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Preface and Acknowledgments

Within the last ten years, there has been an increasing interest in psychological profiling. If viewed as a panacea for resolving violent personal crimes, it is bound to meet with abject failure. It should be better viewed as yet another forensic tool to complement a thorough investigation by competent and educated law enforcement agencies.

Profiling has been practiced on many levels for years. Hitler was profiled in the latter days of World War II. The Boston Strangler and the Mad Bomber cases were both profiled with different degrees of accuracy. Fictionalized murderers have maintained current indices of popularity for years. Sherlock Holmes, Charlie Chan, and Will Graham, the retired federal agent in *The Red Dragon*, are as popular today as ever before.

Law enforcement agencies are beginning to realize the possible benefits of profiling. For the past three years, I have been involved as a profiler in more than 100 homicide and rape cases. Each case was submitted by a police agency. This may appear as a sign of the faith and confidence that the police have in my ability.

When I profiled my first murder case, I tried to combine my knowledge of the social and behavioral sciences. I resisted the temptation to be an academic homicide detective. The first profile was amazingly accurate, and I caught the bug. The killer was apprehended, not as a result of my profile but as a result of luck.

I continued my profiling activities. I realized, however, that there was a lack of available sources to aid in the training of profilers. What was available was an atmosphere of mystery and mysticism surrounding the process of profiling violent crimes. I heard more than a few police officers voice a desire to "sit at the feet of the masters" to learn all there is to know about the art of profiling.

I decided to take a different approach. I decided to work backwards, so to speak. When you want to know about violent crime, why not go

to the violent offenders? I talked and corresponded with violent personal offenders, rapists, and murderers. I asked them questions about their crimes, motivations, and crime scenes. I combined the knowledge I gained from those in prison and on death row with theoretical knowledge and my practical experience.

This book is a product of that endeavor and provides the basic elements of profiling. It is not a "cook book." In other words, it will not turn anyone into a profiler. What it will do is to acquaint readers with the general principles of profiling, as well as what is needed to develop a sociopsychological profile. I believe that experience, a thorough knowledge of the social and behavioral sciences (as well as criminology), and a knowledge of police investigative techniques will serve as a firm base for profiling.

Note that I use the term "sociopsychological" profiling rather than psychological profiling. The prefix "socio-" is obviously intended. What a profile offers is more than a personality profile. It will offer a number of social demographics which has little — if anything — to do with the classic definition of psychological profiling. Age, race, sex, occupation, education, and other factors are all social core variables which are addressed in the profiling process. Since "sociopsychological" is a rather large word to use continually, I have taken the liberty to shorten it to "psychological." The reader should remember, however, that this latter term always includes the idea that social elements are present.

No work of this nature takes place in a vacuum. Special people deserve special thanks: Dr. Al Carlisle, Utah State Prison; Jerry Thompson, Salt Lake County (Utah) Sheriff's Department; Norman Pomrenke, former director of the Southern Police Institute; Bob Crouse, Seminar Manager, Southern Police Institute; Jim Massie, Kentucky Parole Office; and Don Patchen, Tallahassee Police Department.

In addition, I also gained a great deal of insight into crimes of a violent nature from the offenders themselves. Ted Bundy, Doug Clark, Randy Woodfield, and others have given me tremendous insight into the mind of the very violent.

There is one particular offender who is in a maximum security institution; this admitted rapist and murderer provides invaluable insight into the analysis of violent crimes. I sincerely believe that without the help of this one special person, who was very willing to open his soul despite the pain it caused him, this work would have been greatly limited. But I also believe he shared his thoughts because this is the only way he can help those he has raped and injured, and the families of those he has killed.

1 Psychological Profiling: An Introduction

Historically, crime and criminals have galvanized the attention of law-abiding citizens. Whatever the reason, be it the "romance" of a Capone or a Dillinger, or the utter lack of any understanding of how or why criminals can do what they do, books, TV, and movies flood the market with police and crime.

But unlike a vintage *Dragnet* episode, Joe Friday does not always bring the criminal to justice. Every killer is not peacefully arrested with nothing more than an "M.O.," a signature of the identity of the perpetrator. This M.O. (method of operation or modus operandi) holds to a basic principle: Each perpetrator commits his crime in a certain manner. Therefore, each time a person commits a crime, he will do it in the same — or at least similar — fashion. This is a prodigious step in logic, but one which has been "validated" by tradition and common sense, both less than reliable sources of knowledge.

For the homicide investigator where the motives of "normal" killings are absent, a psychological profile may be the investigative tool essential to a successful resolution of the case. This profile is "an educated attempt to provide investigative agencies with specific information as to the type of individual who committed a certain crime" (Geberth, 1981, p. 46).

Of course, profiles are not suitable in all cases, even in some murder cases. They are usually more efficacious in cases where the unknown

TABLE 1.1 Crimes Suitable for Profiling

Sadistic torture in sexual assaults
Evisceration
Post mortum slashing and cutting
Motiveless firesetting
Lust and mutilation murders
Rapes
Satanic and cult murders

SOURCE: Data from Geberth (1983) and author files.

perpetrator has displayed indications of psychopathology. Crimes most appropriate for psychological profiling are those listed in Table 1.1.

It is important to come to a general understanding of the type of person who would commit such an offense as lust murder. Inherent within the premise of the validity and reliability of a profile is that the person who commits a lust murder, for example, has a personality which reflects pathology. Chaos, the lack of planning, mutilations, and so on, all reflect his personality. Therefore, the crime scene itself reflects pathology. It is the responsibility of the profiler to offer insight from the physical evidence of the pathology exhibited in the crime scene.

Goals in Profiling

There is some confusion when the topics of goals and objectives are discussed. Simply stated, goals are "broad general statements of what we are trying to accomplish." Objectives are "specific, measurable statements of what we want to accomplish by a given point of time" (Craig, 1980, p. 24).

Goals are usually statements individuals or organizations offer to direct their efforts toward some reward. Obviously, these efforts take varied forms. It may be a certain number of units manufactured by a truck plant per time period, or a number of violent personal crimes cleared by arrests. Objectives are the means to be used to satisfy the goals of the organizations. Moreover, objectives must be measurable.

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

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

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

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

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

Case Study. Recently a profile was completed for a police department in a southern city where in the course of four months, four young women were attacked, throats cut, and murdered. None of the four women was sexually molested, but there were several commonalities. The profile offered information as to the age, education, residence, and a predicted period of time when the perpetrator would strike again. The profile was accurate even to the day that the next attack would occur. The police department, with confidence in the profiling packet, redoubled their efforts with the positive benefit of the apprehension of the attacker on the night predicted.

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

This particular goal is very important to investigators when they have a prime suspect. It may be that all of the physical evidence, witness reports, and all pertinent information point toward one suspect. The psychological profile may suggest items the offenders may have in their possession: souvenirs, photos, pornography, and so on. These items will serve as a reminder of the violent episode.

Case Study. Jerry Brudos is a serial killer presently in Oregon State Penitentiary for the brutal and sadistic killing of four young women in the

late 1960s. Jerry has a shoe fetish. He had stolen a pair of high heeled black shoes during the course of a robbery and rape. He often wore the shoes around his home and demanded his wife to do the same. One victim, a young National Merit scholar, was forced to wear the shoes even as he hung her from the rafters in his garage. In addition, Brudos was involved in triolism, a sexual behavior where sexual gratification is gained by seeing oneself and/or others in sexual scenes. Combining his transvestism with triolism, Brudos took pictures of himself wearing the high heeled shoes, panties, bra, and stockings. He also took pictures of his wife nude, as well as photographing three of his four victims. One victim was already dead when he photographed her.

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

Goal 3: To Provide Interviewing Suggestions and Strategies

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

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

Case Study. In a small midwestern town, 15-year-old Diana Harris and her boyfriend were shot. Their bodies were found in his car parked in a lonely "lover's lane" area. She died of one shot to the left temple, and her male

companion was mortally wounded with a single shot entering under his left armpit. One additional bullet was fired through the passenger side window. No physical evidence other than the bullets was obtained.

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

The detective interviewed the stepfather about the case. After questioning him for several hours, the police officer asked him pointedly if he had killed his stepdaughter and her boyfriend. Breaking into profuse perspiration, the man replied "Not in my right mind did I kill them. You'll have to prove that I did." Instead of keeping some pressure upon the stepfather, a coffee break was taken. After regrouping himself psychologically, Mr. Harris denied any knowledge or responsibility in this case. All progress stopped, and the investigation came to a halt. All strategies used provided no further information.

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

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

Profiling: An Art, Not a Science

Not everyone agrees that psychological profiling is of benefit to law enforcement. One psychologist recently argued that professionals in criminal justice must realize that profiling is at best an art, not a science. It was maintained that (a) the profiles submitted to police departments as gospel testament to the type of offender committing an act of lust (murder, rape, and so on) are probably little better than information one could obtain from the neighborhood bartender; (b) pro-

files are either too vague and ambiguous or else they are simple common sense; and (c) as long as police officers are impressed with the credentials, status, and education of the academicians, many academicians will continue to play their education guessing games (Campbell, 1976, pp. 110-119). The validity of his argument is obviously open to debate. While there may be some truth to this criticism, it is reasonable to expect that the profiler's years of education and training will be of value to law enforcement in its attempts to solve heinous and difficult crimes.

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

Conclusion

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

2 Profiling in Fantasy and Fact

Crime has long been an interest of popular readers. Since the mid 1800s, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, G.K. Chesterton, Agatha Christie, Earl Biggers, Lawrence Sanders, Thomas Harris, and others have written novels which have galvanized the reader's mind to the exploration of the criminal and his crime.

Sherlock Holmes: The Master Detective

In the late 1800s, a fictional master detective contributed his delving mind to police departments and citizens alike in the solving of particularly puzzling crimes. Accompanied by his good friend and associate, Dr. Watson, Sherlock Holmes solved case after case, rarely failing. This point is well-illustrated in Holmes's dialogue with a young wife beseeching his help in her quandary:

Wife: He (Major Prendergast) said that you could solve anything.

Holmes: He said too much.

Wife: That you are never beaten.

Holmes: I have been beaten four times — three times by men, and once by a woman.

Wife: But what is that compared with the number of your successes?

Holmes: It is true that I have been generally successful. (Doyle, 1891d, p. 70)

Holmes solved his cases not only by deduction but by seeing things others did not. As always, Watson was amazed by what Holmes found in each instance:

... But I was always oppressed with a sense of my own stupidity in my dealings with Sherlock Holmes. Here I had heard what he had heard, I had seen what he had seen, and yet from his words it was evident that he saw clearly not only what had happened, but what was about to happen. (Doyle, 1891a, p. 35)

Being the consummate detective, he saw evidence that others neglected. On many occasions, however, Holmes replied, "Perhaps I have trained myself to see what others overlook" (Doyle, 1891b, p. 42).

Sherlock Holmes maintained that the educated and trained mind of the detective is the most important forensic tool in the resolution of a crime. The master detective investigated his cases with great emphasis, dedicated to the examination of each minute detail. In *The Bascombe Valley Mystery*, for example, the manner in which a man was struck over his left shoulder showed very clearly that the perpetrator was left-handed and walked with a limp. Once explained, Watson was astounded by what Holmes had seen and what he, the good doctor, had not (Doyle, 1891c).

In *The Man with the Twisted Lip*, Holmes investigated the case of a missing husband. One clue centered around the manner in which a letter was addressed. Holmes said,

Holmes: I perceive also that whoever addressed the envelope had to go and inquire as to the address.

Mrs. St. Claire: How can you tell?

Holmes: The name, you see, is in perfectly black ink, which has dried itself. The rest is of the grayish color which shows that blotting paper has been used. If it had been written straight off, and then blotted, none would be of a deep black shade. This man has written the name, and there has then been a pause before he wrote the address, which can only mean that he was not familiar with it. (Doyle, 1892, p. 89)

Holmes astonished not only Watson but also the missing man's wife. Comfortably, perhaps arrogantly, he stated that the letter was only a trifle, "... but there is nothing so important as trifles" (Doyle, 1892, p. 89).

The gift of Sherlock Holmes is his attention to detail. The physical scene means more than simply the accumulation of the evidence; the crime scene is more than the simple sum of physical evidence. There is synergism. True, a forensic anthropologist may be able to tell the height, weight, and even the race of the offender from a footprint, but the footprint tells us nothing of his personality.

The nonphysical evidence is imperative to investigate because this adds quality to the scene. From a profiling point of view, the physical evidence gives clues to the type of personality the offender possesses. Holmes never arrived to the point of being termed a psychological profiler. This is due in no small part to the influence of the school of criminology which was in vogue at the time. The Classical School, quickly followed by the Positive School, laid the theoretical groundwork for an assumption that either man was in complete control of his actions (the Classical School) or he was a criminal because of "savage genes from the savage ancestors" (the Positive School) or other constitutional factors (Ferrero-Lombroso, 1911).

If the psychodynamic model had been better known and accepted, Sherlock Holmes no doubt would have been more heavily involved in the psychological analysis of the criminal.

Will Graham and *The Red Dragon*

Thomas Harris has written a terrifying novel of a serial murderer. His story is more than an exploration into the mind of the serial killer. Terrifying and strange, bizarre yet compelling, *The Red Dragon* examines the psychological and mystical relationship between the killer, Francis Dolarhyde, and the profiler, Will Graham.

Prior to Graham's retirement from the FBI, he was involved in a murder investigation so intense that it resulted in his leaving the Bureau. Retired, Graham now lives in Florida with his wife and son. Beseached by a former friend and federal agent, Graham is lured to one last case, the case of the Red Dragon.

Harris's novel also takes the reader inside the mind of the profiler. Graham, the hero, goes personally to the crime scenes and sees elements others have missed. Two families have been systematically executed. In Atlanta, three children of the Leeds family were killed. They were placed facing the bed with their backs to the wall. The parents were found in their own bed. Mr. Leeds was bound, tied to the headboard with his throat slashed. After examining each minute detail of the

crime scene, Graham returns to his motel room where he mentally reconstructs the crime.

Again and again, Graham goes over each detail. The eyes of the victims were open. He thinks to himself, "Were they 'witnesses' to the killings? Where they an audience?" Recalling a lit candle in the bedroom, Graham thought its glimmering light served as a visual facilitator of horror. "The flickering light would simulate expression on their faces" (Harris, 1981, p. 29).

Carrying on a mental conversation with the yet unknown killer, Graham asks:

Why did you move them (the children) again? Why didn't you leave them that way? There's something you don't want me to know about you. Why, there's something you're ashamed of. Or is it something you can't afford for me to know?

Did you open their eyes?

Mrs. Leeds was lovely, wasn't she? You turned on the light after you cut his throat so Mrs. Leeds could watch him flop, didn't you. It was maddening to have to wear gloves when you touched her, wasn't it? (Harris, 1981, p. 29)

Graham, totally immersed in the multiple killings of the two families, created a profile of the killer. This profile helped in the investigation by narrowing the scope of the search for the killer, as well as providing a structure for understanding the personality of the killer. With sophisticated police technology, including some techniques which are not currently in the repertoire of forensics, the Red Dragon is eventually brought to justice in a rather unique way.

No other novel brings the mind of the profiler so vividly and realistically to the reader. Although the novel is fiction, it illustrates so well the task of profiling from an introspective perspective, as well as illustrating the "art" of profiling.

Will Graham becomes personally involved with the cases, removing his objectivity. He becomes so intimately involved that he carries on a conversation with the perpetrator as well as the victims. In other words, he believes in the need to go to the crime scene because there still lingers a "shadow" of the crime. Photographs, written reports, witness statements, and so on become secondary to the personal involvement of Graham. This total involvement almost leads to fatal consequences, not only for Graham but for his wife and son as well.

The Red Dragon introduces the novice to the world of profiling and the immersion necessary to feel the "art." Truly, there is little hard science to this process; Graham has a feeling.

Zoe Koehler: A Female Serial Murderess

Lawrence Sanders's *The Third Deadly Sin* is the story of a woman with a deep fantasy life involving the killing of male strangers. Never really coming to terms with her female identity, the character Zoe has a hidden part of her personality which no one has seen except her victims.

Zoe, a secretary in a downtown New York hotel, arrives at work each day on time, eats her lunch at her desk, and goes home to an empty apartment. She has felt rejection from all the men in her life; her father psychologically isolated himself from her in her childhood. Her ex-husband deserted her after only a few years of marriage. The millions of men in New York barely acknowledge her existence.

Painful menstrual periods announce a metamorphosis. She changes from a nondescript identity to a killer. Working at the hotel, Zoe is aware of the varied conventions in town. Changing from her drab work clothes, Zoe adorns herself in seductive evening gowns and travels across town to cocktail lounges. Wearing a wig, she allows herself to be picked up, and accompanies a man to his room where the victim anticipates a sexual encounter.

After they get to the room, she says,

Why don't you take off all those clothes. . . . I have to make wee-wee and then I'll come back to you. I'll do anything you want. And I mean anything. (Sanders, 1981, p. 34)

Removing her clothes, she comes back to the bed, a Swiss Army knife beneath the towel she's carrying. She plunges it into his neck.

(The victim) made a sound, a gargle, and his heavy body leaped convulsively from the bed. Blood spouted in streams, gobbets, a flood that sprayed the air with a crimson fog. It soaked the bed, dripped onto the floor.

With bloodied, slippery hand, she drove the knife blade again and again into his genitals. No triumph or exultation in her face. Not grinning or yowling, but intent and businesslike. Saying aloud with each stab, "There. There. There." (Sanders, 1981, p. 34)

Edward X. Delaney, a retired detective from New York's finest, serves as a special consultant to the police department. A central figure in several books by Sanders, Delaney assumes an unofficial posture investigating the "Hotel Ripper Case." An amateur profiler, Delaney tells his wife, Monica, that he suspects a woman is the killer. Delaney says,

All I'm trying to do is put together a profile. Not a psychological profile — those things are usually pure bullshit. I'm trying to give the killer certain personal and emotional characteristics that give us a more accurate picture of the kind of woman she is. (Sanders, 1981, p. 200)

Despite his protests concerning the efficacy of profiling, Delaney paints an accurate picture of the Ripper. He mentally pictures her as being five foot five to five foot seven, "probably a young woman, say in the area of eighteen to forty." (Sanders, 1981, p. 200). How did this retired detective come up with such an age range? "She's strong enough to rip a man's throat and she's young enough to have menstrual periods" (Sanders, 1981, p. 200). Because the killings occur monthly, 26 days apart, Delaney connects the murders with a woman's menstrual cycle.

Using the practical, Delaney continues. Intelligent: She carefully plans each act, washes the evidence away, leaves no fingerprints. In addition, the killer dresses conservatively, acts in a conservative fashion, and is probably "mousy. Until she breaks out and kills" (Sanders, 1981, p. 328).

Seeking help from behavioral experts, Delaney constructs a psychological profile. This profile includes many similar items which Delaney has already suspected. There are two additions. First, blood samples show that the killer has Addison's disease. Unless carefully and quickly treated, it will be fatal. Zoe has such a condition. Second, the profile suggests the killer is a psychopath, "killing for crazy reasons that maybe don't even make sense to her. But she's forced to kill" (Sanders, 1981, p. 192).

Zoe finally falls in love with a man who accepts her with her faults and her imagined illnesses. Zoe, however, still has many self-doubts and continues to kill. Aware of the investigation which has identified her as a suspect, Zoe knows time is short and realizes that it will be only a matter of hours until she is caught.

Deciding to end her own life, she plans the murder of her lover. Following the same M.O., he is in bed awaiting her. She enters the

bedroom from the bath and plunges the knife into his throat. Because of her love, however, she does not mutilate his genitals.

Cleaning the bed and herself, she dresses into her wedding dress. She climbs back into the bed and overdoses on pills and vodka. The mental pain has stopped. "And for that she was thankful" (Sanders, 1981, p. 407).

The profile has been accurate. It led the police to narrow the investigation and finally to an arrest warrant for the murderess. It was, however, too late. They found her dead alongside her lover.

Profiling in Fact

The successful resolution of a murder is neatly and completely reached by the end of a novel's final page. Sherlock Holmes, Will Graham, and Edward X. Delaney all solved their cases. Unfortunately, profiling in fact does not always yield the same result.

Profile of Adolph Hitler

In 1943, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) sought the help of Dr. Walter C. Langer, a psychiatrist. Dr. Langer, commissioned by Colonel William "Wild Bill" Donovan, was given the task of providing the OSS

a realistic appraisal of the German situation. If Hitler is running the show, what kind of person is he? What are his ambitions? . . . We want to know about his psychological make-up — the things that make him tick. In addition, we ought to know what he might do if things begin to go against him. (Langer, 1972, p. 19)

Accepting the mission, Langer hired three research assistants, all familiar with the psychodynamic model. They scoured the New York City Library, their own reading lists, and solicited personal interviews with people who had intimate knowledge of Hitler.

Langer's goal was to provide the OSS and Donovan with an objective psychological profile of Adolph Hitler, which "might serve as a common basis for decisions in the future" (Langer, 1972, p. 31).

Self-Concepts of Hitler. From the information available, a psychodynamic personality profile of Hitler was developed.

His parents' influence weighed strongly on Hitler's future activities. Hitler's father was viewed by Adolph as a distant figure. He was cold, cruel, and brutal in his relationships with his wife and the children. The

mother, on the other hand, was seen to be considerate, long-suffering, and overly affectionate, especially to Adolph.

From his family, young Adolph developed a strong libidinal attachment to his mother. He suffered rejection from her, however, because she stayed with the father instead of leaving him for Adolph. This was to have important implications for the future. In his adult life, Hitler was not able to develop or sustain any long-term, intimate relationships with males or females because he judged them to be untrustworthy. After all, his father was a male, cold, sadistic, and inconsiderate. His mother chose not to love him in the same manner in which she loved his father, so she—and women in general—were not worthy of his trust or love.

From such an early childhood, Hitler developed an interesting personality. He judged himself as an outstanding legal scholar. In addition, despite failing on the admissions test to the Art School, he considered himself an authority on German architecture.

As did many rulers before him, Hitler believed he was infallible and omnipotent. He had divine protection. A vision empowered him to liberate Germany and make it a super world power.

The war was an answer to his prayers. Psychodynamically speaking, through his leadership he could prove his manhood to his mother by leading Germany once again to victory. When the war started to go badly for Germany, he had to find a scapegoat; the Jews served that purpose well.

Hitler saw himself as a savior. Years before, he envisioned himself as a messiah. When he was in his twenties, he grew a Christlike beard and wanted to be a Catholic priest. In World War II, he likened himself to Christ for the German people.

The Benefits of the Profile. The profile itself was intended to offer insight into the personality of Adolph Hitler. In case he was captured at the end of the war, an interrogation strategy would be developed which would aid in soliciting information.

In planning for several eventualities, the profile offered several possibilities. First, it was offered that Hitler could die of natural causes. This was quickly dismissed since Hitler was thought to be in good health.

A second possibility was that he could seek refuge in another country. But because he believed that he was indeed the savior of his country, flight to another country would not be a viable option.

Yet another possibility was that he could get killed in battle. Langer believed that this could be a real likelihood. Hitler could lead his troops

into a battle, pronouncing himself as a fearless and fanatical leader (Langer, 1972, p. 213).

The possibility existed that the Fuehrer could be assassinated. Since this had been tried before, it could be a real probability. Hitler, however, was well-protected, and this was not considered to be a strong prospect.

Hitler could go insane. Langer believed that Hitler possessed many characteristics of a schizophrenic. If the collapse of the Third Reich was indeed on the brink, he could psychologically deteriorate. This would, however, destroy the legend of Hitler as the leader of Germany.

The possibility also existed that Hitler could be overthrown by the military leaders of Germany. He was aware that Rommel was a military officer less than committed to his philosophy, and he was fearful that there were others who shared Rommel's thoughts. Langer, however, believed that this was a remote chance.

Langer also believed that there was a possibility that Hitler could fall into the Allies' hands. This was considered to be the most remote prospect. Because of Hitler's vision as Fuehrer and personal responsibility for the fate of Germany, he would go to extreme lengths to prevent this.

The most plausible possibility was that if defeat was imminent, Hitler would commit suicide. The Fuehrer had threatened to take his own life on several previous occasions. In addition, he had said to Rauschning, "Yes, in the hour of supreme peril I must sacrifice myself for the people" (Langer, 1972, p. 216).

Regardless of the manner in which the war ended, Langer believed that Hitler's mental condition would worsen. Hitler would fight until he truly believed that the condition was hopeless.

Despite the onerous orientation toward the Freudian psychoanalytic school, Langer's profile was amazingly accurate as far as possibilities were concerned. Hitler did commit suicide in a bunker with Eva Braun. He never married, perhaps because he could not espouse anyone of his mother's ilk. From the writings of Hitler toward the end of the war, he appeared to be on the fringe of mental illness. He also left many documents which pointed toward his leanings in sexual perversions, coprolagnia, urolagnia, and so on, as well as his feelings toward homosexuality.

Langer's work was not in vain. It proved to be worthy in attempting to use profiling as a tool toward the understanding of an aberrant type of personality.

Profile of a Rape Case

Police departments often seek the help of profilers, usually when they have exhausted all of their leads. Recently a serial rapist terrorized women in a southern city. The investigators were convinced that they had a serial rape case on their hands and sought the aid of an agency for help.

