence” (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 128). The sadistic rapist is typically a married, middle-class family man between the ages of 30 and 39. He has a white-collar job and no arrest record. His offenses are characterized by stalking the victim; use of excessive restraints; increasing violence that eventually results in killing victims if he is not apprehended; ritualistic behaviors; and the use of a “rape kit,” consisting of weapons, bindings, and other items that the offender brings with him to commit the rape. According to Holmes and Holmes (1996), interviewing this type of rapist is difficult and may require a variety of

strategies. For example, they contended that this type of offender is unlikely to cooperate if the interviewer appears unprofessional; however, they did not explain why this is likely to be the case or how best to elicit cooperation (Holmes & Holmes, 1996).

### *Pedophiles*

Holmes and Holmes (1996) used the terms *pedophile* and *child molester* interchangeably in their typology of pedophiles. Note that whereas the term *child molester* connotes that an illegal act has been committed, the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (4th ed.; American Psychiatric Association, 1994) definition of *pedophilia* requires no such act. Relying primarily on the child abusers typology created by Burgess, Groth, and Holmstrom (1978), Holmes and Holmes's (1996) typology categorizes pedophiles as either *situational* or *preferential*, with various subtypes.

*Situational Child Molester.* This type of offender is described as not having a "true sexual interest in children" (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 136). He will typically molest children when under stress and may also victimize other "vulnerable persons, such as the elderly or the physically or mentally impaired" (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 137). There are four subtypes of situational child molester. The *regressed pedophile* molests children in response to some situational stressor that "challenges his self-image and results in poor self-esteem" (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 137). He has no obvious difficulty relating to adults and engages in normal personal and sexual adult relationships. However, under certain kinds of stress (e.g., divorce, work related) he "experiences the child as a pseudoadult" (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 137), which leads to the victimization. This type of molester tends to have poor coping skills and abuses female children he does not know. He may also abuse alcohol and typically obtains victims through coercion. The second subtype of situational child molester is the *morally indiscriminate* type. This type of offender does not prefer children as sexual partners but instead abuses children as part of a more general pattern of victimizing others. He is likely to collect detective magazines and bondage-related pornography, and he obtains victims by lure, force, manipulation, or some combination of these. The third subtype, the *sexually indiscriminate* molester, also has no particular preference for children but abuses them as part of a more general pattern of sexual experimentation. He may be involved in a wide variety of sexual practices, including "tyndarianism (mate swapping), bondage and discipline, triolism [becoming sexually aroused by watching one's partner engage in sex with another person] and other unusual practices" (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 138). These practices may also include the offender's biological children or stepchildren. This type of offender is also highly likely to collect pornography. Finally, the *naïve/inadequate* child mo-

lester “suffers from some form of mental disorder . . . that renders him unable to make the distinction between right and wrong concerning sexual practices with children” (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 138). He is typically noticed by others as being a strange or bizarre loner and is motivated to victimize children because he finds relating to adults more threatening. He exploits his size advantage to obtain victims and is likely to collect pornography not of the “child porn genre” (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 139).

*Preferential Child Molester.* These offenders prefer children to adults as objects of sexual interest and gratification. There are three subtypes in this category: sadistic, seductive, and fixated. The *sadistic pedophile* “has made a vital connection between sexual gratification and fatal violence” (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 139). He victimizes strangers, typically young boys, first stalking and then abducting them from playgrounds, schools, and other areas frequented by children. He inflicts physical harm and mutilation on the child, which eventually results in the child’s death. His crimes are premeditated and “ritualized” (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 140), and he often uses some kind of weapon to induce fear. The sadistic offender is described as having an “aggressive and antisocial personality” (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 143). He may have a criminal record and a history of engaging in other kinds of violent crimes. As a result, he may also be geographically transient, leaving an area quickly after he commits a crime. The *seductive molester*, which Holmes and Holmes (1996) described only briefly, “courts” (p. 141) children with gifts and attention. He may be concurrently molesting several children. The *fixated molester* seeks out affection from children, preferring young boys. He is described as having been fixated “at an early stage of psychosexual development” (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 141). Because he has not completed this psychosexual development, he is still at the developmental stage “where he, as a child, found other children attractive and desirable” (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 141). His interest in children develops in adolescence and remains constant. No precipitating stressor is required for him to turn to children for sexual gratification. This type of offender is typically single, immature, and socially inept. His goal is not to harm children; instead, he courts and seduces children and slowly becomes intimate with them. If sexual intercourse takes place, it is likely to occur after a significant amount of time has passed. This offender is likely to have a large number of victims. He may move from place to place to obtain victims and may be a computer bulletin board user.

