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Case Analysis Unit (ed.)

Methods of Case Analysis

An International Symposium

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Case Analysis*

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Case Analysis Unit (ed.)

Methods of Case Analysis

An International Symposium

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Bundeskriminalamt Wiesbaden 1998

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Foreword

The 'Case Analysis' project group established at the Federal Criminal Police Office (Bundeskriminalamt) began its work in 1993 with the assigned task of developing methods for case analysis and preparation of offender profiles that meet both methodological requirements and are applicable at the practical level. Criminalistic/criminological case analysis is being developed as a system designed to provide a 'tool-box' of new and effective methods for day-to-day work in the field of criminalistics. Scientific analyses of criminal cases, once closed, and the conclusions drawn from these cases form the basis of the system.

Papers and independent publications presented at an international symposium on methods of case analysis held in Wiesbaden in February 1996 are included in the present volume. The symposium was held to meet the need for a stocktaking session concerning the following question: What can the 'Case Analysis' project group and internationally recognised experts accomplish and, above all, how do they handle this task? By working together to solve a criminal case selected as an example, the participants in the Wiesbaden symposium were able to conduct practice-oriented discussions about methodological approaches to case analysis. There are plans to continue this international exchange of ideas and information. Already during the symposium, firm commitments to organising a follow-up meeting were made by participants.

Let me conclude by expressing my hope that, in the future, the police will have more precise and effective methods of analysis at their disposal when coping with the tasks that they face during the final years of the 20th century, methods that will serve as important tools for clearing up cases and tracking down perpetrators.

Dr. Ulrich Kersten
President of the Bundeskriminalamt

Introduction to the Special Volume on the Symposium

1 History

Offender profiling looks back on a long tradition. As early as 1943, the Americans produced a personality portrait of Hitler to be used as a basis for forecasting his decisions. After World War II, offender profiles were made of individual serial offenders, not by a central institution but usually by psychologists and psychiatrists commissioned for that purpose.

In the mid-seventies the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) began to institutionalise this work and put it on a scientific foundation, the reason being that, unlike today, in earlier times most homicides occurring in the USA were solved. This changed dramatically, however, by the late sixties owing to altered offender-victim relationships. Whereas previously 90% of the offenders were found within the circle of the victim's family and friends, in the mid-seventies over 30% of the offenders were strangers.

The FBI developed a complex procedure called 'Criminal Investigative Analysis' aimed at enabling officers to draw conclusions about a perpetrator's identity from traces found at the crime scene, and to gather information about the victim so as to compensate the drop in the solving rate for these crimes.

The main focus of this procedure was on crime-scene work. Offender profiling constitutes only a very small part of this 'Criminal Investigative Analysis'. The overall analysis involves far more items of information than would be necessary just for creating an offender profile, such as recommendations for techniques for interrogating suspects who largely fit the profile, etc.

Some European countries viewed the American system with scepticism. There were two main points of criticism: one referring to the sociocultural differences between the country of origin and the user country, the other referring to the lack of transparency as regards the methods. The question facing European countries was whether the sociocultural differences between the USA and Europe were not too big to allow a system developed in the USA to be applied successfully in Europe. This scepticism was quite justified, for experience in other areas had shown that

massive problems ensued when programs developed in one culture were applied in another without due reflection and careful consideration.

Thankfully, our Austrian colleagues have tackled this problem. They set up a replication study designed to examine the suitability of the FBI method for European countries. The interim results have shown that it may be suitable indeed. According to European users of the FBI method and its Canadian corollary, their field experience with these methods has tended to be positive.

The lack of transparency in methodology appears to be a more difficult problem. In the American system we must differentiate very carefully between two aspects:

- 1) The problem of how findings are obtained from data (research), and
- 2) the question of how these findings are incorporated into an offender profiling process or a 'criminal investigative analysis' (application). Valid statements from the Americans about the methods applied in these two areas are few and far between.

As for the research methods issue, reference was usually made to a number of interviews with offenders that obviously served as a database. It is largely unclear how the data were processed thereafter. Only a small number of studies and evaluations were available, and it is presumably from these that the findings were distilled on which the system was based.

The application is meanwhile a computerised database, and it is obvious that an analysis requires a great deal of empirical knowledge. It is quite unclear what form these findings would take, and how to impart them.

The question, What methods do the profilers actually employ? was rarely answered satisfactorily. This appears to have uncovered a problem that goes deeper than we first suspected and has little to do with stubborn refusal.

In the research area of 'artificial intelligence', and in the design of expert-systems in particular, a similar question arose at the time: 'How do I get an expert to disclose his knowledge and his methods in order to integrate them in a computer system?' Many experts were unable to present their

methods and their knowledge. We observed that experts intuitively link knowledge and methods in a way which is difficult to impart and practically impossible to simulate. Unlike a hierarchically arranged textbook, experts cannot call up the knowledge and methods as to how they must be arranged.

They present knowledge as a holistic system, and when they perform an analysis they are aware of the dynamics of the individual components of a problem without having to break down the system into its constituent parts.

Considered superficially, the work of the research sector in reflecting on scientific methods is easier than that of the applied sector. This has to do with the basic orientation of scientific methods, which must be transparent in their design because they have to remain teachable in the university context. There are also obligatory quality criteria which a scientific method must meet if it is to be taken seriously.

But scientific methods have their limitations. When we look below the surface of supposed objectivity we realise that they are designed as standard tools for acquiring, editing and structuring data. Knowing what questions to ask and how to evaluate, interpret and combine the results, however, requires additional skills or experience, and this is difficult to impart and beyond the realm of all scientific method. It is here where the really sensitive cognitive processes are to be placed, and they are very difficult to describe, even for a scientist.

Some readers now may wonder, 'Why raise such a fuss about the methods, if the thing works anyway?'

Well, it is very dangerous not to know how a method works. Without this knowledge we cannot improve the method, and it is difficult to pass it on. This makes it inflexible in the face of major development steps, and prevents large-scale dissemination. Methods have to be kept up-to-date and functioning. They must develop by embracing new ideas, which is possible only if younger generations understand how they function, and if they can combine their own ideas with this mode of functioning to create new, effective procedures.

For this reason, the efforts of both researchers and practitioners should aim at keeping methods transparent.

This also has an economic advantage: If methods always have to be developed anew, resources are wasted in a way which no-one can afford anymore these days. Therefore, exchanging methods on an international scale is not a luxury, but can save many years of development time.

Developments in other countries

Other countries followed suit by developing or using methods with similar objectives. They were frequently based on the *modus operandi* of the FBI, e.g. in Canada where the US method underwent further development. Some institutions and countries have developed their own methods, which are often closely related to methods found in the social sciences. This relationship suggested itself since it is in this area in particular that much experience exists as to how to structure, evaluate, and present information.

In the Netherlands, several approaches have been taken. An officer was sent to the FBI for training while at the same time his Dutch colleagues developed their own ideas. Meanwhile the two directions have united to form a common approach.

In the United Kingdom a market soon developed, teeming with self-styled and acknowledged profilers who compete for the limited cases and profits. The more valuable institutionalised approaches came from the Chair of Investigative Psychology (formerly in Surrey, now in Liverpool) and from the Home Office, which meanwhile has chosen a more structured approach to offender profiling by going through an organisation known as the National Crime Faculty (NCF).

The approaches taken by Sweden and Finland leaned more towards the American one. Denmark developed ideas all of its own, partly on the basis of the work performed by the German Federal Criminal Police Office.

Activities at the Federal Criminal Police Office

The Federal Criminal Police Office and its Research Unit on Criminology and Criminal Investigation (KI 1) very closely observed the activities in other countries. In order to gain an insight into how the US system and other approaches work, official journeys were made to the relevant institutions, and police conferences and scientific meetings attended.

In 1988, a first draft was presented at the Federal Criminal Police Office on how to introduce a system of case analysis and offender profiling tailored to conditions in Germany. Like the FBI method, this basic design, which is still valid today, represents a holistic approach. Here too, offender profiling constituted only a small part of the overall system. Owing to lack of personnel and to methodological uncertainties, the design was first applied in a small working group which was to speed up the development of a programme or of a project group.

In July 1993, the 'case analysis' project group was set up and commenced work in September of the same year.

This project group was to develop methods of case analysis taking into account offender profiling, to apply and to test them in the form of a consultancy system and, if necessary, to adapt them to different phenomenological areas of application.

It was to incorporate the experience already gained by other projects.

The area of crime selected was extortion and kidnapping for ransom. One reason for this was to prevent competition between different countries, another to prevent redundant research in the field of homicide.

The project was divided into two phases: a research phase envisaging the development of methods and databases to scientifically address the topic, and an implementation phase for translating results into practice. The project, including the implementation phase, is scheduled to last until 1998.

The project group consists of eight persons who dedicate differing amounts of time to and perform different tasks in the project. Its members include scientists from various disciplines, non-police staff, and CID officers.

Early in 1995, the first research results were presented within the Federal Criminal Police Office. They included some quite interesting approaches.

2 History of the 'International Symposium on Methods of Case Analysis and Offender Profiling'

The project group used different methods to arrive at its results, but whenever there was any uncertainty about the path taken, the question asked was, '*How* do the others do it?'. The available sources were then consulted for clues which could provide an answer to this question. As a rule, this was not very fruitful.

The statistical methods preferred in Liverpool were very similar to ours, although quite different in origin. Statistical methods are, however, quantity-oriented, and therefore only covered a portion of the methods we needed.

The FBI's crime-scene-oriented work gave us few clues for our area of crime since in the case of extortion and kidnapping for ransom there is either no clear-cut crime scene, or there are several ones, but these hardly provide any clues about the offender's personality.

The methods used by EUROPOL and INTERPOL and in Holland had been developed for other purposes. Although they still form part of the psychologist's tool-box, they can also be used for sub-areas of the issues we deal with.

Nor were we able to obtain on our journeys concrete clues about how case analysis and offender profiling work, with the interesting exception of a Danish lecture held in Korsør in 1994. The method presented there will be described in detail in this volume.

In 1993 a seminar teaching the FBI method was started in Austria. We were less interested in the results imparted there than in how these results had been obtained. No detailed information, however, was offered apart from that the results had been obtained from a large number of interviews with offenders.

During the conferences in the UK and Holland the question of 'HOW' was only touched upon. While a number of procedures were shown, participants were given few methods which could aid their own work.

To put it briefly: Much of the question of 'How are offender profiling and case analysis actually done?' appeared to have gone unanswered.

We presumed at the time that the reasons why the profilers and researchers had not published anything on the subject until then might have been that, for tactical reasons, they did not wish transparency. As I have already mentioned above, this was obviously only part of the overall problem.

The next step taken by the 'case analysis' project group was to consider how to create a setting in which the designers and the users of methods of case analysis and offender profiling would 'spill the beans' and be able to learn from one another.

Since a certain in-camera quality was to be maintained, we planned to have the event take place in a very small group. We did not have in mind a conference in the usual sense of the word, but a meeting of Europe's leading experts in this field, and we wanted to peek over their shoulders while they worked. The participants we invited came from Sweden, Denmark, the United Kingdom, Holland, Belgium and Austria.

In order to encourage the participants to really show their methods we worked up a case for which the work material had been sent to them in good time beforehand. The case was broken down into sequences, each of which documented a certain information status of the case.

To prevent competition during the symposium, each participant was given a different set of documents to work with, reflecting various information background scenarios. The purpose of this was to simulate how profilers can be included in the case as consultants at different times, and be confronted with differing levels of information. The participants varied in their acceptance of this initial situation.

Unfortunately, the contributions in this volume do not reflect the original situation since the participants, for the sake of fairness, were given the

opportunity to modify their contributions (which were tape-recorded) at their discretion, an opportunity they made extensive use of.

The contributions document very different approaches, which is only natural considering the different characters, areas of work and professional backgrounds of the participants.

Notwithstanding this, one common goal unites the authors: optimising their work. For this reason, and to further the exchange of experience, it was agreed that these methodologically-oriented working meetings should be continued in future.

Wiesbaden, February 1998

Jens Vick

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A Crime Occurs - And We Don't Know Much to Begin with

On the Lack of Complete and Structured Information at the Beginning of an Investigation

Michael C. Baumann

1 Introduction

Before discussing our present case, I should like to pick out two of our *modi operandi* as examples of the way we work. Being part and parcel of our criminological case analysis, they are nevertheless very different from one another, which may go a long way towards explaining the course taken by our research unit once we started getting involved with case analysis.

1.1 The first method:

A retrograde empirical analysis of reported sexually-motivated crimes allows us to define groups of crimes

At the end of the 1970s, our research unit for criminology and criminal investigation at the BKA started conducting comprehensive empirical research in the field of sexually-motivated crimes. With the help of a questionnaire, we collected data on all sexually-motivated crimes reported to the police in one particular German state over a four-year period. The data were considered to be representative of the whole country. The 8,058 questionnaires contained data about offenders, victims and cases.

Six to ten years after a particular crime had first been reported to the police, we visited a small but representative group of 112 sexual-crime victims out of a total of 8,058 cases. With the support of the psychologists accompanying us, we interviewed the victims extensively.

Both samples were evaluated – mainly with quantitative methods –, and we presented a comprehensive phenomenological description of known sexually-motivated crimes in Germany. The results of this study were published in 1983 in a 790-page-strong book, Volume 15 of the BKA Research Series on ‘Sexuality, Violence and Psychological Consequences’¹.

The results bearing on case analysis were of particular interest in the context of the symposium. Until well into the 1970s, both criminology and the science of criminal investigation in Germany focused very much on the offender. Attempts have been made again and again in the past to set up typologies for different groups of sexually-motivated offenders, for example. Our study, however, enabled us to show that a case cannot be understood thoroughly by analysing offender-related data alone. We gained a much better understanding of the cases by looking at victim and case-related data as well. This, then, led to a holistic approach, an analysis of cases by way of a cluster analysis.

Returning to the 112 cases under review, which contained more detailed and more extensive records than the total of 8,058 cases, we computed a cluster analysis with 38 offence, offender and victim characteristics for each case – characteristics which we believed would be particularly helpful in recognising case structures.

At a relatively early stage of the statistical analysis (as early as cluster level 8) this cluster analysis yielded two groups of cases (with 57% and 43% of the cases, respectively) which differed significantly from one another. The 5-cluster and 3-cluster subdivisions made most sense as far as contents were concerned, and it was possible to describe these empirically defined groups of cases very precisely in terms of their sexological, criminological and criminal-investigative characteristics.

In another step we compared the categorisation of the same 112 cases as prescribed by Germany's Criminal Code with the empirical case analysis.

This comparison showed that the classification according to the German Criminal Code, which was originally made up without reference to the real-world back in 1871, did not conform with today's empirical reality. It is highly probable that it did not conform with the criminal-investigative

¹ Michael C. Baumann, *Sexuality, Violence and Psychological Consequences. A Section Study of Victims of Sexual Violence and Infringements of Sexual Codes of Conducts on the Basis of Sexual Encounters Reported to the Police*, Wiesbaden 1983, (2nd, almost identical edition, Wiesbaden, 1996).

reality of those times, either (evidence for this view can be found in the respective literature of that period). This finding was also relevant because the police follow the precepts of the judiciary (as they must). The consequence of all this is that in Germany, phenomenological perspectives, police files, organisational structures of the police, investigation strategies, crime-prevention activities and much more all have taken their cue from these erroneous precepts of the judicial branch.

Later, the results of this case analysis led to a host of changes in the German police – they even had a bearing on the country's criminal law. Some prejudices which were also shared by some members of the judicial and law enforcement authorities had to be eradicated. The findings also gave us some fresh methodological impetus. We began to realise that for a case analysis to be appropriate it must be conducted in a holistic way to the greatest possible extent. We also learned that the data concerning the offence and the victim allowed us to infer information about the offender, provided that the earlier case analysis in this crime area had been conducted with due diligence. There seemed to be something like a case structure, which quite naturally would be embedded in the respective social and historical context. (Sexually-motivated crimes, however, seem to be relatively unaffected by societal changes. Furthermore, our large database of 8,058 cases was perfectly suited for making safe statements, even about subgroups which – in numerical terms – were fairly small. To conduct the case analysis proper (in this case by way of a cluster analysis), however, was even feasible with the much smaller sample of 112 cases which had been recorded with due care. Apparently, data quality outweighs data quantity.