The agency provided some insight into what they termed "a criminal personality profile." The profilers stated that there were actually two rapists involved in the total of 34 rapes. One rapist was responsible for 29 rapes and the other for the remaining five. The profile itself was concerned with the former rapist. He was the main consideration for their profile. Correctly, they predicted that the offender was white, a high school graduate, of average intelligence, and a loner.

This author was also requested to form a profile. This profile related that the rapes were all committed by one offender who was white (as described by the victims), married, a Roman Catholic, lived nearby most of the rapes, employed, and from a home where sex was not discussed but treated in a repressive atmosphere. Since he was Catholic, the profile continued, his parents were married, and thus he was not from a broken home. He was thought to live in his own home with his wife and children, maybe two or three children, and to drive his well-maintained car to his rapes.

The latter profile proved to be remarkably accurate. The rapist, when apprehended, was indeed responsible for all the rapes. He was Catholic and lived in his own home with his wife and two children. His parents lived not far from his home, and he worked as a skilled worker for a manufacturing company. He stalked his victims and drove his car to the sites of attack. The car was actually a pickup truck that was in excellent condition.

Of course, it would be quite beneficial to the efficacy of profiling if the profile had directly led to the apprehension of the rapist. This did not prove to be the case. A former victim recognized him while both were shopping, followed him into the parking lot, and copied his license number. He was soon arrested, and quickly the case was resolved.

Conclusion

The profile developed by Delancy in *The Third Deadly Sin* proves a point which will be emphasized later in this book. The daily activities

of a police officer better prepare the officer in the profiling of his or her cases. Blending the physical and the nonphysical and having knowledge of the basic precepts and principles of the social and behavioral sciences will provide a knowledge base for profiling.

The attention to detail indigenous in Sherlock Holmes's investigation offers a message to police officers. The message is plain and simple. The details, the trifles, are not to be ignored. They are in the crime scene if one pays attention to them. And "there is nothing so important as trifles" (Doyle, 1892, p. 89).

During an interview with the serial killer Ted Bundy, he told me that police officers take their cases too personally. Because of their immersion in the crimes, they lose their objectivity. Will Graham lost his objectivity, and his total immersion into the crime and into the mind of the killer led him to emotional and health problems, early retirement, and almost fatal consequences.

As seen, profiles in reality are not as "clean and neat" as those in fiction. Hitler's profile as developed by Langer was never actually utilized; the profiles for the serial rapist(s) did not lead directly to apprehension. But some do, and these will be discussed in some length later in this book.

or possessed to a certain degree, by the potential criminal" (Neitzel, 1979, p. 350).

Crime is psychologically judged as abnormal. The forensic psychologist, in a quest for the origin of the criminal mind, has paid little attention to the individual's social environment. The search into several research and theoretical areas has continued to identify a single factor as the causal variable for the criminal mind.

Mental Deficiency

Early forensic psychologists suggested that crime and delinquency were directly related to mental deficiency. The criminal lacked a certain level of intellectual ability. This deficit of mental ability, the IQ if you will, has a direct influence on the social life adjustment and may indeed "cause" someone to adapt to the criminal or delinquent lifestyle.

Studies have indicated that the less-intelligent young person may be more prone to delinquency than someone possessing at least an average IQ. An IQ, however, is merely a score on a test, and this score can change from one testing session to another. Research of this genre focuses more on the score on a test than on the personality of an offender.

There may be another side to the position of IQ as a causal factor to crime. Individuals with higher intelligence may be more apt to elude capture. It may be that the person with limited mental ability simply lacks the ability to recognize the opportunity to avoid detection and subsequent apprehension. Thus, he may be more visible in the criminal justice enterprise. But there is little empirical data to validate this position.

The current modal theoretical position holds that low intelligence has little, if anything, to do with developing the criminal mentality.

Personality Characteristics

The composition of any series of personality traits as they uniquely mold a criminal mind is still to be formulated. Research and clinical studies have failed to yield reliable data to confirm such a configuration.

Perhaps one of the most often cited tests of measuring personality traits is the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI). Even this psychometric instrument has shown inconsistent results as far as particular personality traits and a criminal mind are concerned (Fisher, 1962).

3 Criminal Theories and Psychological Profiling

A concentrated effort to focus upon and explain criminal behavior has been evident from Beccaria's Classical School of Criminology in the mid-eighteenth century to the present. Each effort has speculated concerning the "exact" and single cause of criminality. Free will, positive determinism, genetics, and poverty have all passed time in the spotlight of serious academic examination and debate.

The behavioral and social sciences have historically examined deviancy in general and crime in particular, and both possess basic belief systems which have unique doctrines offering insights into the personality of the offender. The primary objective of this chapter is to focus upon the basic belief systems of these disciplines. There are clear, subtle distinctions within each theory. And each theoretical system, with its unique perspective and focus, aids in the art of psychological profiling.

Psychology and the Criminal Personality

Psychology's early heritage offered an explanation for crime: demon possession or evil spirits. As the science of psychology developed, however, the etiology of crime has been viewed quite differently: "Crime is the result of some personality attribute uniquely possessed,

One study (Glueck and Glueck, 1950) suggested that delinquent males appear to be more personally aggressive, defiant, hostile, and destructive. Despite such data, there is little empirical data to substantiate a criminal or delinquency syndrome.

Dollard et al. (1939) stated that the criminal mind has developed a general inability to tolerate frustration without resorting to violence. In research done by this author, preliminary data do suggest that the very violent possess an inability to withstand frustration. Frustration serves as a catalyst for action, which serves to validate the sense of importance and being in control.

So when I murdered this first person, it was not to fulfill an inner craving, but only because this person frustrated my aims by being completely unresponsive to my brutality. As this victim was seemingly in a catatonic state, oblivious to my violence, I derived no gain or gratification from my acts, and this individual, therefore, was useless to me. (author's files)

Obviously, more research needs to be done in this area, but the data thus far do not suggest any strong positive indication of a criminal personality composition.

Criminal Thinking Patterns

The work of Yochelson and Samenow suggests that the personality of the criminal is not fundamentally different than the noncriminal. In fact, the only difference between the two lies in the criminal's manner of reasoning.

Yochelson and Samenow based their theory upon interviews with scores of criminals incarcerated in a hospital setting. Although mentor, Yochelson has placed his emphasis upon the general irresponsibility of the criminal coupled with his or her erroneous thinking pattern. Samenow rejects the influence of the environment on the criminal.

It is not the environment that turns a man into a criminal. Rather, it is a series of choices that he makes starting at a very early age. (Samenow, 1984, p. 34)

From Samenow's perspective, the solution to the criminal and his crimes rests with his changing the thought patterns and making it beneficial for him to restructure the perceptions of his world. Only by changing the way he thinks can the criminal be changed.

Character Defects

Psychology has expended great energy in the research and literature of the antisocial personality. *The Mask of Sanity* (Cleckley, 1982) was the first major work to describe the behavioral and personality characteristics of the character defect. According to Cleckley, the psychopath is charming, has no sense of remorse or guilt, is narcissistic, a habitual liar, has an inadequate sex life, and continually gets into trouble with the law.

There is no single acceptable theory regarding what causes psychopathology. It may be that the psychopath comes from a home where he has suffered mild rejection coupled with brain damage.

There is less than unanimous agreement, however, that the psychopath actually exists. In his study of hospitalized patients, Cason (1943) found a common agreement of only two of the 54 behavioral traits supposedly typical of psychopathy. Cason's data suggest no real personality differences between those who exhibit psychopathic behavior and those who do not.

Another position is that psychopathy may indeed be a personality reality but disappears when the criminal reaches his thirties. The argument is made that the psychopath matures at a much slower rate than most people and reaches maturity when he nears his thirties. Or is it that the psychopath adjusts to society, and that by the time he reaches his thirties, he is able to mask his behavior, which in turn hinders his identification?

Regardless of the various theoretical approaches concerning the etiology of the criminal mind, psychology offers a perspective unlike other disciplines. Perhaps more importantly, methodological psychology offers statistical probabilities regarding demographics, as well as behavior and crime.

Psychiatry and Crime

Sigmund Freud, the father of the psychodynamic approach to the study of the human mind, devoted little time to the analysis of the human condition and crime. His followers, however, offer interesting postulates regarding the criminal mind.

The feelings and behavior of man are overtly symbolic of a wide variety of unconscious conflicts. These conflicts arise from the continual battle waged among the id, the ego, and the super ego. The id, a

part of the personality, represents the biological drive components of the personality. The super ego is the social response component; it tells the personality, "I should want" or "I should not want." The ego is the personality component which has the task of controlling the savage impulses of the id. The id's impulses center on sex and aggression. The ego has a mission to control and minimize the conflict between the id and the super ego.

Crime, in the psychiatric model, is simply symptomatic of these unconscious conflicts. These conflicts, all unconscious, and the overt behavior resulting from these conflicts, represent a lack of adequate repression of the id or symbolic behavior of unfulfilled impulses. Criminal behavior is nothing more than behavior which has as its cause unconscious dynamics, of which the criminal will ordinarily have little or no understanding. "The criminal rarely knows completely the reasons for his conduct" (Abrahamson, 1944, p. 21).

The criminal may have either an overdeveloped or underdeveloped super ego. In either instance, this leads to a psychological state of guilt and anxiety. To deal effectively with this feeling of anomie, a constant desire for punishment is present. This punishment will remove the guilt or anxiety and will restore the person to a state of psychological equilibrium.

The source of trauma obviously originates in early childhood. The unregulated id is the direct link to crime. Because of the early conflict, however, the guilt is evident in youth. Freud was aware of this when he stated:

In many criminals, especially youthful ones, it is possible to detect a very powerful sense of guilt which existed before the crime, and is therefore not its result but its motive. It is as if it was a relief to be able to fasten the unconscious sense of guilt onto something real and immediate. (Freud, 1948, p. 52)

A major criticism leveled against psychiatry is its resistance to empirical testing. Obviously, the real existence of the id, the ego, and the super ego has never been empirically verified. This is not to say that serious research has not been attempted. Aichorn (1935), for example, related therefore an underdeveloped super ego.

Another theorist viewed the criminal as an id-dominated person. This criminal responds to the basic aggressive and sexual urges demanded by the id. This generalized feeling and the behavior exhibited by the id-domination prevents this person from evaluating and ap-

preciating the pain and the suffering of the victim (Abrahamson, 1944, p. 137).

In summary, the psychiatric approach to the criminal personality focuses upon the role of sex and aggression and the learned means of adaptation during early childhood. Its main contribution to science is the creation of an awareness of the unconscious and the role of guilt and anxiety as they relate to crime.

Social Theories and Crime

Social theories view the etiology of the criminal as he interacts with society's social structures and processes. Moreover, the focus for examination rests on norm violation, as well as the social definitions of deviancy.

In the structural/functionalist perspective examining deviancy and crime, society is viewed as a well-oiled, integrated, and orderly machine. Ideally, citizens unanimously agree upon the values and goals of a society, and the social structure functions to implement these values and goals. Deviance and crime, therefore, result from a breakdown in this social consensus.

The structural/functionalist approach is traced to the writings of Emile Durkheim (1965). Durkheim suggested that different interest groups will have varied and conflicting values of right and wrong. The main contribution of Durkheim rests in the emphasis on the organization of social life rather than on psychological causes. His theory of crime was presented in a context of a movement toward modernization, the progression of a society from the mechanical to the organic. The high rate of crime in organic societies rests with the general feeling of anomie, a feeling of helplessness or normlessness.

The strain between society and the individual has been researched and theorized by other sociologists. Robert Merton (1968), for example, offered a theory which maintained that both social ends and the means to achieve those ends are learned. Some people in a society will have high aspirations; some will not. In American society, economic rewards are deemed as a socially-approved goal. Many people, however, are societally blocked from reaching those goals, or the cultural goals exceed the structural opportunities. Crime may then result from the possible adaptation to anomie that Merton terms innovation. The criminal will resort to illegitimate means to attain the legitimate goals such as a "nice" home in a middle-class, residential, low-rate-of-crime-and-theft area.

The Chicago School

In the 1930s, an important sociological perspective developed from the University of Chicago. Important theoreticians such as Burgess, Reckless, Dinitz, Glaser, and Sutherland all became well-known names in this social ecological approach.

Edwin Sutherland's *Theory of Differential Association* (1937) is more than a cultural transmission theory. Sutherland stated that all criminal behavior is learned, and learned in primary group relationships, not through exposure to television, movies, radio, or comic books. This is not to say that some techniques for committing the crime may be learned in this fashion. The inculcation of the motives, drives, direction, and rationalization is learned on a conscious level. The hearing of the criminal mind-set rests upon an affiliation with those who favor the violation of the law and those who favor keeping the law.

Perhaps the most recent influential social control theory has been offered by Travis Hirschi (1969). Hirschi stated that there exists a bond between people and conventional society. There are several basic elements in the theoretical construct of norms of a society which are internalized. Attachment refers to a person's sensitivity to the way people think about him or her. Commitment is the extent to which people's social rewards are appended to social conformity. Finally, involvement refers to the amount of time societal members devote to conventional activity. The higher the level of involvement, the lower the probability of crime involvement.

In essence, the social theorists take a position that the criminal has learned to be a criminal. The core of the criminal commitment lies within the personality of the offender and the fiber of the society. The society contains the goals, both legitimate and illegitimate means, objectives, and opportunities, as well as the proscriptions concerning normative behavior. There is little emphasis upon the role of the unconscious and deviancy, as well as the mental defective, as a causal determinant in crime.

Combining the Disciplines

Needless to say, each discipline has a distinct focus and direction for understanding the mind of the criminal. The fields of psychology and psychiatry, for example, often owe their basis to a common origin. It may well be that the psychopath, properly understood, may appear more often in certain categories in society, and this can be explained

better by a sociologist realizing and evaluating the world. If a person is a loner because of mental deficiency, personal choice, or a socially-defined perspective of "weirdness," the blendings of the disciplines of psychology and psychiatry may give the profiler an understanding of the personality of the person himself. Sociology can aid the profiler in developing an understanding of the network of personal, social, occupational, and support relationships that such a personality will develop.

The worth of the disciplines is the meshing of their theoretical networks and reaching an understanding of the personality of the perpetrator based on the disciplines. There is nothing magical or mystical. The success of the profile depends on the "truths" of the disciplines and how they will add to the knowledge base for the law enforcement professional. Academic theories will never take the place of on-the-street police work. It is also stressed that this is not the goal of the psychological profile; it is only another tool to use in the total investigative process.

Each person, criminal or not, has a unique personality. Regardless of past experiences, parental background, or biology, each person relates differently, behaves differently, and possesses a different set of values and attitudes. What accounts for this difference? It is the variety and blending of five personality components: biology, culture, environment, common experiences, and unique experiences.

Biology

There are no adamantane data which suggest an individual's personality is determined solely by the biological inheritance from his or her parents, grandparents, or other ancestors. It does appear that truly intellectually superior people do have children who are, themselves, of superior intelligence. It is also true that tall people tend to have tall children, and short people tend to have short children. The key words here are "tend to." There are always exceptions.

As far as intelligence is concerned, it simply may be that intelligence is only a score on a test. Some children score higher on standardized tests because of social factors rather than simply biological inheritance. These factors include social class, educational experiences, life's rewards, personal relationships, and varied other experiences that shape and mold the personality of the individual.

Culture

The culture in which a person is reared provides norms and values which are part of the normative system of the society. The culture—the normative structure of a society with the prevailing words, ideas, customs, and beliefs of the powerful persons who live in the society—instructs the "proper" way to behave.

But within each culture there are subcultures: men, women, poor, rich, criminal, and noncriminal. These subcultures have certain distinguishable characteristics which set them apart from the overall, prevailing culture. Each subculture insists upon certain patterns of behavior. Each also rewards the members in its own unique fashion.

In other words, a person brought up in one part of a society will be exposed to elements of that society, which will be different from other parts of that society and culture because of the unique exposure to a varied set of subcultures. These exposures will have an influence on personality development.

4 The Rationale for Psychological Profiling

When a particularly bizarre and sadistic crime has been discovered, an immediate question comes to mind: "What kind of a person would commit such an act?" Most crimes of this nature defy understanding and leave us with a sense of bewilderment and astonishment.

The real question is, "What makes someone do something like this?" What composes a personality who enjoys mutilation, necrophilia, rape, or other forms of perversion and pain? To address such a question, profiling reconstructs a personality sketch for evaluation.

Personality and Crime

Some understanding must come to the forefront to meet the challenge of the apprehension and prosecution of those perpetrators who commit crimes such as sadistic torture, rape, child molestation, and so on. What actually should be called for is personality profiling. The profile endeavors to shed some understanding on the type of person who would rape, pillage, mutilate, and kill.

A personality is nothing more than the sum total of what a person is. It is that person's total set of values and attitudes: the way he views motherhood and fatherhood, law and order, Democrats and Republicans, and all the other social, cultural, religious, and personal experiences that have been a part of his life.

Environment

The total surroundings of a person affect the perception and behavior of that individual. A person from the upper class, for example, will be exposed to a far different set of life's experiences than will a person from the lower class. It is not only these day-to-day experiences that become an integral part of the personality, but the social class of an individual places that person into an arena where he or she will come in contact with a far different set of experiences—as well as opportunities—that other persons in other social classes could never experience.

Common Experiences

All of us encounter common daily occurrences: first grade, second grade, and so on. All members of American society have been exposed to baseball, automobiles, marriages, divorces. These activities are part of the American scene. Not all of us, however, have been to the same school, taught by the same teacher. Not all of us have been reared by the same parents, and not all of our parents are happily married. Not all children are brought up by their biological parents. Some may have been reared by their grandparents, by foster parents, or others. But enough of us have been reared in the American society to develop a modal personality type. This personality contains ideal values: trustworthiness, loyalty, honesty, reverence, and other values which we have all learned to hold dear and true.

Unique Experiences

What separates each of us is not the common experiences but the unique ones. This is the element that explains our individual personalities. Consider identical twins. The biological inheritance is the same, but identical twin studies report marked personality differences.

The answer to the question of why the twins are not identical in their personalities must certainly rest with unique experiences. After all, the twins have the same set of parents. However, one is slightly older than the other. The daily happenings, feedings, diaper changings, and verbal exchanges are all performed in slightly different sequences. This accounts, at least in part, for the differences in personalities.

New Ways of Viewing the Personality

The personality of a violent offender must be viewed as more than simply someone who has gone through life much the same way as

others in the same society. This cannot be the case. The personality of the very violent is different in substance from the modal personality type of American society. Those persons who commit the crimes which are suitable for profiling are structurally different as are their personalities. Theories attempt to explain these differences, but no satisfactory explanation has been accepted. Because the very violent do not share in the modal personality, and since impersonal violence is so difficult to understand, it is assumed that such perpetration of violence reflects a pathological personality condition. This pathology is reflected in crime scenes.

This is really not an extraordinary assumption. This same comment could be made about the law-abiding but neurotic person. The social and behavioral sciences have been doing this for years. Take, for example, the obsessive-compulsive personality. He is "anal" in all he does. This will be evident in his home, car, personal effects, and personal hygiene. This personality disorder will take over his daily life's activities. So it is with the very violent. The traits of his personality will be reflected in the perpetration of his crime, as it is with the obsessive-compulsive.

The crime scene of the very violent reflects the violent personality. If one accepts this premise, then viewing crime scenes will take on a totally new and unique perspective. This new perspective, however, will be evident only if the profiler knows what to look for and where to look for it.

Assumptions of the Profiling Process

The Crime Scene Reflects the Personality

The basic assumption of psychological profiling is that the crime scene reflects the personality of the offender. After all, how effective would profiling be if the crime scene itself was not indicative of the pathology assessment? The assessment will aid in the direction and scope of the investigation of the crime.

The Offender Will Not Change His Personality

As many people believe, the core of our personalities does not change fundamentally over time. We may change certain aspects of our personality, but the central core is "set," and we make only minor alterations due to time, circumstance, pressure, and so on. We may want to make fundamental changes in our personalities but find it is most difficult or impossible to do.

So it is with the criminal personality. It has taken him years to be the person he now finds himself. He will not, over a short period, radically change. It is not simply a matter of not wanting to change. He is not able to change. This assumption has fundamental importance to the profiling process. The inability to change will result in the perpetrator committing a similar crime in a similar fashion. Not only will the criminal commit the same crime, but he may force the victim to act out a scenario which he has also forced previous victims to perform.

A serial killer remarked:

I had once read a pornography book in my father's garage. This book was about rape. I believe I memorized the whole book. There was one part of the book which described a rape of a young girl. I made all of the girls I raped repeat the words of the girl in the book. This was the only way I could enjoy the rapes. Eventually, it was not enough to rape. The girl in the book was killed. I had to kill. (author's files)

This killer learned from an experience with violent pornography. But because of his constellation of other experiences—along with his family background, social and biological inheritance, and common experiences composing his personality—he found sexual pleasure and personal satisfaction from the rapes and killings of scores of women. This killer was unable to stop his raping and killing as long as he was physically free to do so. This urging becomes in a fashion similar to an addiction.

There is no denying that once the cycle of violence is set into motion, violence itself becomes a habit, a need which must be sated repeatedly thereafter. And, in this general sense, I'm sure it can be said that (the offender) is addicted to impersonal violence. (author's files)

The urging, compulsion, or addiction became part of the killer's personality. The manifestation of the urging became part of the crime scene, which was part of each of his crimes. Again and again, he acted out the scenario in his father's pornography.

The Method of Operation Remains Similar

It is the behavior of the perpetrator as evidenced in the crime scene, and not the offense per se, that determines the degree of suitability of the case for profiling (Geberth, 1983, p. 401). The crime scene contains clues which experienced profilers determine to be "signatures" of the

criminals. As no two offenders are exactly alike, it is equally true that no two crime scenes are alike. As certainly as a psychometric test reflects psychopathology the crime scene reflects a personality with a pathology.

Many serial offenders themselves are very aware of the nonphysical evidence which is present at crime scene. One murderer remarked:

First of all, any investigative onlooker to my crime scene would have immediately deduced that the offender was extremely sadistic in nature. The visible markers of bondage, and the nature of the victims' wounds—the evidence of unhurried, systematic abuse—would have indicated that sadistic acts were not new to the offender; he had committed such brutality in the past, and would likely continue this pattern of victimization in the future.

From these points, it could have then been correctly assumed that, although brutally violent, the offender was nevertheless intelligent enough to attach method to his madness—as well as cautious and aware enough with regard to his surroundings—to make sure he proceeds unseen in the commission of his deeds.

Further . . . such a brutal offense was unprecedented in this area, it could have been correctly assumed that the offender was very new to the city; if he was a drifter, he was at least someone who very possibly could deem to leave town as suddenly as he arrived (which is exactly what I did). (author's files)

The remarks from this killer show the one dimension of personality, the conscious dimension, that profiling often neglects. This murderer and rapist illustrates by his remarks the elements within his crime scenes which truly reflect his personality. The method of operation, the M.O., was repeated many times in the course of his rapes and murders.

The Boston Strangler

From June until January, 1962, Boston was terrorized by the brutal murders and strangulations of thirteen women. The crime scenes reflected hate, chaos, and other elements which serve as the impetus for profiling. For example, Mary Sullivan, Albert DeSalvo's last victim, was found nude in her bed. A broom handle was found inserted into her vagina. Both breasts were exposed, and the Boston Strangler had ejaculated onto her face and into her mouth.

A profiling committee was established. Composed of a psychiatrist, a gynecologist, an anthropologist, and others, a "psychiatric profile" was developed. There were two suspected offenders in the thirteen killings.

According to the profile one killer, Mr. S., was "... raised by a domineering seductive mother; unable to express hatred toward his mother and directing instead the anger toward other women, especially older women; lived alone, and once he was able to conquer his domineering mother, he could love like normal people." The younger women were killed by a homosexual who was acquainted with the victims.

Albert DeSalvo was apprehended and convicted not as the Boston Strangler but on a property charge. DeSalvo, married and living with his wife, had an insatiable sexual appetite. A satyr, he demanded sex from his wife five or six times a day.

DeSalvo was sentenced to prison for life for crimes of the "Green Man." After spending only a few days incarcerated, DeSalvo escaped but was quickly recovered. For the next few years, he served his sentence without incidence and was killed in prison by another inmate, stabbed to death. (Frank, 1966, p. 379)

The Worth of the Psychological Profile

Not all profiles are as inaccurate as in the Boston Strangler case. Perhaps the most accurate of all concerned the "Mad Bomber," George Metesky. Dr. James Brussel, a psychiatrist, developed the profile for the Bomber case. He accurately predicted that when the Bomber was eventually caught, he would be wearing a double breasted suit. Amazingly, this was true.

Despite the accuracy of this particular profile, there is a thought that profiling has still not proven its worth.