## Geography

“The role that geography plays in the criminal profiling process is still unclear, but it is an issue deserving of further research and study” (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 148). Despite this admonition, Holmes and Holmes

(1996) recommended analyzing unidentified suspects' geographic patterns as part of the profiling process. They based their description of geographic profiling on the work of Rossmo (1995a, 1995b) and address seven factors: crime location type, arterial roads and highways, physical and psychological boundaries, land use, neighborhood demographics, routine activities of victims, and displacement.

#### *Crime Location Type*

There are five types of locations that could be connected to the commission of a murder or rape: encounter site, attack site, crime site, victim disposal site, and vehicle dump site. The presence and pattern of these sites are influenced by the modus operandi (MO) and mode of travel of the offender. The *encounter site* is the place where the offender first comes into contact with the victim. The *attack site*—often, the same location as the encounter site—is where the perpetrator first attacks the victim. If the encounter and attack sites are the same, this suggests that the offender may live close by. If the sites are different, this may mean that

the personality of the offender may be more developed, indicating capability for growth in the range of travel in the search for victims. In other words, this type of offender is more likely to be of the organized personality type. (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 159)

The *crime site* is the scene of the murder or rape—the location where the actual crime takes place. The *victim disposal site* is either where the victim is released or where the body is dumped. If the encounter, attack, crime, and disposal sites are the same, this is indicative of a disorganized offender “because this type of personality is most comfortable in familiar neighborhoods” (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 159). If the sites are different, this suggests the planning of an organized offender. The *vehicle dump site*, although not defined, is presumably where the offender leaves the vehicle used during the crime.

#### *Arterial Roads and Highways*

The particular roads traveled during the commission of a crime may depend on an offender's motive and personality as well as the circumstances of the offense. Holmes and Holmes (1996) concluded this on the basis of the observation that different people select different routes to locations on the basis of such criteria as density of traffic, quickness, and visual appeal. Some streets may be more amenable to travel by car; others may be better suited for walking or other forms of transportation. Factors such as the number of intersections or traffic lights on a particular stretch of road may also influence an offender's route choices.

### *Physical and Psychological Boundaries*

Examples of physical boundaries or barriers include walls and bodies of water. Some of these barriers can be crossed “if the traveler chooses to do so. Such choices on the part of offenders may not be initially comprehensible to investigators, but they make sense from the criminals’ standpoint” (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 161). *Psychological boundaries*, a term that refers to the discomfort of unfamiliar areas, are thought to influence offenders’ hunting patterns.

### *Land Use*

The way that land is used around and between crime sites, including the zoning of the areas and the presence of major attractions and transportation sites, should be noted.

### *Neighborhood Demographics*

Information on gender ratios, racial composition, age groups, occupations, socioeconomic status, crime rates, and other variables should be collected in neighborhoods around crime sites.

### *Routine Activities of Victims*

Investigators should collect information about the behavior, travels, and habits of victims. If a body is dumped in a place that would not be expected, given information about the victim, this indicates that the dump site is more significant to the offender than the victim. The way in which a body is dumped or displayed also has implications for offender characteristics.

### *Displacement*

*Displacement* refers to changes in the patterns of crime locations during a crime series. Holmes and Holmes (1996) attributed this to such factors as offender maturation, confidence, learning, and law enforcement actions such as increased patrol in targeted neighborhoods.

### *Integration of Information*

After considering the preceding factors, profilers “should plot the crime locations on a map and look for patterns” (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 160). Further procedures for using these factors are not provided. Holmes and Holmes (1996) did briefly describe the use of computerized geographical analyses, but they asserted that “although computers play an important role, their function should be placed in the proper perspective . . . profiling . . . is only viable when the human element comes into play” (p. 164).

## **Victim Profiling**

Holmes and Holmes (1996) emphasized the importance of collecting information on victims, and they criticized the paucity of victim information contained in most police reports provided to profilers. They advocated collecting information about physical traits, marital status, personal lifestyle, occupation, education, personal demographics, medical history, psychosexual history, criminal justice system history, and last activities.

### *Physical Traits*

The category considered perhaps the most important is the victim's physical description. This includes age, gender, mode of dress, and hairstyle and hair color. These factors are thought to influence offenders' selection of particular victims.