The information collected routinely by the police, however, bears out shortcomings at the source of victim, offender and case data. The data recorded in this way tend to be of very little use in a qualified case analysis. For this, special science-based data recording is necessary.

1.2 The second method:

A pragmatic case assessment accompanying the investigation on the basis of extremely incomplete original data

For a number of years, there has been a negotiation team at the Federal Criminal Police Office (BKA), consisting of a leader, his deputy, a managing director, 14 detective officers, two psychologists plus two tech-

nicians, who are particularly responsible for communication technologies. The BKA's negotiation team is mostly called into action in bases of blackmail and hostage-taking, especially so in international cases. Two of the participants of the symposium are also members of the BKA's negotiation team. This underlines that the criminological case analysis project group is seeking to maintain a constant working relationship with the negotiation team of the Federal Criminal Police Office. We have developed a systematic and wholly pragmatic method of hypothesis generation for the negotiation team, a method that is regularly employed there.

This method addresses the problem that whenever the negotiation team – comprising eight detective officers and one psychologist – goes on a mission it is asked to make an assessment of the case at hand, the victim and - most of all - the offender (in the sense of offender profiling) at a very early stage of the crime. Before there is any contact with the offender himself, the designated senior investigating officer expects us to churn out an analysis of the case, an assessment of the victim's situation, and an evaluation of the personal characteristics of the offender, his whereabouts, his abilities and how dangerous he is.

I should like to give you a brief theoretical run-down on the methodology of our negotiation team. Theoretically speaking, the method is very simple:

At the beginning of many blackmail cases, we have no more on hand than a ransom note. Therefore, we always start by discussing various case hypotheses proposed by the members of the team.

For the purposes of this discussion, we have our own list of case variables, which are important for the accompanying criminal-investigative work on the case. This catalogue of characteristics contains about 80 case variables which the negotiation team goes through one by one.

In a second step, we try to exploit the evaluation advantage of a synthetic group (along the lines of the *Poffenberger* effect). In this phase, certain hypotheses are collected and rephrased in the way of items which are as unambiguous as possible (e.g. according to Allen E. Edward's rules for generating such items). Then we ask the negotiation team members for their independent ratings of specific case hypotheses. Supported by a discussion moderator who promotes independent thought, the negotiation

team members are expected to resist group pressure and give separate, individual ratings, so that the benefit of deliberating on a case within a group can come to full fruition.

The process of assessing a case is further supported by phenomenological and structural data relating to 'blackmail and hostage-taking' which the project group for criminological case analysis elaborated on the basis of scientific case analyses. The negotiation team acquired the currently available analytical case data for these crimes through further training courses.

Then, the individual ratings are collected, and the mean values and standard deviations computed. We make a point of elaborating countertheses and alternative case hypotheses, which are also evaluated one by one.

On the basis of the rated hypotheses we then draw up a case assessment in the form of a report for the designated senior investigating officer. In parallel to this we also work on the offender profile.

Contradictions and doubts concerning the case assessment are left in the report on purpose. Any doubt arising about a particular item variable is put in words and sometimes even given a rating (from 0 meaning 'the odds are that this hypothesis is incorrect' to 100 meaning 'the odds are that this hypothesis is right on target').

While working on a case (investigation of the crime, negotiations with the offenders), new information about the case is provided, which prompts the negotiation team to formulate new hypotheses and then update the case assessment.

So this is a pragmatic *modus operandi* for formulating structured hypotheses when many data are still missing. In most cases, we are asked to perform this case analysis under enormous pressure of time. Under normal circumstances, the negotiation team requires three to seven hours to draw up a case assessment – on the basis of a ransom note, for instance. With this method we have also integrated research findings, we cooperate with the detective officers on the beat, and we advise them in their work on a case.

2 We Don't Know Much - on the Incomplete and Unstructured Information During the Emergency-call Phase of 'our' Case

2.1 Lack of information and confusion - what caused them in this case?

2.1.1 The data available for the following review

All of us have documents about this one particular case. The data packages the participants of the symposium received, however, were all different. As this workshop continues, additional data will become available in parallel to the development of the actual case. We took it upon us to present our view of the case at the very beginning and on the basis of very rudimentary data. The only information available to us for our case assessment was the emergency-call situation that had been reconstructed later.

The emergency-call situation describes what happened throughout this period, starting with the time of the attack on the house (Saturday, November 12, 1988, between about 1800 and 1900 hours), including how great-grandmother (O3) liberated herself, how she alarmed the doctor, and ending with the arrival of the Dortmund-based crime-scene team at the scene of the crime and the discovery of the ransom note (Sunday, November 13, 1988, 0315 hours). Thus, it took eight hours after the attack before the police had enough information to be able to say with reasonable certainty what this crime was all about.

The material before us has been combined from many different sources by a detective officer. The original documents were probably written by a large number of different authors, in some cases after the fact on the basis of what the author was able to remember. Some of the writings may have been retroactively coordinated by several people. Thus, every single text was edited by at least two authors who had no contact with one another. On the one hand there was the original author, or group of authors, describing the emergency-call situation, and on the other hand there was a detective officer who combined all of these sources to form a coherent whole. Thus, we are dealing with a secondary or even tertiary data source with an often mixed and ill-defined

group of authors. The only author we know more about is the last author. The report on the emergency-call situation was given its structure after the fact. In addition to this, I also contributed to the chronological structuring.

2.1.2 The question addressed by the symposium

Harald Dern and myself were to analyse the tremendously incomplete and chaotic information available at the outset of a criminal case. In this context, Harald Dern will focus more on the extremely brief initial information which, for example, is typically transmitted to the officers in a patrol car when they are called to the scene of a crime. I will try to analyse the lack of information which in our experience is typical of the chaotic phase of the emergency-call situation.

I will try to respond to the following questions:

- Why was the information extremely insufficient and sometimes even wrong, especially in the initial phase of this case?
- To what extent can the confusion during the emergency-call situation be attributed to what the case is all about?

2.1.3 Why we were interested in analysing the emergency-call situation

I am not an expert in analysing emergency-call situations, per se. All I know is the usual, more or less pronounced confusion whenever a special investigation team (formed by a special organisation modus) is called into action in the case of a capital crime. However, I have also learned that this initial confusion gives way surprisingly fast to a more stable information and analysis structure.

In view of the fact that criminal cases are easier to solve successfully at the earliest stage of investigation, this initial phase in the development of a case seems to be particularly important from the criminal-investigative point of view, too. Then again, this early phase is marked by both extreme organisational problems and – with a view to our criminal case – an extreme lack of information. (Dr. Heinz Büchler conducted a study within

our research unit on the typical problems special investigation teams usually face.²⁾

With respect to the criminological case analysis we believe that

- (a) case analysis will always be approached for help when a lack of information is perceived at the scene of the crime (on the part of the investigators, for instance),
- (b) there is hope that information gaps may be closed with the help of case analysis, and
- (c) a case will never be completely researched, meaning that it is impossible for us to achieve an optimum information level – even if the offender confesses and the verdict is spoken.

We usually discover this last item to be true, for example, when we read a psychiatric expert opinion about the offender afterwards and compare it to our criminal-investigative knowledge of the case.

In selected cases, the project group is already in a position to offer its advice in ongoing criminal investigations. The negotiation team already does so on a regular basis. We believe that the police has a clear need for advisory support in such cases. Still, we are well aware of the fact that – scientifically speaking – we are moving on uncharted territory.

2.1.4 Discharge

Discharge for our workshop

We are not so much interested in the facts of the case we are discussing, nor will we have to either solve it or even criticise investigating police

² Heinz Büchler, Dieter Wagner, Achim Grawert and Anne-Katrin Fiedler, 'Effectivity and Efficiency of Temporary C.I.D.-specific Organisations'. Including contributions by Erich Philipp and a working group at the Police Leadership Academy (Münster), chaired by Wolfgang Stein, Wiesbaden, 1994.

units. This case has already been fully investigated and the offender/offenders have been sentenced *res judicata*. Thus, we are not under the pressure of having to solve a case.

Discharge for the local police forces

My paper will comment very little on how the dispatch of police forces was organised. In my experience, a lot of time is usually lost due to the general confusion at the beginning of a case, especially so whenever several police departments are involved or when a relatively rare crime has been committed in the jurisdiction of a small police department. In those cases, there is a lack of criminal-investigative routine and/or routine cooperation.

Discharge for myself

While preparing this symposium, I came to realise that it is extremely difficult to reconstruct the emergency-call situation when information is scarce. The same goes for the reconstruction and analysis of the case events proper.

Despite all this, I did not do any additional research. We did not visit the crime-scene either, nor did we look at any maps, etc.

2.1.5 Methodology

First of all, I introduced a chronological order so as to understand the sequence of events. Wherever they are missing, I added the day of week, the date and the time.

Then I subdivided the entire text about the emergency-call situation into meaningful elements, i.e. brief items containing no more than one concept, if possible (added in bold print to the sequence of emergency-call events).

In a third step, I looked at the events from a strictly sequential point of view and added personal comments, questions, ideas and hypotheses (added in italics to the sequence of emergency-call events).

This last task I repeated three times. Even the third time around I managed to come up with new ideas. This, of course, was partly due to the fact that I knew the whole text by then.

In the end, I looked at the original text again and reviewed my comments in order to recognise structural characteristics.

2.1.6 Some results and conclusions drawn from the initial state of confusion

In my view, the retroactively described course of the emergency-call situation was not ordered sufficiently well for a clear understanding of the chronological sequence of events. Obviously, it was not easy to reconstruct the emergency-call situation on the basis of police and court files. I assume that the description of the emergency-call situation in the files was quite chaotic.

I further assume that the real course of events during this initial phase was even more chaotic than it appeared from the files, because it is very likely that the officers tried to bring some 'order' into the files after the fact. This may have contributed to some logical gaps. Furthermore, from a criminal-investigative point of view, the emergency-call situation is often given short shrift during the investigation of a crime.

As I said before, after the attack eight hours passed before the police were more or less informed on what kind of crime had occurred. According to the description of the course of events during the emergency-call situation, it took great-grandmother (O3) about three hours to liberate herself. Then she had to walk for about one kilometre before she found a working telephone (in the tavern). The police was informed for the first time on a Saturday, shortly after 2300 hours. After that, it took the police about four hours and fifteen minutes to involve forensic and criminal experts in the case.

The emergency-call situation contains some clear signs that the offender committed the crime in an unplanned, chaotic manner, and that the course of events may have added to the confusion on the part of the police. It would be superficial to attribute the apparent confusion during the emergency-call phase to organisational shortcomings of the police alone.

Thus, the emergency-call situation is marked by an extreme lack of information as well as communication and cooperation deficiencies. In my mind, this is due to the following reasons:

How did the offender (consciously or not) obstruct the successful investigation of the case?

- The offender didn't want to be recognised and made attempts to foil his discovery, e.g. warning his victims not to say anything; ripping out the phone cord. (He tried to make things difficult for the police.)
- Great-grandmother was scared by the offender, which was exactly what he wanted. (Obstacle to cooperation with the police; caused by offender.)
- Apparently, the offender had enjoined silence upon great-grandmother. From her point of view (killing of the grandmother – her daughter, kidnapping of great-grandchild), she had good reasons to do the offender's bidding. (Leading to a lack of information.)
- First of all, great-grandmother had to dismiss the injunction against speaking. (Obstacle to cooperation with the police; caused by offender.)
- Great-grandmother had to be sure first that the offender was no longer in the house before she tried to liberate herself. (Obstacle to cooperation with the police; caused by offender.)
- The elderly great-grandmother had to liberate herself. (Obstacle to cooperation with the police; caused by offender.)
- Great-grandmother had to make it over to the tavern on foot (about one kilometre away), running the risk of meeting the offender again. (Obstacle to cooperation with the police; caused by offender.)
- The offender acted in an unplanned and clearly illogical way:
 - He killed the grandmother but left the only other witness (great-grandmother) alive.

- He cut the phone line but gave the only witness an opportunity to escape.
- He 'only' wanted to extort money (prepared ransom note) but killed the grandmother.

This unexpected behaviour of the perpetrator made it difficult for the police to make sense of the case.

- The offender's behaviour (heterogeneous crime structure), his unclear way of expressing his wishes (ransom note lying on the table) and his attempt to obstruct communication (injunction against speaking and disrupting the phone link) gave the police conflicting clues about what had happened, so that at various points in time they assumed that one of the following events had occurred:
- A pub brawl or an attack on the tavern;
- Great-grandmother was held captive;
- Grandmother was killed;
- Burglary in a house with someone getting killed;
- Disappearance of a child;
- Kidnapping;
- Extortion.

Traumatic experiences and interference which caused the victim, i.e. the witness, to contribute to a lack of information on the part of the police:

- The great-grandmother probably realised that her daughter was dead but was unable to deal with that situation. At the same time, she hoped that her great-grandson would survive and be found. (Her irritation led to a lack of information.)
- The great-grandmother was bound to be intimidated, scared and shocked. Therefore – and due to her age, too – she was not

very reliable as a source of information. (This led to a lack of information.)

- First of all, great-grandmother had to decide to call someone for help, against the explicit warnings of the offender. (Obstacle to cooperation with the police.)
- Apparently, great-grandmother first tried to keep the police out of everything, calling a doctor. (This led to a lack of information.)

Lack of professionalism resulting from seeming or real responsibilities on the part of the police in the initial phase:

- The small police station in charge was probably inexperienced in dealing with capital crimes. (Lack of professionalism.)
- The police station in charge was mainly manned by uniformed police. (Lack of professionalism for dealing with capital crimes.)
- The uniformed police officers received a call from the tavern owner or his wife reporting a violent crime. Because of their everyday experience, the officers appear to have assumed that there was some attack on a tavern or a drunken brawl. This view is supported by the description that the uniformed police dispatched two patrol cars to what seemed to be the scene of the incident. (Lack of information; leading to the wrong decisions.)
- In such cases, the officers in the patrol cars – who tend to be the younger and less experienced officers of a police station – usually receive only a superficial briefing from their command centre about the mission they are sent on. Therefore, it can be assumed that the officers went to the scene of the action with insufficient, incomplete and possibly wrong information. (This led to a lack on information.)
- If the police assumed that there was a drunken brawl in a tavern, the patrol car officers probably drove to the scene of the incident loaded with their own personal stress symptoms. (Lack of professionalism.)
- There were unclear and frequently changing leadership structures within the police. (Lack of professionalism.)

Lack of cooperation between the various police forces:

- It was a Saturday night. This certainly made the police call-up more difficult. (Obstacle to cooperation.)
- The police forces who were really responsible were scattered over several, sometimes remote, locations. (Making cooperation more difficult.)
- There were cooperation problems within the police forces, because different forces had to work together without being prepared for that. (Making cooperation more difficult.)
- There were different communication paths within the police. (Making cooperation more difficult.)
- There were turf wars within the police. (Resistance to cooperation.)

From the point of view of the police, the case was like a chameleon. Since the perception of what was going on changed all the time, with responsibility for the case shifting along with it, confusion was bound to occur in the emergency-call phase. The different strategies inherent in the police responses led us to assume that until Sunday, 0315 hours, even the police was caught in a maze of different and changing case hypotheses. By changing its colours all the time, the chameleon succeeded in confounding the onlookers.

I assume that the unplanned and 'inconsistent' offender behaviour partly caused or at least exacerbated the information shortfall, the malfunctioning communication and the confusion on the part of the police when the call was made.

Therefore, I propose the following, slightly daring hypothesis:

The chaos during the emergency-call situation makes perfect sense when you compare it with the chaotic course of the crime. The chaos in the development of the crime can partly be explained by the personality of the offender.

An analysis of the chaotic emergency-call situation will therefore enhance our understanding of the case.

As a minimum, however, the following hypothesis holds true:

Since it is highly likely that the offender acted in a chaotic manner, an appropriate police response to the crime was made more difficult.

If we look at this from the other side, an early, qualified assessment of the situation would have helped to 'understand' the case more quickly. Under the prevailing circumstances (weekend; small, isolated police station, etc.) this is almost like asking for the impossible. On the other hand, the option of calling in the negotiation team had been discussed at a fairly early stage. Maybe such a step would have enhanced the understanding of the case. Maybe it would have contributed to the chaos.