Nine out of ten of the profiles are vapid. They play at blind man's bluff, groping in all directions in the hope of touching a sleeve. Occasionally they do, but not firmly enough to seize it, for the behaviorists producing them must necessarily deal in generalities and types. But policemen can't arrest a type. They require hard data: names, dates, none of which the psychiatrists can offer. (Godwin, 1978, p. 276)

Even the Federal Bureau of Investigation's research on the reliability and validity of profiling shows less than an unanimous endorsement of the profiling process. In its study of 192 cases where profiling was performed, 88 cases were solved. Of that 88, in only 17% did a profile help in the identification of a suspect (FBI, 1981). The Bureau does claim, however, that its profile in the Wayne Williams case helped "break his composure on the witness stand" (Porter, 1983). This claim is hotly contested by Chet Dettlinger, a member of the Wayne Williams

defense team. His contention, supported by Dr. Robert E. Blackwelder, another member of the defense team, was that the defense attorney wanted the jurors to see the "real Wayne Williams" on the stand, a gamble which backfired (Dettlinger and Prugh, 1984; Blackwelder, March 10, 1987).

Conclusion

The personality of the violent offender is a result of a special combination of factors, which include his biological inheritance, the culture, the environment, as well as common and unique experiences. This has been treated earlier in this chapter. Because of this unique combination, the violent personal offender will commit crimes as an outgrowth of his existing pathological conditions.

The crime scene reflects the pathology in his personality, and the personality is a part of the crime scene. The nonphysical evidence will have important ramifications for the psychological profiling process. Because the personalities of individuals, either noncriminal or criminal, remain relatively inflexible, the criminal personality will continue to commit the same or similar crimes utilizing the same or similar M.O.

Inflexibility of personality and perpetration of crimes aid the profiler in the task of developing a character sketch. Chaos and order, sexual torture or a quick kill, mutilation or not, all indicate a personality which has evolved over the years. It is no easier for the violent personality to suddenly and completely change patterns of behavior than it is for the law-abiding citizen.

race, sex, employment, residence, and so on of a suspect. Despite several admonitions to disregard the physical evidence, the students were reluctant to do so. Only after repeated urging was this accomplished. After "examining" the nonphysical evidence, the physical evidence was reintroduced to reconstruct the crime itself. It is truly the interrelationship of the physical and nonphysical evidences that holds the key to the profiling process.

Psychological Profiling Typologies

The Federal Bureau of Investigation has developed an interesting typology of lust offenders which many profilers find particularly useful: Disorganized Asocial and Organized Nonsocial. However, in the book *Sexual Homicide* by Ressler, Burgess, and Douglas (1988), the "Asocial" and "Nonsocial" labels have been deleted. This is unfortunate, since both words added a unique dimension to the typology. There is a fundamental difference in the definitions between nonsocial and asocial; their use added the valued information necessary to properly understand the differences between "organized" and "disorganized." For the purposes of this text, both words will be used to identify each type.

These types prove useful when the perpetrated crimes involve sex as a primary motive. Rapes, sexual assaults, mutilation, necrophilia, pedophilia, and other such offenses prove to be somewhat amenable to the profiling process using the organized nonsocial and the disorganized asocial typology.

The Disorganized Asocial Typology

Personal Characteristics. As Table 5.1 reflects, the personality of this offender is reflected in his label. He is truly disorganized in his daily activities. This disorganization is further reflected in his general surroundings, including his home, apartment, employment (if indeed he is employed), car or truck, clothing, demeanor, and so on. In other words, he falls into the general area of a totally disorganized person, not only about himself but also about his general appearance, lifestyle, and psychological state. A word of caution is offered: This is a general description and has not been empirically validated. Nonetheless, in the cases where a "pure" personality has been found, these general characteristics prove to be amazingly accurate.

5 The Analysis of the Crime Scene

Obviously there are crimes which are more appropriate for profiling. These crimes have been listed in Chapter 1: sadistic torture in sexual assault, evisceration, postmortem slashing and cutting, motiveless fire-setting, lust and mutilation murder, and rape. Conversely, check for gery, bank robbery, kidnapping, and other such crimes are usually not appropriate. This same statement could be made of "smoking gun" or "dripping knife" murders. Also, date rape, despite the emotional elements within this crime, is typically not felicitous for the profiling process.

This chapter focuses on those crimes which are directly applicable to the process of profiling.

Beyond the Physical Evidence

Perhaps one of the most difficult tasks for investigators to accept is to look beyond the physical evidence. After all, the homicide detective has been trained to examine blood spatter, to reconstruct the crime scene. Fingerprints, semen, and other physical evidence are mistakenly thought to hold the key to a successful resolution for any criminal case.

Recently at the Southern Police Institute, this author lectured on psychological profiling. In reviewing the basic elements of the profiling process, several resolved and unresolved cases were selected as case studies. The cases where profiling led to the reduction of suspects and to an ultimate arrest contained nonphysical evidence indicating the

TABLE 5.1 Profile Characteristics of Disorganized Asocial Offenders

<i>Personal Characteristics</i>	<i>Post Offense Behavior</i>
Below average intelligence	Returns to crime scene
Socially inadequate	May attend funeral/burial
Unskilled work	Memoria in media
Low birth order status	May turn to religion
Father's work unstable	May keep diary or newsclip
Harsh/inconsistent discipline	May change residence
Anxious mood during crime	May change job
Minimal use of alcohol	May have a personality change
Lives alone	
Lives/works near crime scene	<i>Interview Techniques</i>
Minimal interest in news media	Empathize with him
Significant behavioral change	Indirectly introduce evidence
Nocturnal person	Counselor approach
Poor personal hygiene	Night time interview
Secret hiding places	
Usually does not date	
High school dropout	

SOURCE: *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, 1985b.

The data from the FBI's research suggest that the personality profile of the disorganized asocial personality type consists primarily of a non-athletic white male with an introverted personality.

As children, many of this typology have been victims of physical or emotional abuse. The father was often absent, and if employed, his work was unstable. During their childhoods, they had few real playmates, solitary hobbies, visionary and secret playmates, and few social activities. The disorganized asocial offender is a loner. The reason for this aloneness, however, is fundamentally different from the organized nonsocial. The former is a loner because he is "weird" or strange. The neighbors are aware of his strangeness.

This perpetrator has experienced a great deal of difficulty in his educational pursuits. While in high school, he probably participated little in extracurricular activities, and he probably dropped out of school as soon as legally possible. He is possibly below average in his IQ (the FBI's data estimates between 80-95), but this may be more a product of his social and cultural experiences than his native intelligence.

His status in his community is a product of several components of his personality. Limited intelligence, unskilled work, often involved in menial jobs, rarely dating—all reflect an "alone" person, not out of choice but because of societal segregation.

Because of this combination of components, he lacks the ability to properly plan out his crimes. The crimes are more spontaneous. He will not feel comfortable venturing far from his home or work, so the crimes are often committed in his own neighborhood. He will often walk to his crime site and has been known to ride a bicycle (FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, 1985b). He modally does not follow his crimes on TV or in the media.

The disorganized asocial offender normally lacks the initiative to practice good personal hygiene. This same characteristic carries over to his domicile, as well as to the car or truck that he may own. This trait, then, theoretically transcends into the crime scene. As with all lust offenders, he will repeat his crime.

Post Offense Personality Action. The Behavioral Science Unit (BSU) of the FBI believes that after the crime has occurred, this disorganized offender will exhibit certain behavioral patterns. First, the person will need to return to the scene of the crime. By doing so, he will envision and relive the crime, which has only recently taken place. He may attend the funeral services of his victim, even the burial ceremony. It is not unheard of for the person to place a memorandum in the newspaper for his victim.

He may keep a diary of his activities and victims. With the rise in the instant photography and video tape industry, it may be that soon this type of violent personal offender will have a pictorial representation of his crimes. A part of the diary may be the accounting of the acts, as well as stories of his fantasies.

One fantasy of a serial rapist relates:

My preference is for tight teenage girls—the tighter the better.

(as he talked with another rapist) We've got to do this the *right* way. You really blew it but you were inexperienced. The first thing is to get a house with a windowless, underground basement. Equip it with steel cages (for holding victims), and make sure to soundproof it. Only then will we go out and hunt.

But not just for anyone. Take your time, and find exactly what you want—you don't want to be attracting attention by snatching up a new one every little while. Find one that's perfect. Then we'll keep her locked

up before you kill her and grab another. But if we torture, we'd best grab two so that we will always have one recovering while we're busy on the other. (author's files)

After an offense, the offender may change his address, but it would truly be unusual for this person to move from one part of a community to a far different environment. The reason for this is that he feels comfortable in the familiar. If he moves to an area which is drastically different, he may suffer great feelings of anomie. He may, therefore, move to a similar domicile and even change jobs. Some may try to enlist in the military, but this is usually unsuccessful, since many either cannot pass the physical or psychological tests, or once enlisted, receive a general discharge.

Interviewing Techniques. The disorganized asocial offender may respond to different questioning than the organized nonsocial. This perpetrator may respond more to interrogation using a relationship-motivated strategy. It may be better to empathize with him. For example, with the killer who has seen a demon demanding that he kill, it might be a better strategy to tell this psychotic offender that although the demon has not been seen personally, if the killer says that it exists, it does indeed exist.

Because the offender is not used to long personal contacts with others, it may be beneficial to keep up a constant stream of conversation and perhaps introduce something into the conversation which has been found at the crime scene itself. The establishment of a positive personal relationship may also prove beneficial in securing some statement concerning the involvement of the suspect in this case. Therefore, a personal relationship may be indicated here.

One characteristic of the disorganized asocial is that he is a night person. Considering this, the interviewer might well consider the opportunity to interview this person when he is at "his best." In other words, the interview might best be conducted at night time.

The Organized Nonsocial Typology

Personal Characteristics. The organized nonsocial personality type is the disorganized asocial's opposite. He has an organized personality, and this is reflected in his lifestyle. His home or apartment, automobile, personal appearance — all reflect a personality which insists upon organization.

TABLE 5.2 Profile Characteristics of the Organized Nonsocial Offender

<i>Personal Characteristics</i>	<i>Post-Offense Behavior</i>
High intelligence	Returns to crime scene
Socially adequate	Volunteers information
Sexually competent	Police groupie
Lives with partner	Anticipates questioning
High birth order	May move body
Harsh discipline	May dispose body to advertise crime
Controlled mood	
Masculine image	
Charming	<i>Interview Techniques</i>
Situational cause	Direct strategy
Geographically mobile	Be certain of details
Occupationally mobile	He will only admit what he has to
Follows media	
Model prisoner	

SOURCE: *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, 1985b.

This offender will be an anal personality type. In other words, in his life there is a place for everything and everything must be in its place. Take for example the Ted Bundy case. Ted, who could be classified as an organized nonsocial type, was connected with at least four murder cases because he charged his gasoline and signed receipts for his purchases. For Bundy, it would have been very difficult to deviate from his accustomed fashion of doing things. He was placed in Golden, Colorado, the same day Suzy Cooley was abducted and killed; in Dillon, Colorado, when Julie Cunningham was murdered; and in Grand Junction, Colorado, when Denise Oliverson was reported missing. Michael Fisher was able to secure a murder indictment against Ted Bundy in the Caryn Campbell case when Fisher was able to put Bundy in the immediate vicinity of the Snowmass Ski Lodge because of his gasoline purchases.

As seen in Table 5.2, the organized nonsocial is basically organized in everything he does. He is nonsocial because he chooses to be so. This offender is different from the disorganized asocial; the latter is a loner because of his strange appearance. The organized nonsocial is a loner because there is no one good enough for him.

In addition, there are precipitating factors involved in the crimes of the organized nonsocial personality (FBI, 1985b, 19). These precipitating factors may be either real or imagined:

One night I finally got a date with a young woman I had been trying to date for six months. We went out for a drink before dinner. We were sitting at the bar when a guy walked by. She watched him as he walked down the bar. I felt that she should not look at him while she was with me. So, what could I do? I killed her. (author's files)

The young woman killed in this serial killer's narration challenged his self-importance. The killer "had no choice." He had to kill to regain his position of self-importance. The damage to the ego of this organized offender was only imagined, but this was enough.

Other attributes of the organized offender include average intelligence, he may have done well in school, and many are at least high school graduates. (Ted Bundy was a college graduate and a law school student.) They are socially competent. They have sex partners. Some are married, and most are intimate with someone. Many come from middle-class families and are high in the birth order. The father held a stable job, but his discipline was inconsistent. There is a history of some drug use, especially alcohol and marijuana. Bundy, again as an example, was a heavy user of alcohol and marijuana during his crimes.

The organized offender feels more comfortable venturing away from his home. He is able to work and carry on personal, although superficial, relationships. He also will be psychologically able to widen his network of relationships, travel farther and farther away from his home and work to cruise for victims, and more importantly, to hinder his apprehension.

Because of his personality, he has no trouble making friends. He is also able to change employment as often as he chooses because he makes such a good impression and appears to have qualifications which he indeed may not possess. Many have good positions. John Gacy owned a construction company. Chris Wilder was a race car driver. Ken Bianchi was a "psychologist" and security officer.

The organized nonsocial offender has a masculine personality. He often dresses in a flashy manner and drives a car which reflects this personality.

Unlike the disorganized asocial personality offender, he feels more comfortable in widening the range of cruising for victims, as well as to

avoid detection. Using Bundy again as a prime example, he was suspected of abducting Roberta Kathy Parks from the campus of Oregon State University. He drove her (apparently still alive) almost 300 miles back to Seattle. This was not an isolated incident. He also drove from Seattle to Ellensburg, Washington, for the alleged abduction and murder of Susan Rancourt. The disorganized offender, in contrast, would range only within his immediate neighborhood because this is only where he feels comfortable.

With a positive self-image bordering upon egomania, the organized nonsocial offender possesses a character disorder. Commonly, he is termed a full-blown sociopath. He knows best, not only for himself but for everyone else as well. Because he is always right, he is reluctant to accept constructive criticism, which he always perceives as "destructive."

Post Offense Personality Action. For the organized nonsocial, the crime—at least partially—becomes a game waged against others. He will often return to the scene of the crime for the purpose of reliving the crime. Some, as Edmund Kemper, will be tempted to return to the scene but will not because he has "seen one too many stories of one too many people" who have been caught by the police. How did Kemper know this? From television. The TV provided him with many details of police work.

Often the organized offender will associate with police or law enforcement agencies. The reason for this is obvious: They know that police talk about the cases which are special to them. As Kemper said, "I became a friendly nuisance" (HBO, 1984).

In interviewing one serial killer, I mentioned to him that he was suspected of killing scores of young women. I said that only a few of the bodies had ever been found. His reaction to that statement was, "You only find the bodies they (the serial killers) want you to find." Why are some found and others not? "To let you know he's still there" (author's files).

Because of his charm and charismatic personality, this person may be the last to be suspected of a crime. However, since he often possesses intelligence and social graces, he may be in a position of anticipating questions from interviewers and preparing his responses to suit his own situation.

Interviewing Techniques. The BSU recommends that this offender be confronted directly during the interviewing session. This type respects competency, even competency which may lead to his arrest and conviction. But if confronted in interrogation, the interviewer must be

aware and confident of the elements in his or her interrogation. If the interviewer presents "the facts," the statements must truly and accurately reflect the facts. Any false claims or misrepresentations will be realized by the offender, and this could close the door on a successful resolution of the case.

He will only admit to what he has to admit. It is a false hope to believe that once he is confronted with all the known facts the floodgates of information will open.

Some believe that a one-person interview strategy is best. In the Ted Bundy case, Donald Patchen and Steven Bodiford interrogated Bundy frequently during a short period. The interviews occurred mostly at night. Finally, after several sessions, Bundy admitted, "There's something deep inside me, something I can't control" (Bundy, February 1978). However, after he had the chance to sleep and psychologically regroup himself, Bundy refused any admission of his killings.

An additional comment: This offender will know immediately when he is being "conned." The interviewer, alone or with others, must be certain of the statements being made. False "evidence" will result only in an immediate understanding that there is no case, and the offender will not volunteer any information which could result in a confession.

Crime Scene Differences

Because of the differences in the personalities of the organized nonsocial and the disorganized asocial, an hypothesis is that the crime scenes will reflect those differences in personality (see Table 5.3). Those people who are organized in their life will also be organized in the perpetration of their crimes. Accordingly, those who are disorganized in their everyday life will also be disorganized in the perpetration of their crimes. This disorganization is evident in the crime scene.

The organized nonsocial will take great care in the perpetration of his violence. This offender will make certain that the evidence will be destroyed. Often he will, as in the case of a homicide, kill at one site and dispose of the body at another site.

The disorganized offender, on the other hand, will attack or kill his victim in a sudden, violent act. There is little planning, and the blitz attack will reflect a violent crime scene holding a great deal of physical evidence.

TABLE 5.3 Crime Scene Differences Between Organized Nonsocial and the Disorganized Asocial Lust Killers

Organized Nonsocial	Disorganized Asocial
Planned offense	Spontaneous event
Targeted stranger	Victim known
Personalizes victim	Depersonalizes victim
Controlled conversation	Minimal conversation
Controlled crime scene	Chaotic crime scene
Submissive victim	Sudden violence
Restraints used	No restraints
Aggressive acts	Sex after death
Body moved	Body not moved
Weapon taken	Weapon left
Little evidence	Physical evidence

SOURCE: FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, 1985b.

Recently a 75 year-old widow was found dead in her bedroom. She had lived in this same housing project since 1937 and had been living alone since the mid-1960s.

On July 4, her son came to take his mother to spend the holiday with his family. He found his mother's body in her bed. She had been stabbed repeatedly and decapitated. The weapon was a butcher knife which belonged to the victim. Blood spatter was found on the walls by her bed as well as on the ceiling. The attack itself was carried out in a frenzy. She had been sexually assaulted and semen was found in her vaginal vault, on the bed spread, as well as on the bed clothing.

There was a great deal of physical evidence at the scene. No other murders similar to this were known, and a profile was requested.

The profile suggested that the offender was a black male, early twenties, single, living within the immediate neighborhood, and living with his mother or alone. He probably had a history of mental illness and probably had been hospitalized or institutionalized for his mental condition. In addition, the profile, while abbreviated here, suggested that once the offender was apprehended, the interrogators might try to establish a personal relationship.

Within six weeks, there were three other elderly women attacked. All three lived within a mile radius of the original attack. The first attack involved the stabbing of a 70-year-old woman. She was stabbed 21 times

in the neck with such force and rage that a half inch of the scissors was lodged in the neck of the victim. The next attack involved yet another elderly woman living alone. She too was stabbed in the neck 11 times. Also, she was attacked in her home. Finally, the last victim was attacked, but she was successful in warding off his attack and called the police.

In the course of the interrogation, the suspect admitted that he had been in the homes of the victims. In the case of the decapitated victim, he denied stabbing her but did say that he had "killed a demon" which had been chasing him.

Elaborating upon his story, this killer stated that he had been chased by a demon. The only time he was safe from the demon was when he was on a city bus or in jail. On the evening of the first attack he got off a bus, and the demon was there waiting for him. He ran and went into the first door he came to. The demon ran by him and then into her bedroom. The killer grabbed a butcher knife from the kitchen. Running into the bedroom, he repeatedly stabbed the demon.

The profile of this case was accurate. The amount of evidence, the chaos evident in the crime scene, the weapon belonging to the victim as well as leaving the weapon at the crime scene, the violence perpetrated to the victim, no restraints used, body left at the death scene—all suggested a profile which did indeed narrow the scope of the investigation. (author's files)

The relationship between the victim and the perpetrator is different as far as the two personality types are concerned. Both select "strangers" as victims, but the character of the "stranger" is different. The disorganized asocial offender may certainly be aware of the existence of his victim, but a personal relationship is nonexistent. In the case cited above, the killer lived in the neighborhood and knew the address and location of the apartment in which the murder occurred. With the organized nonsocial, however, the victim is a targeted stranger. One offender related:

If I had made a composite of my "typical" victim, it would read like this: The individual would be white, female, between the ages of thirteen and nineteen, given the adolescent dress and manner. I would say that perhaps seventy-five percent of my victims fell under this general description. Obviously there is a pattern of selectivity here, else this large percentage figure would not so closely fit the description I've laid forth. Just as obviously, it wasn't a matter of my victim's "just being there."

But just how conscious was this selectivity and why did roughly three-quarters of my victims fit this mold? In answer to the first question, I would have to say that it was not entirely conscious in that I didn't hold a general picture of an eighteen year-old adolescent, white female in my mind. Certainly more and more often than not, I was roaming the streets in search of females in general, but with no specific age group in mind. Yet in seventy-five percent of the time the person who "clicked" and "registered" in my mind was the girl I described above. More accurately, I was reacting to the "click" in my gut, more so than to predetermined, sought-after characteristics. Yet the predisposition toward victims of that general description, subconscious or not, was there. (author's files)

This violent personal offender seemed to have some understanding of the reason for his selection of young, white females. He went on to discuss how he was turned down in high school by the very popular female students. Of another nationality, he was adverse to dating young women of his own ethnic group, and he provided some insight into this reluctance, citing some shame of his own background on his part. The slightest resistance to his social overture met with rage.

There is minimal conversation which occurs between the disorganized offender and his victim. It is a blitz attack, and the establishment of any relationship is not a requirement. In contrast, the conversation between the organized offender and his victim is a language of intimidation once the victim gets into the offender's "comfort zone." Once the vehicle for the initial contact, the easy conversation now becomes the vehicle for control. The organized nonsocial appears able to assay the vulnerability of his stalked victim. One serial killer remarked, "I can tell by the way they walk, the way they tilt their heads. I can tell by the look in their eyes" (author's files).

Prior to death, there are often vicious attacks to the victims of the organized nonsocial. Sometimes the investigator may be aware that restraints have been used to render the victim helpless. This is not necessary for the disorganized offender. His purpose is not to intimidate or to instill fear. As a matter of fact, there may be a need for the organized offender to actually see the fear or the personal reactions of his victims.

When I sighted the women (his two victims) they meant absolutely *nothing* to me as human beings. Indicative of the worthlessness they held in my eyes was my extreme rage toward the first woman, who I felt was

defying me through her "unwillingness" to "suffer well." Undoubtedly she was instead paralyzed by cold and fear, but, in my own distorted mind, her silence and lack of struggling was a defiant sign against being reduced to the brokenness and worthlessness, and therefore, the contempt I felt for her defiance was such that I killed her right away, forgetting her almost instantly as I went to the second woman. (author's files)

In an organized nonsocial crime scene, normally the weapon not only belongs to the offender but is taken from the crime scene. This is not true of the disorganized asocial. This violent personal offender does not think through what he is about to do. He does not plan the attack. It is spontaneous. To take the weapon to the crime scene illustrates at least some form of rudimentary planning, and this offender does not think ahead.

The movement of the body from the crime scene may also be an indication that the unknown suspect is an organized nonsocial type. The disorganized type has no desire or need to move the body. Once the killing has been accomplished, the mission is over.

Conclusion

In this chapter, personal characteristics, post offense behavior, interviewing techniques, and the crime scene analysis of the organized nonsocial and the disorganized asocial types have been discussed. Recognizing the differences as developed by the Behavioral Science Unit of the FBI, this typology has important implications for law enforcement profiling of lust killing.

In profiling a crime scene utilizing this typology, examining the chaos or lack of the same in a crime scene, the presence of a weapon, mutilation, and other such items will certainly aid the investigator in his task.

However, not all crimes are lust killings. The next chapter will deal with the profiling of suspected serial murder cases.

6 Profiling Serial Murders

The motives, gains, and etiology of serial murder differ from traditional forms of homicide. Fundamentally different from conventional homicide, serial murder claims more than 5,000 victims a year by an estimated 35 serial murderers currently at large in the United States (Holmes and DeBurger, 1988; Rule, May 21, 1985).

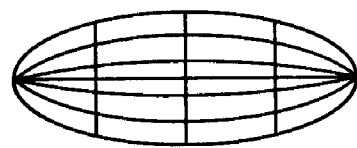
Typology of Serial Murder

Despite possessing similar motivation people behave differently. This difference derives from a variety of factors. As stated earlier, social and behavioral scientists have formulated models for describing behavior. This present typology (Holmes and DeBurger, 1985, 1988) has been developed as a result of interviews and case studies of serial murderers, many of whom are currently incarcerated in America's prisons today.

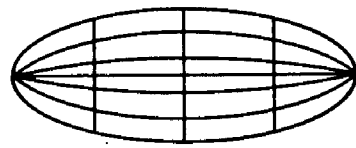
Spatial Mobility of Serial Killers

The initial distinction among serial murderers is the degree of spatial mobility (see Figure 6.1). Some serial murderers live in one area and kill in that same area or a nearby area. These offenders are termed Geographically Stable serial killers. There are many examples of this type of killer: John Wayne Gacy (Chicago), Wayne Williams (Atlanta), Ed Gein (Plainfield, Wisconsin), and many more.

The Geographically Transient serial murderer travels a great deal in his killings. This serial offender will cruise, not necessarily to look for



GEOGRAPHICALLY STABLE
LIVES IN SAME AREA FOR SOME TIME
KILLS IN SAME OR NEARBY AREA
DISPOSES BODY IN NEARBY AREA



GEOGRAPHICALLY TRANSIENT
TRAVELS CONTINUALLY
TRAVELS TO CONFUSE LAW ENFORCEMENT
DISPOSES BODIES IN FAR-FLUNG AREAS

Figure 6.1. Spatial Mobility and Serial Murder

victims but more important, to avoid detection. As several serial killers have stated in personal interviews, if you are looking for victims, you can find them down the block. This type of offender places thousands of miles a year on his car in pursuit of murder. He travels to avoid detection and to confuse law enforcement.