### *Marital Status*

Investigators not only should collect information about whether a victim is married or single but also should describe the nature of any relationships in which the victim is involved. For example, if a victim is married, is the marriage stable and happy, or fraught with conflict or abuse? Holmes and Holmes (1996) did not explicitly describe the importance of such an inquiry; however, they provided an anecdote about a victim whose conflicted marriage was the behavioral clue that led to the arrest of her husband. This implies that the relevance of ascertaining a victim's marital status and the nature of the marital relationship is to identify behavioral facts that might lead to a potential perpetrator (e.g., spouse, extramarital lover).

### *Personal Lifestyle*

Information about the victim's friends, as well as the victim's hobbies, sports interests, drug and alcohol use, and frequented locations, should be collected. This may help the profiler ascertain where the victim may have come into contact with the offender as well as the victim's availability and vulnerability.

### *Occupation*

Employment is thought to widen a person's network of interpersonal contact. Knowledge about a victim's occupation can provide information about people with whom he or she may have had contact, organizations to which the victim may have belonged, conferences he or she may have attended, and interests he or she may have had. This may be indicative of vulnerability or personality type because, according to Holmes and Holmes



(1996), the people who attend such group events tend to have common interests that can inform investigators about their personality traits. It is also important to evaluate past employment, with specific attention paid to prior friendships and interpersonal conflicts with other employees.

#### *Education*

Like employment, education is believed to increase a victim's network of acquaintances. The extent of a person's education should be ascertained, as well as the different schools he or she attended. A related factor, the intelligence of the victim, may also indicate the type of people with whom he or she may have been acquainted. This information is more helpful in cases involving stalking than in instances where someone is a victim of opportunity because of the greater attention to selection present in stalking.

#### *Personal Demographics*

This category includes information about the victim's neighborhood, past residences, and racial-ethnic identity.

Most rapists and murderers tend to choose victims of their own races, so if the racial composition of the victim's neighborhood is radically different from the victim's race, several possibilities arise that may account for the victim's living in a particular area. (Holmes & Holmes, 1996, p. 185)

Unfortunately, Holmes and Holmes (1996) did not elaborate on these possibilities. Information from neighbors is also believed to assist in an appraisal of the victim's lifestyle and circle of friends.

#### *Medical History*

Information about medical history can be valuable in at least three ways. First, the presence of a communicable disease can serve to connect a victim to a perpetrator. Second, dental records may assist in identifying victims whose bodies are in advanced stages of decomposition. Third, mental health history may provide information about individuals with whom the victim may have come into contact as well as information about expected behavior and daily activities.

#### *Psychosexual History*

When examining the victim's psychosexual history, the profiler should assess the victim's fears, sexual history, and personality. This information is intended to help determine the types of people with whom the victim may have been acquainted.

### *Criminal Justice System History*

Holmes and Holmes (1996) stated that information about prior arrests, court appearances, and pending cases are indicative of a victim's personality, although they did not specify why this is the case other than to say that involvement in the criminal justice system may indicate what kind of person the victim was. Such information presumably might indicate whether the victim engaged in illegal activities that might place him or her at risk from criminal associates or other dangerous situations.

### *Last Activities*

This category would include routes of travel, phone calls, social activities, and meetings, with special attention to anything unusual that might have occurred. According to Holmes and Holmes (1996), such an inquiry is designed to address whether the victim did something atypical on the day of the crime that might have alerted the perpetrator to his or her "vulnerability and availability" (p. 187).

## KEPPEL AND WALTER MODEL

Keppel and Walter (1999) proposed a model that attempts to compensate for some of the shortcomings they have noted in Holmes and Holmes's (1996) approach. These authors criticized Holmes and Holmes's (1996) use of typologies because they "have a wide range of function, are of limited service to investigative work, and are unsupported by empirical study" (Keppel & Walter, 1999, p. 418).

Using Hazelwood and Burgess's (1987) categories of rape, Keppel and Walter (1999) constructed a rape–murder typology intended to compensate for the kinds of failures they identified in Holmes and Holmes's (1996) approach. According to Keppel and Walter, by correctly identifying the category of a particular offense using their typology, "the perpetrator can be his own accuser" (p. 436). Each of the four categories in this typology contains information about dynamics, homicidal pattern, and suspect profile. Case examples are also provided to illustrate the integration of these various pieces of information. In an effort to provide some empirical support for their model, the authors assessed the relative frequency of the categories in the typology within a forensic population at the Michigan State Penitentiary.