2.2 The emergency-call situation

(1) Saturday, 12/11/88, 2305 hrs.:

(1.1) The proprietor of the tavern

(Now the man is first in line.)

(1.2) or his wife

(1.3) called the police station in the town of Meschede

(I assumed that great-grandmother herself had called the police 'around 2300 hr'. Who decided that this was a case for the police after all – the proprietors, the doctor, or great-grandmother? Apparently though, it has become clear that it is about a local criminal case. What number is called – 110?)

(1.4) and told them what happened.

(What exactly happened? Great-grandmother; killing of grandmother; assault; disappearance of great-grandchild?)

(1.5) Because of the confused account of what happened

(Who is to blame for the ensuing chaos?)

(1.6) the police

(officers of the police force)

(1.7) assumed that there had been an assault on the tavern.

(Who inferred that? It seems to be the report of an assault. Maybe the police force usually assumes that a brawl or assault occurs when a tavern is involved, and maybe this is why two patrol cars arrive later on. This may also explain the extreme personal tension of the police officers who go there. The actual situation, however, may be less chaotic: A dead woman is lying on the floor, an old woman is confused, and a child is missing. A telephone is silent, and there is (almost) no trace of the perpetrator. Had the emergency-call been more precise, they may have sent only one patrol car with calmer staff.)

(2) Saturday, 12/11/88, 2306 hrs.:

(They move surprisingly fast to the site where the emergency-call came from! Did they 'postpone' the time when great-grandmother called afterwards for the report? Did the patrol cars happen to be nearby?)

(2.1) Two police vehicles

(see above under 2)

(2.2) of the Meschede police station

(2.3) started heading for the tavern.

(That is, to the assumed scene of the crime, the tavern where the assault was supposed to have taken place or where violence – possibly a brawl – had occurred.)

red. They arrive only at 2322 hrs – see also no. 3, so it takes them 17 or 18 minutes, or do they include the interrogation time under 2.3? ((It took the doctor only five minutes to drive there)). Instructions from the command centre do not seem to have been very precise since they took only one minute to inform two patrol cars. Maybe they were already on patrol. – Cf. Generally poor instructions of patrol car officers.)

(3) Saturday, 12/11/88, 2322 hrs.:

(3.1) The police officers in the police vehicles

(3.2) of the Meschede police station

(3.3) arrived at the tavern

(At what time? How diligently do they conduct the interrogation? How calm and factually do they process the facts?)

(3.4) and informed the police station

(3.5) of the new situation.

(What kind of news do they now report? Actually, they now should have reported that they are not at the scene of the crime but at the site of the emergency call, and that the offence in question is something for the criminal police to attend to.)

(3.6) (No assault on the tavern).

(I.e., on another place.)

(4) Saturday, 12/11/88, 2325 hrs.:

(4.1) The emergency physician

(Why him again? Why not the police officers? Because he was already at the scene of the crime? Because he is an expert in matters of life and death?)

(4.2) made a phone call

(A second phone call after no. 3? Who was called? Was another piece of information necessary after a somewhat more in-depth interrogation?)

(4.3) from the tavern,

(to the police, of course?)

(4.4) stating that a woman had been killed,

(In other words, the physician was at the scene of the crime and had examined the corpse, or rather: had stated that the woman was dead. It is assumed at this point that she did not die of natural causes.)

(4.5) probably strangled,

(How does he know? How did he arrive at this finding? Did great-grandmother realise it, too? - Had the doctor called a second time? Was it, then, the third (?) phone call in total: 1. The proprietors called the doctor; 2. The doctor called the police; 3. The doctor called the police.)

(4.6) at the residence of the 'A' family.

(5) Saturday, 12/11/88, 2325 hrs.:

(5.1) The Meschede police station

(5.2) informed

(5.3) the detective inspector on duty

(They now start passing through, firstly, official channels and, secondly, the relevant branch channels.)

(5.4) of the C.I.D.

(Now the criminal police would be supposed to arrive. Did anyone 'take leave' at this point?)

(6) Saturday, 12/11/88, 2327 hrs.:

(6.1) The Meschede police station

(Why the police station again, why not the inspector on duty?)

(6.2) notified

(6.3) the EV

(police officer in charge)

(6.4) and called for

('Calling for everyone' – is this something the police station is allowed to do?)

(6.5) the tactical personnel

(Who are they?)

(6.6) who come from the next police district which is larger in size and equipment

(Which one would that be? Probably Arnsberg.)

(7) Saturday, 12/11/88, 2327 hrs.:

(7.1) The Meschede police station

(Are the police stations not identical? They probably mean the emergency department of the station, referring to the emergency call.)

(7.2) made a phone call

(Obviously this is not possible to do 'on foot' and directly; is he in another building? Poor relations? Fear? Communication deficiencies?)

(7.3) to the C.I.D. officer on duty

(7.4) of the detective squad in Meschede

(In the same building? This could provoke trouble later on!)

(7.5) telling him

(7.6) that a woman had been murdered

(So it is unambiguously a matter to be handled by the criminal police.)

(7.7) and a child abducted

(So now the uniformed police know almost everything and pass on their knowledge to the criminal police. This, however, is bewildering since the extortionist's letter has not been found yet, and the search for the boy in the forest and in hospitals continues for a long time afterwards. – This takes place approximately 22 minutes after the emergency call and about 5 hours after the offence.)

(7.8) at the 'A' family residence.

(The victims' family)

(7.9) The watch section had been

(Who resorts to indirect speech now?)

(7.10) informed

(7.11) already,

((a) Vindication and (b) damage containment?)

(7.12) and the Meschede detective squad had dispatched a photographer

(What for? Who gave the order? – ‘Photographer’ is an uncommon term anyway. He surely was not an amateur photographer.)

(7.13) to the scene of the crime.

(7.14) The officer

(Which one? Surely the officer on duty – see 7.3 above.)

(7.15) drove to the Meschede police station,

(7.16) picked up the head of the chief of the detective squad

(Is there a lack of cars? Or is he unable to drive himself (now)? Or does he want to save his private car? Or did he lend his car to someone? – I assume this is due to the North Rhine-Westphalian regulation stipulating that the police on duty are not allowed anymore to take their cars back home. In this case, the police officers would have a field day demonstrating that this caused a delay. – Comments Roland Pistor, who put this into text: The Meschede criminal police force may have comprised a total of six officers.)

(7.17) and drove to the scene of the crime.

(Where they arrive at 0025 hrs. This being so, the entire trip takes about one hour, which is a long time in view of a case of such explosive force. Doesn't the criminal police take charge of this case?)

(8) Saturday, 12/11/88, 2335 hrs.:

(8.1) The Meschede police station

(The uniformed or the criminal police? Rather the uniformed police.)

(8.2) informed

(Who gave the order? Was it a passing on of responsibility? Maybe the uniformed police is still active because the inspector on duty and the chief inspector have not yet arrived at the crime scene – see No. (7) and/or No. (13). Or else: Has it not become clear previously that responsibility should be passed on by phone?)

(8.3) the higher officer in charge of the C.I.D.

(Where is the inspector on duty? Later – under No. (13) - another inspector on duty appears. Or are they both identical? I thought the inspector on duty had long since been informed; but now this is about an expert of the murder squad or something similar.)

(9) Saturday, 12/11/88, 2355 hrs.:

(9.1) The Meschede police station

(9.2) informed

(This does not seem to be a 'personnel requisition'. Who in any case gave the order?)

(9.3) the MEK

(Mobile task force of the criminal police for pursuit purposes. What is supposed to be the MEK's mandate in this instance?)

(9.4) and the SEK.

(Special task force of the uniformed police for apprehension purposes. What is supposed to be the SEK's mandate in this instance?)

(10) Saturday, 12/11/88, 2355 hrs.:

(10.1) The Meschede police station

(10.2) put the negotiating team on alert.

(What is supposed to be the negotiation team's mandate in this instance? They now seem to alert all and sundry. Or do they just try to do everything possible?)

(11) Sunday, 13/11/88, 0015 hrs.:

(11.1) The command centre in Dortmund

(This is most likely the uniformed police. After 2327 hrs at the latest, another three quarters of an hour had passed before Dortmund appeared on the scene. How were they informed? They were supposed to have been in charge right from the start.)

(11.2) informed

(11.3) the C.I.D. station in Dortmund

(Do they now pass over the case to the criminal police, or do they have to pursue this path because the negotiation team had been requisitioned?)

(11.4) about a homicide

(General authority for homicides with the Dortmund police headquarters?)

(11.5) and kidnapping

(Who would have been responsible in the first place in such a situation combining homicide and abduction? Does this combination of offences make it harder to determine responsibilities? Maybe – the perpetrator committed an offence without having planned it, his original plan was thwarted, thus disturbing the responsibilities of the police that are arranged according to phenomena. He did not play to the rules nor adhered to the order of how a given offender type should behave.)

(11.6) in Meschede.

(11.7) The higher officer in charge of the uniformed police

(Could it be that the head of the C.I.D. officers was also Meschede? What does the head of the uniformed police do there?)

(11.8) had just refused

(A turf war? From the substance point of view and in view of the present situation this may be cogitable, but what would be the reasons?)

(11.9) the deployment of the negotiation unit

(11.10) and the special task force

(11.11) as demanded

(Demanded? Requisitioned? Requisition put forward? Made urgent?)

(11.12) by the police in Meschede.

(Who was the initiator?)

(12) Sunday, 13/11/88, 0020 hrs.:

(12.1) The Dortmund C.I.D. station

(12.2) asked

(Petitioners? Is Dortmund too far away?)

(12.3) the police station in Meschede

(Why not on site, on the crime scene? This again involves a loss of information. May be due to the fact that neither the duty C.I.D. officer nor the head of the C.I.D. station have arrived at the scene. See No. (13).)

(12.4) to provide exact information.

(There seem to be uncertainties and some confusion. Can they be overcome, however, by means of 'quiet whispering'? Does Dortmund still not believe in the significance of this case? Or do they only need some basic information which is still missing? Does the deployment need to be acknowledged by Dortmund before they have a major alarm? Across the board, the situation still seems to be very 'unclear'.)

(13) Sunday, 13/11/88, 0025 hrs.:

(13) where both of them arrived at 0025 hrs. On 13/11/88

(approximately 1.5 hours after the emergency call, and about 6 hours after the offence had been committed; do they need one hour to drive up there?). The chief of the detective squad (the immediate superior) remained at the crime scene (at the 'more important' scene where the factual evidence was), whereas the C.I.D. officer on duty drove to the tavern (why does he go there?) where

he met (*hopefully not by chance or coincidence; but he is a good interrogator probably rather accidentally compared to the experts who go to the crime scene*) **03** (*which probably refers to O3, the 76-year old great-grandmother – but also the doctor, and the proprietors?*) **and carried out the first interrogation** (*how thoroughly was this done? Who was interrogated?*).

(13.1) ...where both of them arrived

(This refers to the head of the local C.I.D. station.)

(13.2) at 0025 hrs on 13/11/88.

(This is now 1,5 hours after the emergency call and about 6 hours after the offence; do they need one hour to get there?)

(13.3) The chief of the detective squad

(1. Of which C.I.D. station? 2. The higher officer of the two.)

(13.4) remained at the crime scene,

(The 'more important' site with the factual evidence.)

(13.5) whereas the C.I.D. officer on duty drove to the tavern

(Under No. (14), a senior inspector on duty appears. Why does he go there? What does he want there?)

(13.6) where he met

(Hopefully not by chance or coincidence; but he is a good interrogator probably rather accidentally compared to the experts who go to the crime scene.)

(13.7) 03

(Actually this is 'O3', by the way, not '03', the 76-year old great-grand-mother, but surely also the doctor and the proprietors, and maybe even patrons?)

(13.8) and carried out

(This was 1,5 hours after the emergency call and approximately six hours after the offence.)

(13.9) the first

(This is probably supposed to imply that this first interrogation was rather preliminary and superficial in nature.)

(13.10) interrogation.

(Who was interrogated, and how thoroughly?)

(14) Sunday, 13/11/88, 0025 hrs.:

(14.1) the first C.I.D. officers

(see No. (13); 1,5 hours after the emergency call and approximately six hours after the offence.)

(14.2) arrived

(see No. (13))

(14.3) at the crime scene.

(Was it really the crime scene? Or the tavern? See under 'There' No. (14.4). If it was the crime scene, they look first after physical evidence instead of approaching the great-grandmother as a witness.)

(14.4) There

(Or do they mean the tavern? This is more likely.)

(14.5) they encountered O3,

(The great-grandmother who obviously did not have to be hospitalised or taken to some relatives' place.)

(14.6) the emergency physician,

(Did he stay because of the great-grandmother (to take care of her), or because of the severity of the event?)

(14.7) the proprietor of the tavern, and

(No patrons?)

(14.8) two officers of the uniformed police.

(Only two? May be two others guarded the crime scene?)

(15) Sunday, 13/11/88, 0030 hrs.:

(15.1) The C.I.D. station

(This obviously refers to Dortmund C.I.D. station; is this now handled by the criminal police?)

(15.2) notified the GvD

(Even the Land Office of Criminal Investigation was not familiar with the abbreviation. Maybe it meant 'senior officer on duty', or 'senior officer in charge'. Why wasn't he informed earlier?)

(15.3) who then ordered

(Order: one and a half hours after the emergency call)

(15.4) the murder squad to be involved.

(Does the murder now dominate the situation? Although a child disappeared, and was abducted?)

(16) Sunday, 13/11/88, 0045 hrs.:

(16.1) C.I.D. station Dortmund

(16.2) notified

(approximately 1³/₄ hours after the emergency call)

(16.3) the murder squad.

(Now things take their regular course.)

(17) Sunday, 13/11/88, 0055 hrs.:

(17.1) The GvD

(17.2) asked

(17.3) the C.I.D. station

(17.4) to inform

(17.5) the advisory group of the State Office of Criminal Investigation

(What exactly is expected of the advisory group? Does the GvD only express the general uncertainty with respect to the situation? Does somebody require advice in an uncertain situation?)

(17.6) and the chief on duty of the MEK.

(Mobile task force – again.)

(18) Sunday, 13/11/88, 0100 hrs.:

(18.1) The Dortmund C.I.D. station called the LKA

(State Office of Criminal Investigation)

(18.2) and learned

(18.3) that the advisory group was available immediately.

(This is amazing. The entire group? Or who precisely? From Düsseldorf, approximately 80 km away from the crime scene?)

(19) Sunday, 13/11/88, 0100 hrs.:

(19.1) The Dortmund C.I.D. station

(19.2) notified the responsible MEK (mobile task force)

(19.3) in Cologne.

(Who seemed to have been on duty for North Rhine-Westphalia at the time. How far away is that from the crime scene? Between about 80 and 100 km?)

(20) Sunday, 13/11/88, 0100-0145 hrs.:

(20.1) The Meschede police station

(20.2) searched

(Approximately 7 to 8 hours after the offence. Were they kept busy? Had anything to be done?)

(20.3) the wooded area

(What were they looking for? Certainly the boy, for the perpetrator was rather dangerous. But - if you make a noise in the forest while searching, you might as well continue. It might have been disagreeable to stop the search. Or maybe they assumed that the 15-month old boy had moved away on his own.)

(20.4) with their own resources (12 officers),

(They tried to help themselves. Is that the original line of the uniformed police again?)

(20.5) but failed to find anything.

(21) Sunday, 13/11/88, 0130 hrs.:

(21.1) The forensic team

(21.2) of the Dortmund C.I.D. headquarters

(21.3) was put on alert

(Approximately 2½ hours after the emergency call and about 2½ hours after the offence.)

(21.4) and was dispatched

(21.5) to the tavern.

(This, however, is not the crime scene. Maybe this is a better place to gather.)

(22) Sunday, 13/11/88, 0145 hrs.:

(22.1) The command centre in Dortmund

(Are communications now handled professionally?)

(22.2) told the Dortmund C.I.D. station

(22.3) that the SEK

(Special task force; so they join in again now.)

(22.4) and the negotiating team

(Here they are again. Why them? The extortionist's letter has not been found yet, has it?)