The Visionary Serial Killer

Most serial murderers are not psychotic. They are definitely in touch with reality and respond to that reality. However, those non-psychotic killers are psychopathic, that is, they possess a character disorder. By contrast, the "visionary" serial killer is propelled to kill because he has heard voices or has seen visions. These breaks from reality demand that he kill a certain group of people. He is "outer-directed" by these voices, from an apparition of the devil or a demon. Harvey Carignan was convinced that God spoke to him, demanding he kill young women. He

judged women to be "evil," and he was God's instrument in this pursuit of killing (author's files).

The visions and the voices from the "other world" may come from God or the devil. These sources offer a justification for the offender's behavior, which results in the murder of a personally unknown victim. The perpetration of violence is legitimized by those psychotic experiences. At any rate, this offender is truly out of touch with reality. In psychiatric terms, he is psychotic. A competent defense attorney could certainly encounter little difficulty in his client being declared "insane" or "incompetent" in court.

The Mission Serial Killer

This killer feels a need on a conscious level to eradicate a certain group of people. There is no psychoticism with this type of offender. He does not hear voices nor see visions. He is very much in touch with reality, lives in the real world, and interacts with that world on a daily basis. He has, however, a self-imposed duty to rid the world of a class of people: prostitutes, Catholics, Jews, young black males, or any other identifiable array. He may be either an organized nonsocial personality or a disorganized asocial type, but the former is more typical. Usually when he is arrested for his crimes, neighbors are amazed at what he has done because "He was such a fine young man."

Recently, there was a case of four young women who were similarly murdered. One was a known prostitute, and the others had alleged reputations for casual sexual encounters. Their dress style appeared to convey their sexual availability and their willingness to participate in impersonal sex for money. The murderer of these women had a personal mission to rid his community of prostitutes. During the interrogation of the killer, not only was he aware of his killings, but he verbalized a sense of pride because of rendering the community such a great service through his murders.

The Hedonistic Serial Killer

The Hedonistic serial murder has made a vital connection between personal violence and sexual gratification. Usually this type of offender is either a lust or thrill killer. With either, this connection with violence has been firmly established. Sexual gratification becomes realized through the homicide, but there is a fundamental difference in the locus of gratification.

As difficult as it may be to believe, these killers murder because they have a thirst for pleasure. They kill not because they hear voices, or see

visions, or because it is a conscious decision to rid the community of a defined pejorative group. They kill because they enjoy killing, and the killing has been eroticized.

The killing in hedonistic serial murder will be of the processed-focused orientation. A "quick kill" (act-focused) is more characteristic of a visionary killer or a mission murderer. The processed-focused killing is one which is typified by anthropophagy, dismemberment, necrophilia, torture, mutilation, domination, or any other fear-instilling activity.

Jerry Brudos surgically removed one foot from his first victim and then continued his dismemberment of two other victims' breasts. He made epoxy molds from the breasts and from his third victim, and mounted the molds on his fireplace mantle (Stack, 1983a).

Ken Bianchi and Angelo Buono took young women to Buono's home for the purpose of torture and murder. Often times they covered the head of a victim with a plastic bag and revived her only to continue their savage ritual (O'Brien, 1985). The point here is that the hedonistic serial killer receives sexual pleasure from this interaction with a helpless victim.

There is another type of serial killer which is hedonistically oriented, but sex is not a prime motive. A killer of this ilk is the *comfort-oriented* serial murderer. The professional assassin kills for motives which are extrinsic to his own personality. He kills because there is material gain to be realized from his behavior. H.W. Mudgett killed a variety of people — wives, fiancées, employees — to collect monies and properties. He murdered not for sex but for material gain. Usually when a woman kills serially, she is a comfort-oriented serial killer. Carol Bundy (no relationship to Ted Bundy), the accomplice of Douglas Clark, is an exception to this case.

Apprehension of the hedonistic serial murderer is especially difficult if he is geographically transient. His method of killing, while sadistic and gratifying, makes investigation troublesome for the law enforcement professional. Often intelligent and spatially mobile, his killing bacchanalia will continue, and his apprehension may be delayed for years.

The Power/Control Serial Killer

This killer receives his sexual gratification from the complete domination of his victim. After all, as one serial murderer related during an interview, "What more power can one have than over life and death?" (author's files). While one description of the killing of a young woman

reported a serial killer's sexual pleasure connected with the act, the integral origin of pleasure is not sexual; it is the killer's ability to control and exert power over his helpless victim (Michaud and Aynesworth, 1983). He derives his gratification from the belief that he has the power to make another human being do exactly what he wants. By exercising complete power and domination over his victims, he experiences a "sexual" pleasure akin to the pleasure of the hedonistic serial murderer of the lust or thrill subtype.

This murderer has a psychological orientation in reality. Like the hedonistic killer, he does not suffer from a mental disease. If anything, a case can be made for his diagnosis of sociopathy or possessing a character disorder. He is aware of social rules and cultural guidelines, but he chooses to ignore them. A true sociopath, he lives by his own personal rules and guidelines.

His killing is process-focused; he will prolong the killing scene because of the psychological gain resulting from this process. Like the overwhelming number of serial killers, this type will kill with hands-on weapons. He especially has a tendency to strangle his victims rather than employ rifles or other "impersonal" weapons.

Serial Murderers: General Characteristics

There must be some careful delineation between the characteristics and the causes of serial murder. Just as important as it is to distinguish among the various types of serial killers, it is equally important to inventory the characteristics of such murderers. "Characteristics" describe only what appear to be common variables, whereas "causes" explain why certain behaviors occur (Holmes and DeBurger, 1985).

It is impossible to speak in absolute terms when dealing with an aberrant personality. The majority of serial killers, however, appear to share certain characteristics: white, age-range from 25 to 34, intelligent (or at least street smart), charming and charismatic, police groupies or interested in police work. Ken Bianchi was a white male, private security officer and applicant for a police department, intelligent, charming, and young. He had all of the serial killer characteristics listed. Otis Toole, however, is on the other end of the continuum. He could, by no stretch of the imagination, be called charming or intelligent and is older than the "average" serial killer. As one serial killer on death row told me, "He (a serial murderer also on the same death row) has an IQ of Kool Whip" (author's files).

As the killings progress, there appears to be a general tendency toward personality degeneration. There is less and less planning, and although the time between the killing episodes decreases, the episodes increase in violence. Again, witness the case of Jerry Brudos. Brudos's second murder occurred 11 months after his first. The third killing occurred four months after the second, and the last killing occurred less than a month later. Brudos amputated the left foot of his first victim, the left breast of his second victim, both breasts of the third victim, and sent electrical shocks throughout his last known victim's body.

A Serial Murderer's Perspective

From the minds and emotions of serial killers come the "truth" of serial murder. Unfortunately, most killers are either unwilling to talk freely about their crimes, or else they have appeals in courts and do not feel free to talk about their cases and their emotions. This has proven to be the case for most of the serial murderers who have been interviewed. However, one convicted serial killer felt the need to talk freely about what he had done and gave the following interview to this author.

In a small interviewing room normally reserved for attorneys, I talked with this man. In our first interview, he said that he had killed scores of people but would not elaborate due to the lack of legal confidentiality involved in our relationship. He did say, however, that he felt he was an authority on serial murder, if for no other reason than he was one himself. The taped interview lasted eight hours; what follows are excerpts from that interview.

My comments pertain to various inner workings of serial murderers, offered from the perspective of someone who has been just such a killer: myself. There are various types of serial killers, so it is obvious that my input here will not be directly applicable to each and every murderer who bears that appellation. But there are many of this fold who, while appearing intelligent and rational and essentially normal to the unsuspecting eye, are nonetheless driven by a secret, inner compulsion to seize upon other human beings, usually complete strangers, for the purpose of subjecting them to deliberate terror, systematic brutalization, and then death. This is the type of killer I was. This is the type of killer I've endeavored to understand through many years of introspection. And it is upon the inner workings of this form of murderer — the sadistic serial killer — that I hope to present some insights for those who might benefit from my own unique, albeit unenviable, perspective.

Victim Selectivity

Among the issues I have heard discussed regarding serial killers is that of their victim-selection process. The traditional school of thought has it that serial murderers, on the whole, select their victims on the basis of certain physical and/or personal characteristics which they, the victims, possess. This assertion presupposes that, within the mind of each individual serial killer, there evolves a synthesis of preferred characteristics and, ultimately, a clear, specific picture of his ideal victim — male or female, black or white, young or old, short or tall, large-busted or small, shy or forward, and so on. Then, as the reasoning goes, when a typical serial killer begins an active search for human prey, he will go to great lengths to capture and victimize only those individuals who closely fit the mold of his preferred "ideal."

I am personally convinced that every serial killer does indeed nurture a rather clear mental picture of his own ideal victim. However restrained the outer demeanor of many a serial murderer may appear, each is without question a hyperactive and exacting thinker, his thought-life obsessively preoccupied with the smallest details of how and what he will do to his future victims. For throughout each one, he pays particular attention to the varied modes of restraint, abuse, and destruction that will later be his options when a victim is on hand, his mind all the while deciding which of these options provide him the most in the way of self-gratification. And, just as he focuses so attentively upon the methods of violence which gratify the most, so does he pay close attention to those physical details and personal characteristics which he has determined, through his imagination, to be the ones most gratifying to find and abuse as the objects of his later violence. The ideal methods and the ideal victim, then, are fairly well-established in the mind of a serial killer long before he actually seeks out his prey.

Notwithstanding this point, however, I strongly believe that in the case of most serial killers, the physical and personal characteristics of those on their respective list of victims only infrequently coincide with the desired traits of their imagined "ideal." In my own case, a host of assorted factors contributed to what I finally deemed to be my ideal victim, this mental vision consisting of such specific traits: gender, sex, race, size, shape, age, length and color of hair, dress, and certain characteristics concerning my ideal victim's bearing. Yet, despite this collection of "preferred" traits, none of my actual victims ever completely fit the mold of my "ideal," and only a very tiny fraction possessed slightly more than half of the desired characteristics. The remainder of my victims fit no discernible mold or pattern whatsoever, beyond their common trait of gender. And such is the case, I believe, with most serial killers — their ideal victim, and those whom they actually victimize, seldom are one and the same.

There are two basic, interrelated reasons for this disparity. The first centers upon the extreme caution exercised by a serial killer in his predatory search for a victim; the second, upon the nature of the compulsion that drives him to violence.

Addressing the first reason, it can be said that a serial killer is among the most alert and cautious of all human beings, this arising from his foremost concern to carry out his activities at the very lowest minimum of risk to himself. However, as much as he has inwardly justified his intentions, he nevertheless *does* have an unacknowledged sense or awareness of the heinous nature of the acts he will commit. He is aware of the stakes involved—that there is absolutely no room for error—and therefore will mark out no one for capture unless he perceives the odds to be overwhelming in his favor. His motto might well be, "Whom I cannot seize safely and with ease, I will not seize at all."

This unremitting sense of caution has direct ramifications on victim selection in that, during the course of his search for human prey, a serial killer is seldom apt to find his preferred ideal victim in a position of safe and easy capture. However obsessed he may be with capturing his "ideal," he is frequently thwarted by the simply fact that, in actual practice, the opportunity for this hardly every presents itself under the requisite circumstances demanded by his extreme caution. In truth, it is a difficult and time-consuming task to locate any potential victim who can be readily seized without risk of detection. And it is a task made all the more difficult and time-consuming when the parameters of selectivity are narrowed by any focus upon an "ideal." A serial killer could, of course, bide his time. He could reject all other easy prey until, at last, his ideal victim appeared in circumstances perfectly suited to his caution. In actual practice, however, he rarely will choose to wait very long.

Why is this so? Because as the second reason given earlier, the nature of a serial murderer's compulsion for violence is such that it precludes any prolonged or self-imposed delay in acting out his brutal urges. Initially, he may set out fully determined to succeed at capturing his ideal victim regardless of how long he might have to remain on the prowl. But, as time passes without his promptly accomplishing this specific end—a common occurrence within his many hunts—his ballooning compulsion for violence itself will swiftly overtake any initially-held obsession for a particular mold of victim.

This speedy shift of a serial killer's priorities might be likened to the conduct of a lion who finds himself hungry for a meal. Stirred to the hunt by his initial pangs of hunger, the lion sets out in search of gazelle—that is, gazelle in particular—because he happens to favor the taste of gazelle meat over all other savannah fare. Early in his hunt, a hyena and then a zebra cross well within his killing range, but the lion lets them both pass

unmolested and continues on with his search for the preferred gazelle. As time passes, however, he finds that the gazelles just won't cooperate; they smartly keep their distance each time the lion nears, remaining safely outside his killing range. His hunger and frustration mounting with every passing moment, the lion quickly decides that *any* meal will do, be it a skimpy long-eared hare or a sickly emaciated monkey. In the end, it's the meal, not the *type* of meal that really counts.

So it is with a serial murderer. A serial killer just will not defer acting out his violent urges simply because his ideal victim adamantly refuses to materialize at his beck and call. Instead, his intense and mounding hunger for real life violence against a real life captive inevitably compels him to settle for any soonest-available victim of opportunity. And it is this, the increasingly mounting stresses of a serial killer's compulsivity, and not such concerns as preferred physical or personal characteristics, which ultimately determines the matter of victim selectivity.

Perception of Potential Victims

As a serial killer steps away from his home to begin a hunt for human prey, it is almost always true that he knows absolutely nothing about the person who is fated to become his next victim. And, in truth, he really doesn't care. He doesn't care whether the stranger he'll soon encounter is a person of hopes and fears, likes and dislikes, past disappointments and goals for the future. He doesn't care whether the person loves or is loved. Indeed, he doesn't even care whether the person has a name. All such personal characteristics fall within the sphere of real-life human beings. And, as far as he is concerned, his next victim is not at all a human being in the accepted sense of the term. So, well before he ever crosses paths with his next victim, he has already stripped that person of all human meaning and worth; he has unilaterally decreed, in absentia, that the person is deserving of no human consideration whatsoever.

This, then, is a serial killer's personal perception of all his future victims; each one is nothing more than a mere object, depersonalized in advance, with each existing only for himself and only to be seized and used as he sees fit. Moreover, he perceives his unseen prey not just as objects to be used, but as objects worthy of extreme contempt, vicious abuse, and certain destruction. In the mind of a serial killer, nothing is more worthless, and no one is more contemptuous, than the nameless, faceless stranger for whom he sets out to hunt.

Why does a serial killer hold such an extreme and irrational disregard for others? How can he so utterly despise and count worthless another human being whom he has even yet to meet? The answer to these questions is that, after years of nurturing and reinforcing his compulsion for violence within his imagination, each serial killer comes to a place where he finds

victims. At the start of this new trend, he is probably convinced that, despite the fact that he might actually enjoy inflicting real violence upon, say, the librarian from his school, or on the girl who lives next door, he still would never consider doing such a thing to them, or to any other living human beings, outside the space of his own imagination. As much as he might believe this lie, however, this imaginary brutalization of actual human beings has fateful ramifications on the course of future events. For in order to inflict injury upon the librarian or the girl next door, even if meant to be done strictly within his mind, he first and necessarily learns techniques that will later be used to sanction actual and willful victimization. This is exactly what he does, and he continues reinforcing the development of these techniques as he plays out, in his mind-pictures, his new game of replacing imaginary victims with real people. But even this new practice soon loses its novelty and gratifying effects. And, in part because he is now equipped with some experience at depersonalizing others, his deterring inhibitions gradually begin to dissolve in the face of his need for a more effective stimulus. For the first time, he begins seriously considering the thought of real violence against live human beings.

Finally then the decisive moment of choice arrives, and the inevitable occurs. He has practiced violence in his mind for so long and has derived such intense feelings of personal fulfillment from this imagery that his appetite for this, when it arises, is virtually insatiable. Imagery, however, no longer cuts the mustard. The future serial killer knows now that his brutal fantasies must be acted out, that only this real violence will give him the measure of relief that his compulsion cries out for. And, just as he never denied himself relief in the past, so will he not deny himself relief in the present. Indeed, by this time, he finds it psychologically impossible to deny himself the relief which now can come only through literal violence.

And so he crosses over the line and begins to look upon other human beings as potential victims, and as the mere props they must later become on the stage of his acted-out violence. And as he continues thinking about them, he grows to despise them, even if for no other reason than they are walking free somewhere, as yet uncaptured, thereby denying him the relief he craves and is convinced he deserves. They are "denying" him and he "deserves" them. By these and other such twisted rationalizations, he provides for himself all the reasons he needs to justify hunting people down as if they were vermin.

All such self-serving justifications, of course, are nothing but willful self-delusion and deliberate lies. To a serial killer, however, such lies are entirely necessary. For deep inside of himself, each serial murderer does have an unacknowledged awareness of the fact that his future victims are

it absolutely necessary to act out his brutal mind-images. And this, in turn, thrusts him into the position of needing to perceive living human beings—the only pool from which he can obtain real-life victims—as worthless objects deserving the violence he desires to mete out. So, he mentally transforms them into hateful creatures, because, in the twisted morality of his own making, it is only against such that he can justifiably and joyfully inflict his manifestly hateful deeds of violence.

Naturally, this outlook does not arise spontaneously or overnight. A serial murderer does not just wake up one fine morning with the desire to hate and kill other human beings. Instead, the entire sum of his initial violent activity takes place only in his imagination, and usually minus the presence of any outwardly directed feelings of hatred. At first, he is perhaps only intrigued by the mind-pictures he allows into his imagination. Then, gradually these begin to provide him with a sense of pleasure and self-gratification, this arising from the heady sense of control and power and accomplishment he feels as he places himself in the role of the aggressor within his make-believe arena of violence. He perhaps cannot identify or articulate these sensations for what they are, but, to him, all that matters is that they *feel good*, and so he continues mentally playing out the violence that causes them to surface. For the moment, however, his "victims" remain wholly imaginary, and he is content enough with this arrangement. Thus, at this early stage, he almost certainly gives no serious thought to the possibility of carrying out violence over to actual, living victims.

As he continues dwelling on such images, however, he becomes like the budding heroin addict who finds he requires a more powerful jolt, a more powerful means of self-gratification. And it is at some point during this stage that a future serial murderer begins taking the steps that will help transform his undeveloped appetite for mental violence into a full bloom compulsion for the same. Gradually, he grows more and more dissatisfied with the limited collection of mind-pictures that his imagination has worn out to excess, so he begins to search out newer and more sophisticated imagery to play out in his mind. This imagery—which he obtains from books, magazines, movies, or any other sources depicting new examples and new methods of violence—is introduced and tried out upon his still-imaginary victims, this further reinforcing mental violence as his primary means of self-fulfillment.

The next step in the progression is that violence upon imaginary victims, however refined this violence may be, begins to lose its gratifying effects upon the future serial killer. Thus, he switches gears anew and starts practicing his mental violence on real, living people—people he sees or knows from his school, his neighborhood, or his work place—these taking the place of what previously had always been fictional, imaginary

innocent human beings deserving nothing of his wrath. Yet to admit to this fact directly, he would also have to openly admit that he — and the violence he intends to inflict — is altogether unjust and wrong. And, for a man grown accustomed to the goodness and the pleasure it provides, any such admission of actual wrong is intolerable. Not only intolerable, but impossible.

Perceptions During Violence

Once a serial killer is in possession of a live victim, the acts he carries out on this person are very often done so as if on autopilot, these almost always being a close reenactment of what he previously did only in his imagination. The reason for this is that he already knows from the countless mental scenarios of his past the degree of self-gratification he can obtain through certain specific acts and specific methods of violence. So, from among all these violent fantasies, he picks and chooses the individual cruelties which he feels will assure the most in the way of self-fulfillment. These selections, then, comprise the process from start to finish that he carries out upon the victim he has on hand.

Yet if the serial killer places this kind of special emphasis on the careful and systematic acting out of his favorite mind-pictures, it is only because of the tremendous meaning and pleasure he derives from watching the degrading, dehumanizing effects they have on his victims as he methodically carries them out. To him, nothing is more important than to see his victim reduced to the very lowest depths of misery and despair. For if there is any single reason for why a serial killer does what he does, it is so he may feel enlarged and magnified in his own eyes through the wilful and violent degradation of another human being.

This need for self-magnification is always, I believe, a mandatory prerequisite to any episode of violence. Just prior to his every decision to victimize, a serial killer always first experiences a sudden and precipitous psychological fall, an extreme low, which he can neither tolerate nor deal with in any rational fashion. Throughout his day-to-day existence, all of his meaning is derived from the fact that he thinks himself profoundly special, unique, and perfect over all other human beings on the face of the earth. So, with the sudden onset of this mental low, he finds it virtually impossible to respond to it, especially to the crushing sense of anomie it gives rise to with anything else but unbridled inner rage. And it is this very same boiling rage that, in turn, fires up and triggers his preestablished compulsion for violence. The acting out of his cherished fantasies, he knows, will elevate him from his intolerable and infuriating psychological low; they will make things "all right" and cause him to feel good about himself; they will "prove," without any shadow of doubt, that he is really *somebody*.

This, then, aids in understanding the motivations and perceptions of a serial killer as he performs his actual deeds of violence. For when he finally has a live and helpless victim on hand, the violence he inflicts is not carried out just for the sake of violence alone, but, more so, for the purpose of reestablishing and reaffirming his own great worth via the brutal degradation of his victim. The long experience of his imaginary violence has already reinforced and "proved" the notion that, to become a *real somebody*, he needs only to display his power to debase, his power to break, and his power to destroy whomever he succeeds at capturing. So, in the twisted logic of a serial killer, he "proves" his own personal power and superiority by "proving" his victim's "worthlessness" through the demeaning violence he metes out.

The specific methods of violence he chooses to act out, then, are perceived as "good" and "righteous," perfectly appropriate for the present, as they have already been tried and tested in the imagination for their ability to restore his feelings of supremacy. And, once he actually begins, he is so intensely focused upon the careful performance of this script-like process, and upon the restorative sensations they give rise to, that he leaves virtually no room whatsoever for perceiving his victim as anything other than a mere object, a lowly stage prop, a piece of meat necessary only for the literal acting out of his own self-serving drama.

The consequences of this outlook are that the struggles, the pain, and the outcries of a serial killer's victim inspire nothing in the way of pity; his victim is a worthless object, wholly depersonalized, and is therefore ineligible for such as human an expression as pity. Rather than empathy, a serial killer feels a tremendous surge of excitement and euphoria at the sight of his victim's anguish, for this, to him, is what the whole violent episode is all about. His victim's misery is the elixir that thrills him beyond all measure, for it is his tangible assurance that all is proceeding according to his well-ordered plan; it is his visible "evidence" that he is the magnificent, all-powerful creature he always knew himself to be.

His real gratification comes from the subjugation, terrorization, and brutalization of his victim, and almost not at all from the actual murder of the victim. Thus from a serial killer's viewpoint, his victim might be likened to a disposable paper cup, from which he takes a long and satisfying drink of water. Once the water is gone, his thirst quenched, the cup has served its purpose; it is useless and therefore can be crushed without thought and thrown away, as if it never existed.

Similarly, once a serial killer's violence has run its course, providing the desired self-fulfillment, his battered victim is of no more use to him than a soggy, used-up paper cup. Since he no longer needs to terrorize or abuse, his victim is perceived as an object of inconvenience, a worn-out piece of luggage he no longer needs. (author's files)

Analysis of the Psyche of a Serial Killer

While it would be a grave mistake to say that all serial killers think alike, it would also be foolhardy to assume that there are not some similarities. This statement, if accepted, has important implications for psychological profiling. The initiation of the "process" of violence must depend on some external force or forces. The external stimuli may either be real or imagined, and the reality of the stimuli is important only to the violent offender.

As depicted in Figure 6.2, the usual psychological stage of the serial killer is *Distorted Thinking* (Stage One). In this position, the killer is in a positive psychological equilibrium state. He is not in a position to ponder the repercussions of deviancy because he has either blotted out the consequences or he is at this time more interested in the intrinsic or extrinsic rewards of his behavior.

The serial killer will show many faces to society. Since many (excluding the Visionary) are sociopaths, they use their charm to disarm and to keep themselves in *Distorted Thinking*.

No one, however, not even the most charming, can remain in *Distorted Thinking* forever. Sooner or later, reality is going to challenge his position, and he will tumble into *The Fall*, Stage Two.

To set a serial killer into the motion of moving into this second stage, there can be one thing or an accumulation of social events. As stated earlier, these events may be real or imaginary. A, B, C, D, and E are incidents. If event E sets one into the motion of *The Fall*, then A, B, C, and D set the stage for *The Fall*. Event E might be trivial, but for the violent offender it becomes all important. The stimuli, on the other hand, may be personal or impersonal, but *the reaction is always personal*. He will store these incidents deeply within his psyche because his ego is so large. The violent reaction, which must follow, is disproportionate to the event.

This is not to say that each fall will result in personal violence. The response can sometimes be symbolic, for example, violent pornography accompanied by masturbation. This symbolic response can only be temporary and short-termed, but at some time the violent person finds physical release a necessity. The stalking process begins. There can be no return to *Distorted Thinking* once *The Fall* occurs.