### **Power-Assertive Rape–Murder**

#### *Dynamics*

In power-assertive rape–murder, the rapes are planned, but the murder is a consequence of increased aggression designed to control the victim. The

killer tries to demonstrate dominance and mastery over the victim by maintaining an assertive image and using violence. Killing the victim reinforces the offender's power by eliminating the threat the victim poses. This type of offender analyzes ways to improve on this macho image and power.

#### *Homicidal Pattern*

The hallmark of this type of offender is the assertion of power through rape and murder. The assault is often one of opportunity, with this offender bringing his own weapon, which he views as an extension of his power, to the crime scene. The male or female victim may show evidence of beating, and the clothes will often be torn off. However, there will not typically be any mutilation of the body. If the victim is killed at home, the body will be left undisturbed. If the victim has been abducted and killed, the body is likely to be dumped. In either case, the perpetrator will attempt to conceal his identity by leaving an organized crime scene, although he will not be satisfied unless he can take credit for the killing by bragging to someone.

#### *Suspect Profile*

This offender is described as being an emotionally primitive male in his early 20s. He is a macho bodybuilder and displays tattoos in an expression of his masculinity. His car is well kept, and he may use alcohol and drugs heavily. The offender's attitude is arrogant and condescending, and he is not viewed by others as a team player. His interest in athletics will be limited to individual contact sports, and he will be concerned with gaining power in these pursuits. He will have a history of burglary, theft, or robbery but will not be likely to have had contact with the mental health system unless his criminal history resulted in such a referral. He is likely to have dropped out of school and may have served in the Marines or Navy—with a poor service record or early termination of service. He may have had multiple unsuccessful relationships and demonstrates unconventional sexual interests. In addition, he may express strong anti-gay sentiment.

### **Power-Reassurance Rape–Murder**

#### *Dynamics*

The theme of this perpetrator's offenses is that of expressing sexual competence through seduction. In this type of offense, the rape is planned, but the murder is characterized as "an unplanned overkill of the victim" (Keppel & Walter, 1999, p. 424). The perpetrator is motivated by a seduction–conquest fantasy and panics when the victim does not cooperate with this fantasy. This panic results in the unplanned assault on the non-compliant victim. After the killing, the offender may commit postmortem mutilation out of curiosity.

### *Homicidal Pattern*

The power-reassurance offender selects a female victim with whom he may already be acquainted. She is typically 10 to 15 years older or younger than he is. He may use threats to initially gain control of the victim, and sometimes uses a weapon, after which he will attempt to act out his seduction fantasy. His first attack is unlikely to involve a weapon, but subsequent assaults might involve guns or knives. In an attempt to carry out his fantasy with the victim, the perpetrator may attempt a polite verbal dialogue in which he seeks reassurance of his sexual competence. When he is rejected, he feels threatened and kills the victim by beating and strangulation. Because his sexual assault is unlikely to be completed, there will probably be no evidence of semen at the crime scene. He may attempt to continue his relationship with the deceased victim by taking a souvenir or collecting newspaper clippings about the assault. This offender's killings are likely to be episodic and will most likely take place at night.

### *Suspect Profile*

This type of offender is usually in his mid-20s, although this "can be variable and conditional on circumstances such as the incarceration of the offender for other crimes during his mid-20s" (Keppel & Walter, 1999, p. 425). He daydreams and fantasizes obsessively, which makes him appear emotionally scattered. Other behaviors might include window peeping and fondling clothing. He prefers to live in fantasy rather than risk rejection in real sexual relationships; thus, he is typically unmarried. He is seen by others as odd and socially isolated. This offender's educational and military history will be unremarkable. He may be seen as an underachiever and may have received a mental health referral because of this. He feels inferior and is unable to handle criticism. He is therefore likely to live at home and remain in familiar surroundings. If he works, it will be at a menial job. His mode of transportation is most likely to be walking, but if he has a car, it will be an older model that is poorly kept. His criminal history may include peeping, unlawful entry, and larceny. He leaves a disorganized crime scene with plenty of evidence.

### **Anger-Retaliatory Rape–Murder**

#### *Dynamics*

In this type of offense, the rape is planned, and the killing is characterized by a venting of anger or revenge toward the female victim. The attack may be precipitated by a criticism of the offender by the victim or another woman who has power over him. Assaults will likely be episodic and repeated to relieve the offender's stress. "Dynamically, the rape–homicide is commit-

ted in a stylized violent burst of attack for the purposes of retaliation, getting even, and revenge on women" (Keppel & Walter, 1999, p. 427).