(22.5) had been notified

(22.6) and would soon

(22.7) arrive

(22.8) at the C.I.D. station.

(In Dortmund?)

(23) Sunday, 13/11/88, 0215-0225 hrs.:

(23.1) The command centres

(Were there several? Maybe not with relation to this case, but hospital inquiries had to be made in several districts and maybe two Federal states. The location near the border of this Federal state was another cause of the chaos.)

(23.2) of the police forces

(Uniformed and criminal police?)

(23.3) called

(23.4) the hospitals

(This was most probably a routine activity. What else was expected of the hospitals?)

(23.5) of the entire county

(23.6) and of three neighbouring counties,

(How many hospitals were there? What region is covered by them? Probably also Hesse.)

(23.7) asking them

(23.8) whether they had admitted a 15-month-old child;

(Who could have brought the child there? Does it make sense – in spite of the extortionist's letter? Was this the hypothesis? Was it an idea of the uniformed police? Was it an old, stable hypothesis? See above: rather a routine activity.)

(23.9) the responses were negative.

(24) Sunday, 13/11/88, 0315 hrs.:

(The Dortmund forensics lab)

(24) **Arrival at the tavern: 0315 hrs** (*1¾ hours after the emergency call*) **Shortly afterwards** (*When precisely?*) **the collection and preservation of physical evidence began.** **At this point, the offender's demand for ransom was entered into the files for the first time.** (*Apparently, it is clear only now that this is a case of extortion ((notwithstanding this, refer to the negotiation team's previous request)). It is only now that the case may be read in somewhat precise terms. The letter/the situation could have been understood one to two hours earlier ((the Dortmund forensic experts are alarmed immediately and come to the site; local work at the crime scene would have been much better)).*

(24.1) **Arrival at the tavern at 0315 hrs.**

(The forensic experts take 2 hours to reach the tavern, that is 1¾ hours after the alarm. They arrive 4½ hours after the original alarm, and approximately 9½ hours after the offence. How many persons have already walked across the crime scene by now?)

(24.2) Shortly afterwards

(When exactly? First at the tavern, and then at the crime scene 1km away from it.)

(24.3) the collection and preservation of physical evidence

(24.4) begins.

(24.5) At this point, the offender's demand for ransom

(24.6) was entered into the files for the first time.

(At what time precisely? It is always good if experts are at work. Did the local officers believe that a homicide had occurred, and that the boy had lost his way? Apparently it has become clear only now that this is a case of extortion ((notwithstanding this, refer to the negotiation team's request)). It is only now that the case may be read in somewhat precise terms. The letter/the situation could have been understood one to two hours earlier ((the Dortmund forensic experts are alarmed immediately and come to the site; local work at the crime scene would have been much better)).

(25) Sunday, 13/11/88, shortly after 0315 hours:

(Hopefully 'shortly' after they entered the tavern. What does this time mean? Is it a vindication? Or merely an estimate?)

(25.1) the collection and preservation of physical evidence was initiated

(25.2) by the Dortmund C.I.D. headquarters.

(25.3) At this point, the ransom demand of the offender

(25.4) was entered into the files

(25.2) for the first time.

(26) Sunday, 13/11/88, 0300–0430 hrs.:

(26.1) Second search

(They hope to find the boy – without the presence of the perpetrator?)

(26.2) of the surroundings

(They assume the boy is in hospital or outdoors. Neither the time nor the information are coordinated properly with the time of finding the extortionist's letter. This probably coincides with No. (25). Obviously they did not want to abort activity No. (26). Or there was a lack of communication.)

(26.3) of the respective residences of the 'A' and 'O' families

(The victim's family.)

(26.4) and the surrounding forest

(My first hypothesis after finding the extortionist's letter – which will have to be read later on – would be to assume that the offender and the child are in a car or in a building, i.e. had gone into hiding, looking for safety.)

(26.5) (48 police officers,

(26.6) supported by the floodlight truck of the fire brigade

(26.7) and by the Technical Emergency Service)

(Thus, the case becomes known to the public. The public/press learns that we have done a lot. Appearances are that everything is still predicated on the wrong hypothesis and we do everything we can ((feeling guilty?)), which, from the technical potential point of view leads into the maze of case hypotheses: that the victim is outdoors and alone. Where was the victim actually at this point in time?)

(26.8) with negative results.

(26.9) Hunting cabins and shelters

(a half-hearted change in case hypothesis; maybe conflicting opinions; probably producing proof positive that no stone was left unturned.)

(26.10) in the area

(Why should the perpetrator have remained nearby? Or are they still looking only for the boy? And if so, why?)

(26.11) were inspected

(26.12) by special

(What does this mean? 'Empty phrases'?)

(26.13) search units of the police.

Objective Hermeneutics, Criminal-investigative Field of Action and How to Formulate a Hypothesis

Harald Dern

1 Introduction and synopsis

This paper starts with a brief description of Ulrich Oevermann's method of objective hermeneutics, which has gained significance in the context of criminalistics. Following will be a brief discussion of some of the problems associated with the application of this approach to the criminal-investigative field of action. Finally, we want to make a few clarifying statements on the field application of Oevermann's approach and on generating hypotheses, using as an example the initial sequence of the abduction case that was discussed during the international symposium on methods of case analysis and offender profiling.

2 Another Heuristic Approach: Ulrich Oevermann's Method of Objective Hermeneutics

2.1 Fundamentals

In the mid-1980s, Ulrich Oevermann, sociology professor in Frankfurt am Main, Germany, conducted a study on the efficiency of the C.I.D. reporting system (German abbreviation: KPMD) on behalf of Germany's Federal Criminal Police Office. This reporting system was designed to establish links between criminal cases with common characteristics at the C.I.D. central offices, and was based on recording offender and crime characteristics (including the *modus operandi*)¹.

¹ Unfortunately, we cannot discuss this subject at greater length at this point. Further information may be found in Oevermann, Simm and Schuster (1985), or in Dern (1994).

In a nutshell, Oevermann describes a crime as an expression of the offender's personality and his *real-world embedment*. By committing a crime, the individuals involved produce a narrative or protocol of the lives they lead. To describe this phenomenon, Oevermann uses the term *text*, a term that is embedded in the tradition of hermeneutics. The rather illustrative term *trace text* was chosen to transport the same concept into the realm of criminal behaviour.

In addition to this, Oevermann proposed to look at a crime from two points of view. First of all, there is the *primary action* which serves to attain the immediate criminal objective. Secondly, there is what is called *camouflage action*. This is particularly telling with regard to the offender's personality structure, because it is not just an expression of the offender's wish to escape from the reach of official law enforcement but also of the way he justifies his actions vis-à-vis his own conscience. Oevermann holds that committing a crime is by definition an 'irrational' act, since it implies violating most of the rules that are largely based on consensus in a society, which has come about as the result of historical processes.

But let us return to the terms 'text' and 'trace text'. This view is based on a thesis strongly espoused by Oevermann, namely the thesis of the *text-like structure of social reality*. What this means is that – *methodologically* speaking – an empiricist analysis of human activities is primarily concerned with the objectively meaningful and structured manifestations of such behaviours. Any statements about subjective dispositions can *only* be inferred. Applied to the field of criminalistics, the idea is to deconstruct the trace text that is perceivable at the crime scene into a sequence of actions and then to *reconstruct* it as such. The objective is to reconstruct the *latent meaning structure* of a sequence with as much detail as possible. This latent meaning structure is considered to be an expression of a *reproducing case structure* of a *lifestyle* – the offender's lifestyle in the case of a crime. Thus the individual *narrates* himself as a case, and this *narrative/protocol* can then be read like a *text*. Oevermann even says that – *methodologically* speaking – the reality in which we live is only accessible within the framework marked by the thesis of the text-like structure of social reality.

If a criminal investigation is to benefit from this approach, it must examine the trace text for evidence of the *real-life embedment* of the offender (the 'author' of the trace text). *Sequence analysis* is the method of choice for

such an undertaking. It is based on the premise that social reality happens sequentially, and that there are always instances of radical change which require that a decision or choice be made. With sequence analysis the evaluation of the data follows the chronological sequence of the action.

The *inner context* of the case is developed within the framework of this analysis. This means that only knowledge obtained from this sequential reconstruction may be used. We would thus adopt a state of **artificial openness or naiveté**, that is to say that the real knowledge about the outer context must not be used to exclude any perceptions which the 'text' before you forces on you. The *outer context* may only be used in order to generate a welter of ideas (*hypotheses*) about specific situations in which a statement or an action may have occurred under the existing rules. Having formulated the hypotheses, *the reconstruction of the case* begins with a *structural hypothesis* based on the initial sequences of the material at hand. In the course of subsequent parts of sequences, the structural hypothesis will be continuously subjected to a falsification, so that at the end it may turn out to be valid after all.

What are 'cases', though? *Cases* are social frameworks which can be said to be the carriers of such structures and may be easily delimited. *Structures* are incorporated rules (e.g. cosmological, evolutionary, grammatical, phonological, syntactical or social rules) and the dispositions for action which result from them. They, in turn, constitute the unique characteristics of each case through which the case structure is reproduced. In the course of the sequence analysis, a structural hypothesis for this case structure was developed further, and it was given a grade, indicating to which extent it was correct or not.

In his study of the C.I.D. reporting system (German abbreviation: KPMD), Oevermann was able to show that run-of-the-mill police reports about criminal cases hardly ever include the unique characteristics of a case. Analytic success stories (linking cases and recognising serial crimes) are rare occurrences. In addition to many other factors, this is due to efforts undertaken to standardise case reporting and also to the use of EDP-based systems, which by their own subsumptive logic tend to suffocate the reconstructive logic that is part of the reasoning process of the investigator. At the heart of this realisation was the *problem of creating a textual representation*. It proved impossible to turn the police officers' oftentimes accurate perception of the Gestalt of the crime scene into a

text-based representation of the case. A special *textual representation model* was offered as a way out of this quagmire. This approach inspired another, modified model that is important for the development of *criminological case analysis*².

As far as the analysis of individual criminal cases is concerned, the method of objective hermeneutics has proved to be extremely valuable. Naturally, it is particularly effective in the analysis of ransom notes and (transcribed) anonymous calls. It is also applied to statements by witnesses. These could become valuable in a new way, if they were not merely considered to be more or less reliable information but rather expressions of Gestalt which are significant as such and may be analysed. This would also constitute a method for tackling significant subject matters such as the case that was discussed during the international symposium mentioned earlier. This, of course, is not meant to rule out methodological pluralism.³

2.2 Problems, criticism and solutions with particular attention paid to the criminal-investigative field of action

However promising the method of objective hermeneutics may sound with regard to its application in the field of criminal investigation, there are nevertheless problems and unsolved questions associated with it. A recurrent criticism has been directed at the amount of work needed for this approach. Such analyses may become very extensive and time-consuming, even if they deal with a brief sequence only. Time, however, may be scarce in situations which call for immediate action. On the other hand, such efforts may yield a very thorough analysis of the case structure, which, if the deliberations in the special investigating team have reached a deadlock, may contain a huge heuristic potential. With a little routine,

² Cf. Jens Vick, "Kriminalistisch-kriminologische Fallanalyse" (Criminological Case Analysis), in Jo Reichertz, ed., *Qualitäten polizeilichen Handelns* (Qualities of Police Work), Opladen: 1996, pp. 325–338; Jens Vick, *Methoden des Forschungsprojekts "Kriminalistisch-kriminologische Fallanalyse" im Bundeskriminalamt Wiesbaden* (Methods of the Criminological Case Analysis Research Project at the BKA Wiesbaden). (See p. 195).

³ Quite the opposite is true, because the criminological case analysis is like a tool-box. The underlying philosophy is that different tasks definitely require different methods to be applied.

thorough sequence analyses of this kind may be conducted with a justifiable amount of effort. Problems occurred more often in the context of legitimising the findings that this methodological approach yielded. Again and again the question was asked, 'How can you be so sure of this?' It would certainly be easier to legitimise findings, if they could be supported by 'statistical' data along the lines of 'The study of x cases has shown that if "A" is present, "B" is very likely to be there, too.' But we want to come up with an individual case Gestalt. True enough, one may theoretically depict the whole of the conditions which lead to a phenomenon by taking a nomothetic approach and by applying subsumptive logic. Nevertheless, this paper argues that in the final analysis this is greatly facilitated when done in a reconstructive way that follows the sequential course of social reality. What is more, the effort seems justifiable when we look at its success. Thus the claim that such an approach is uneconomical is simply wrong.

Another extremely difficult problem from the epistemological point of view is that of the hermeneutic circle. Originally, this referred to a problem or method according to which the whole could only be understood by means of its constituent parts (or vice versa), and that a text could not be understood in isolation from its context. Both external and internal elements, which are part and parcel of the nature of the 'object', will keep reappearing on the spiral of understanding. Therefore, understanding is of necessity a circular process. This view was extended by taking into account the historical context, which would say something about the psychology and the biography of the author. Therefore, 'understanding' was no longer limited to mere recapitulation but included the element of explanation.

So provided we 'read' the crime scene like a trace text, is it possible that we may understand the actions of the perpetrator better than the perpetrator himself? Ulrich Oevermann would probably respond to this in the affirmative, because it is very rare for both the objective structure of meaning, reflecting the actions of the individual, and the awareness of the individual of what it is all about, to be identical. It is a pity that we may not turn this heightened form of understanding into precise knowledge about the whereabouts and current address of the perpetrator. There are some approaches which do just that. The marauder thesis of David Canter⁴ or the FBI's dichotomous process which, based on its classification of offenders as either organised or disorganised types,

can provide rough-cut indications as to the distances between the crime scene and the address of the perpetrator in the case of pathological and/or serial killers. With due fairness one must say, however, that a case structure analysed according to the precepts of Ulrich Oevermann's objective hermeneutics approach may in fact allow for hypotheses about the residence of the offender, for instance. These hypotheses would have to be worked on by means of other scientific methods, however, which is done in the criminological case analysis.⁵

Hans-Georg Gadamer (born 1900) believes – along with Martin Heidegger (1889–1976) – that texts are more than mere manifestations of the personal lives of their authors. They tell us something about the being or the object they address *per se*. Thus, we are only interested in what the author thinks of the topic he talks about. This also changes the meaning of the problem concerning the hermeneutic circle, because now the analysis of the texts is approached with a prior understanding concerning their meaning as a whole. This prior understanding forms the basis on which we conduct our analysis of the text, thus becoming part of the hermeneutic circle.

This problem, which always goes hand in hand with the suspicion that the analysis will bear whatever fruit the analyst has planted in the first place (courtesy of his prior understanding), is also inherent in Ulrich Oevermann's objective hermeneutics approach. It is true that his method differentiates between the outer and inner context, but there is scope for doubt as to this method's claim to the objectivity of its interpretations. True enough, the inner context of a text to be interpreted consists only of possible ways of reading this text⁶ which are founded in the sequential logic developed by the text itself. However, in order to initiate the analysis of the text, we must refer to the outer context, which is our prior knowledge. This is because we can only generate our original theses on the basis of the

⁴ The 'marauding' serial rapist, who varies the direction where he searches for 'prey', always starts from his residence as the center of his 'internal mental map'. Compare the lecture held by David Canter entitled 'The Work of the Centre for Investigative Psychology at the University of Surrey', held on October 15, 1992 at the Offender Profiling Conference in London; David Canter, *Criminal Shadows*, London: 1994 (with additional references).

⁵ Cf. Michael C. Baurmann: p. 17

knowledge that we have accumulated in the course of our lives. This gives rise to the suspicion that, given the limitations which are marked by the whole of our acquired knowledge, we will never be able to find out anything that lies beyond the bounds of said knowledge.