Stage Three is *Negative Inward Response*. The serial killer must deal with those feelings of being inadequate, and he does so initially by mentally confronting those negative reality messages. His mental statement would be, "I'm too important, and I don't have to take this!" He

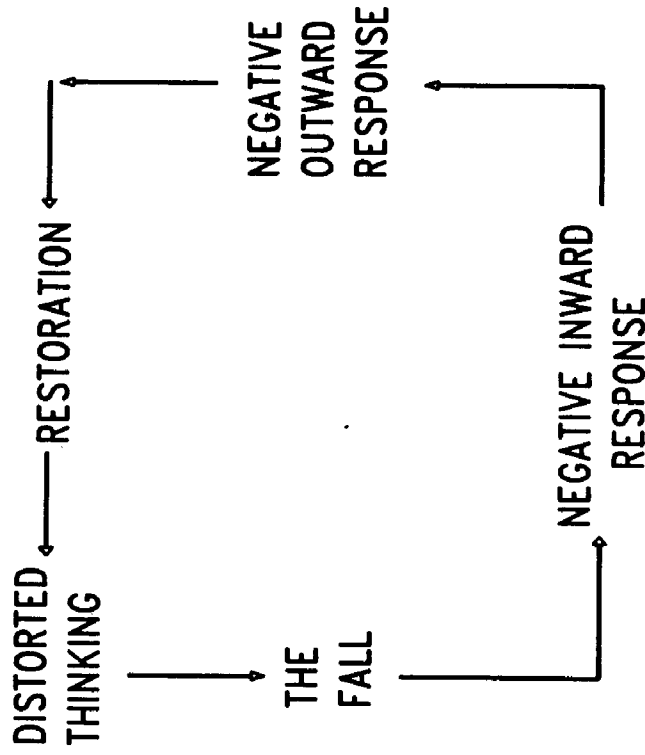


Figure 6.2. Model of Personal Violence

must validate his self-status, and he will do this by the means he knows best, through the perpetration of violence. There is now the mental preparation to move to Stage Four.

Negative Outward Response becomes a compulsive and necessary element in his self-affirmation of person superiority. At this time, there is no thought relating to possible consequences of his actions. Once he commences to validate and affirm his personal superiority, he is not in command and chooses vulnerable victims. Why only vulnerable victims? Because he cannot risk a further negative reality message.

With his status once again reestablished, *Restoration*, Stage Five, has been reached. Once this psychological state has been entered, the serial killer will think of the potential dangerous consequences of his behavior, so he must take care in the proper disposal of the victim. These concerns about the victim disposal, recognition, and so on, are not vital concerns until he reaches Stage Five. He must deal now with the steps to minimize his personal risks.

Once he has done what he needs to do, he can now complete the cycle and return to Stage One, *Distorted Thinking*.

Profiling a Serial Murder Case

No act of violence can be executed without a fantasy. The content and character of the fantasy will change from one person to another and from one type of serial killer to another. The fantasy of the Visionary serial killer may indeed center around a voice from God or a vision from hell. The sexual fantasy of the Lust or Thrill Hedonistic serial killer may focus upon a victim who is faceless.

The role and existence of the fantasy will lend some direction to the profiling process. Suspecting, for example, that violence is not possible while in the *Distorted Thinking* phase, an alert law enforcement professional would be remiss in the investigation of a serial murder case if he or she did not take that into consideration. If the murders "stop" in a current case of suspected serial murder, maybe something very positive is happening in the life of the unknown killer. Maybe he has recently married. Could a check on the marriage licenses turn up a duplicate name? In other words, something good has occurred within his life which enables him to remain — if only temporarily — in the *Distorted Thinking* phase. Only when something from reality challenges him and his self-perception will he tumble in *The Fall* and start once again to kill.

Elemental Traits in Crime Scene Evaluation

As described in Chapter 5, the crime scene characteristics of the Organized Nonsocial and the Disorganized Asocial can be combined with the typology of serial murder.

Take, for example, the Visionary serial killer. This murderer modally reflects the disorganized asocial personality. The characteristics of this killer will be reflected in the crime scene itself. There is ample physical evidence, overkill, the weapon belonged to the victim and is left at the scene, and so on. The personality characteristics are also similar. He is a loner, probably lives and/or works nearby the crime scene, and the victim is a victim of opportunity.

The Mission serial killer is one who is better represented by the organized nonsocial typology. This serial killer selects one type of victim and will stalk this victim, probably possesses an anal personality, and the weapon (which belongs to the killer) will usually not be present at the controlled crime scene.

Table 6.1 illustrates the elements of crime scenes and the types of serial killers. By fusing the type of serial murderer and the FBI's typology of violent offenders, especially when sex is one of the prime

TABLE 6.1 Crime Scene Analysis of Suspected Serial Murder Cases

Crime Scene Traits	Type of Serial Killer			
	Visionary	Mission	Comfort	Lust Thrill Power/Control
Controlled crime scene	no	yes	yes	yes
Overkill	yes	no	no	yes
Chaotic crime scene	yes	no	no	no
Evidence of torture	no	no	no	yes
Body moved	no	no	no	yes
Specific victim	no	yes	yes	yes
Weapon at scene	yes	no	yes	no
Relational victim	no	no	yes	no
Victim known	yes	no	yes	no
Violent weapon	yes	yes	no	yes
Aberrant sex	no	no	no	yes
Necrophilia	yes	no	no	yes
Weapon of torture	no	no	no	yes
Strangulation	no	no	no	yes
Penile penetration	?	yes	yes	yes
Object penetration	yes	no	no	yes

motives in the murder, a profile may be developed which brings out the best in both theoretical models.

The Power/Control serial killer, for example, has a manifest motive in his killing, the ultimate possession of his victim. Remembering also that sex comes in different packages with different ribbons and bows, the sexual gratification of the serial killer in this type emanates from his possession and domination of the victim. Consider the case of Ted Bundy. With such a Power/Control serial murderer, there are five "windows" in the killing process. Figure 6.3 shows these "windows."

For the killing to commence, a fantasy must set the process in motion. It is not the kill which terminates this process but the disposal of the body.

The crime scene traits in Table 6.1 can be examined and matched with the type of serial killer. For example, usually a Visionary, Mission, or Comfort serial killer will not move the body from the kill site. From a profiling point of view, the movement of the body denotes planning beforehand and after the kill itself. The physical evidence present in the kill site can be examined by the investigator. This is not to say, however, that there is no evidence in the dump site. Yet the simple move-

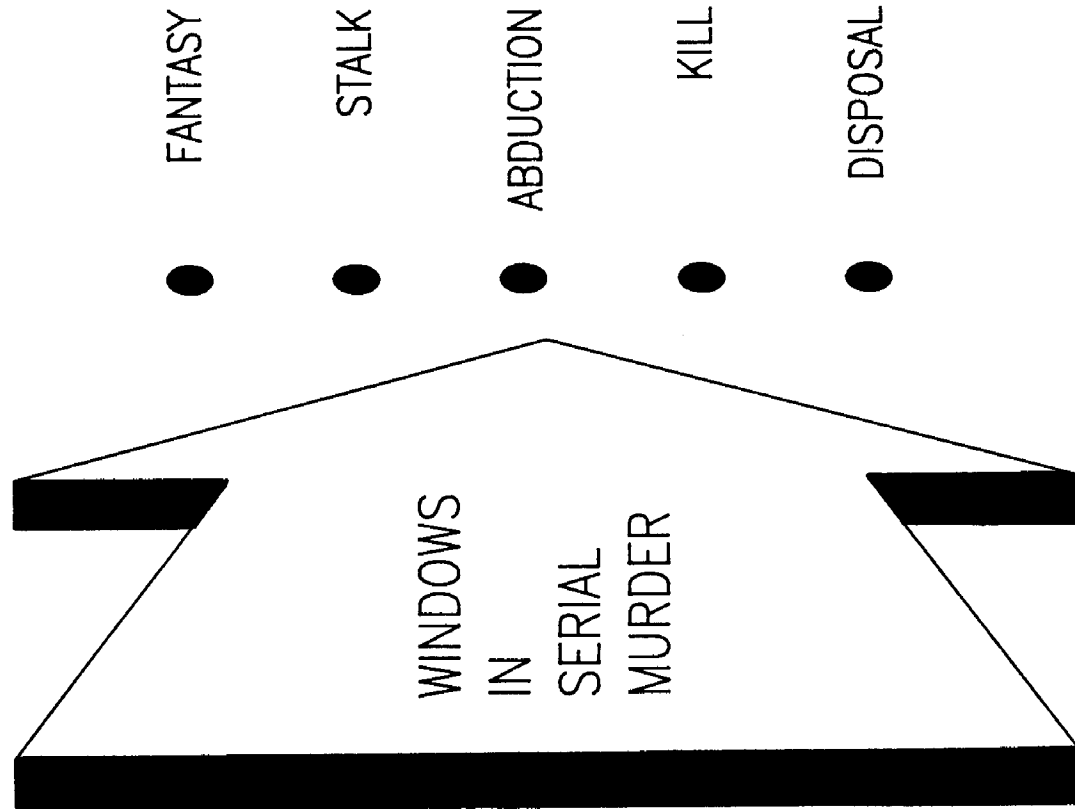


Figure 6.3. Windows in Serial Murder

ment of the body from the kill site to the dump site tells a great deal about the personality of the offender. ★

Only the Visionary serial killer is not concerned with a specific victim type because he is outwardly motivated by his voices or visions.

The Hedonistic, Power/Control, or Mission serial murderer carefully selects a victim who will fulfill a psychological or material gain. Only the Comfort serial killer, a subtype of the Hedonistic type, will kill relational victims; the others will murder strangers, usually with hands-on weapons in a violent fashion. If pills and poison are used, this is more typical of the Comfort killer.

The kill scene is often obviously different from the disposal site. The Visionary, Mission, and Comfort killers will usually not move the body from where the kill itself has occurred. Therefore, if the kill site equals the disposal site, then the unknown perpetrator is probably one who lives close to the victim, and shares many of the characteristics of the disorganized asocial personality type. Table 6.1 lists selected traits which can be ascertained by an attentive examination of the murder scene or the disposal site.

The weapon chosen, the owner of the weapon, necrophilia, penile and/or object penetration, and other crime scene traits will help the investigator narrow his or her scope of investigation. If, for example, a series of prostitutes has been murdered, and if necrophilia is involved, it may very well be that the killer is receiving some message from his God to dispatch those "undesirables" from the world. This becomes more of a possibility if the crime scenes reflect a great deal of chaos with accompanying physical evidence. If necrophilia is not involved, the killer may indeed kill from an intrinsic source, a characteristic of the Mission type serial murderer.

The profiler can gain some basic information concerning the type of offender by matching the crime and disposal scene evidence with the type of serial murder category. The time of computerized profiling may be closely approaching, but personal involvement should never be ignored.

Additional Profiling Elements

The following information concerning crime and disposal scenes was obtained from interviews with serial murderers. It is more than a little interesting that serial murderers appear to be saying some things which are incongruent with the theories of profilers and those who are psychodynamically-oriented. But the murderers themselves are well versed in their own killing and what they did to their victims. This information was obtained from killers whose victims numbered from less than ten to "scores and scores."

Blindfolds

One element in many killings is the presence of a blindfold. Blindfolds come in many forms: masks, rags, darkness, and so on. One obvious reason for a blindfold is to hide the identity of the killer. One killer, however, reasoned that he blindfolded his victims, none of whom he knew on a personal level or believed would recognize him, to confuse and terrorize them. There may be another dimension to the blindfolding process; it may be that it further depersonalizes the individual. Hence, the fantasy of the serial killer is aided by the blindfold. Moreover, the victim becomes even less than an object. By blindfolding, the personal nature of the crime is blocked out.

In an attack on a victim, one serial killer, who was also a serial rapist, said,

After stripping off her clothes and tying her down to a cot, I prepared for the first part of my fantasy. (He wanted the woman to perform oral sex on him.) When I got on top of her, I felt very uncomfortable, nervous and unsettled by the woman's wide-eyed facial expression. I couldn't understand why I felt that way, but I did know I couldn't begin to go on until I covered her eyes. (author's files)

Only after he had blindfolded her did he feel comfortable enough to proceed with his attack.

So, as commonly suspected, a blindfold does not arbitrarily dictate a previous personal relationship between the killer and his victim. As one murderer said in an interview, "I blindfolded my victims because faces scream at you."

Attacks at the Face

Slapping at the face of the victim depersonalizes the attack itself. Remember the remarks Will Graham made to the Red Dragon killer: "Is there something you're ashamed of?" (Harris, 1981, p. 26). Regardless of how ruthless a violent offender may be, he is still a human being, subject to the entire range of human emotions, shame included. When he is trolling for a victim, he more or less recognizes that his pseudo-contempt for this eventual captive is but a shoddy excuse to justify the hunt. And when he finally does seize a stranger to victimize, his unacknowledged awareness of his victim's actual innocence gives rise to a creeping sense of shame—or some similar emotion—which he does have to deal with in order to proceed with what he *knows* is wrong.

Of course being an expert at glossing over this emotion, he will not let it deter him from his ultimate, selfish aim. One of his *key means* of eliminating the "shame factor" (such as when in possession of a complete stranger), however, is to blot out the eyes, mask the identity—to keep the person a *non-person*. When there is no "real person" to face, only a prop with a rag over its eyes, there is no shame.

On a more pragmatic level, violence directed at the face of the victim is a major device which is manifestly intended to control. The attack at the eyes is especially important because of the obvious reason that injury can result in blindness and therefore reduce the possibility of a personal identification. This is usually not a factor in a serial murder case because the killer has already made the decision that the victim will not survive a process-oriented murder event.

Oral sex could be viewed as a further attack upon the victim, and a departure from the point of view that any such attack is an impersonal one. Of course, there is a utilitarian factor involved in oral sex; the offender would want his victim to arouse him sexually. In this stance, oral sex is not to be perceived as an attack, but as one serialist stated, "(The victim) was an acceptable usage of a nameless receptacle" (author files).

To combine the traits of blindfolds and oral sex, there is an inclination to believe that oral sex—by itself—can reveal little in terms of whether a crime is stranger- or acquaintance-perpetrated. Oral sex accompanied by blindfolding, however, would seem to point to a stranger-perpetrated offense; where there is no evidence of a blindfold having been used, an acquaintance-perpetrator seems to be indicated. Lastly, oral sex with no evidence of blindfolding—and physical battering to the victim's face—would seem almost certain to be an acquaintance-perpetrated crime.

An attack in darkness combined with a blindfold is intended to terrorize as well as depersonalize the victim. The blindfold, while reducing some of the personal element in the violence, renders the victim as a nonentity and an object, but the attack at the face brings to the fantasy level of the perpetrator a personal but stranger dimension.

Disposal of the Body

Serial killers who will dispose of the bodies of their victims are more likely to be the Lust, Thrill, and Power/Control serial killers. They share many of the same personality attributes of the organized non-social personality type. The reasons for the disposal are varied. One

reason will be concerned with whether the body is intended to be found or not. One serial killer, when questioned about why many victims had never been found, said, "You only find the bodies of the ones he wants you to find" (author's files). He may have also been saying that the disposal of the body was a form of "advertisement" in his killing career.

Not one serial killer related any concern about the bodies being found so that the families may be relieved of doubt about their loved ones. In other words, the serial murderer is not concerned about the families and so disposes the bodies without a thought of whether the families can get on with their lives.

The disposal of the body is a signal that the killing process involving victim X is over. This completes the "Windows of Serial Murder." By "windows," it is meant that serial killers go through various phases in their killings. It is not a signal that the killing will start again. The murderer is now in a psychological state of euphoria. He will remain in *Distorted Thinking* as long as reality does not challenge his position of self-importance.

The disposal of the body involves the same rational learning process that is involved in any social learning. In the same manner that one learns on a rational basis to do some everyday things, either legal or not, the serial murderer will learn the most personally beneficial manner of disposing of his victims. He will take care in the disposal because this is when he is indeed most vulnerable. One serial murderer dumped many of his victims' bodies on a U-shaped curve in the road so that he could see both ways at the moment of his highest vulnerability.

A profile was recently requested by a police agency. Earlier, a psychic was called in on the case, along with an astrologer. Both had given an opinion that the killer had taken the body through town and dumped it in a large lake on the other side of the county. Being the third person requested to help the police locate the deceased, I offered an opinion that the body would be found somewhere between the murder site, where the victim's purse was found, and a road where he was seen later the same day the victim was killed. A triangle was drawn on a map, and the victim's body was eventually found within that triangle by hunters looking for game. A conscious reasoning was made that a killer would not risk driving through a small town where everyone knew him and dump a body in an open area around a lake. Nothing mysterious, nothing magical. No auras, and no astrological signs. Just a hunch, accompanied by the luck of the two hunters' find.

Weapons

The weapon, as well as the torture used by the killer, moves the ritualist and the victim further apart from each other as human beings. Serial killers select their weapons of murder very carefully and usually kill with hands-on weapons for three reasons: (a) to touch the victim, (b) because the touch terrorizes the victim, and (c) because the touch degrades the victim. Hands-on weapons include straps (the postal straps of Jerry Brudos), women's hose (Ted Bundy), hands (Edmund Kemper), knives (Zoe Kohler, Douglas Clark, and Carol Bundy), hammer (Harvey Carignan), handguns (Beoria Simmons), and all other weapons which necessitate a personal contact. Fire and burning are normally not a method preferred by a serial murderer, basically because serial killers are socially inculcated to use weapons other than fire to kill and terrorize. This is not to say that some serial murderers will not burn their victims with cigarettes, hot spatulas, and so on, but that the final means of murder is skin-to-skin contact.

When the abduction initially transpires, the killer and the victim are close together on a social yardstick. A distance is immediately needed to prove the superiority of the serial killer. The dispatching of a helpless and vulnerable victim is the psychological agent needed to place him back into *Distorted Thinking*.

Dismemberment

Piquerism is the repeated stabbing and wounding of a person which results in sexual gratification. Accurately, dismemberment may be viewed as a form of piquerism, so the sexual dimension of that activity cannot be ignored.

From the additional perspective, dismemberment demonstrates and validates the power and control the killer has over his helpless victim. He is "proving" that his victim is not only nothing, but now, by the complete violation of the corpse, "the victim is now little pieces of nothing," as one serial murderer stated (author's files). This unabridged violation of the body, now a corpse, generates some form of gratification for the serial killer. This gratification is either sexual or psychologically enhancing to the ego of the murderer.

Dismemberment would obviously be more typical of the Lust, Thrill, and Power/Control serial killer. If committed by the Visionary serial killer, the sexual component of the dismemberment would, in all likelihood, be absent. His attack would concern itself more with the frenzy

demanding by the demon or devil. Still, the dichotomy of the Organized Nonsocial and the Disorganized Asocial would be of some benefit here.

Bondage

The more organized the kill, the more need for bondage. The blitz attack perpetrated by the Visionary and Mission serial killers would not need bondage for the prime purpose of rendering the victim helpless and in the control of the serial killer. But there are at least three additional motivations for bondage: (a) to hold the victim for torture, (b) to place the person in a degrading situation, and (c) to hurt or injure the victim. It is also true that the act of bondage is a form of injury.

The Hedonistic and Power/Control serial killers want to see the distress from the struggle of their victims. They have made the vital connection between personal gratification and personal violence.

Position of the Body

There is also a case to be made for the positioning of the victim's body. Some victims are placed in a degrading posture, but some care must be made in the interpretation of this positioning. The symbolic positioning of the body may be more a product of the Mission serial killer as well as the Lust and Thrill killer. The FBI offers that, "If the (Disorganized Asocial) offender has mutilated the body, it may be positioned in a special way that has significance to the offender" (FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, 1985a).

Souvenirs

The immediate reason for the taking of a souvenir is to remind the serial killer of what has transpired. The rational decision to take a souvenir involves the same mental processes as someone collecting souvenirs while on a vacation. It reminds the killer not only of the event, but of what has taken place in that event.

Another reason for taking souvenirs is that the souvenir is part of the psychological gain realized during the kill. The material taken once belonged to the victim, and because it was a part of the helpless victim, it reminds the serial killer of a personal aspect of the happening.

Souvenirs are not always taken. First of all, souvenirs are modally taken on a rational basis. This is to say that souvenirs serve as a conscious reminder, and since this is on a conscious level, the serial murderer may indeed realize that there is little or no opportunity to take a part of the property of the victim without exposing himself to undue risk.

There is an additional reason for taking some property of the victim which may have little to do with the serving as a souvenir. Something may be taken to prevent the identification of the victim and hinder the investigation by law enforcement. If the body has been mutilated or somehow altered so that it might indeed hinder the identification, and there are no personal belongings, then the serial killer has indeed accomplished one of his purposes. The souvenir, on two levels, strips the victim of his or her identity.

Conclusion

The initial step in profiling serial murder is the determination that the current case under investigation is truly a serial homicide case. This may sound very rudimentary, but as any investigator realizes, sometimes we all see with tunnel vision. We may see exactly what we want to see. Once we are comfortable with the "certification" of a homicide as a serial murder case, the investigation must be prepared for publicity and various other ramifications of such a situation.

With each serial killer, there are methods, gains, and motives unique to each type. If the investigator is able to attain some understanding of the psychology of the serial killer and his propensity for violence, if he or she realizes that the serial murderer feels that he is all-powerful, all-knowledgeable, and that it is his birthright to feel this way, he or she may have a better understanding of the psychopathic serial killer. The crime scene will lend some understanding to this appraisal. With the chaotic or sadistic crime scene, or with overkill as a signature of the offender, the investigator will also have an understanding of the psychotic murderer.

This chapter should fulfill two purposes for the law enforcement investigator. First, it introduces a typology of serial offenders in a unique fashion. It offers motives for action, and evaluation of the serial killer's mind, and a particular model for personal violence. Second, the chapter outlines some crime scene traits to consider in the investigation of the crime. These traits will be covered again in Chapter 10 on preparing the materials for a profile and computerized psychological profiling.

7 Profiling Satanic and Cult-Related Murders

to the time of Christ, Satan was used to protect the ideal of a perfect God. After all, how could a good God create evil? The credible answer was that he did not; Satan would be the responsible culprit.

Early Christian theologians believed that Satan, now a "reality," had no control over the followers of Christ, only pagans and apostates. The Gnostics saw the world as being evil and life on earth as a "prison sentence" imposed on them by the Yahweh of the Old Testament. Since the world was evil, the one who created it must also be evil. Ergo, Yahweh was evil. The good God must live far away in some distant heaven, and they were in bondage to the evil god, now called the devil, Satan, Lucifer, Papablas, or any other of the multitude of demonic names.

Satanism in the United States

The greatest influence upon those who find Satanism so attractive must be the personage of Aleister Crowley. Raised in a traditional Christian family, Crowley became attracted to the occult while still quite young. Crucifying a dead toad, Crowley offended many of his own followers who made mud casts of his form and killed him in effigy. What made him so popular and effective was apparently the social conditions of the time, as well as his apparent charismatic authority.

In 1966, Anton LaVey founded the Church of Satan on the Satanic feast day of Walpurgisnacht, April 30. Gaining great popularity from LaVey's performing marriages and burial rites, the Church of Satan has grown to a membership that some estimate at 20,000.

As a youthful runaway, LaVey worked in a circus as a carney barker, a cage boy for Clyde Beatty, a hypnotist, and a bump-and-grind organ player for a stripper named Marilyn Monroe. He finally moved to San Francisco, where he was photographer for the San Francisco Police Department. Tiring of the alleged inconsistencies of traditional Christianity, LaVey founded a new religion predicated partly on the premise that "the strong shall inherit the earth."

The Satanic Bible

The writings of LaVey provide the faithful with a written dogma and liturgy of the Church of Satan. The Satanic Bible, available in paperback, has sold thousands of copies. It illustrates rituals, rites, holy days, and lists the nine "statements" of the devil:

When the popularity of *Rosemary's Baby* and *The Exorcist* reached pandemic proportions, the level of consciousness about the occult was stimulated to a height probably unknown since the time of the Salem witch hunts. These two movies made a case for Satanism existing among a group of followers not too different from ourselves. One consultant and actor in *Rosemary's Baby*, Anton LaVey, a former rock musician, later became better known as the founder of the Church of Satan.

Roots of Satanism

This interest in Satan as an alternative to Christianity did not reach alarming popularity overnight. The roots of Satanism date back to the Old Testament. In addition, the practice and belief in magic, spells, and curses, as well as divination of the future, were found among all primitive people. Demon worship was widely practiced in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia. Originally not associated with an evil spirit, it was simply a way to manipulate nature and fate.

The Jewish rabbis in the Old Testament condemned the belief in Satan because the devil was part of a non-Jewish religion. Second, rabbis saw demonology as an attempt to influence the destiny of man rather than accepting the will of God. As the Jewish faith moved closer

- (1) Satan represents indulgence, instead of abstinence!
- (2) Satan represents vital existence, instead of spiritual pipe dreams!
- (3) Satan represents undefiled wisdom instead of hypocritical self-deceit!
- (4) Satan represents kindness to those who deserve it, instead of love wasted on ingrates!
- (5) Satan represents vengeance, instead of turning the other cheek!
- (6) Satan represents responsibility, instead of concern for the psychic vampires!
- (7) Satan represents man as just another animal, sometimes better, more often worse, than those who walk on all fours, who because of his divine and intellectual development has become the most vicious of all!
- (8) Satan represents all of the so-called sins, as they lead to physical, mental or emotional gratification!
- (9) Satan has been the best friend the church has ever had, as he has kept it in business all these years! (LaVey, 1969, p. 25)

The basic teachings of LaVey concern a worship of the trinity of the devil: Lucifer, Satan and the devil. The Church of Satan is actually a human potential movement. Each member is encouraged to actualize his or her own potential. The level of actualization can be reached through magic, spells, rituals, and incantations to the demonic trinity.