#### *Homicidal Pattern*

In anger-retaliatory rape–murder, the sexual assault is violent, and there is “overkill” (Keppel & Walter, 1999, p. 428) of the victim. The source of the offender’s anger is a woman who criticizes or humiliates him, and the victim is typically a substitute who reminds the offender of the true object of his anger. When the actual target of his anger is someone who is younger than he, this type of offender is likely to assault her directly, rather than seeking out a substitute. The killer typically walks to the crime scene. If he drives, he will park and travel the last 200 feet to the crime scene on foot. The victim will be hit in the mouth and face, and the offender may use weapons of opportunity. The rape may not be completed, but the assault will continue until the perpetrator feels emotionally satisfied, regardless of whether the victim is still alive. Postmortem, the body is placed on its side, away from the door, face down, with the eyes covered, or in the closet with the door closed. The crime scene is typically disorganized, with the weapon left within 15 feet of the body. The offender is likely to take a souvenir before leaving the scene. Because the perpetrator blames the victim, he does not experience any feelings of guilt or responsibility. Instead, he may feel sentimental toward the victim and assist in the search for her body.

#### *Suspect Profile*

This type of offender is usually in his mid- to late 20s and targets older victims. He is viewed by others as impulsive, self-centered, and temperamental. His social relationships are superficial, and he is essentially a loner. If he is married, there is likely to be domestic violence or estrangement. The offender is also likely to engage in extramarital affairs to deal with his dissatisfaction in his primary relationship. He is sexually frustrated and may be impotent. His criminal history may include other assaults, domestic violence, and reckless driving. He is typically an underachiever, a school dropout. If he has a military history, it is likely to include a discharge reflecting his unpredictable behavior and conflicts with authority. He may have previous referrals to mental health professionals.

### **Anger-Excitation Rape–Murder**

#### *Dynamics*

In this category, both the rape and the murder are premeditated. The victim can be either male or female, and the perpetrator derives gratification through inflicting pain and terror through prolonged torture. The assaultive

acts are driven by the perpetrator's fantasies of dominance and control, as well as his primary interest in the process of killing, rather than the death itself. The offender's anger is eroticized and rehearsed through fantasy, and the ultimate intent is one of "indulgent luxury" (Keppel & Walter, 1999, p. 431).

#### *Homicidal Pattern*

The homicidal pattern of this offense reflects a planned and prolonged assault on the victim. The offender brings a "kit" (Keppel & Walter, 1999, p. 432) of weapons and tools to the crime scene. The victim may be a stranger but tends to fit some preferred type. The offender approaches him or her by using a con or ruse to lead the victim away to an isolated location. At his point, the offender will "display vacillating mood shifts that confuse the victim" (Keppel & Walter, 1999, p. 431). He may inform the victim that he is planning to kill him or her and then may become excited by the victim's terror. The assault on the victim contains elements of ritual and experimentation, characterized by bondage and domination. There may be evidence of cutting, bruises, incomplete strangulation, washing, shaving, and burning. Sexual experimentation continues postmortem, as evidenced by localized battery, skin tears, and objects inserted into the body. The condition of the body at the crime scene varies, from being left in a state of undress, to the absence of body parts that the offender has taken as souvenirs. The body may be moved to a second location or buried, and care is taken to avoid leaving evidence that could lead to the offender's detection. This type of offender is organized and commits his crimes away from home. He may attempt to involve himself in the criminal investigation.

#### *Suspect Profile*

The age of this type of offender varies. He appears socially normal and bright and has a lifestyle separate from his criminal activities. He is likely to be married and works best under minimal supervision. His employment interests might center around mechanical positions or carpentry. His educational and military history will reflect his organization, and he may have a college education. He may also have a private room in which he keeps his murder kit and souvenirs as well as a collection of pornographic material with a sadism/bondage theme. Alcohol use is not likely, but the offender may use other drugs.

#### **Frequency of the Four Categories in an Offender Population**

To determine how widespread the preceding categories are, Keppel and Walter (1999) evaluated their frequency in a group of incarcerated

murderers in the Michigan state prison system. Of 2,476 inmates who were convicted of sexually related homicides, the authors found that 38% were power assertive, 34% were anger retaliatory, 21% were power reassurance, and 7% were anger excitation. These figures are offered to provide support for the use of the rape–murder typology to direct criminal investigations.