It is impossible to strive for knowledge or for the solution of a case without having at least something that sets the stage for this quest for insight. Thus, we must undergo the real-life test, even at the price of accepting that our methods are not pure after all. Methods must be adapted to the requirements of the real-life environment to which they are applied. Also, we must accept that there are several valid methods (like different hammers for different tasks). Remember: The law enforcement customers of our (e.g.) objectively-hermeneutic analyses generally realise that many of our preconceptions – but relatively few determining factors from the realm of criminal investigations – enter into our analyses. They also let us feel their reservations (which in some cases may be exaggerated) and promise to make things easier for everybody involved by offering to present empirical ‘statistical’ data as evidence. Such an attitude may become more understandable and more relevant for our own work if we remember the conclusions Jo Reichertz drew after studying the logic of murder investigations:

‘Case solutions are not the product of formal, elaborated and comparatively intellectual operations. They are not derived from the wealth of generally available knowledge either. Rather, they originate in the specific professional and private experience of the respective investigator. This is to say that case solutions do not result from any consciously and purposefully performed qualitative induction or abduction, which are “single-step” processes most of the time. Case solutions are the product of a complex social, practical and cognitive process which is made up from phases of division of labour and phases of cooperation. The available knowledge base can neither be called “secure”, “systematic”, “complete”, “precise” or “calculable”, nor can the rules of interpretation of such knowledge be termed “logical”, “scientific” or “enlightened”. The opposite is closer to the

⁶ ‘The connection between a statement and the contextual conditions which pragmatically fulfill this statement is what we mean by possible ways of reading this text.’ Oevermann et al. 1979, p. 415.

truth. Such knowledge is neither secure, clear, unambiguous, nor always up-to-date. We do not know what we know or what we still need to know. Appearances can either deceive, or they can be what they profess to be. To put it in a nutshell: We may well calculate with this knowledge base, but it will be an imprecise calculation, given that the knowledge base is imprecise in the first place. The power of the mind trained in logic will not solve crimes. This formal, abstract and explicit logic (conceptualised as a counterfactual ideal in scientific books about methodology) does not achieve anything at all. It does not even make an appearance in the course of the investigation.⁷

This could well solve the problem of the hermeneutic circle which implies that our interpretations must by their nature be subjective since they are based on our prior knowledge. The solution could be that we simply accept as an inescapable fact of life the arbitrariness of our real-life experience. Then, in a second step, we should regard our analyses as an (additional) offering, as yet another possible interpretation among many others. The real test of this interpretation must not be conducted for the sole sake of analysing the available data. This ultimate test must take place in real life. But real-life experiences can be contradictory and not very cooperative at all whenever we attempt to fit them into the clothes of sophisticated theoretical concepts. Finally, we must take into account some special dynamics, namely the claims to power, competence and turf, which do exist in the realm of a criminal investigation and which sometimes are stubbornly defended.

‘Objective’ as in ‘objective hermeneutics’ lays claim to some kind of objective truth. But truth (unless it refers to the name and address of the offender) is always the result of a negotiating process – and this applies to criminal investigations, too. It is not easy to uphold the results of an analysis in the course of this negotiating process. Therefore, the next section will contain a theoretical excursus which is based on an ad hoc situation following the revision of the analysis of a current abduction case.

⁷ Jo Reichertz: “*Polizeiliche Expertensysteme: Illusion oder Verheißung?*” (Police Expert Systems: Illusion or Promise?), in Ronald Hitzler et al., *Expertenwissen* (Expert Knowledge), 1994, p. 211 (stressing in the original).

2.2.1 Theoretical excursus about the importance of the analysis of the original manifestations of the case Gestalt

Looking at all of the results of the analyses of a case that have been conducted so far, we encounter the problem to continue and to link with one another precisely these individual analyses. The question arises of how to deal with any additional information that comes up in the course of time, and how to connect this new information to the information already obtained through sequence analysis. One would prefer to keep on believing that the results which were obtained with methodological strictness are in fact legitimate. At the same time one faces the 'overpowering' might of 'our present knowledge of the case' that seems to cast doubt on the case Gestalt elaborated so far. This is the kind of situation that begs the question of whether this seeming dilemma can be made to become an advantage and whether there is some sound epistemological justification for this point of view.

However, the fundamental question remains how many 'views of the case Gestalt' one has. Does every new level of information mean that we may get closer to the truth in the guise of the case Gestalt? Or is it that very few innocent glimpses are possible which may be useful in creating an image of the case with a more or less correct Gestalt? One thing becomes very clear indeed: Accepting that there is a valid consensus on certain explanatory approaches, and further accepting that whatever sounds plausible is also convincing does not necessarily mean that you are just another imperfect human being. Rather, it is a logical consequence of the fact that man is a political being, a being that both wants to be understood and wants to understand others. This communication, however, implies the need to compromise. Every ripple of communication that reaches an event within the realm of human experience becomes part of this event and reshapes it. From then on any interest in the 'event as it used to be' will be no more than an academic preoccupation with the past. It is of almost no use at all, especially when action must be taken in a situation at hand.⁸

⁸ This, however, is not without problems in view of the programme of objective hermeneutics. This approach claims to be able to objectively elaborate the (case) structure of an event at a specific point in time by means of a strict sequential analysis. It is true that Oevermann differentiates between the reproduction of structures and the transformation of structures, but the suspicion may arise that this is a purely academic differentiation which does not do justice to the phenomenon of a holistic reality.

In spite of all this, the past is not the antagonist of our heuristic ambitions⁹, and even less so if we set up a platform from which we refuse to descend when the Sirens' voices beckon with the promise of a higher information level. As new events are produced, we must make sure that we regard these from the vantage point of our seemingly antiquated platform in the past. In spite of all arguments to the contrary, this may sound like an appropriate heuristic approach, but things are not quite that easy when it comes to implementing it. As we have seen, the foundation for erecting our platform are a few fleeting glimpses of the event that warrants our investigative attention. This feat would become wholly impossible if we attempted to constantly keep close to the heels of the latest developments. Therefore, we must pursue as radically and accurately as possible the analysis of the event of which we captured a brief impression. We also need a radical view of the reality which our analysis is based on. This radical approach is best expressed if we assume that all actions by an individual which have contributed to the event we are studying are based on decisions.

An additional point of criticism is the possibility that the principle of cutting up the sequential nature of social events at a time when decisions are difficult to make does not necessarily point to the linear character of these events. This is especially true when we are dealing with social events which are part and parcel of a complex structure of interactions and conditions.

⁹ One may ask what all of this has to do with the realm of criminal investigation. The famous sociologist and field researcher Erwin Goffmann believes that of the two kinds of professionals who systematically scrutinise the lives of other people – namely field researchers and C.I.D. officers –, the latter are often more effective. Jo Reichertz, to whom I am indebted for this insight, extends this statement to the realm of heuristics.

3 Is It conceivable to Have an Applied Method for Generating Hypotheses while We Are Still in the Starting Blocks?¹⁰

3.1 The objective hermeneutic approach

3.1.1 Preliminary remarks

Only the brief, initial part before the police was notified was analysed. The chronological sequence of notifying the police was reconstructed from the files. There are two reasons why this initial part is a textual representation of the events. On the one hand, some of the formulations may originate from the original files (e.g. 'After three hours, O3 managed to make a hole in the door with a hammer...'). On the other hand, writing this initial part is also the result of a selection process performed by the last author (the 'author' of this text). This (last) text is the actual subject of the analysis.¹¹

We adhered to the principle of 'artificial naiveté'. The incomplete knowledge of the circumstances of the whole case was ignored for the time being. It was the objective of the analysis to describe how the first structural hypothesis was generated. At this point it must be remembered that the structural hypothesis is supposed to tell us something about the structure of the case. With the trace text at hand, this case has reproduced the typical characteristics of this case, thereby providing a narrative or protocol of the behavioural characteristics of the offender. Further information with regard to this specific case will be provided under 3.1.4 and 3.2.9.

¹⁰ The following part is the skeleton of the contribution made by this author at the international symposium on case analysis and offender profiling in Wiesbaden, February 1996. In the final analysis, there were remarkable similarities with the views espoused by Jörn Beckmann (cf. Gert Ditlev and Jörn Beckmann, 'The Meschede Case' p. 85)

¹¹ As to the importance of 'text writing' in the framework of the 'Criminological Case Analysis' research project, compare the contribution by Jens Vick in this volume: Jens Vick: *Methoden des Forschungsprojekts "Kriminalistisch-kriminologische Fallanalyse" im Bundeskriminalamt Wiesbaden* (Methods of the criminological case analysis research project at the BKA Wiesbaden, p. 195).

Before describing the analysis, however, we must point out that for reasons of economy the application of the process of objective hermeneutics can only be given short shrift. This description will be limited to what an analyst or a criminal investigator, who will make a first, largely intuitive assessment of the text, will do automatically. The sequence we looked at runs as follows:

'After three hours, O3 managed to make a hole in the door with a hammer and to liberate herself. She found her daughter lying strangled on the kitchen floor. Calling the police had taken so long, because upon leaving the scene of the kidnapping, the perpetrator had torn apart the phone cord. The 76-year-old woman O3 had to walk one kilometre through the woods, before she reached a tavern from where she was able to call the police around 2300 hrs.'

3.1.2 Initial theses

As the application of sequence analysis along the lines of objective hermeneutics demands, this text will be preceded by *initial theses*. Since we have to use the outer context, we may as well assume that this text-like representation provides us with a minimum of hard facts (what happened where and how), and modi operandi which are typical of the personality of the offender. This information is presented in such a way that it should be possible to get an idea of what this crime is all about. Another initial thesis could be that the author of the text was simply doing his duty as the 'detached' chronologist of the events. Furthermore, it is conceivable that the author decided to leave out specific items of information which he believed to have heuristic potential in order not to restrict the creativity of later analyses. This would then be a direct rebuttal to the first initial thesis. Yet another initial hypothesis might relate to the fact that this text representation is meant to satisfy the need of high-ranking decision makers for brief and easily digestible memos, which allow them to manage the situation.

3.1.3 Sequence analysis

The next step takes us to the sequential elaboration of the inner context of the text at hand. As mentioned before, this process is performed automatically by an experienced investigator.¹²

'After three hours, O3 managed to make a hole in the door with a hammer and to liberate herself.'

The text begins by indicating a period of time. The author must have thought that this was important. It can be assumed that this was meant to describe the difficulties inherent in the position of the victim (O3). This impression also corresponds objectively with the use of a hammer as a means of liberating herself. Since we have no indication of the age of the victim at this point, we are under the impression that the situation described here would have been objectively difficult for any victim. We can also see that a perpetrator had limited the victim's scope of action in quite an effective way and that it took a great toll in time and effort for the victim to free herself from these constraints. In this respect, the offender seems to have acted quite efficiently.

'She found her daughter lying strangled on the kitchen floor.'

This sentence tells us that the victim O3 belongs to a parent generation because she is the mother of the daughter mentioned here. The author has informed us of the parent-child relationship that exists between the two victims. From this we can infer an intense emotional involvement of both victims. The author achieves his 'objective' of communicating how emotionally charged this situation is in a plausible way by describing that the daughter (O2) of O3 was killed by strangling. The dead body lies on the floor. This demonstrates the brutal character of the crime that has

¹² 'Whatever investigators perceive at the crime-scene [...] is not self-evident but a function of the structuring capabilities of the largely intuitively working mind of the investigator.' In Ulrich Oevermann et al., *Kriminalistische Datenschließung* (Criminal-investigative Discovery of Facts), Wiesbaden: 1994, p. 151.

obviously taken place. Two people, who are closely related by blood become the victims of a damaging surprise attack in their home. In the course of this attack, the daughter is killed while the mother is locked away. We don't know yet whether both actions happened at the same time or one after the other, but we already know about two elements of this crime, which by themselves can be said to be extremely evil. This makes us assume more or less automatically that the criminal is reckless and possesses considerable criminal energy. However, we cannot completely rule out the possibility of alternative explanations, e.g. that this escalation was not intended by the offender and that he had pangs of conscience. Unfortunately, this train of thought cannot be explored any further within the bounds of this paper. '...on the floor' is yet another piece of evidence for the thesis of the evil nature of this deed and the humiliating character of the situation for the victims. To merely say she '...was lying in the kitchen' would not have entailed any major loss of information.

'Calling the police had taken so long, because...':

This is obviously a justification or explanation for a legitimate need to be informed earlier. Considering that O3 had needed three hours just to 'escape from her prison' doesn't seem to be any reason why the delay in informing the police has to be justified again in the context of this rather brief description. We will probably hear more about the situation of the victim, a situation which may have been aggravated by the offender in ways we do not know about yet. The author, however, chooses to present a justification first. This confirms the thesis that the author wants to emphasise the evil nature of the crime. As far as cold facts are concerned, we can already assume that, given the crime and the circumstances of this crime (which we do not know about at this point), it would have been advantageous to call the police as early as possible. The first sentence tells us, however, that the offender has a lead over the police of at least three hours. This begs the question of whether there is something else connected to this crime which makes it desirable for the police to take action as early as possible above and beyond the possible capture of the offender.

‘...because upon leaving the scene of the kidnapping, the perpetrator had torn apart the phone cord.’:

This sentence provides us with two important pieces of factual information. It also confirms our assumptions about the ‘intention’ of the author in the previous sentence, both in terms of the relationship level and the facts level. We know now that this offender acts alone. We also know that this crime does not only encompass murder and deprivation of liberty but also an abduction. We do not know what the original objective of the perpetrator was, but we realise the seriousness of this deed. Our thesis that the author intended to depict the evil nature of the crime is confirmed by the fact that he talks about a torn phone cord. One can either rip a phone cord from the wall or cut it, but under normal circumstances it is impossible to tear it apart. This serves to underline the view of the author that the offender is a particularly furious and violent type. If this assumption proves to be correct, one must conclude that the offender approached this possibly planned abduction with an ‘unreasonable’ amount of rage and energy. This points to a possibly irrational element which must not be ignored in the search for the motif or in the analysis of the offender’s personality.

‘The 76-year-old woman O3 had to walk one kilometre through the woods,...’:

Now we learn something about the age of the victims. The offender apparently faced two rather defenceless women aged 76 and about 50. He strangled the younger of the two women, who was both better able to defend herself and may also have been more sexually attractive to the offender. Again there is evidence that the suffering of O3 is emphasised. She had to walk through the woods, which implies that she did not use any means of transport.¹³ This emphasis of the suffering of O3 is understandable, though. Considering her condition marked by age, her own victimisation, the death of her daughter and her worries about the abduction

¹³ Translator’s comment: The idiomatic expression used in the German original would literally translate as ‘she had to walk on her feet’. The author of the present analysis wishes to point out that this particular idiom may have been used in order to underline O3’s suffering, because it describes the activity of walking in a redundant fashion.

victim, one may surmise the horror she must have felt when she was walking through the (dark?) woods.

‘...before she reached a tavern from where she was able to call the police around 2300 hrs.’:

In addition, we now know that the crime scene was probably a bit isolated. This fact – in conjunction with the disrupted telephone line – increased the offender’s lead over the police. Since we do not know anything about the victim of the abduction, the text under study leaves us with the impression of intensely and traumatically victimised people. This knowledge, combined with what we know about the brutal and possibly irrational offender, creates a total Gestalt of a crime that has struck the unwitting victims with cataclysmic force. This, on the other hand, is incompatible with the assumption that we are dealing with a well-planned abduction case.

3.1.4 (Tentative) structural hypothesis

Without going into greater detail at this point, the offender seems to have a weak personality which is characterised by brutality and chaotic behaviour. On the basis of the available information it seems unlikely that the offender is able to carry out and complete the normal course of an abduction that is geared towards obtaining the ransom.