The Satanic Bible includes an Invocation Employed Towards the Conjunction of Lust, Invocation Employed Towards the Conjunction of Destruction, Invocation Employed Towards the Conjunction of Compassion, a List of Holy Days, chapters on the Black Mass and Rituals, as well as a chapter entitled "On the Choice of a Human Sacrifice."

Definitions in Satanism

To understand satanic worship and rituals, it is necessary to understand the terms used. The following words are fairly commonly used in satanic worship and rituals.

- Antichrist*: Enemy of Christ.
- Archfiend*: A chief or foremost fiend (Satan).
- Black Magic*: Basically the same as sorcery.
- Black Mass*: A ritual of the Church of Satan which is a mockery of the Roman Catholic Mass.
- Circle*: A declaration of sacred ground.
- Coven*: An assembly of thirteen witches.
- Equinox*: First day of autumn or spring.
- ESBAT*: Coven meeting.
- Fire*: Symbolizes Satan.
- Goat*: Satan appears in the form of a goat.
- Hecate*: Goddess of the Lower Region and patroness of witchcraft.

Hexagram: Evil sign in the occult world; six pointed star in a circle.

Important Dates: September 22: Autumn Equinox

June 21: Summer Solstice

March 20: Spring Equinox

December 21: Winter Solstice

February 2: Candlemas

April 30: Walpurgisnacht

October 31: Halloween

November 1: Festival of Hecate

Incubus: A male demon that copulates with human females.

Lilith: Adam's first wife and later the wife of Lucifer.

Lucifer: The archangel cast from heaven for leading a revolt of angels. He is the "father" of the trinity of the devil.

Mass: A ceremony.

Necromancy: The art of controlling the spirits of the dead.

Numbers of significance: One: Equates with primal chaos.

Three: Triple repetitions, effective in incantations.

Five: Symbolizes justice.

Seven: Possesses mystic implications.

Thirteen: Number of members in a coven.

Four x Four: The devil's own number.

7 + 9: Multiples of these possess thaumaturgical potency.

666: Mark of the Beast, the devil's calling card.

Pentacle: Five pointed star.

Pentagram: A five-pointed star that is used as a barrier against evil. The pentagram with one point upwards repels evil, but a reversed pentagram, with two points upward, is a symbol of the devil and attracts sinister forces. In this case, the two points represent the horns of the goat, which is the symbol of the devil.

Sabbat: Holy days and celebrations, of which there are eight in a year; assemblies of witches in honor of the Archfiend.

Satan: A member, the "son," of the trinity of the devil.

Solstice: First day of summer or winter.

Sorcerer: Male witch.

Sorcery: The use of supernatural power over others through the assistance of evil spirits.

Succubus: A female demon that copulates with human males.

Talisman: An object believed to hold magical powers.

Voodoo: A form of primitive sorcery that was organized in Africa and is generally associated with fetishes (dolls, etc.).

Walpurgisnacht: The eve of May Day believed in medieval Europe to be the occasion of a witch's sabbath.

Witch: Female witch.

Witchcraft: The process of using the forces of the unseen world through potions, incantations, or ceremonies for the purpose of controlling or changing conditions or situations.

TABLE 7.1 Organizational Elements and Levels of Personal Involvement with Satanic and Devil Worship

<i>Level I</i>	
Large membership	Fiscal organization maintenance
Stable membership	Long term membership
Formalized rituals	Lateral sect transfer
Ecclesiastical hierarchy	Human and animal sacrifice
Recognized authority	Converted and familial membership
Official holy days	
<i>Level II</i>	
Limited membership	Transient membership
Informal rituals and liturgy	No ecclesiastical hierarchy
Personal authority	No holy days
Total fiscal commitment	Moderate term membership
No lateral religious transfer	Human and animal sacrifice
Converted membership	
<i>Level III</i>	
Individual and solitary membership	No rituals
No ecclesiastical authority	No external authority
No holy days	No fiscal maintenance
No lateral religious transfer	Human and animal sacrifice
Self-styled membership	

Levels of Personal Involvement in Satanism

As in any religious movement, some members are more involved and indoctrinated into the liturgy and rituals than others. In personal interviews with two high priests and several coven members of satanic cults, they report three levels of personal affiliation. Table 7.1 graphically delineates these levels of involvement and participation.

Level I

The first level resembles religious affiliation with any church. Members are similar to other, more traditional church members, with an affinity for worship, familiarity with church ritual and liturgy, and recognition of church hierarchy and bureaucratic lines of authority. Regular attendance of church-related functions, observance of feast days, and organizational maintenance through contributions by members are all characteristics of this level of membership, be it a traditional, recognized religious organization (Catholic, Baptist, Jewish,

and so on) or a member of one of the satanic churches: LaVey's Church of Satan, Dr. Michael Aquino's Temple of Set (also headquartered in San Francisco), or Robert and Mary Anne DeGrimston's Church of the Final Judgment. There are many instances where children are born into this religious affiliation. There may be movement of membership from one satanic "denomination" to another. Unlike the more traditional religions, there is no evidence of a "baptism." To become a member in the Church of Satan, for example, one needs only to complete an application and mail in the required fee (see Figure 7.1).

Level II

The second level of personal affiliation is membership in a satanic cult. A cult is composed of persons who are bound together by the acceptance of a leader, a less sophisticated system of beliefs, and a less formal ritual. The charismatic quality of the leader is essential since the leader will obviously lend direction to the cult's activity. The membership in the satanic cult is modally short-termed and will depend largely on the persona of the leader.

There are some excellent examples of satanic cults which have existed in America in the last few decades. The Charles Manson Family is probably the most infamous example of a satanic cult. It was certainly a cult membership based in no small part upon the charismatic authority of Manson himself. There is also a theory that David Berkowitz was involved in the same satanic cult as Manson, even though they belonged to the cult at different times (Terry, 1987).

Henry Lucas admitted to membership in a devil cult, along with Otis Toole. Both Lucas (presently on death row in Texas) and Toole (on death row in Florida) are convicted serial killers. Lucas said he was also involved in the kidnapping of small children and was paid several thousands of dollars to deliver the children for human sacrifice or prostitution; others were sold to wealthy Mexicans (authors files).

Level III

The third tier of participation is on a personal, self-styled level. This involvement may be either on an individual dimension or in a small group. Ritualism is quite limited, if not nonexistent. The younger person is more inclined to participate in this measure of satanism. The member has little knowledge of the liturgy of satanism and may be quite heavily involved in animal sacrifice, especially small dogs and cats.

There are few members of any one particular self-styled aggregate. With no liturgy or religious hierarchy, the participant sets himself up as

The Church of Satan



Post Office Box 210082

San Francisco, CA 94121

Regarding request for information on affiliation with

The Church of Satan

As an elitist organization, The Church of Satan grants Active Membership to only those individuals who meet its requirements. If you are sincerely interested in affiliation with us, or simply credit the Church of Satan with establishing the world's most formidable threat to hypocrisy, the first step is simple.

We make no false claims of altruism; we realize what we have, what we are, and what we shall become. Knowing relatively little of you, we accept your professed interest or dedication at face value. We have every desire to incorporate valid members into our plans for the future, so we suggest that you join us as a Contributing Member.

For \$50.00 you will receive an identification card, an amulet bearing the symbol of the Church of Satan, your first year's subscription to our publication: *The Cloven Hoof*, information on how to progress more deeply into Satanism—its philosophy, rituals, locations, means of meeting other Satanists, and sources of supply for working materials unique to Satan's magic. You will also receive a questionnaire, should you wish to apply for Active Membership status.

Our scope is unlimited, and the extent and degree of your involvement is based upon your own potential. All names and addresses are held confidential and you are under no further obligation as a Contributing Member, unless you desire otherwise.

Please use the form below for registration.

CHURCH OF SATAN
Post Office Box 210082
San Francisco, CA 94121, U.S.A.

Please enroll me as a Contributing Member of the Church of Satan. Enclosed is \$50.00.
(Couple: \$75.00)

Name (Mr./Mrs./Miss/Ms)

Street

City / State / Zip (or other) Code / Country

Figure 7.1. Application for The Church of Satan

the authority and proceeds to "worship the devil" as he deems appropriate. There is no need for fiscal organizational maintenance; there are no tithings or collections. There are no buildings, schools, churches, or a religious bureaucracy to financially subsidize. This "satanist" is a

loner with little knowledge of the satanic oath, satanic prayers, hierarchy of hell, or the personalities of the trinity of the devil.

Richard Ramirez, the Night Stalker, is a self-styled satanist. On his left palm he has a tattoo of a pentagram, and as he walked out of the court at his arraignment, he shouted, "Hail Satan." One satanist related during an interview that he was personally offended that people would put Ramirez into the same category as a Church of Satan member (author's files).

It is easily evident that not all people who practice satanism truly believe the same and practice the same liturgy. It is also true that some believers are more immersed in satanism than others without an awareness of the nuances of membership and doctrine.

General Beliefs in Satanism

Within satanism, there are many belief elements which are prevalent. First, all satanists acknowledge the existence of God. After all, they profess, there could be no Satan without God. Just as every person has a good side and a bad side, there are interesting parallels when one examines the belief system of the satanic church.

Trinity of Satanism

Consider, initially, the trinity of Satan. As Christians firmly believe in the God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, the Satanists believe in Lucifer, Satan, and the Devil. They are three different parts of one being (author's file).

Lucifer. Lucifer holds the position of the primary godhead and the ruler of hell. He is the god of power and can give power to his followers or take the power from them. Lucifer controls power. Lucifer has more power than Satan, who has more power than the devil. Lucifer, functioning in the same role as God the Father, has never been personally seen. He can, it is believed, take any form, animal or human. He is the Leader of Hell, the Worker of Evil, and the Ruler of Evil. Lucifer, once the shining angel of God, was cast out of heaven with his wife, Lilith. They later had one son, Mendes. Lucifer demands human and animal sacrifices.

Satan. The second personality of the trinity of the devil belongs to Satan. His parallel in the Christian Trinity is God the Son. Satan is the son of Lucifer, not a son in the same sense as Mendes but in the same sense as Jesus is the son of God the Father. Satan is the leader of the

live life according to certain orthodox principles, that person would go to hell.

The satanist believes in reincarnation. If the member does what Lucifer, Satan, and the devil command, when physically dead, the member will be reincarnated. One will never move downward in class in the next life. A high priest, for example, would not come back in the next life as simply a coven member. He would come back as at least a high priest.

Hell is like the heaven Christians envision. In other words, hell is where good satanists will receive all of their wishes. Lusts will be satisfied, and in hell will reside Lucifer, Satan, the Devil, demons (Satanists' answer to the Christian's angels), and humans. Interestingly enough, there are two classes of humans in hell: faithful satanists and fallen satanists and Christians. The faithful satanists will receive all of their demands, and the servants will be the Christians and fallen satanists.

The Demons

The demons are at the service of the devil. The demons, then, are lower in the hierarchy in hell than the trinity of the devil, but they are higher than the humans in hell. Sometimes the demons will appear in spiritual form and carry spells of good (white) magic or bad (black) magic to the people on earth.

Devices Used in Satanic Rituals

In any form of religion, whether it be Christianity, Judaism, or Satanism, there are rituals and ceremonies. This can even be evident in the self-styled satanist. A ceremony is typically a unique happening, which is intended to mark an important event. A ritual is more. It is repetitive, traditional, and has a certain prescribed set of behaviors which is intended to symbolize and reinforce a system of beliefs. Satanic rituals certainly fit into this operational definition.

Table 7.2 lists the devices necessary (LaVey, 1969, pp. 134-139) for satanic rituals.

Vestments

Cowled or hooded black robes are to be worn by male participants. Females are to wear sexually-appealing apparel for the purpose of arousing and intensifying the adrenal or bioelectrical energy of the males.

"wasteland," the spiritual realm which surrounds the earth. He is called upon by devoted satanists for special favors.

The Devil. The main purpose for the devil is to serve as a liaison between the people and Satan. As may be a characteristic of any bureaucracy, there are lines of communication. This is evidently true also in the godhead of the devil. Satan communicates with Lucifer, and the devil communicates with Satan. The particular role of the devil is to tempt people to do the work of Lucifer and Satan. He wants to pull people into hell.

Human Sacrifice

Human sacrifice takes two forms: blood or burning. A blood sacrifice is usually reserved for those whose souls will be relinquished to Lucifer. This soul, which has been "martyred," will someday be reincarnated into the "wasteland" which is earth and later occupy a revered place in hell.

A blood sacrifice occurs in several of the ceremonies of satanism. The sacrificial victim is usually cut from the upper part of the chest to above the pubic bone. The heart is often removed, and mixed with blood, urine, and feces, becomes an anthropophagous mixture. This victims' soul will go directly to Lucifer, who will make a determination as to when it will be reunited with its body in a next life.

A burning sacrifice is considered to be a killing of vengeance or destruction. This type of human execution is reserved for those who have done something against the coven or church, and as such, they deserve to be killed. Other persons may be killed who are not satanists. With Level I members, however, these human sacrifices have seen some secret ritual or ceremony.

A victim burned to death can never be reincarnated, a vital concern to the satanist. Moreover, the soul from the sacrificed goes directly to Lucifer, making him stronger with each burned victim and each blood victim.

Hierarchy of Hell

Satanists believe that the earth on which we all live is surrounded by a spiritual "wasteland." Satan commands the wasteland, and the devil serves as a liaison between hell, earth, and the wasteland. Earth is hell. People can choose right or wrong; there is a "free agency" to choose between right or wrong. A person could live life and be good and plentiful, survive this life, and after death, go to heaven. If one does not

TABLE 7.2 Religious Elements in Satanic and Devil Worship Rituals and Ceremonies

Vestments	Altar
Phallus	Candles
Bell	Chalice
Elixir	Sword
Symbol of Baphomet	Gong

Altar

The purpose of the altar is to serve as a focal point. A nude woman is used on the altar because the female is the natural passive receptor and represents the earth mother. The altar is to be three to four feet high and five and one-half to six feet long. The altar will face west, and the feet of the altar will face south.

Symbol of Baphomet

In satanism, the pentagram is inverted to perfectly accommodate the head of the goat, its head representing duality and the other three points inverted to symbolize the Trinity denied. This Symbol of Baphomet is placed on the wall above the altar.

Candles

The candles represent the light of Lucifer. Only black and white candles are used, and never more than one white candle can be used. As many black candles as needed can be used to illuminate the ritual chamber. One black candle is placed to the left of the altar, and the white candle is placed to the right of the altar.

Bell

The bell is used to mark both the beginning and the end of the ritual. The high priest rings the bell nine times, turning counterclockwise. This is done at the beginning of the ritual to clear and purify the air, and at the end to intensify the workings and indicate finality.

Chalice

The chalice should be made of silver, glass, or crockery but not of gold. Gold is traditionally identified with Christianity. Therefore, all which is identified with Christianity is to be avoided. The contents of the chalice are to be drunk first by the priest.

Elixir

A stimulating fluid is used, but wine is not necessary. The elixir is to be ingested immediately following the Invocation to Satan.

Sword

The sword is the symbol of force and is held pointing toward the Symbol of Baphomet by the priest. If a sword is not available, a long knife, cane, or something similar can be used.

Phallus

The phallus is held in both hands and shaken twice toward each cardinal point of the compass. The phallus may be made of wood, clay or plaster.

Gong

The gong is used to call upon the forces of Darkness.

Satanic Masses

Satanic masses are offered several times during the course of the year. There are several days of the week which are appropriate for a particular service: Thursdays, Fridays, and Saturdays. Thursdays are especially appropriate for witches.

With each mass, there is an accompanying ritual. Colors, prayers, chants, words, meditation, and drugs may accompany each type of mass.

Initiation Mass. This mass is offered when new members are accepted into the satanic group, either in Level I or Level II. The new member will participate in the Mass as an acolyte, and once the new member has passed through the rite of initiation, he is sworn to secrecy.

Gnostic Mass. This type of satanic mass is frequently open to nonsatanic members who have shown an interest in joining the satanic group. Demons are called upon to intercede and convince interested nonmembers to join.

Mass of Angels. The manifest purpose of this mass is to ask for power from Lucifer to protect the high priest from demonic powers. On the eve of this mass, a black cock is killed, and the heart, eyes, and tongue are cut out and become a potion for the participants to share.

Mass for the Dead. The purpose of this mass is to petition Lucifer to free the celebrant from the fear of hell and to make the demons obey. A lamb

will be sacrificed, its throat cut, and the heart, eyes, and tongue removed and ground into powder and then buried with the lamb.

The Black Mass. This is probably the most bizarre and famous of all satanic masses. A parody and a mockery of the Roman Catholic mass, this ritual is done for evil purposes only.

During the Black Mass, an animal or human sacrifice is offered. This most holy mass is seen as a sacrament by the satanic worshippers, men wear black robes, and women wear black sexually erotic dress. The Black Mass is presided over by a high priest, who celebrates this mass to recall a spirit, to gain power, or to ask for insight into the future.

An altar is used which faces west. A nude female lies upon the altar with her head facing north and her feet facing south. The males in the coven all have sexual intercourse with the woman, and each member, male or female, then inserts a bread wafer into her vagina, which is then ingested.

In the Satanic Bible, LaVey (1969) denies the practice of a black mass. But the members of Level I and Level II who were interviewed admitted the existence of such a ceremony.

Satanic Ceremonies

Night of the Beast

Unlike the Black Mass which lasts all night, the Night of the Beast is a three-week ceremony. The ceremony commences at the third full moon of the year with the purpose of replenishing power and gaining new power to foresee the future. It is a great time of happiness, and strangely emotionally similar to the Christians' Christmas. At this time, the newly indoctrinated satanists are invited to participate in the oath to Satan with the new member making a pact with Satan to give his or her soul to Lucifer. Second, the inductee will learn the principles of black magic. Third, the initiate will learn the vocabulary of Satan; and last, he or she will participate in human sacrifice.

The celebration of The Night of the Beast is the opportunity for a high priest to suffer martyrdom, his soul to be dispatched to Lucifer for his uses, and be reincarnated at some future time. It is also an opportunity for parish members to assume the position of high priest, as someone will be needed to fill the now vacant position.

The ceremony begins with the slaughter of a goat. A cloven-hoofed animal is necessary for this ceremony because of its symbolism of Satan. The goat will be slaughtered and hung on an inverted cross, which has been suspended over the altar. Thirteen high priests will march *counterclockwise* around an inverted pentagram, which has been drawn near the altar. As the high priests walk slowly in procession, the hope of each is that a drop of blood from the goat will fall upon him. This is taken as a sign that Lucifer has selected this minister as his chosen one; he is to be martyred.

Once this drop of blood from the goat has fallen upon a high priest, he will be killed midway through the Night of the Beast ceremony. His wife, if he is married and she is also a believer, will be killed as well. If he is single, or if his wife is not a member of the church, a woman must be chosen from the coven. There are coven women who have been specially trained and educated, much like nuns in the Catholic Church. One will be chosen by the high priests to join the sacrificed male victim.

The male is always sacrificed first. He will be drugged and hung inverted upon the satanic cross. He is to be a blood sacrifice. His abdomen is opened from below the throat to the pubic bone. His heart is cut out because this is the life source. The eyes are also removed because the eyes are to see the future. The blood is drained and the blood, heart, eyes, and urine are all mixed with wine into a potion which the members of the church will drink. The procedure is repeated for the chosen woman, and again for the closing night's ceremony.

The bodies are hidden or disposed of. The intent is that the bodies will never be found because the bodies are needed by Lucifer to reunite the souls of the numerous martyrs.

The Night of the Beast is presided over by an "Overlord." This person was once a high priest, but because of his martyrdom in a past life, has been elevated to the present status of Overlord or "bishop." As with many other satanic rituals and ceremonies, including the Black Mass, there is no evidence that this ceremony occurs with any great frequency.

The Passover

Every six months, in February and August, the Passover Rite is celebrated. The purpose of this ceremony is to reaffirm the satanists' belief in the dead and hell. This rite lasts only one night, and there will

be two human sacrifices: a high priest and his wife, or "Bride of Lucifer."

The May Day Rite

This occurs on May 1. The general purpose of this ceremony is to celebrate the beginning of the new year and also to celebrate the new life of satanism. There is both animal and human sacrifice, a high priest and a woman. As with the Passover, the rite is presided over by 13 high priests, and the participants are the Overlord, the coven members, and according to belief, demons.

Crime Scene Elements

In satanic killings, in any of the three dimensions of personal involvement, certain elements may be present. The extent of the evidence will vary according to the level of personal involvement in satanic ritualism and personal affinity. There is less evidence left at the scene of a satanic killing than there is in a devil worship murder perpetrated by a self-styled satanist. The latter is less careful of the crime and the crime scene. Conversely, the coven of an organized satanic cult will be very careful in the covering of the scene itself.

Circle of Salt

In a Level I affiliation, and in fewer scenes of Level II and Level III, there will be two circles of salt which will surround the ritual scene. The investigator would be aware that the circles of salt, or any amount of salt found at a suspected ritualistic crime scene, would be a sign that a satanic sect or a devil worship cult had been involved. There also may be bowls of salt of different colors around the altar.

The colors of salt, as well as banners and other symbols, all have expressive meanings. Table 7.3 lists the meanings of the various colors.

Candles

Candles comprise an important role in the satanic ritual. As stated earlier, black and white candles are to be used by satanic sect members. Never more than one white candle is used. Therefore, wax drippings found at the ritualistic crime scene may serve as an index of satanic involvement. If candle wax is found in colors other than black or white, then it can be assumed that the participants are Level II or Level III worshipers.

TABLE 7.3 Significant Colors in Satanic and Devil Worship Rituals and Ceremonies

Black	Darkness, evil, devil, night, satanism, occult
Blue	Tears, water, sadness, pornography
Green	Vegetation, restful, nature, soothing
Orange	Personal aura
Purple	Summons spirits, summons spirits of destruction
Red	Blood, life, energy
White	Cleanliness, purity, innocence
Yellow	Perfection, wealth, glory, power

Mockery of Christian Symbols

The inverted cross is a sign of satanic or devil worship rituals. Often the inverted cross is made of stone and hung above the altar. An animal or human will be sacrificed above the altar and blood may be found on the ground below the cross and altar.

Christian symbols may be desecrated. Statues, crosses, crucifixes, chalices, and other symbols associated with Christianity may all be broken and in pieces.

Satanic Symbols

Drawings of the inverted pentagram or a hexagram may be present. The pentagram or hexagram is always enclosed by a circle, which serves as a protective device from harm and danger from the demons.

In addition there are other satanic symbols as exemplified in Figure 7.2.

The satanic alphabet may also be present, with the letters drawn upon the ground to spell a prayer, statement, or warning. The satanic number of the beast, 666, may be present, but this is so well known that accepting this as an unimpeachable indication of direct satanic involvement may be in error. Also, the swastika, older than the Nazi Party itself, is primarily a symbol of satanic worship. If the swastika is present alone without any other visible satanic symbols, the inference of satanic involvement will be diminished.

Blood

Because of the emphasis by Level I participants on blood sacrifice, both human and animal blood may be present at the ritual scene. If, however, everything occurs as ritualistically planned, there will be little blood found of either type, human or animal. The blood is drained

AC/DC	Anti-Christ, Devil Child
S	Satan-Stoner
MARKOS	Abracadabra
FFF	Anti-Christ
666	Anti-Christ
NATAS	Satan Reversed
6,9,13, XIII	Occult Numbers
	Swastika
	Pentagram, White Magic
	Pentagram, Sign of Occult
	Lucifer, Morning Star
	Ank

Figure 7.2. Satanic and Devil Worship Symbols

from the victim and mixed with certain body parts, urine, and feces, and made into a potion thought to have magical powers for satanic purposes.

Of course, when burning is the method of execution used, blood most likely will be missing. The reason for burning, however, must be kept in mind for the various levels of satanic involvement.

Bodies

Human bodies will usually not be found at the ritual scene. This is especially true if evidence at the crime scene reflects Level I participation. If the method of murder involves bloodletting, the body is going to be moved and hidden so that at some future time, the soul will be reunited with the body at Lucifer's command. The burned body, however, will often be left at the scene after the artifacts of the ritual have been carefully removed.

A body found at a crime scene where death has been caused by evisceration and cutting is not the result of a satanic sect; rather, it is a cult or self-styled killing. Positioning of the body, foreign objects

inserted into body orifices, or bodies found where parts of the body have been removed will all reflect Level II or Level III involvement.

With a bloodletting sacrifice, the body typically will be cut from the pubic area to the upper chest. The heart, parts of the intestines, and other parts of the body will be removed, as well as the eyes. The body will be mutilated as a result of this action. There may be fecal matter smeared over the body, and the body may also be anointed with oils and incense.