## TURCO MODEL

Turco (1990) advocated the use of a psychoanalytic approach to profiling. Citing the work of Liebert (1986), Turco stated that profiling should be oriented “around the basis of Borderline and Narcissistic Personality Disorders” (p. 149). Under this framework, violent behavior is conceptualized as a process whereby offenders attempt to deal with internal frustrations related to early mother–child relationships. The female victim represents the “badness” (Turco, 1990, p. 149) of the mother. By acting out aggressions against this victim, the offender achieves a “temporary re-establishment of psychological equilibrium” (Turco, 1990, p. 149). In addition to a psychoanalytic theory of violence, Turco suggested that profiling should integrate “neurological understanding” (p. 147), because neurological dysfunctions are a significant factor in the tendency to commit homicides.

The model of profiling Turco (1990) presented consists of four dimensions. First, the profiler is to “consider the crime scene in its entirety” (p. 150). This entails viewing the scene as the manifestation of behavior and, more centrally, as a “projection of the underlying personality, lifestyle, and developmental experiences (maternal bonding) of the perpetrator” (p. 150). Turco likened this first dimension to the interpretation of a Rorschach test.

Second, Turco (1990) highlighted the importance of integrating knowledge about neurological behavior when developing a profile. Asserting that between 20% and 90% of violent offenders suffer from brain impairment or structural abnormalities, he referred to a neurological phenomenon called *dyscontrol syndrome* (p. 151) and indicated that such a syndrome is relevant to understanding the predatory behavior of killers.

Third, preparing a profile is described as requiring a psychodynamic perspective. This is defined as “an understanding of human development and . . . an appreciation of the interactions and significance of the first three years of life, the so-called separation–individuation phase” (Turco, 1990, p. 151). According to Turco, this is a skill that depends on the profiler’s “level of psychiatric sophistication” (p. 151).

The fourth and final factor in Turco’s (1990) model involves the study of the demographic characteristics of the crime. Crime scene evidence, as well as information about the victim and perpetrator, is to be collected to

aid the profiler in composing the profile. Assessing this type of material allows clinicians an advantage, according to Turco, because “The experienced clinician has an underlying inherent understanding of psychopathology, experience with predictability, a capacity to ‘get into the mind of the perpetrator’ and a scientific approach without moral judgment or prejudice” (p. 151). He further specified as follows:

The most productive circumstance likely to arise is when the profiler has both *clinical* (as opposed to academic) training and law enforcement experience. One cannot expect to obtain a graduate degree and make accurate predictions in the absence of a sound theoretical basis or clinical experience. (p. 151, italics in original)

## TURVEY MODEL

In his book *Criminal Profiling: An Introduction to Behavioral Evidence Analysis*, Brent Turvey (1999) proposed a deductive model of profiling that emphasizes reliance on physical and behavioral evidence in making inferences about offender characteristics. The key elements of his approach are a conceptual distinction between *inductive* and *deductive* profiling; a description of the components of a deductive method of profiling; a behavior-motivational typology; and an analysis of potential contributions of deductive profiling to trial strategy, once an offender has been profiled and apprehended.

### Inductive Versus Deductive Criminal Profiling

Turvey (1999) distinguished his approach by drawing a comparison between the “inductively rendered profiles” (p. 16) produced by most criminal profilers and his deductive method of profiling. Although the terms *inductive* and *deductive* are categories typically associated with the process of logical reasoning, Turvey applied them uniquely to his criminal profiling approach.

According to Turvey (1999), *inductive profiling* refers to “a comparative, correlational and/or statistical process reliant upon subjective expertise” (p. 14); it “involves broad generalizations or statistical reasoning, where it is possible for the premises to be true while the subsequent conclusion is false” (p. 16). In addition, “most inductive profiles involve arguments where the premises themselves have been assumed” (p. 17). The following would be an example of inductive profiling, as the method is described by Turvey:

Premise: The rape victim was a White female.

Premise: Most rapists commit sexual assaults against individuals within their own ethnic group.



*Premise:* Most rapists have not served in the military.

*Conclusion:* This victim was raped by a White male with no military experience.

In this example, although the first premise is likely to be confirmed by the available evidence, the second and third premises are statistical generalizations. The conclusion derived from these premises is problematic not only because the accuracy of the statistics assumed by the premises is questionable but also because of the difficulties inherent in attempting to generalize from nomothetic data to the individual offender.

In contrast, deductive profiling is a “forensic-evidence-based, process-oriented, method of investigative reasoning about the behavior patterns of a particular offender” (Turvey, 1999, p. 14). Deductive profiling “involves conclusions that flow logically from the premises stated. It is such that if the premises are true, then the subsequent conclusion must also be true” (Turvey, 1999, p. 16). Turvey (1999) provided the following example of deductive profiling:

*Premise:* The offender disposed of his victim’s body in a remote area of the mountains.