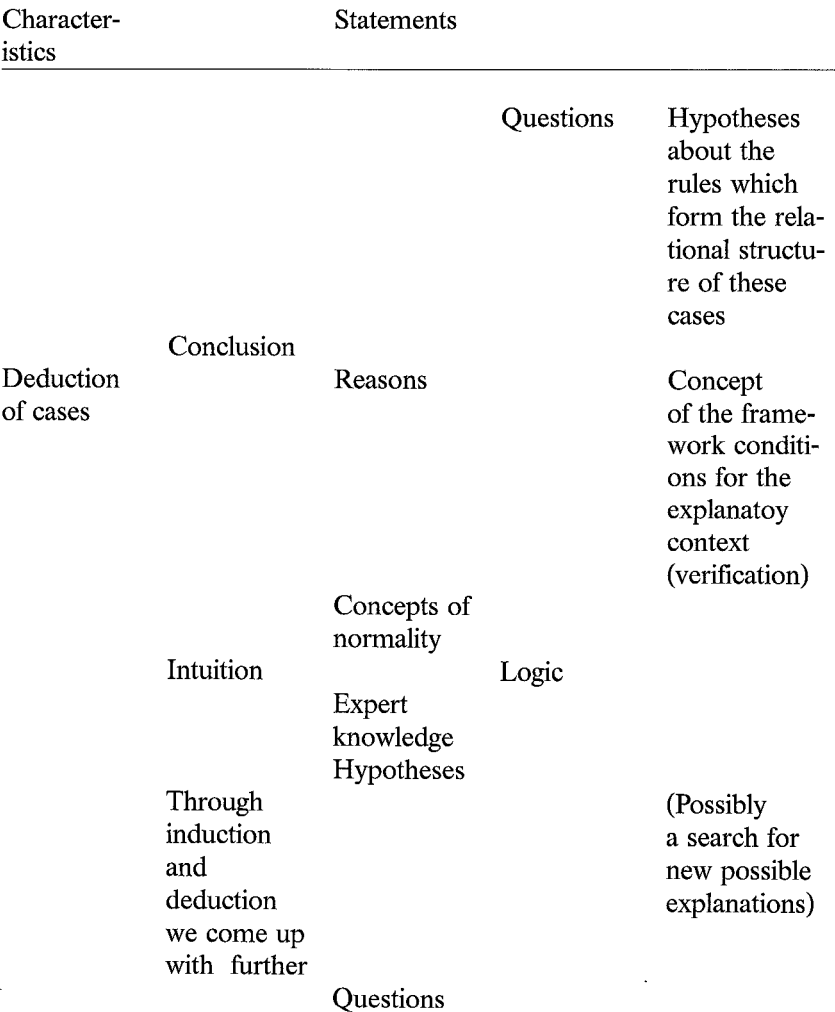
3.1.5 Going one step further

This was a fast-track sequence analysis based on the methodology of objective hermeneutics which was limited to what an experienced investigator would quickly find out on the basis of his intuition and experience. Therefore, we did not test competing hypotheses, nor did we strictly apply the principle of fallibilism. In a next step, we want to illustrate how hypotheses are generated and tested. The reader will find some of the things already mentioned in the sequence analysis above but the hypotheses have been tested more thoroughly now. At the end of this stage we will make a new statement on the structural hypothesis.

3.2 Testing hypothesis

The following diagram shows a possible procedure for developing and testing hypotheses.

3.2.1 How to form a hypothesis. But remember: ‘The map is not the territory!’



| Character-istics | Statements |
|-------------------------|--|
| | Da capo al fine |
| Risk of vicious circles | Leads to further falsification/ validation of |
| | Hypotheses |
| | Necessary to consider/ set apart inner and outer context as well as Gestalt experience |

3.2.2 A few 'meagre' facts for starters beg an important question

| Level of statements | Level of conclusion |
|--|---|
| 'After three hours...' $3h + t(x) = 11 \text{ p.m.}$ | The crime happens when it's dark |
| O3 must walk one kilometre through the forest | Isolated crime scene |
| O2 (dead) is in a different room from O3 (O3 is locked in) | Two actions: a) killing O2 b) locking away O3 |
| Level of questions | Why is O2 dead and O3 alive? |
| Level of reasons | |

| | |
|--|--|
| | Factors relating to the aim of the crime |
| | Situational factors |
| | Factor relating to personality |

Level of hypotheses

(Hypothesis) O2 did not survive abuse in the course of the crime ('accident')

(Hypothesis) O2 was killed according to plan (the offender specifically wanted to kill her)

(Hypothesis) The offender has additional motives he is not fully aware of, e.g. sexual motives. When he became partially aware of them, he reacted with sudden aggressiveness.

(Hypothesis) O3 triggered an 'inhibition against killing' in the perpetrator

(Hypothesis) Realising the injustice of his crime, the offender is unable to kill O3 too → 'conscience'.

(Hypothesis) Originally, the offender had a different objective and therefore did not go on a killing spree.

(Hypothesis) O2 had to be killed for practical reasons; O3 was less able to defend herself.

3.2.3 Does the possibly strategically convenient location of the crime scene reflect a certain degree of planning on the part of the perpetrator?

Level of statements

relating to the *strategic location of the crime scene*

Level of conclusions

Because the *victim/victims*
was/were *less able to defend*
themselves,

the *crime scene* was *isolated*,

and the time of the crime included a period when it was *dark*

Level of reasons

we can assume that the *location* of the *crime scene* was *strategically advantageous!*

Hypothesis This might imply a strategically correct choice!

This stands in contradiction to

the killing of one of two victims

Level of questions

| | | |
|-------------|---------------------------------|---|
| Escalation? | Unplanned disturbing factor? | The killing of O2 was necessary for practical reasons (the defenceless O3 could be locked up)? |
|-------------|---------------------------------|---|

Level of hypotheses

| | | |
|----------------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| Insecure offender | Possibly a lack of planning. However, the offender is able to respond to the new development along the lines of pursuing his criminal objective (high level of criminal energy) | Cold-blooded and rational offender |
|----------------------|---|---------------------------------------|

The third hypothesis (of a perpetrator acting rationally and in cold blood) is – tentatively – regarded as rather improbable. This idea does not fit in with the Gestalt hypothesis which results from the ‘hard’ facts known

so far. Since we can assume that the author of this sequence wanted to describe the circumstances under which the police was notified in a minimalist fashion, there is no reason to doubt the correctness of the chronological sequence of these events.¹⁴

3.2.4 Camouflage behaviour¹⁵ of the offender – intermediate hypothesis¹⁶

Level of statements

Camouflage behaviour of the offender

Killing of a victim (O2)

Locking away O3

Tearing apart of the phone cord

implies

¹⁴ It was part of the didactic concept of the symposium to carve up the case in different sequences within the chronology of events. These sequences were turned into text and different sequences were given to different participants in order to perform an analysis and to demonstrate their own methodological approaches. The first sequence described the initial police measures and was entitled 'emergency call-up'. The paragraph analysed here is from that particular sequence.

¹⁵ For a definition of camouflage behavior compare Item 2 in this paper (see p 55). More information can be found in Harald Dern, *Perseveranztheorie und kriminalistisches Handlungsfeld* (Perseverance Theory and Criminal-investigative Field of Action), in Ulrich Oevermann et al., *Kriminalistische Datenererschließung* (Criminal-investigative Discovery of Facts), Wiesbaden: 1994.

¹⁶ The intermediate hypothesis is an intermediate step on the way to the structural hypothesis.

Awareness of doing something wrong

Strategic approach

- a) to avoid his arrest (in the medium term) and
- b) to facilitate goal achievement
- c) including his successful escape (in the short term)

Intermediate hypothesis

Therefore, we are dealing with an offender who is capable of following through at least part of his strategic planning.

3.2.5 Can we infer from the fact that this may be an abduction that the offender is comparatively well organised?¹⁷

| | |
|--|--|
| Level of statements and conclusion | There is talk of the site of an abduction which means that a third person is involved, who allegedly has been abducted |
|--|--|

Level of questions

- a) Did the perpetrator plan to kidnap one of the women (O2, O3) and then 'changed his mind'?
- b) Who is the third person?
- c) What is the evidence for an abduction?

Ad a) This would suggest poor strategic planning on the part of the offender and does not correspond with the level of planning that we have assumed so far. Also, it seems rather 'silly' to kidnap

¹⁷ As we would tend to expect in an abduction case rather than in the case of a more or less planned robbery or burglary.

elderly people and to use them for blackmail. Along the lines of a 'rational' concept of normality, the kidnapped person would have to represent a high emotional value for the person to extort the money from. Therefore it is highly probable that this question can be answered in the negative.

- Ad b) This person can probably not put up much resistance. After all, it is very unlikely that the offender first overpowers the two ladies (who offer little in the way of defence) in the ways described (killing one, locking away the other), while another victim who is possibly better able to resist simply looks on and allows himself to be abducted. The same thing we said about question a) holds true for question b), too: The victim must clearly qualify as a means of extorting money from another, caring person.
- Ad c) Witness accounts (O3, people in the tavern), possibility of previous extortion letters or anonymous calls. Perceptions of third parties who have not been mentioned so far.

As far as the abducted victim is concerned, the offender's planning seems to have been appropriate, at least on the surface of it.

3.2.6 The extent and the kind of violence are not compatible with the assumption of a good level of planning

Level of statements

The offender has committed several violent acts.

Level of
conclusion
and reasons

- *Strangling O2*: direct physical violence which shows that the offender is willing to invade his victim's privacy in a comparatively permanent

and intensive way. He does not respect the victim's right to physical integrity and life.

- *Locking away O3*: direct physical violence (in the short term, at least) followed by indirect violence. Total disregard for the victim's right to physical integrity and liberty. Commits psychological violence (possibly in the form of having O3 realise that O2 is dead). *Counterthesis*: offender feels remorse and wants to attenuate the consequences for O3.
- *Ripping out the phone cords*: direct violence against objects with supposedly very strong instrumental character. Total disregard for the victims' right to undamaged property. Tampering with the means of communication of the victim. Logical continuation of his camouflage behaviour. (Weak) *counterthesis*: Offender overreacts beyond what is necessary for camouflage purposes.

Level of hypotheses

(*Hypothesis*) Bringing camouflage behaviour to perfection.

(*Weak hypothesis*) Offender 'enjoys' exerting power over his victims.

The first impression is that of an offender who feels no inhibitions at all about using violent means. On the one hand, we lack precise information about the criminal goals of the perpetrator. On the other hand, we note different degrees and manifestations of violent behaviour. Thus, we may assume

(*hypothesis*) that the offender adapts the degree and kind of violence to his criminal goals. As a *counterthesis* it might be said that there is an excessive use of force which goes beyond what would be necessary if it was only a means to an end.

The fact that O3 was not killed but locked away does not bear this out, however (unless the event causing the excessive use of force had only happened after O3 had been locked away already).

The violent behaviour on the part of the offender may also

(*hypothesis*) be an expression of a hidden sexual motive.

After all, both victims we know about are women. If the offender had felt generally insufficient vis-à-vis women, this scenario would have offered him the chance to do something in the way of compensation.

After killing one of the victims, depriving the other one of her freedom of movement and abducting a third victim, it is also conceivable

(*hypothesis*) that the offender felt a great sexual and aggressive tension building up.

This, I believe, poses a major threat to the abducted victim. The consequences of this threat can only be attenuated for as long as the offender can look forward to the successful completion of the kidnapping.¹⁸ In any case, this fact is highly significant for taking initial measures in the way of contacting the offender and entering into negotiations with him. Under no circumstances should he get the impression that his plans are already foiled.

3.2.7 A framework of possible motives plus some questions which narrow it down

It is quite difficult to assess the value of the above hypotheses, given that we hardly know anything about what really happened during this crime. The framework for such an assessment could look like this, for example:

- a) There are acquisitive offences (especially in the field of burglary) where the dominant sexual motive can only imperfectly be hidden from the offender's conscience. Sometimes it simply breaks out in the middle of an offence.

¹⁸ However, our intuition and the case Gestalt elaborated so far suggest that the chances for survival of the kidnapped victim do not look good. At this point it is almost inconceivable for the aggressive (and maybe sexual) tension felt by the offender to subside.

- b) If we assume that it was the offender's objective to kidnap a person from the crime scene, then he did so by breaking the resistance of both O2 and O3.

The offender, however, buys the accomplishment of his goals at a price, because the murder of O2 will put him under increased investigating pressure. The offender has made it sufficiently clear that he acts in a reckless and violent manner.

Thus, the following questions remain to be asked:

- a) Is there any evidence for seemingly irrational motives (e.g. sexual ones) in conjunction with the victimisation of the victims?
- b) Was the abduction the primary intent of the offender?
- c) Was the killing of one or more victims a calculated option from the very beginning?
- d) Did the offender really act alone?¹⁹

If the third question was answered in the affirmative, it would be quite remarkable that the offender did not carry any useful tool for killing.²⁰ This would point to a crime which was planned differently. Then again, if the strangulation was 'planned' it would constitute an almost irrationally violent act and provide evidence along the lines of the first question.

3.2.8 Conclusion

From a strategic point of view, the offender has done well in choosing the location of his crime. It is very likely that he was familiar with the general circumstances. The execution of the crime – to the extent that it was meant to be an abduction – was flawed, however, and therefore susceptible to

¹⁹ Actually, these four questions are the most important result of this analysis.

²⁰ This might be some fundamental evidence for putting the offender in the disorganised category, a grouping that is used for serial killers, for instance.

unforeseen developments. The degree of planning of this crime was insufficient, too.

The violent nature of the offender is plain to see. In conjunction with the criminal energy required for committing the crime, we can assume that the offender has already come to the attention of the C.I.D.

3.2.9 A rephrased intermediate hypothesis leads us to a structural generalisation (structural hypothesis).²¹

The person we are dealing with is likely to be a simple-structured offender with a high level of criminal energy. He did not plan the crime thoroughly, or he approached his deed with only vague ideas of what might happen. His motives may be partially irrational. This indicates a personality that is capable of following through with a specific course of action only up to a point. The biography of the perpetrator may be characterised by the recurring problem of different, overlapping motives and the resulting difficulty of reaching a decision. It is possible that the offender has learned to respond violently to ambivalent situations.

²¹ For more information about the term structural hypothesis: Item 2 in this paper: Ulrich Oevermann discussed this topic extensively in Ulrich Oevermann, *Fallrekonstruktion und Strukturgeneralisierung als Beitrag der objektiven Hermeneutik zur soziologisch-strukturtheoretischen Analyse* (Case Reconstruction and Structural Generalisation as a Contribution of Objective Hermeneutics to the Sociological and Structural Theory Analysis), Frankfurt: 1981.

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The Meschede Case

Facts, Questions and Explanations

Gerd Ditlev and Jørn Halberg Beckmann

- 1 The Assignment**
- 2 The Problem of Facts**
- 3 The Construct**
- 4 The Psychological Perspective**
- 5 The Research Group**
- 6 The Research Concept**
- 7 Cooperation with the Police**
- 8 Analyses**

1 The Assignment

Our assignment is to analyse the following aspects of the Meschede case on the basis of three case fragments (cf. 2.), i.e.

- the killing of the grandmother and the general situation, and the question of motive(s).

Part of our assignment is to present our team's working methods.

2 The Problem of Facts

The available data comprise three pieces of text:

- Text 1: Emergency call/notice to the police/initial police work (No. 0).
- Text 2: Forensic report on the collection and preservation of physical evidence (No. 6). This text describes the crime scene and the collection of physical evidence on November 13, 1988, from 0315 hrs. onwards.

- Text 3: Addendum to the forensic report of 17/11/88 (No. ?). This text describes renewed investigations at both the crime scene and the scene of arrest as well as in the area where the boy was buried.

Our evaluation of these three data sources encompasses the following observations:

- The reported facts are partly irrelevant to the questions, What happened, and why? Such facts relate either to police procedures (and not to the case per se) (Text 1), or to the collection/securing of evidence, giving no examination results (Texts 2 and 3).
- The essential facts are presented in abstract form. The killing of the grandmother, the death of the child, and the extortionist's letter could have been described in a more factual and detailed manner.
- Some essential facts are presented in an inconclusive way. For example, the murdered woman's clothing may or may not have shown signs of a sexual motive.
- Some essential facts are perhaps withheld.

The way facts are presented is based on the structure of the workshop. One should note that this structure – exciting as it is – implies two types of professional risk:

- Professional attention shifts from the case to the editing, the issue revolving no longer around, What happened, and why?, exclusively, but also addressing the question, What are the intentions and implications of this particular way of editing and presenting the original files?
- The researcher becomes overly cautious when analysing, covering his back more than usual regarding possible facts, or 'skipping' facts and ending up with wild guesses.

For us, it is a novel experience to analyse on the basis of preselected and edited material that does not render a general view of the whole case. Facts constitute the major problem for our research group, since the

identification, description, and evaluation of facts is the crucial basis of all analytical work.

In real-life cases, our research group gives priority to the following sources of data:

- Police reports on time, site, and circumstances;
- photographs of the crime scene;
- forensic reports;
- personal inspection of the crime scene;
- discussion of data with the police; and
- discussion of data with the coroner / forensic expert.