With a satanic sect, however, it is unlikely that the body will be found at the kill site. If discovered, its recovery will probably be more by accident than through investigation.

Animals

Small animals, such as dogs, cats, frogs, rabbits, and so on, are all favorite targets of sacrifice for satanic cults or devil worship. Perhaps one reason for this choice of animal is the lack of sophistication or knowledge of the dogmatically correct animals of sacrifice.

Sect members will make every effort to secure the "proper" animal to offer Lucifer, who demands blood. Usually, the goat is the desired animal of sacrifice. If this animal is not available, another cloven-hoofed animal can be substituted. If, however, the animal is a dog, cat, or other "inappropriate" sacrifice, this might indicate a younger perpetrator or one who has been involved in the group a relatively short period of time.

Conclusion

As in any crime scene, there is a mixture of profiling elements. It would be safe to assume, however, that the preponderance of satanic elements indicates a level of participation in satanism. This participatory involvement, which entails to some degree a belief system and knowledge component, will reflect not only the amount of worship liturgy but also the method and selection of the total satanic ritual.

Table 7.4 describes the elements in sacrificial rituals and personal involvement, whether it be through sects, cults, or self-styled devil worship. As one can envision from this table, there are fundamental differences in goals, motives, rationalizations, methods, and drives, according to the type of ritualistic offender. If there is a body found at a crime scene with fecal matter spread upon the corpse, and if satanic pentagrams and numbers are present, one would suspect a devil worship killing. If this proves to be the case, a young offender with a

TABLE 7.4 Elements in Satanic and Devil Worship Ritualistic Killings

<i>Ritual Elements</i>	<i>Satanic Sects</i>	<i>Devil Worship Cults</i>	<i>Self-Styled Devil Worship</i>
Animal sacrifice	yes	yes	yes
Human sacrifice	yes	yes	yes
Victims	members	strangers	strangers
Blood sacrifice	yes	yes	yes
Burn sacrifice	yes	no	no
Executioner	priest	leader	self-stylist

limited amount of active involvement in an official satanic church would be suspected. After all, a bloodletting victim is a martyred "saint" for the church, and his or her body would be cared for in the appropriate, revered fashion. In other words, it would not simply be left at the scene. If this were done, then Lucifer would not reunite the soul with the body at a future time.

A burned body would be deliberately placed at a site which would accelerate its discovery. A victim burned by a sect sends a message to other sect members that this member has violated the confidentiality of the sect. The sect will not tolerate a member's disobedience, and the burning execution not only conveys this message, but will also negate any potential for reincarnation.

A careful examination of the crime scene will yield some information regarding the level of participation. It is proposed that a sect-related crime will be committed by a person who has been in the community for some time, is intelligent, and has been a member of the sect for some time. On the other hand, a ritualistic crime perpetrated by a self-styled devil worshiper will offer a profile of a younger perpetrator, maybe a transient, and probably less educated and lower in the socioeconomic scale. Also, the self-styled and cult offender are more of a danger to society because their victims are almost entirely strangers. They will kill not for worship purposes but because of their quest for power.

The elimination of a person's life can never be taken lightly. An investigation must take into account all parameters. Because there has been mutilation, anthropophagy, or any other bizarre act which would, on the surface, indicate a sex crime, further investigation may indeed yield a different result.

8 Psychological Profiling and Rape

Rape has definite cultural definitions. Brownmiller (1975, p. 115) claims rape is "a conscious process of intimidation by which all men keep all women in a state of fear." She further adds that rape in time of war is the victor's prerogative; the vanquished surrenders yet another form of property. When women are viewed as chattel, rape confirms their inferior social position.

Conversely, a study of rape in Pennsylvania in the early 1970s espoused a position of victim-precipitation (Amir, 1971). This stance "validated" many of the myths about rape: Women secretly want to be raped, the primary motive for rape is sex, and so on. This chapter, however, focuses upon the role of sex and power, and how these elements come into play with the very repugnant crime of rape. While there is little space or time to refute the myths raised by Amir's work, it is stressed here that rape is a crime of power and violence, and that sex is the weapon used.

Definitions of Rape

Popularly, rape is viewed as a sexually-motivated act. It would be better viewed as a violent crime. Statutory rape is sexual relations with a person below an age prescribed by statute. Forcible rape is sexual penetration without a person's consent; this is the crime which has captured the attention of the criminal justice enterprise.

Statistics on Rape

In the 1970s, rape increased more than any form of violent crime. A Bureau of Justice Statistics report (1988) estimated that from 1973 to 1982, there were 1.5 million rapes or attempted rapes. In 1983, there was one rape or attempted rape for every 600 females over the age of 11 (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1988).

Men too are victims of rape. From all reported cases, however, males are raped at a much lower rate. To strengthen this assumption, one study suggests that males compose 1% of all reported rapes (Groth and Burgess, 1980, p. 806). Of course, these statistics do not include the number of men who are raped in prison.

The majority of rape victims are young. Those in the age cohort of 16 or 24 are two to three times as likely to become victims. Rape victims are usually white, but the black female is disproportionately represented. The rape victim is also probably single and from the lower socioeconomic class (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1988; Schwendinger and Schwendinger, 1983).

Marital rape, while not an issue in this book, is certainly under-reported. It is estimated that one husband in seven, at least on one occasion, sexually forces his wife to submit to coitus, oral, or anal sex (Russell, 1982).

The attempted rape typically occurs on the street, in a park or playground, or in a parking lot or parking garage during the daylight hours. The completed rape occurs most often in the victim's home from 6:00 P.M. to midnight (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1988).

Rape statistics may be vastly misleading. It may be true that less than 10% of all rapes are reported. Why is this so? Traditionally, women have been reluctant to report rapes for several reasons. Before the "shield law," a woman knew her sexual background could be revealed in an open courtroom. Indeed, many have gone through yet another vicious personal attack in the courtroom by the pointed questions of a defense attorney. Of course, the paramount reason for the reluctance to report a rape may be the stigma attached that the victim somehow invited the attack or cooperated with the rapist.

Every rape should be reported. The changes in the rape laws themselves which effectively limit the defense's delving into the background of the victim's sexual history have alleviated some of the fear of the prosecuting process. With an increase in the number of women police officers, sensitivity to the concerns of the rape victim has increased within law enforcement itself.

Selected Characteristics of Rapists

A cursory examination of the research being conducted on rapists yields some interesting results.

Rapists are young, with 80% under the age of 30, and 75% under the age of 25 (Queen's Bench Foundation, 1976; Kelley, 1976). They come from a lower class background, often a minority, especially black, and will choose a victim of their own race (Hagan, 1986, p. 185). The rapist's psychosexual background includes a history of conflict and trouble with women, as well as a marked inability to relate personally and sexually with women (Queen's Bench Foundation, 1976, p. 189). He is twice as likely to rape a stranger. He will usually be unarmed; in the one case in four when he is armed, the weapon is usually a knife (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1988). He usually plans the attack (Amir, 1971) and has a history of violence. One in three has a prior record for a violent crime, and 25% have been before the court for rape (Queen's Bench Foundation, 1976).

Psychology and Rape

If we assume rape is a crime of violence with sex as the weapon, we will expect certain psychological elements to be present, elements similar to other violent personal offenses. In addition to these elements, rapists appear to have combined to their pattern of violent behavior these added dimensions: power, anger, and sexuality (Groth, Burgess and Holstrom, 1977).

The elements of power and anger, combined with the sexual component of the rape itself, lend to profiling a case for examination and interpretation of a personality which insists upon a violent personal attack, sometimes fatal, to find a release from tension and compulsion.

There is no simple explanation for the etiology of a rapist. Certainly not all rapists are alike, and the motives, anticipations, and expectations vary from one rapist to another. There has been a great deal of interest shown recently regarding the interactional effects of early childhood and later personality development.

The relationship between the mother and the rapist has been the major focus of examination. The relationship with the father appears to be less significant. The mother is usually described as being rejecting, excessively controlling, dominant, punitive, overprotective, and seductive. The father is usually described as uninvolved, aloof, distant, absent, or passive, but occasionally punitive and cruel. Some research-

ers suggest that in the case of the sex offender, parental cruelty, inconsistency of discipline, envy, and sexual frustration, as well as overstimulation or seduction, were the principle factors that influenced the rapist's sexual personality and criminal behavior (Holmes, 1983; Rada, 1978).

Parental seduction, usually involving the mother, occurs continuously, from covert seduction to actual sexual involvement. There may be a history of early prolonged bed-sharing with a sibling or a parent, which may sensitize the child's imagination unduly to sexual stimulation. In some cases, sharing of the bed with the mother is prolonged into puberty.

Many rapists also have a history of severe physical punishments by their dominating, sadistic, and castrating mothers. The father, because of his personality, may not lend the support to the child when really needed. If the mother is cruel, dominating, and all of the other characteristics mentioned, future hostility may be more directed toward women in general because of the pain suffered from a woman in particular.

In summary, the professional literature suggests that parental rejection, domination, cruelty, and sexual seduction are important factors in the early life of the rapist. During childhood, mild to moderate social maladjustments are evident by fighting, temper tantrums, truancy, and stealing.

Regardless of etiology, there are perceptions of rapists which are not particularly positive. An overly macho image has been evident in our society.

In effect, they "hit girls" and that is something only wimps and sissies do. This conceptualization of rapists is less flattering than that of their being truly "violent men" — men to be taken seriously, dangerous men not to be trifled with. It is also a good reputation for rapists since it scares the victims into submission. However, it is inaccurate. The greater the resistance of women in rapes, the more likely rapists will run off. In the world of violent men, rapists are considered punks and generally low life. . . . Thus while rapists loom large as fiends and overpowering monsters to women, they loom small to men, more mice than men. (Sanders, 1983, p. 273)

In an interesting study of violent rapists being treated at the Atascadero State Hospital in California (Queen's Bench Foundation, 1976), it was reported that:

- (1) The majority demonstrated poor relations with women, a lack of self confidence, and a negative self-concept;
- (2) Fifty-one percent indicated they were seeking power or dominance over their victims;
- (3) The majority had planned to have sex that day and 92% said rape was their intention; and
- (4) Not one of the seventy-five subjects indicated a lack of sexual outlet as a reason for their crime.

Typology of Rapists

There have been many efforts to provide a taxonomy of rapists (Becker and Abel, 1978; Amir, 1971; Cohen, Garofalo, Boucher, and Seghorn, 1971; Knight & Prentky, 1987). The FBI's Behavioral Science Unit has been somewhat successful in their attempt to offer a typology of rapists. Groth, Burgess, and Holstrom (1977) designed a taxonomy predicated upon the elements of power, rage, and sex.

One of the more interesting studies was effected by Knight and Prentky (1987). This study offered a typology of rapists: Power Reassurance, Anger Retaliation, Exploitive, and Sadistic.

Power Reassurance Rapist

The Power Reassurance Rapist, also termed the Compensatory Rapist, is the least violent and aggressive of all rapists. He is also the least socially-competent. He suffers from extremely low self-esteem and feelings of inadequacy.

The background of this rapist varies. Knight and Prentky (1987) report the overwhelming majority (88%) are from homes where the mother or father was present. However, 40% of the rapists are from broken homes. They had minor problems in school, and their average educational level was the 10th grade.

The compensatory rapist is probably single and lives with one or both of his parents. He is nonathletic, quiet, and passive; he has few friends, and no sex partner. Often he lives in a home where he is dominated by an aggressive — yet seductive — mother. He may spend some time frequenting the adult bookstores in his own neighborhood. Because of his limited educational level, he is engaged in some type of menial occupation and is viewed as a steady, reliable employee.

The Power Reassurance Rapist has a variety of sexual aberrations. He may be involved in transvestism, for example, or in promiscuous sexual behavior, exhibitionism, voyeurism, fetishism, or excessive

TABLE 8.1 Social Characteristics of the Power Reassurance Rapist

Single	Lives with parents
No sex partner	Nonathletic
Quiet, passive	Social loner
Mental occupation	Frequent adult bookstores
Voyeur	Exhibitionist
Transvestite	Fetishist

masturbation. Voyeurism is an important detail to remember since he may select his victims in his own immediate neighborhood based on this sexual deviancy.

Table 8.1 contains the social core variables of the Power Reassurance Rapist. Of course it must be remembered that the social core variables which are listed in this table are not entirely true of all rapists who are categorized as Power Reassurance Rapists (Knight and Prentky, 1987).

Elements in the Rape Process. The basic purpose of rape for the Power Reassurance Rapist is to elevate his own self-status. The aim is primarily sexual. This departs radically from the traditional thought that rape is not a sexual behavior and a culturally-viewed crime. The sex act is a means that validates the rapist's position of importance. He perceives himself as a loser. The control of another human being will serve the purpose of making him believe he is important. His belief of nonimportance is erased. For this reason, he will use only enough force to control his victim.

The behavior in the rape is an expression of his sexual fantasies. For this reason, the Power Reassurance Rapist is concerned with the physical welfare of the victim and does not intentionally harm his intended victim. He operates under an assumption that his victim truly does enjoy the rape. He may request that his victim "talk dirty" to him, but he will use little profanity in his verbal exchange with his victim. He will politely ask his victim to remove her clothing, and will often expose only body parts necessary for the rape to occur. (See Table 8.2.)

Choosing victims of his own age cohort and within his own race, he rapes within his own neighborhood or close to his place of employment. From the information available concerning the Power Assurance Rapist, he will rape again within seven to fifteen days, usually from midnight to 5:00 a.m. He travels on foot, and although he starts his rapes with little violence, the violence may increase as he continues to

TABLE 8.2 Elements in the Power Reassurance Rape

Neighborhood attack	Believes victim enjoys the rape
Uses little profanity	Wants his victim to "talk dirty"
Asks victim to remove her own clothing	Exposes only body parts essential for the rape
Victims same age cohort	Rapes within the same race
Rapes every 7-15 days	Travels on foot
May be impotent	Weapon of opportunity
Increase in violence	May later contact victims
May cover victim's face	Continues until apprehended
May collect souvenirs	
May keep a diary of the rapes	

sexually assault his victims. He will choose a weapon, if one is needed, from the home of the victim. He may also collect souvenirs from the homes of the victims.

Oddly enough, the Power Reassurance Rapist may later contact his victim inquiring about her health and the possible ill effects of the rape. Or, as one rapist did, thinks the victim enjoyed the rape so much that he promises to return the next day for another sexual encounter. This particular rapist fulfilled his promise, and as he climbed into the woman's bedroom window, the police were waiting for him.

There may be a sexual dysfunction with the Power Reassurance Rapist. He may suffer from impotence. In addition, this rapist may keep a diary, as well as the names of his victims and descriptions of all his rapes.

Interviewing Strategy. As with many rapists, the Power Reassurance Rapist will continue with his rapes until he is caught. Once apprehended, interviewing strategies must be decided. Unfortunately, there is no single best strategy to use. The basic purpose of his rapes must be realized: to resolve his self-doubts with no real intent to inflict harm. One strategy might be to appease his sense of masculinity; if it is indicated that the women who have been raped have not suffered "undue" trauma, and that the police realize the rapist had no desire to harm his victim, such a statement could set the stage for a sympathetic relationship. The "relationship" could result in a sharing of information, not only about the rape currently under investigation, but about other suspected connected rapes.

Another strategy could be assumed of entering the interviewing session with a sense of empathy and assuming a role of a "father confessor." This offender wants to be understood and not condemned.

TABLE 8.3 Social Characteristics of the Anger Retaliation Rapist

Parents are divorced	9th grade education
Married	56% physically abused
Socially competent	Hates women
20% are adopted	Does not assault wife
Athletic	Frequents bars
Likes contact sports	Action-oriented occupations

Anger Retaliation Rapist

Unlike the Power Reassurance Rapist, the Anger Retaliation Rapist has a general overarching purpose to hurt women. He wants to rape to get even with all women for all of the injustices, real or imaginary, he has suffered at the hands of any female in his life.

As seen in Table 8.3, this violent personal offender is considered to be very socially competent. The personal situation in the family home, however, was anything but pleasant or normal. More than half (56%) were physically abused by their parents. Eighty percent of the parents were divorced, and because of this familial setting, one in five of the rapists was adopted, and 53% were at one time or another in a foster home. Eighty percent were raised in a home where there was a single female figure.

Because of the experiences with his female significant others (mother, adoptive mother, foster mother, and so on), he has adopted a position of negative and hostile feelings toward women in general.

The personal perception of this offender is very important. He sees himself as being athletic and masculine. For this reason, he often seeks recreation centering around contact sports and may also be involved in an action-oriented occupation, such as a policeman, race car driver, and so on. He is likely to be married, and like many rapists, not assaultive to his mate. He may also be involved in a variety of extramarital affairs to substantiate his macho image.

His friends will report that he has a quick, violent temper. He seems to have an uncontrollable impulse to rape. The rape follows a precipitating event he has undergone with his wife, mother, or some significant woman in his life. This impulse will send him into a rage where rape is the action which follows.

Elements in the Rape Process. As shown in Table 8.4, the Anger Retaliation Rapist will rape close to his home. The attack itself will be a blitz attack. The blitz attack shows that there is little planning in his

TABLE 8.4 Elements in the Anger Retaliation Rape

Neighborhood attack	Blitz attack
Little planning	Intends to harm victim
Weapons of opportunity	Rips off clothing
Excessive profanity	Situation precipitated
Aggression increases	Rapes every 6 months to a year
May ejaculate into the face of the victim	Anat and oral sex
Victim is the same age or older	Possible retarded ejaculation

rapes. The rape is not a sexual act; the act of rape is primarily expressive of anger. The aggression in the rape is intended to harm the victim.

The aggression manifested in the rape ranges from verbal assault to physical assault to possible murder. A great deal of profanity is used. He will kick his victim, rip off her clothing, and will use weapons of opportunity, including his hands, fists, and feet.

The Anger Retaliation Rapist has made the vital connection between gratification and his expression of anger and rage. Once he secures his victim into his "comfort zone," he will use profanity for a dual purpose: to heighten the excitement of the rape itself and to instill fear and terror into the victim. He will feel the need to express his anger and rage in many forms. For example, this rapist may insist upon anal sex and then force his victim to perform oral sex upon him. Following oral sex, he may ejaculate onto her face as a further sign of defilement and degradation.

He will seek women of his own race and of his own age or slightly older. Stalking his victim close to his home, he will travel by car. Unlike the Power Reassurance Rapist, after the rape itself, he will make no effort to later contact his victim.

Interviewing Strategy. Keeping in mind this rapist's deep hatred of women, one interviewing technique would approach that of a general business meeting. The rapist would appreciate a professional law enforcement officer only if the officer were male. Women, real or imagined, have done him great injustices. If interviewed by a female officer, the rapist will not cooperate.

One ploy which might be used is an initial approach by both a male and female police officer. Since the rapist has little use for women, the female should leave the interviewing room. By this symbolic move, the rapist could surmise that the male officer is the more experienced and possesses more power. More cooperation could be anticipated from this

TABLE 8.5 Social Characteristics of the Power Assertive Rapist

69% from single-parent family	31 % were foster children
74% were physically abused	High school drop out
Serial marriages	Image conscious
Frequents singles' bars	Macho occupation
Domestic problems	Property crime record
Athletic	Dishonorable discharge

deliberate move by the police themselves. In a presentation by the Behavioral Science Unit of the Federal Bureau of Investigation at the Southern Police Institute, however, the spokesperson suggested that the male officer speak in some disparaging terms about the female officer after she leaves the interviewing room. This is obviously a radical position, and one which many would consider unethical under any circumstance.

Power Assertive Rapist

Rape to the Power Assertive, or Exploitive, Rapist is an attempt to express his virility and personal masculine dominance. Experiencing a sense of superiority simply because he is a man, he rapes because he believes he is entitled; this is what men do to women.

Rape is not only a sex act to this offender. The sexual behavior expressed in this form of rape is an impulsive act of predation. The aggression exhibited in the rape is intended to secure the compliance of the victim. He is indifferent to the comfort and welfare of his victim because she is at his mercy to do what he desires.

The history of the Power Assertive Rapist contains some very interesting social core variables (Knight and Prentky, 1987). For example, almost seven out of ten of these rapists come from a single-parent family. Three of four Power Assertive Rapists were themselves victims of physical abuse, and one third were foster children.

As seen in Table 8.5, the Power Assertive Rapist experiences a great deal of domestic problems and has been involved in a series of unhappy marriages. He is very image conscious and a flashy dresser. Whatever the style of dress for the single, swinging crowd, one would expect this rapist to lead the way in fashion. He is a "regular" at the singles' bars, and probably most of the other regulars know him as one who is always trying to pick up a woman, is loud and boisterous, and is continually trying in one way or another to validate his image as a macho individual.

TABLE 8.6 Elements in the Power Assertive Rape

Cruises the singles' bars	Attacks from 7:00 p.m. to 1:00 a.m.
Likely to tear clothing	20-25 days between rapes
Multiple assaults	Anal then oral assault
Selfish in his behavior	Retarded ejaculation
No contact with victim	Con or overpower victim
No attempt to hide identity	Very assaultive
Victims of same age group	Rapes within his own race

This person is possibly involved in some type of masculine occupation. He may be in construction work or a police officer. A uniform may be part of the masculine image.

He will, in addition to his dress, drive a flashy car, perhaps a sports car or one which is a favorite in his crowd.

Elements in the Rape Process. As Table 8.6 shows, the Power Assertive Rapist may often find his prey in a singles' bar. She is a victim of opportunity. The bar is a likely place for him to stalk his victim because there is always an ample supply of females from which to select.

The attack of the Power Assertive Rapist is mixed with verbal and physical violence. If resisted, he will physically overpower his victim to get what he desires.

This rapist will rip or tear the clothing off of his victim. After all, he believes, she will not need them in the future so why take care in removing them?

There may be multiple assaults on a particular victim, who is usually of his same age group. She will be exposed not only to vaginal assault, but the rapist will also have anal sex with her and then demand that she perform fellatio immediately after he withdraws. He may suffer retarded ejaculation, so he may force the victim to perform oral sex on him in order for him to become physically aroused to rape. Remember, sex is expressed as an impulsive act of predation.

This physical assaultist may rape often within a 20 to 25 day cycle, strangely similar to a pseudomenstrual cycle. As we have already seen, the Power Reassurance Rapist assaults in a 7 to 15 day cycle, and the Anger Retaliation Rapist will commit his offense once again every six months to a year.

The Power Assertive Rapist does not rape for sex. His rape is an act of predation. He does have a sex partner, a wife or lover, but he feels the need to rape, and the aggression is intended to force the victim's

TABLE 8.7 Social Characteristics of the Sadistic Rapist

60% from single-parent home	60% of parents divorced
63% suffered physical abuse	13% in foster homes
Middle-class family man	Sexually-deviant home
Some college education	Married
No arrest record	In his 30s
Compulsive personality	White-collar occupation

As shown in Table 8.7, the social history of this rapist includes many items which are certainly unique to his type. For example, six of ten Sadistic Rapists come from single-parent families. A similar number of the offenders are from broken homes. The majority have suffered childhood physical abuse, and many come from homes where there has been evidence of sexual deviancy, for example, fathers who were rapists themselves, or other forms of sexual deviances.

The offender has a history of childhood sexual problems. Voyeurism, promiscuous sex, or excessive masturbation are all indications of juvenile sexual pathologies.

In his adult life, this rapist is modally married and is considered to be a "good family man." Often times living in a middle-class, residential, low rate of crime and theft area, he is viewed as a social asset to his community, has a better than average education, and is in a white-collar occupation.

He exhibits a compulsive personality. This becomes particularly important in the profiling process. He demonstrates this compulsivity in his personal appearance and in the automobile he drives. It will be neat, clean and kept in good condition.

This offender is intelligent and probably does not have a police record. He has the ability to escape detection for his offenses, if for no other reason than because he has carefully planned his rapes and carries them out within the parameters of his plan.

His intelligence, knowledge of police work, antisocial personality, and care in the planning and implementation of his rapes make him especially difficult to apprehend.

Elements in the Rape Process. There is an expressive aim in his rapes. The aggression component exhibited is not a controlling factor; he intends to do personal harm. If this rapist is not apprehended, his rapes will eventually result in the death of his future victims. (See Table 8.8.)

compliance with his demands. The aggression used will escalate in subsequent rapes. As he continues to rape, he may bring his own weapon to the rape situation. The behavior does indeed show forethought and planning.

He will not hide his identity; masks, darkness, or blindfolds are not necessary. He has no intention of ever contacting this victim again.

He will not apologize after the rape; he will not collect souvenirs and/or keep a diary. He will make a conscious determination to rape within his own race.

Interviewing Strategy. With the Power Assertive Rapist, it must be realized that he has little control over his impulses, and that if this is true, he may be close to the clinical evaluation of having a character disorder. We commonly term this person a sociopath or psychopath. He will not appreciate an interview based upon assumptions or guesses.

The best technique is for the investigators to know the details of the case and the suspect's involvement. The investigator must be comfortable in the detailed investigation of the case. The Power Assertive Rapist will appreciate a well-prepared case. If the questioning is not conducted effectively and professionally, the case may be lost.

It might be best to approach the interviewing session with all the facts, the placement of the suspect at the scene, physical evidence which directly implicates him in the rape (or rapes) itself, and other pertinent information which will illustrate the investigator is a professional. What the police should communicate is, "We know you did it, and this is how we are going to prove it."