*Premise:* Tire tracks were found at the disposal site.

*Conclusion:* If the tire tracks belong to the offender, then the offender has access to a vehicle and is able to be mobile. (p. 27)

Turvey indicated that, unlike inductive profiling, the previous example creates a “convergence of physical (tire tracks) and behavioral (remote area for disposal) evidence that suggest a specific conclusion” (p. 27). He argued that although the deductive method of profiling is not wholly scientific, it is based on scientific thinking.

### **Components of the Deductive Profiling Method**

Turvey (1999) asserted that there are four basic components to the deductive profiling method. The first three components are those Turvey described as “for the most part based on the scientific tenets of crime scene reconstruction, and the established forensic sciences” (p. 31). They are forensic and behavioral evidence (equivocal forensic analysis), victimology, and crime scene characteristics. The first component, forensic and behavioral evidence, involves reconstructing the events of the offense, including behaviors between victim and perpetrator. Such a reconstruction requires using victim and witness statements, crime scene photographs, wound pattern analysis, blood spatter analysis, ballistics analysis, and any other relevant forensic analyses conducted on the physical evidence. Victimology, the second component, consists of analyzing victim characteristics, including physical characteristics, habits, lifestyle, relationships, and risk level. Finally,

crime scene characteristics include the method of attack, the nature and sequence of sexual or violent acts, verbal behavior, precautionary acts, and other characteristics that are “determined from the forensic evidence and the victimology” (Turvey, 1999, p. 29).

The fourth component is the deduction of offender characteristics from the first three components. Turvey (1999) described this fourth component as “considerably artful, and therefore a matter of expertise and not science” (p. 31). He stated, “Deducing offender characteristics is about asking the right question of the offender’s behavior” (p. 85). Accordingly, the “right” question involves defining a characteristic and determining what behaviors evidence that characteristic. If these behaviors are determined to have occurred during the commission of the offense, then the profiler can argue that the related offender characteristic is also present. For example, one offender characteristic might be *offender skill*, defined by the offender’s use of precautionary measures to delay or evade capture. The behaviors that evidence this characteristic might include wearing gloves and a mask while robbing a liquor store equipped with video cameras. Therefore, according to Turvey’s description, if an offender wears a mask and gloves while robbing said liquor store, the profiler has a good argument that this offender exhibits offender skill.

### **The Behavior–Motivational Typology**

To further assist in explaining the deduction of offender characteristics, Turvey (1999) included in his text a discussion of a behavior–motivational typology. This typology is based on Groth et al.’s (1977) classification of rapists, which was later adapted by Douglas et al. for the *Crime Classification Manual* and discussed in earlier sections of this chapter on Holmes and Holmes’s (1996) and Turco’s (1990) models of profiling. Although these categories were originally created to describe rapists, Turvey appeared to apply them to a broader range of criminal behavior, arguing that “The needs, or motives, that impel human criminal behaviors remain essentially the same for all offenders, despite their behavioral expression that may involve kidnapping, child molestation, terrorism, sexual assault, homicide, and/or arson” (p. 170). In describing what he has added to Groth et al.’s original typology, Turvey stated that “This author takes credit largely for the fresh, extended perspective and for the shift in emphasis from classifying offenders to classifying behaviors (turning it from an inductive labeling system to a deductive tool)” (p. 170, italics in original).

Five categories of offenders are described in Turvey’s (1999) adapted behavioral–motivational typology: power reassurance, power assertive, anger retaliatory, anger excitation, and profit. These categories are identical to Groth et al.’s (1977) original groups, with the exception of the profit-

motivated rapist. Groth et al.'s typology does not include profit as a motivation but instead describes a category of opportunistic rapist. This opportunistic category is not present in Turvey's typology. Because of their common derivation from the original Groth et al. research, the characteristics of each type of rapist, as described by Turvey, are very similar to those described in the earlier sections of this chapter that discussed the Holmes and Holmes (1996) and Turco (1990) rapist typology. The details of these characteristics are therefore not repeated in this section.

Turvey's (1999) effort to reframe offender characteristics as behaviors is manifested in his division of each offender type into several subcategories of behaviors. These subcategories include method of approach, method of attack, verbal behavior, sexual behavior, physical behavior, MO behavior, and signature behavior. Within each subcategory, examples are provided to illustrate the behavior that would be expected from the type of offender in question. For example, under the subcategory of physical behavior for an anger-retaliatory offender, Turvey included such features as tearing the victim's clothing, using high levels of physical force, and causing significant injury to the victim (p. 176).