3 The Construct

Based on our assignment and considering our problems with the facts provided, our paper follows the structure given below:

- a brief exposition of the psychological perspective on criminal behaviour;
- a presentation of the research team;
- a description of the research concept;
- a short review of the structure and values underlying cooperation with the police; and
- five analysis attempts of the Meschede case.

4 The Psychological Perspective

Addressing the motives underlying people's behaviour and the factors determining their actual behaviour in a given situation is a key issue in psychological research. This entails the development of explanatory, theoretical models, and specific explanations of people's behaviour in a specific situation.

Scientific and field work aimed at finding explanations for human criminal behaviour constitutes the basis of any psychological analysis.

5 The Research Group

Prof. Jørn Beckmann, Gert Ditlev M.A., and consultant Johan Sonne are permanent research group members. Whenever special know-how is required, researchers possessing such knowledge join the team.

The head of our research group is Prof. Jørn Beckmann; with his cooperation, Gerd Ditlev designed the research concept that forms the basis of the group's analytical work. Johan Sonne did the translation.

Since research groups are social organisations with the inherent risk of developing a conformity in thinking, our research group seeks to maintain certain common values to avoid such a risk:

- A constructive scepticism towards concordance.
- Each view / analysis must be put up for critical discussion by the group.
- Facts constitute the basis, the object, and the litmus test of any analysis.

6 The Research Concept

Our research concept rests on four pillars, i.e.

- The task / purpose,
- the analytical process,

- model reference, and
- five theories.

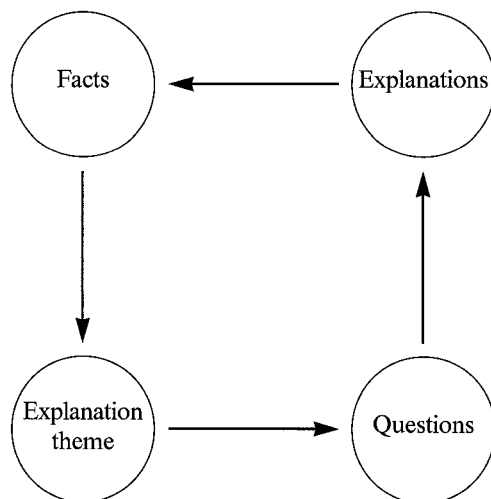
6.1 The task

Guided by the investigative questions of What, Why, and Who in a real-life case, we considered it our task to formulate relevant questions and produce answers on the basis of a factual analysis. This goes beyond producing offender profiles only, for an offender profile is an explanatory structure, therefore constituting but one element of our work.

6.2 The analytical process

Figure 1 illustrates the analytical process:

Figure 1

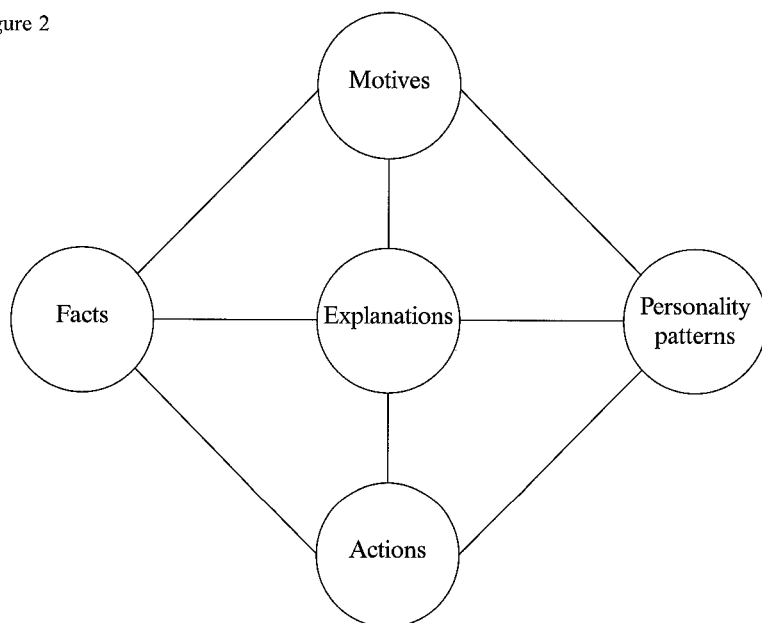


One of the principles underlying analytical processes concerns explanations: The objective is not to find the solution that explains it all, but the maximum number of possible explanations, which are then evaluated. An analytical process may produce four answers to one question which may be equally valid when measured against a number of evaluation parameters.

6.3 Model reference

Figure 2 illustrates the model reference for analytical processes:

Figure 2



Actions, motives, and personality patterns are interrelated, fact-related areas of explanation.

6.4 Five theories

The five theories behind model reference are

- a theory about facts,
- a theory about actions / a sequence of actions,
- a theory about motives,
- a theory about personality patterns, and
- a theory about explanations and their evaluation.

This paper limits itself to a short review of

- the theory about facts, and
- the theory about motives.

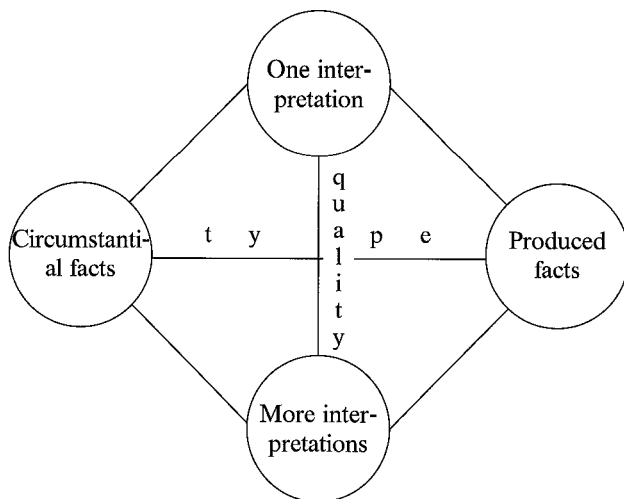
6.4.1 The theory about facts

The nucleus of our research concept is the analysis of facts, since facts constitute the basis of explanations and double as a validation test.

The theory of facts is illustrated by the following four models (Figures 3 to 6):

Model A: Type and quality of facts

Figure 3

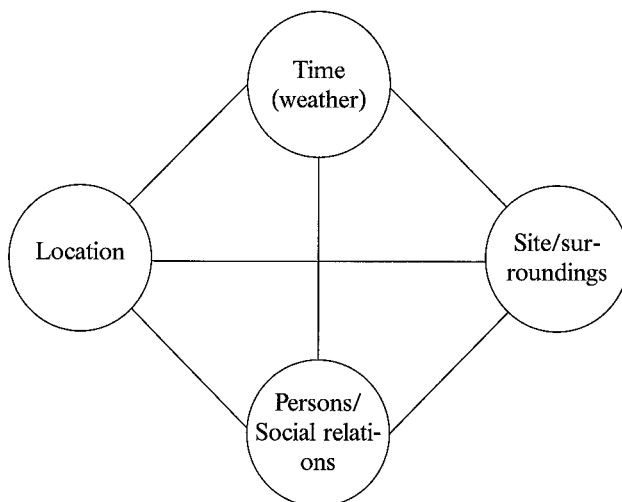


The quality axis concerns the structuring of facts according to the number of possible interpretations (from one to n interpretations).

The type axis concerns the categorisation of facts in circumstantial (initial, e.g.: the location of the house) and produced (provided, e.g.: the killing of the woman) facts.

Model B: Circumstantial facts

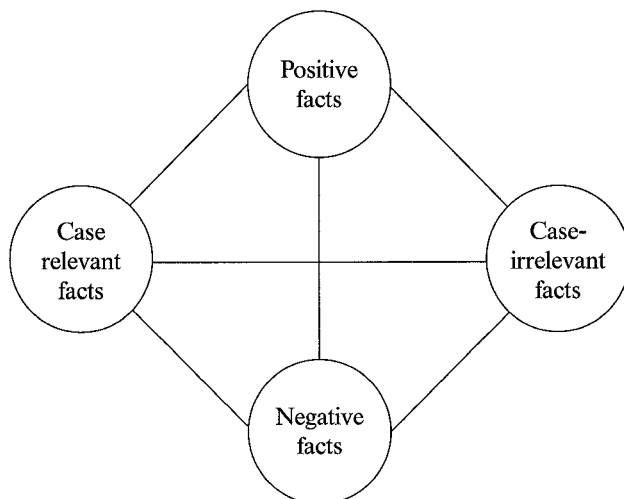
Figure 4



Circumstantial facts cannot be altered by individuals in the situation. They may work in favour of or against a certain course of actions. They either facilitate or limit / modify.

Model C: Produced facts

Figure 5

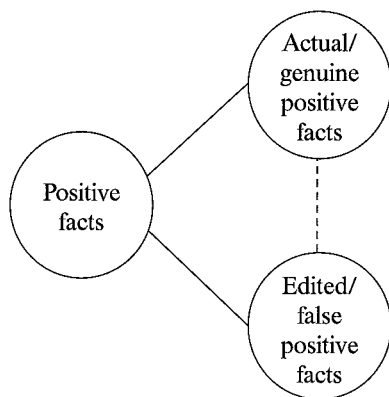


Case-relevant facts are produced during the crime process, whereas case-irrelevant facts bear no relation to it.

Positive facts are demonstrable, whereas negative (hypothetical) facts (actions) may constitute part of the course of events.

Model D: Positive, case-relevant, produced facts

Figure 6

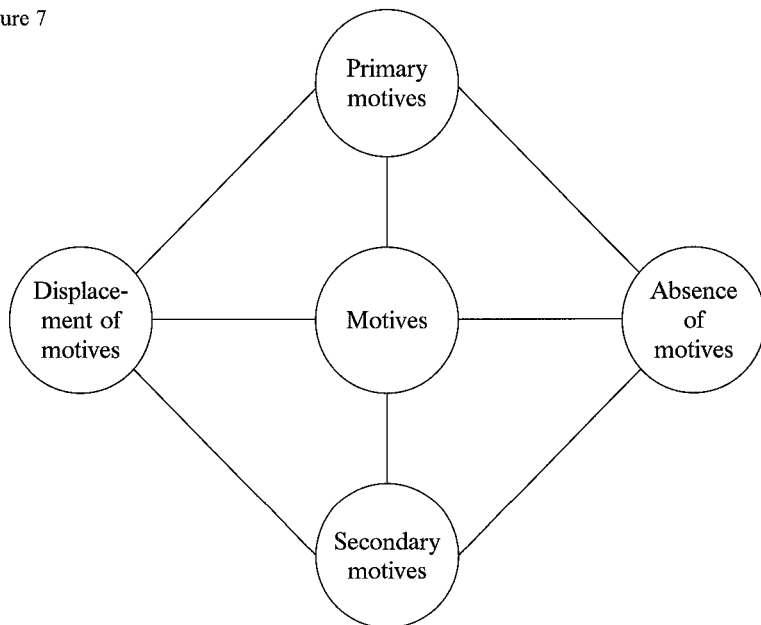


In one set of explanations, the footprints across the roof may be genuine positive facts, while in another one, they may be edited or false positive facts. The critical evaluation of apparently factual phenomena is a fundamental principle of fact analysis.

6.4.2 The theory about motives

The following model illustrates this theory:

Figure 7



Primary motives are goal-oriented, guiding a course of actions, and are implemented during the process. In a simple criminal process, actions are guided by one motive and economised according to it.

Secondary motives, in contrast, are process-induced.

Criminal processes guided by primary and secondary motives typically contain a strong element of control.

A displacement of motives may occur in situations where several motives seem to be present.

An absence of motives may be seen in situations characterised by several motives which, however, do not seem to be the guiding principle behind actions.

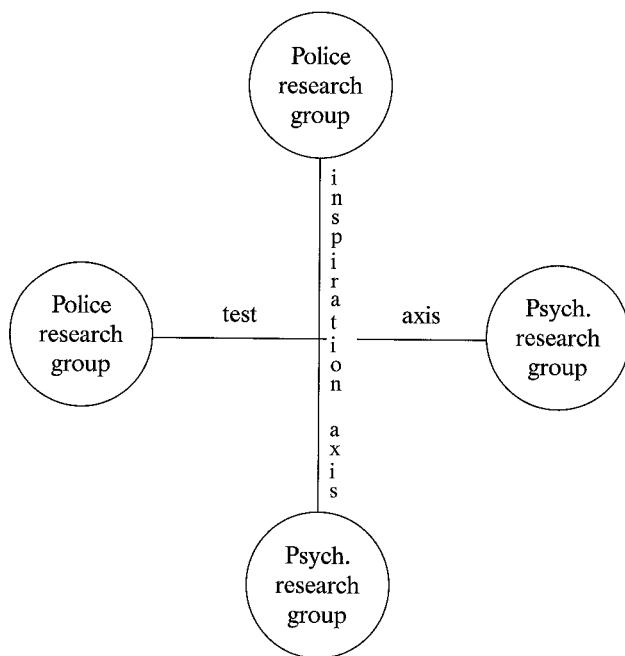
Displacement and absence of motives can be observed in criminal processes characterised by a weak element of control. While displacement describes the inability to maintain one criminal motive in the course of action, the absence of motives means starting a course of events without a criminal motive.

7 Cooperation with the Police

In a real-life case, cooperation with the police involves a number of meetings between the police and the psychological research groups.

Figure 8 illustrates the structure of such meetings:

Figure 8



The test axis shows how the two research groups cooperate in testing existing analysis results. The inspiration axis indicates how discussions between the two research groups may lead to new questions and approaches.

Successful and productive cooperation is predicated on jointly recognising and accepting the following views:

- The research groups (may) adopt different methods but pursue the same objective.
- The research groups do not compete against one another.
- Each analysis is subject to a critical discussion.
- Disagreement is valuable for cognitive perception.
- Nobody must monopolise the truth.
- The police have the indisputable right to decide in favour or against using the psychological research group's analysis results in practice.

8 Analyses

The Meschede case seems an open-and-shut case: One or more persons force access to the 'A' family's house, murder a woman, and abduct a child. The mother of the murdered woman is a witness to the course of events and may identify the perpetrator(s). Subsequently, the police may apprehend the perpetrator(s).

The five-analysis attempt presented below is based on the assumption that this is not an open-and-shut case.

8.1 The murdered woman's mother (O3)

It is a fact that O3 was not killed. Why not?

Possible explanations:

- O3 was locked up in the pantry without having seen the perpetrator(s).

- O3 was locked up in the pantry by her daughter without having seen the perpetrator(s).
- Due to impaired sight or hearing, O3 is unable to identify anybody.
- The perpetrator(s) who locked up O3 wore a mask / masks.
- The perpetrator(s) could not command / control the situation, overlooking or forgetting O3.
- The perpetrator(s) took the chance that O3 could not identify anyone.
- The perpetrator(s) was / were unable to kill more people for lack of psychological strength.
- O3 refused to identify the perpetrator(s) in spite of being able to do so.
- O3 was an accomplice.

In brief, any further analysis of these explanation involves

- an evaluation of these explanations on the basis of the facts given;
- the formulation of questions inherent in these explanations; and
- answering these questions.

8.2 The kidnapping

It is a fact that a small child is removed from the house, and that this abduction seems to be a kidnapping.

Why was the child kidnapped?

Possible explanations:

- The kidnapping is the primary motive.

- The abduction / killing of the child is the primary motive.
- The perpetrator(s) cannot command / control the situation (i.e. the kidnapping represents a displacement of motives or a secondary motive).
- The child had died earlier (the perpetrator(s) is a helper / are helpers).
- The child dies while the perpetrator(s) is / are still in the house.

For further analysis, cf. 8.1.

8.3 The formulation ‘no police, no press’

It is a fact that

- a small child is removed / kidnapped;
- a woman has been murdered;
- a ransom note is found demanding
- ‘no police, no press’.

Why does the letter contain the formulation ‘no police, no press’?

Possible explanations:

- The formulation represents a copy-cat behaviour (i.e. kidnappers’ letters usually contain such a demand).
- The perpetrator(s) thought that the involvement of the police / the press could be avoided / postponed in spite of the killing.
- The letter was written before the woman was murdered, either in the house or before the perpetrator(s) entered the house.