If the facts are wrong, or if the investigator cannot provide the rapist with the basis for his own determination of the investigator's competence as a professional, then intimidation, supplication for aid, or a plea for the victim's welfare will not secure any form of cooperation.

Sadistic Rapist

Of all rapists, the Sadistic Rapist is the most dangerous. The aim of his rape is primarily the expression of his sexual-aggressive fantasies. He has the purpose of hurting his victims by inflicting physical and psychological pain. Many of these rapists have antisocial personalities and are quite aggressive in their everyday life, especially when criticized or thwarted in their quest for personal satisfaction.

This rapist has made the vital connection between aggression and sexual gratification. In other words, he has eroticized aggression and violence. There is synergism with sex and violence.

TABLE 8.8 Elements in the Sadistic Rape

Stalks his victims	Transports his victims
Uses gags, bonds, handcuffs	May blindfold his victims
May exhibit triolism	Cuts victim's clothing
Ritualistic rape	Degrading language
Retarded ejaculation	Increase in violence
Has a rape kit	Will eventually kill
Rapes will vary according to time	Victims' ages vary

The Sadistic Rapist uses his well-maintained automobile to stalk out his victims. Regardless of his victim's age, he takes great care in his selection, making certain that he is not seen and taking all precautions necessary which hinder his detection and apprehension. He will take his victim to a place where he controls the actions, his "comfort zone."

Not only to control his victim, but especially to instill fear and terror into his victim's psyche, he will use gags, duct tape, handcuffs, and other paraphernalia. He may also blindfold his victim. By doing this, he will instill more terror. To increase the terror, he may tell the victim what he plans to do to her, detail by detail. He will use excessive profanity and degrading language. As he is attacking his victim, he may indeed call her by another name: his wife's, his mother's, and so on.

The Sadistic Rapist is also very ritualistic. The rape must go according to plan. He has a compulsive personality, and for him to experience the feelings he believes are necessary, the rape must go as he has planned. There may be certain words which the victim must say for him to become aroused. Also, he may insist on oral sex as a prelude to coitus. He too may suffer from retarded ejaculation.

This rapist often carries a rape kit in his car. Ted Bundy, for example, carried a rape kit composed of hand cuffs, an ice pick, a ski mask, a panty hose mask, rope, black garbage bags, a tire tool, and so on. (See Figure 8.1.)

The Sadistic Rapist learns more effective methods to stalk his victims and better ways of disposing of the ones he has killed. As Ted Bundy remarked during a personal interview on death row at Florida State Prison, "A large number of serial killings is simply an attempt to silence the victims. A simple but effective means of elimination." (Bundy, 1985). Without remorse, often mildly intoxicated and the user of recreational drugs, this rapist will continue to rape. Not to minimize

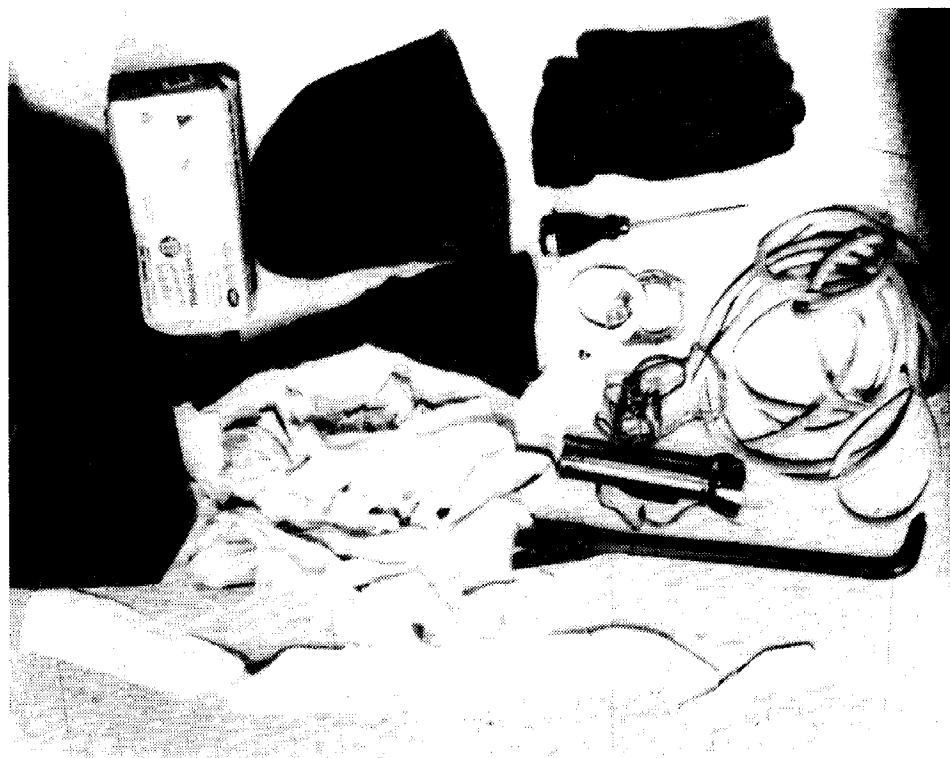


Figure 8.1

the trauma and danger of rape, this offender may escalate his violence to the point where the serial rapist becomes a serial killer.

Interviewing Strategy. Unfortunately, there appears to be no one particular strategy to use effectively with this rapist. The Behavioral Science Unit of the FBI recommends that interviewing be eclectic. The effective and alert investigator, however, must be aware of the many variables and nuances of the case. This offender cannot be expected to cooperate if he believes that the police investigator is anything less than competent and professional.

It is recommended that any interviewing strategy used with the Sadistic Rapist be business-like and conducted in a professional manner. Securing the factual details and presenting the facts to the offender may be the technique which results in a positive resolution to the case at hand.

9 The Victim in Psychological Profiling

Perhaps no single element in the profiling process has been neglected more than the victim. The Behavioral Science Unit (BSU) of the FBI has been active in securing data regarding the social and behavioral characteristics, as well as the reputations, of victims. These are crucial in the profiling enterprise.

The victim is the last person to witness the crime. If alive, the victim can tell a great deal about the crime. If the victim is deceased, however, the crime scene must tell the story. In either instance, therefore, the profiler should be as interested in the activities of the victim as in any element of the submitted packet of information accompanying the request for a profile. It has been noted that victim profile and victim activity have been frequently neglected, for whatever reason, as reported elements.

Elements in the Victim Profiling Process

To appraise a crime without some knowledge of the victim is certainly remiss. Unfortunately, however, victim information is frequently lacking in substance. The usual report received from an agency contains varying degrees of information about the type of weapon used, the position of the victim's body, the amount and type of physical evidence, the autopsy, and other important items of the case. It is equally important to include certain cognitive elements concerning the life-style,

TABLE 9.1 Elements in Psychological Victim Profiling

<i>Physical Traits</i>	<i>Marital Aspects</i>	<i>Personal Life-Style</i>
Age	Marital status	Alcohol and drug use
Sex	Marital adjustment	Daily activities
Race	Children	Recent changes
Height/weight	Marital reputation	Sports interests
Dress	Past divorces	Hobbies
Hair color/style	Friends and enemies	Personal demeanor
<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Personal Demography</i>
Present position	Number of years	Residence
Past positions	Schools attended	Past residences
Special training	Intelligence	Neighborhood
<i>Medical History</i>	<i>Psychosexual History</i>	<i>Court History</i>
Physical history	Personal fears	Arrest record
Mental history	Sex history	Past court record
Dental records	Personality history	Pending cases
<i>Last Activities</i>		
Routes of travel		
Social activities		
Special meetings		

SOURCE: Data from Holmes, R., DeBurger, J. (1988) and the FBI.

habits, oddities, friends, and so on of the victim. Table 9.1 lists the elements important to victim profiling.

Physical Traits

Perhaps the most obvious element in the profiling process is a physical description of the victim. Much care must be taken in gathering an accurate description of the victim's basic physical characteristics. Age, for example, could be a critical victim selection factor. Jerry Brudos, a serial killer and serial rapist from Oregon, selected young women from 19 to 23.

Sex, male or female, is often the overarching element in the selection process. Because the young and women are typically more vulnerable, they are recurrently victimized. More than one serial rapist and murderer related a conscious effort to select a victim predicated upon perceived vulnerability.

The type of dress may be of some significance for selection. For example, one serial murderer designated his victims because "they looked like hookers." None of the four young women he abducted and

killed were prostitutes. They were all selected because in his mental reality they *appeared* to be prostitutes, so they must be prostitutes. Their style of dress signaled their "vocation" and, in effect, their death.

Hair style and hair color may also be preeminent for the violent personal offender. Recall Ted Bundy's reported fondness of young, college-aged women with long hair parted in the middle. Additionally, most of the women had dark hair; Laura Aime and Susan Rancourt were exceptions.

Marital Status

As much information as possible should be known about the victim's marital status. Too often, the report will simply state, "Married." Obviously, this is not adequate.

In a recent case, the nude body of a woman was found along a rural road. She had not been raped, but was shot five times. Reportedly, she had been happily married for 15 years. There were no children. The police report mentioned the couple had been regarded as pillars of the community and very community-minded. Employed, she was athletic and went to an exercise center two evenings a week. All outward appearances indicated a marriage which was committed and happy.

A statement by the homicide detective said the woman was an introvert and had no close friends. As well, there were no enemies. To have an attractive young woman, athletic, a golfer with some promise in her youth, but now with no known close personal friends seemed inappropriate. Her sole contact with the other sex was the exercise class at the health center. The detectives discovered several leads predicated upon the resolute determination that regardless of how it appeared, all was not well within the marriage. The profiler noted this inconsistency in his report to the police. Closer investigation found a husband with a very jealous disposition and a wife with an outside love interest. One small, seemingly insignificant statement signaled an inconsistency which led to the successful resolution of the case.

Personal Life-Style

A victim's daily activities could yield vital information concerning the victim's character. These data may also serve as an index of the type of people who not only compose a circle of friends, but also the many others with whom the victim may have come into contact.

Hobbies, sports interests, drug use, frequenting bars, drinking habits, or any recent changes in behavior or personality may also be indicators of significance.

Many victims have significant others who serve as sources of such information. They should be queried regarding any sudden or recent change in the social life or personality of the victim. This information may serve as an index of not only availability but susceptibility.

Occupation

The occupation and employment of a victim expands the network of relationships. The number of people involved in a business relationship with the victim, not only on a professional basis but also on a personal one, can, understandably, be quite large. Nonetheless, a careful examination of the number of persons with frequent contact with the victim may lead not only to a better discernment of the victim's personality but also the victim's personal organizations.

Special training and education may indicate organizations, associations, conferences, or meetings in which the victim may have been active. Groups of people at these occasions share common interests. Special training also indicates an aggregate of people temporarily together for a common purpose.

The investigator should not ignore the past positions and employment of a victim because there, too, has existed a network of friends, enemies, or acquaintances.

A profile was completed recently on a young woman who was repeatedly stabbed in the neck. In the setting where she worked for the past seven years, one fellow worker remarked that there was a male co-worker who had tried unsuccessfully to date the deceased victim. Also, the victim had once stated that if anything every happened to her, "John would probably be the one to kill me." From talking with fellow workers, two viable leads were developed. This is obviously nothing new to experienced homicide investigators. It does help, however, in painting a picture of the victim with an eye toward understanding the victim's personality and the type of person who would commit such an act.

Education

It is important to realize not only the extent of the victim's education, but also the various schools and programs attended. As with occupation, education widens the network of acquaintances. Ted Bundy, for example, was thought to be in the same psychology class as Lynda Ann Healy. This has not been verified by school officials at the University of Washington, but was reported in several different sources, including an interview with Ann Rule in 1987. Ann also related that

Lynda had shopped at the same grocery where Ted had worked as a stock boy two blocks from where she lived and was killed. As a law student living on a college campus, Ted Bundy was able to associate with young women who would be vulnerable and easy to kill.

The intelligence of the victim may serve as an indicator of the type of people with whom she or he associated. In other words, very intelligent people often associate with those of like intelligence. This may be especially important when the attack occurs in a process-focused orientation and away from the home or apartment of the victim. It must also be remembered that many victims are victims of opportunity, and therefore little stalking may occur. As more stalking of the victim is evident, certain elements are more viable and helpful than others.

Personal Demographics

The location of the victim's home may play an important role in the manner in which the victim did indeed become a victim. It may be undeniably true that many crimes of a violent personal nature occur in a lower-class, high rate of crime area. If the victim resides in such a neighborhood, then this becomes valuable information.

Past residences are also valid indicators of the victim's housing pattern, selected because of preference or necessity. Useful information may be obtained from a thorough canvassing of the neighborhoods of previous areas of residence. Past neighbors and friends can lend an appraisal of the victim's lifestyle and circle of friends. Same names may appear which note a continued relationship.

The investigator must be aware of the neighborhood's complexity. Racial composition is one item which should be carefully taken into account. Although it is true that most rapes and murders occur within the perpetrator's race, if the racial composition of the victim's neighborhood is radically different from the victim's own race, several possibilities may immediately arise which may account for the victim living in a particular area.

Medical History

The obvious benefit from a victim's medical history is that it could yield any communicative diseases, such as venereal disease. It was stated in one interview that one of Bundy's early victims had gonorrhea; he did not test positive for this social disease.

The dental records of a deceased victim would lead to the identification of a corpse, especially if there is an advanced state of decomposition. The dental records proved invaluable in the identification of

Susan Rancourt, an alleged Bundy victim, when she was found a year after she was reported missing.

The mental health history of a victim should be carefully investigated. This record could supply valuable information regarding the victim's psychological background, as well as other persons with whom the victim could have come into contact. It may also serve as an indicator of the behavior exhibited by the victim consistent with her daily life and activities. Some behavior may be commonplace with some people but quite inappropriate with others.

Psychosexual History

All people have some fears. Some people have more than others, but all of us have some fears which are unrealistic. Some people may feel quite fearful of high places, elevators, restaurants located on top floors, and so on. A list of such fears gathered from friends, relatives, and acquaintances might supply a personality profile which will give the profiler and the police investigator a better understanding of the victim's personality.

The victim's sexual history might also provide a clue to the present crime. For example, a young woman dated several men, took showers with them, involved herself in mutual oral sex and masturbation, but would not have coitus with a date since she wanted to "save herself" for her future husband. This was important information because it opened the case for another avenue of analysis.

It is also important to have a firm understanding of the personality assessment of the victim. The personality, as earlier stated, is the sum total of what the person is. It is not static. The personality of any person, victim or not, will change over time. The essence of the personality may remain the same, but there are some changes which occur over time that will somehow alter the personality. For this reason, a personality profile should be obtained not only from current sources but also from sources outside the present time frame.

From an examination of the personality of the victim, a picture may be drawn of the type of associates with whom a murdered victim may have been involved or to whom she may have been exposed. The importance of a full understanding of the personality cannot be stressed too strongly.

Court History

As important as it is to understand the type of person the victim was, it is equally important to realize the experiences the victim may have

had with the criminal justice system. For this reason, the investigator should be aware of any past arrest records, court appearances (as offender, victim or witness), and any pending cases. In acquiring this information, the profiler will have a more complete portrait of the victim.

Victim's Last Activities

In the development of any psychological profile, special attention should be directed to the victim's activities prior to the crime itself. The routes of travel, social activities, phone calls, meetings made or missed, or anything which appears to be out of the ordinary from the victim's usual pattern of daily living should be noted (Holmes and DeBurger, 1988, p. 90). In other words, did the victim do something unique today which alerted someone to the victim's vulnerability and availability?

Conclusion

This chapter offers insight into the role of the victim as it relates to the crime itself. It must be borne in mind that regardless of daily activities, life-style, interaction with the criminal justice system, or other socio- or psychological reasons which conflict with the life-style or personal preferences of the profiler, the victim must be considered an integral component in the profiling process. The victim has some part in the crime which has been committed. Just as the crime scene, a disposal site in a murder case, special words stated during the crime, and so on all have import to the profiling process, for a full and complete understanding of the crime, the victim must be added to the total picture.

and rape cases (25%) (Howlett, Hanfland, & Ressler, 1986). Recent profiling efforts have directed activity around crimes other than these. For example, the other 10% are cases which involve child molestation, kidnapping, extortion, obscene telephone calls, suicide, and other criminal activity.

Haran and Martin (1984), for example, completed an interesting profile of armed bank robbers. In their article, "The Armed Bank Robber: A Profile," the authors cited the social core variables of bank robbers: young (26-30), white (61%), unemployed (56%), and high school dropouts (49%). Only 15% had no criminal record; less than one in four acted alone.

A psychological profile of the firesetter has also been considered. Rider's profiles (1980a, 1980b), which included selected social core variables, suggest a typology of arsonists, including a hired torch.

The anonymous letter writer has also been researched. Again, categories were developed—threatening, obscene, racial, extortion, nuisance, stool pigeon, or guilty conscience—and the research argues for an examination of such letters utilizing a "psycholinguistics" approach (Casey-Owens, 1984, pp. 816-819).

Such novel uses of profiling apart from the 90% mentioned above may indicate that the practice of profiling has gained some recognition and appreciation for its intended role in the resolution of suitable crimes.

As it gains acceptance, profiling will move away from the "prosaic" role in murder and rape and into cases which deal with obscene letters, phone calls, pyromania, and even bank robbery.

Education and Training in Profiling

There is truly nothing magical or mysterious about the "art" of psychological profiling. As a professor in criminal justice, I have been involved in higher education for more than 20 years. It has always amazed me when I hear a student say "The professor really knows his stuff. He must be really smart. I can't understand what he is saying." If the professor were truly intelligent, the point could be made intelligible. Academicians and other professionals are infamous for creating a jargon which protects their knowledge—as well as their status—from close examination. This is true of many other fields and disciplines, including medicine, psychiatry, psychology, and law enforcement, and this has recently emerged in profiling. There are some who would like

10 Profiling and the Future

The future of psychological profiling appears promising. The number of cases profiled over the last two years has risen dramatically. Once viewed with great suspicion, profiling has been judged increasingly by police professionals as one more tool in the battle against crime.

Of course, there are many who are still more than a little reluctant to accept profiling as a reliable and useful tool. Godwin, for example, stated that profiling has served little purpose in solving crimes: "Nine out of ten of the profiles are . . . vapid. They play at blindman's bluff, groping in all directions in the hope of touching a sleeve. . . . They [the police] require hard data: names, faces, fingerprints, locations, times, dates. None of which the psychiatrists can offer" (Godwin, 1978, p. 276). He further categorizes profiles themselves as being dull and more than a little tedious, a position shared by Campbell (1976).

Levin and Fox (1985, p. 175) remark that psychological profiles are basically useless in identifying a murderer: "Unfortunately, this tool, no matter how expertly implemented, is inherently limited in its ability to help solve crimes." Profiling, however, should be better considered a starting point for the investigation of a particular crime, certainly not as the sole forensic tool.

Additional Profiling Instances

Historically, the preponderance of cases submitted to the FBI's Criminal Personality Profiling Program seek aid in murder cases (65%)

others to believe that profiling can be done only be a selected few with special and unique education and training that is somehow inculcated by osmosis and close identification with the "masters."

The message here is that profiling can be done by a variety of people. Touted "authorities," many times sitting behind desks hundreds of miles away, may indeed lend insight into a crime. There is no preponderance of empirical evidence, however, to support the position that police investigators with some knowledge of the social and behavioral sciences cannot just as reliably profile their own cases. After all, this has been done on a smaller scale for years. In my seminars across the nation, I always stress that profiling can be done by those who are closest to the crimes: the police. There is truly nothing mysterious in the profiling process.

What is actually needed to profile a serious, violent crime is a knowledge of sociology, psychology, psychiatry, and criminology, and the blending of these basic disciplines. After all, no one has a "lock" on this knowledge. Common sense, combined with social and behavioral concepts, will yield valuable and reliable results.

It is, however, truly sad if turf issues hinder the profiling process, or when the successful resolution of a case is impeded by the disease of NIH (Not Invented Here).

Computerized Monitoring

The computer revolution has truly arrived, even in law enforcement. The Drug Enforcement Administration, for example, recently developed the Drug Abuse Warning Network (DAWN). This program monitors drug mentions in 26 Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas across the nation. Another computer system, Automated Reports and Consummated Orders System (ARCOS), has also been initiated. This system yields data necessary for estimating drug requirements and alerts investigators to sources of diversion in the licit drug distribution chain. By combining DAWN and ARCOS, the Drug Enforcement Administration is able to disseminate information on abuse and trafficking trends throughout law enforcement agencies.

In New York, the Homicide Assessment and Lead Tracking System (HALT) was established by the Division of Criminal Justice Services and the Division of State Police. HALT has a goal to collect case data on nondomestic homicides in the state of New York and then disseminate the information within the state.

In 1983, Michigan implemented a statewide computerized data collecting system, Homicide Investigative Tracking System (HITS). Analogous to the HALT system in New York, if crimes are similar, then the related police agencies are notified.

The Violent Criminal Apprehension Program (VICAP) operating under the National Center of the Analysis of Violent Crime, has been in operation only a short time. VICAP has certainly been ambitious. The computerized system has the goal of collecting nationwide data and analyzing specific violent crimes (Howlett, Hanfland and Ressler, 1986).

Pierce Brooks, a former homicide detective and presently a consultant to the FBI, stated:

The lack of a centralized automated computer information center and crime analysis system to collect, collate, analyze and disseminate information from and to all police agencies involved in the investigation of similar pattern multiple murders, regardless of the date and location of occurrence, is the crux of the problem. (Brooks, 1981, p. 1)

VICAP deems appropriate those cases which deal with: (a) solved or unsolved homicides or attempts, especially those that involve an abduction; are apparently random, motiveless, or sexually oriented; or are known or suspected to be part of a series; (b) missing persons, where the circumstances indicate a strong possibility of foul play and the victim is still missing; and (c) unidentified bodies where the manner of death is known or suspected to be homicide (Howlett, Hanfland and Ressler, 1986, pp. 15-16).

The officials involved in VICAP are hopeful that the program itself will be expanded to include rape, child sexual abuse, and arson cases. Part of this hope may lie in the fact that the program itself has not attracted the volume of cases that the FBI had anticipated (Howlett, Hanfland and Ressler, 1986, p. 17). To combat this shortfall, the VICAP questionnaire itself was shortened and revised. There is little empirical data that support the validity of the results yielded by VICAP; regardless, it could be a valuable starting point for the accumulation of information regarding certain kinds of crime.

As mentioned earlier, turf issues must be resolved before VICAP and other similar programs will be successful. This is truly a difficult posture to overcome.

The computer must be viewed as a part of modern technology which can help in man's difficult tasks. It is not a substitute for human

intelligence nor for a solid investigation of a crime by competent law enforcement personnel. Artificial intelligence is simply that: artificial. What the computer will issue after a run of data will depend on the program which has been designed, as well as the data input. Great care and the precise handling of data are important in computer use. Of course, the key to the efficacy of the computer is the validity of the data which are input.

Computerized Profiling

Although it is agreed that there is an art in the profiling process, in the near future a computerized profiling program might quickly and efficiently depict the type of personality who would commit lust murder, rape, serial murder, or other violent crimes. Certainly, the examination of crime scenes needs a human element. A computer, however, can assimilate the data of a correctly-coded program and emit a series of statements which would lend some basic information about an unknown suspect.

A profiler emits a calculated, educated guess. It is more than a wild guess, but nonetheless, it is truly a guess. A computerized program would collate the information and do much more than simply gather data. It could notify other police agencies participating in similar cases and offer them the same personality profile.

What information would be necessary for a computerized profiling program? Obviously, there must be basic information regarding the crime scene, victim profile, and all of the other information already outlined in this book. Just as great care must be taken in inputting the data, great care must be taken in the design of the program. This design should take into account the elements of deviant activity. The fetishes, partialities, compulsions, and traits of ritualism which play an important role in "traditional" profiling must also be recognized as vital components of a computerized program. This can be easily done. The authors of such a program, however, must be aware of and theoretically fluent in the concepts of profiling, as well as the disciplines of psychology, sociology, psychiatry, and criminology.

It is envisioned that the authorship of such a computerized program would be a joint venture of investigators, theoreticians, and computer-literate professionals. Each member would bring to the team a unique perspective and contribution, which would indeed compose a psychological packet.

Conclusion

The computer revolution is dramatically influencing the criminal justice system. The computer has been used for the last several years in the storing of records, case management, personnel files, fiscal matters, criminal files, and finally tracking. It should be no great surprise that psychological profiling might be the next task for the computer. The "art" of profiling is not to be diminished, but the "science" of the profiling process will be enhanced by the speed and accuracy of the technology. There would still be the human element but aided again by the computer.

Profiling is finally coming of age in the battle against violent crime. This book stresses not only identifying the components of profiling, but just as importantly, the need for the profile itself. As stated in the first chapter, the profile will narrow the range of effort, identify interrogation techniques, and help with the evaluation of the unknown suspect's personal belongings as far as a search warrant is concerned. The profiling process must make use of all available, legitimate resources: theoretical assumptions, law enforcement experiences and expertise, and finally, the use of the computer. An ostensible tool, the computer may indeed be the next modern advance in the repertoire of weapons against crime.

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