Turvey (1999) stated that using his proposed behavior-motivational typology can "provide a psychological snapshot of a rapist during a single instance from which some reliable inferences about motive can be made" (p. 181). However, he also cautioned that "a single offender can evidence behaviors suggestive of more than one motivation" (p. 181). Therefore, although the typology can contribute to a criminal profile, the deduction of offender characteristics is still dependent on the circumstances of the individual offenses and the expertise of the profiler.

### **Trial Strategy**

Turvey (1999) asserted that although deductive profiling cannot be used to implicate a specific individual as having committed the offense(s) in question, it can be used to "suggest a specific type of individual, with specific psychological and emotional characteristics (i.e., motives and needs)" (p. 228). The following information can be valuable to attorneys once a suspect has been arrested: recognizing evidence; MO behavior, signature behavior, and motive; state of mind; malice aforethought; and torture.

#### *Recognizing Evidence*

Turvey (1999) argued that "the most effective criminal profilers tend to be those who have first been trained as competent forensic investigators" (p. 229). Therefore, one of the skills that a profiler can offer to a trial attorney is the ability to analyze the physical evidence to elucidate the

events of the offense and the interactions between offender and victim. In addition, the profiler can evaluate the forensic evidence to inform attorneys about potential weaknesses in the collection, analysis, and interpretation of evidence as performed by law enforcement officers and medical examiners. The profiler may also potentially recognize evidence that has been overlooked.

#### *Modus Operandi Behavior, Signature Behavior, and Motive*

Turvey (1999) defined MO behaviors as “those committed by the offender during the commission of the crime which are necessary to complete the crime. MO behaviors are unstable across offenses and may alter as the offender gains confidence or experience” (p. 230). Signature behaviors, however, “are committed to serve the offender’s fantasies, and psychological and/or emotional needs . . . are thematic in nature, are suggestive of offender intent, and can be more stable over time” (p. 230). At trial, a criminal profiler can identify MO and signature behaviors for the purpose of establishing offense linkage. The profiler can also interpret MO and signature behaviors to demonstrate that two crimes are “psychologically dissimilar” (p. 230).

#### *State of Mind*

Profilers can use offense behaviors to make suggestions about the state of mind of the offender. According to Turvey’s (1999) description, offense behaviors that might provide insight into the offender’s state of mind include such acts as covering the victim (remorse), slashing injuries (rage), and the general nature of the offender’s behavior toward the victim prior to the attack. The only information that is to be used in analyzing offender state of mind is the offender’s behavior and his or her interactions with the victim. Turvey suggested that this method of determining state of mind is superior to other, more traditional methods:

Where forensic psychologists and other assessors may use post-apprehension interviews, polygraph examinations, or personality measures which have been duped countless times by offenders over the years, the criminal profiler carefully examines what the offender did, and has little use for what the offender has to say about what they did. (p. 230)

#### *Malice Aforethought*

Turvey (1999) defined the concept of *malice aforethought* as being related to the motivational intent and preplanning of an offense. The criminal profiler can assist at trial by identifying behaviors that suggest that an offense was premeditated. Examples of such behaviors would include bringing a weapon to the scene, wearing a disguise, wearing gloves, keeping

lists of materials to bring to the crime, and conducting surveillance on the victim prior to the attack.

### *Torture*

Turvey (1999) defined *torture* as “the infliction of severe physical pain as a means of punishment, coercion or offender gratification” (p. 232). The contribution that can be made by criminal profilers is that of establishing the presence of torture during a particular offense.

### **Profiling Process**

In addition to the key elements described previously, Turvey (1999) offered some general sentiments about the practice of profiling. He advocated for both a scientific basis for profiling, in terms of reliance on physical and behavioral evidence, and an artful process for translating the evidence into information about an offender. In keeping with this, Turvey criticized the FBI’s current profiling practices, citing the lack of peer-reviewed research as an impediment to progress. He referred to the FBI’s *Crime Classification Manual* as being “a book of theories only” (Turvey, 1999, p. 10). At the same time, Turvey also was critical of the extant empirical literature on profiling, referring to the use of the polygraph, geographic profiling, and smallest space analysis (discussed in chap. 4) as “scientification . . . the bolstering of any method or theory, by a group or individual, via technological affect or professional affect, for the purposes of making the method or theory appear more credible” (p. 257). He was thus clear in his writing that some elements of profiling should not be represented as scientific and are still best considered artful and a matter of expertise.