- There are two courses of action and at least two perpetrators: Perpetrator 1 controls process 1, leading to the kidnapping but not the killing of the woman. After the kidnapping, perpetrator 2 engages in process 2 which leads to the killing of the woman.

For further analysis, cf. 8.1.

8.4 Motive(s)

It is a fact that, on the face of it, the Meschede case does not show one unambiguous motive.

What motive(s) are behind the course of actions?

Possible explanations:

- The motive is a primary motive of burglary (the motive being gain). However, the initial facts work against this primary motive, the perpetrator(s) lose(s) control of the situation with an ensuing displacement of motives.
- The motive is a primary motive of kidnapping (the motive being gain). However, the initial facts work against this primary motive, the perpetrator(s) lose(s) control of the situation with an ensuing displacement of motives.
- The motive is a primary motive of sexual contact. However, the initial facts work against this primary motive, the perpetrator(s) lose(s) control of the situation with an ensuing displacement of motives.
- The motive is a primary motive of killing. However, the initial facts work against this primary motive, the perpetrator(s) lose(s) control of the situation with an ensuing displacement of motives.
- The outset is an absence of motives related to primary motives – a social contact turns into something dramatic.

- The outset is an absence of motives related to primary motives – a situation taking a dramatic turn against the backdrop of another dramatic situation (a dead child) which calls for assistance from outside.

For further analysis, cf. 8.1.

8.5 Complexity

It is a fact that the Meschede case does not appear to be a case with a single course of events based on one motive. In contrast, the actions and motives of this case appear to be relatively complex.

Why does this case appear to be a relatively complex case?

Possible explanations:

- At the outset, the course of events is a process involving a primary motive but the perpetrator(s) lose(s) control of the situation.
- The course of events is a process involving a primary motive involving two or more perpetrators who lose command, coordination, and control.
- The course of events is initially a non-criminal social contact that evolves into uncontrolled conflict.
- There are two courses of events: (i) The child dies before the perpetrator(s) who was / were called for assistance enter(s) the house, and (ii) this situation takes a dramatic turn.
- The course of events is initiated by one or more perpetrator(s) who under the influence of alcohol or drugs and with no clear motive force(s) access to the house whereupon the situation gets out of hand.

For further analysis, cf. 8.1.

The Investigative Psychology Approach

Laurence Alison and Gabrielle Salfati

The term 'Investigative Psychology' was coined by Professor David Canter in 1988. He has subsequently had a close liaison with the British police force. The Investigative Psychology Unit was originally set up at Surrey University and is now in Liverpool with a good working relationship between the department and Merseyside police.

Principles and Objectives of Investigative Psychology

The following points summarise some of the main principles of the Investigative Psychology Unit (IPU):

- Investigative Psychology is a scientific discipline, i.e. advice is based on systematic studies and statistical procedures.
- Unlike FBI profilers, the IPU does not promote the use of external experts.
- The knowledge is developed within the police force itself and therefore based on an education system.
- The Unit relies on psychological principles, empirical social science, statistical methods, and on the construction and development of models to explain patterns of behaviour.

Explanations for Criminal Behaviour on the Basis of Psychological Theory

The core feature of the work is to ground it in the concepts developed over many year within the psychological literature. Concepts drawn from many schools of thought are incorporated into the research (for example, behaviourism, cognitive theory, environmental psychology, personality theory, social learning theory). The Unit maintains that the work must stem from these foundations.

Crime as an Interpersonal Transaction

The notion that criminal activity involves interpersonal transaction is central to the Unit's philosophy. From this it follows that the way in which the offender deals with his victims is distinctly related to the way in which he generally operates within the world. Therefore, on the basis of his criminal actions one may be able to make inferences about his non-criminal activities in essentially three areas: The interpersonal consistency of his behaviour, the skills of the offender, and the developmental course that the offender takes.

Technical Basis for the Research

Dealing with real-world data

There is a considerable amount of 'noise' in the data the Unit deals with, which does not lend itself to any form of metric measurement or levels of significance. Instead, the IPU relies on what is known as facet theory which allows for an empirical test of hypotheses. Facet theory tests the null hypothesis that there will be no identifiable patterns between particular behaviours. Thus, the researcher can posit that certain series of behaviours are likely to co-occur and represent themes that distinguish between offenders.

For example, one can investigate whether an offender who, during a rape, kisses, compliments and inquires about personal information is seeking a perverse kind of intimate relationship with his victim. Facet theory can test this directly by exploring the co-occurrence of the behaviours that distinguish this offender from one who blindfolds, gags and binds the victim.

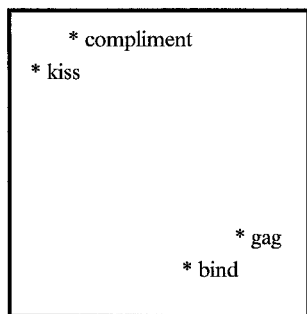
Data Origin and Analysis

The Unit usually works with archival data, i.e. closed real-life cases. From this data, we retrieve information about the crime, the victim(s), and the offender(s). Multidimensional Scaling Techniques such as, for instance, Smallest Space Analysis (SSA), are then used to analyse the data. SSA analyses the co-occurrences of behaviours by examining the co-occurrences of behaviours at the crime scene and plots the results in a

geometric space so that behaviours that co-occur at the crime scene will be plotted closely together. Figure 1 illustrates this by way of a hypothetical example (for a more detailed explanation, see Shye, Elizur and Hoffman 1994).

Figure 1:

Example of behavioural co-occurrences on an SSA plot



In this case, the co-occurrences of four behaviours were analysed across approximately 200 rapes; the offender kissing, complimenting, gagging, and binding the victim.

In Figure 1, the binding and gagging variables on the one hand, and the kissing and complimenting variables on the other co-occur closely on the plot, with the two pairs of behaviours plotted far apart. This suggests that in most cases where the offender kisses the victim, he will also compliment the victim, and where he gags the victim he will also tend to bind the victim. The plotting far apart of these two pairs of behaviours on the SSA suggests that kissing-complimenting and gagging-binding do not tend to co-occur in the same rape. The theoretical suggestion therefore is that in these 200 cases of rape there are two thematically different ways for the offender to behave with the victim, one which is pseudo-intimate, and one which is very controlling.

Limitations of the Case

The information we have been provided with in many ways resembles the information presented to us by British police forces. It is mainly concern-

ed with procedural details, is lacking in important psychological details, is rather unstructured, and contains a number of non-objective assumptions.

What is Lacking in the Information?

Relevant individuals

There is no list of relevant individuals or any background details. It would be useful and ordinarily possible to have such a list.

Details of locations

There is hardly any detail about where the offence took place. Ordinarily, we would have access to details of the layout of the house and its exact location. One can only assume that the house is relatively isolated, large, and probably within a high socio-economic bracket.

Sequence of events

Due to the unstructured information given, and since we have no witness statements, it is hard to make sense of the sequence of events. In particular, the opening sequence is unclear.

Crime scene details

In addition to the autopsy report we would work with crime scene photographs as well.

Information from the Case Study

The material we had to work on for the case at hand included

- (1) The chronology of events
- (2) Crime scene report

- (3) Autopsy report
- (4) The first ransom note

We did not have any information about the victims, their life-style, and the surrounding area, which would normally be available half-way through an investigation.

To construct a valid profile we usually ask for photographs of the crime scene, the scene area, and the general area around which the crime took place, and also of the area where the victim actually lived, as well as autopsy and forensic reports. Details of the victims and their family, friends, colleagues and their work, their general habits etc. are also very important.

In addition to detailed information about the crime, reliable, valid, and relevant studies of criminal behaviour need to be available on which to base any inferences made from the crime scene material. In this case, we would use the homicide models of Holden (1994) and Salfati (1994), and models of threat-letters Cholerton (1995) and Nalbatian (1995) as these were the elements of criminal behaviour present at the crime scene. Furthermore, we would use general principles of investigative psychology to reach a final conclusion about the case.

Information Available from the Case Notes

The information we had to work with included that the attack of the grandmother and the abduction of the child took place in the evening, and that the house was remotely located as the great-grandmother had to walk one kilometre to the nearest police station. We also had evidence of shoe prints in the house, leaving a single trail, which suggested a person who knew where they were going. There was evidence that the offender had entered the house through the child's window on the second floor. We have evidence that a struggle took place in the dining room between somebody we do not know who and the offender; that the body of the 56-year old grandmother was lying, dead, on her back, possibly strangled with a choking device, and also beaten; that the grandmother had been tied up as marks of strong bonds were found on her ankles; and that the grandmother defended herself against the attacker as was suggested by her

defence wounds. We knew that the great-grandmother had been left alive and locked in the cupboard; that the offender had torn the phone cord; and that there was a ransom demand in the form of a note which was not addressed to anyone in particular and in which the offender states that he does not want any police involvement. Finally, we knew that the abducted child was 15 months old.

Answering the Questions from the Available Information

Based on the principles of Investigative Psychology and on models of criminal behaviour, tentative answers were given to the following five questions (see Figure 2):

Figure 2

- 1 What happened?**
- 2 How many offenders were there?**
- 3 Is the child still alive?**
- 4 Was there a relationship between the family and the offender(s) before the crime was committed?**
- 5 Offender profile(s).**

1 What happened?

Psychologists generally leave it to the police and their investigation of witness accounts to make inferences about the sequence of events. Having these accounts, inferences can then be made by the psychologists regarding their validity and reliability on the basis of principles drawn from, for example, the psychology of memory and social psychology. This can help us ascertain whether people are telling the truth, and whether they are supplying reliable information.

2 How many offenders were there?

There was most probably only one offender, a second one would most likely have been the secondary accomplice.

3 Is the child still alive?

It should always be assumed, until proven otherwise, that the child is still alive so as to keep the morale of the investigation going. In this case, we believe that the child would be in great danger because the offender has already killed one person.

4 Was there a relationship between the family and the offender(s) before the crime was committed?

Based on the evidence we can say that the offender knew the family or at least knew of them. In an investigation we would suggest interviewing past employees and other family members to rule them out of the inquiry.

5 Offender profile(s)

A note on the publication of preliminary research

For the purpose of presenting a working method we drew on two areas of ongoing research, i.e. Salfati's work on homicide – an recently completed Ph. D. project –, and Cholerton's Master's thesis on threat letters. It would be both unfair and inappropriate to fully document such work before the authors themselves had completed it to their own satisfaction. In a real inquiry we would emphasise vigorously that the work was only based on preliminary findings.

Homicide

Salfati's research work (1994) focuses on the behaviours from homicide crime scene, and on how they may help us understand the action of homicide and the characteristics of the offender. The presence of behaviours at homicide scenes was analysed using SSA.

Submitting crime scene behaviours to an SSA analysis, different thematic regions were found in the homicide data. Most closely approximating the case at hand were the pattern of behaviours associated with vulnerable victims (women and old-age pensioners). Actions within this region centred around property of value being stolen at the victim's premises. Injuries were inflicted manually and located around the neck; the face was hidden. There is also a sexual element to this area, and victims here were partially left undressed. This exemplifies offenders who enter somebody's house to steal from them. They choose a vulnerable victim who will be less able to defend themselves and possibly kill them because, if the offender is recognised, he must kill the witness to avoid recognition (self-preservation). This may explain those homicide scenes otherwise known as 'burglaries gone wrong'. Using the same line of reasoning, this may explain why the offender in such a scene may have raped the victim: Because the victim is seen as a vehicle through which other things (e.g. money) may be accessed, sex is but seen as another commodity which can be 'stolen' from the victim.

The offender who comes under this particular crime scene would appear to commit his crime when he is unemployed, thus perhaps in financial difficulties. He then targets a victim that is known to him, in an area he is familiar with. With his criminal history and experience of infringing on other people's property, he resorts to his behaviour again, and this time the victim, who recognises and later may identify him, gets killed.

Extortion letters

Some psychologists and linguists have argued that there exist reliable consistencies between personality characteristics and styles of writing in extortion letters.

In the *Meschede* case, the extortion letter revealed direct language, explicit statements and instructions, an implied non-direct threat, and the author neither referred to himself nor addressed anyone. This behaviour suggests an aggressive, somewhat impulsive and controlling individual who is unlikely to be sociable. The style is more likely to be associated with younger authors.

Conclusion

Based on the homicide model presented previously, and on the information from the case, this is a vulnerable victim scene, probably involving someone who knew the family, and who is either local or familiar with the area. It must however be stressed at this point that because of the limited amount of available information, these inferences are only minimal indications to the theme this homicide is a part of. This crime also included other behavioural elements such as the threat letters. We only had access to one out of ten letters, which is not enough to make an inference about the type of person involved. Looking at the themes which emerge from the threat letter models, we can assert that it has the following elements: no reference, direct language, veiled threats.

On the basis of Salfati's homicide model and Cholerton's preliminary work on extortion as well as from the principles of cross-situational consistency, the following offender profile was drawn up:

Profile of the offender:

| Interpersonal Style | Cognitive Capabilities | Criminal Development | General |
|---------------------|---|--|------------------------|
| Aggressive | Somewhat organised but . . . | Has planned offence | Male |
| Controlling | . . . does not think things through to their final conclusion | History of burglary and theft | One offender |
| Demanding | Has spent some time thinking about offence (possibly with one other – intimate) | History of aggression related to impulsive behaviour and lack of control | Unemployed |
| Somewhat impulsive | | Will kill child | Less than 30 years old |

| Interpersonal Style | Cognitive Capabilities | Criminal Development | General |
|--|------------------------|--|---|
| Resists being controlled | | Grandmother killed in response to losing control | May have had previous contact with the family |
| Does not want to include others socially | | | Knows the area and knows layout of the house |
| Wants to be open with others and for others to be open with him | | | Lives close to the area |
| Does not have wide social group | | | |
| Possibly intimate relationship but only with one other (married or cohabiting) | | | |
| Problems relating to and conversing with others | | | |

Rationale for the Assertions

The rationale for the assertions are derived from the analyses of homicide and the very early work on extortion letters. The majority of the interpersonal style themes have been derived from the extortion letter. In terms of criminal development, Salfati's (1994) homicide work was called upon, and parts of the general section have been derived from the consistencies found in a number of different crimes. Ordinarily, just on the basis of the homicide we would have placed the offender somewhat younger in years, but when we discovered later on the basis of subsequent information that the offender used a gun and wore a mask we would have increased the age to over 30 years old.

The interpersonal style is the most easily constructed aspect in this case because we know that one victim was murdered. We also know that only part of the letter was prepared and that it has an aggressive tone. This indicates that the offender is aggressive and somewhat impulsive. A curiosity is the extent of the planning in the letter. This opened up the possibility that the offender may have been working with another individual. How-

ever, everything else in the sequence of events suggests that the offender would have a very small social group, so the possible accomplice would probably be a partner. Given the impulsive nature of the offender and the probability that the grandmother was killed in response to difficulties it is highly probable that the child will be killed fairly shortly after the abduction.

Summary

The following summarises the IPU's response to the 'International Symposium on Methods of Case Analysis and Offender Profiling':

- The case presents an interesting and exciting way of exploring the potential of our own methodologies. Ordinarily, the IPU would not work with such impoverished information but in this case the symposium allowed us to explore how far our inferences could extend.
- We decided to draw upon the two least questionable pieces of information, thereby avoiding anything that may have been a subjective interpretation.
- The case highlights the importance of limiting oneself to exploring quality information. This emphasises that a full co-operation and close liaison with the investigating officers is paramount.
- Our own research stems from a belief in the scientific method. This involves the development of cumulative research which is open to challenge and therefore should be made available to other researchers.

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The National Crime Faculty and Offender Profiling

Simon Wells and Adrian West

The National Crime Faculty

Simon Wells: The history of the National Crime Faculty goes back to the Yorkshire Ripper (Peter Sutcliffe) case in the 1970s, when as a result of a review of that investigation by Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Constabulary (Byford 1981), a circular was sent to all chief police officers in the UK, stating that senior detectives needed urgent training to enable them to carry out a complex linked enquiry. Another factor in the formation of the National Crime Faculty was the case of Robert Black, a serial child killer. Again, poor management of the inquiry into this case re-emphasised that training for senior detectives in this field needed to be taken forward. Subsequently, a survey was then undertaken of chief police officers, senior investigating officers, and other interested parties who were asked about their requirements and expectations of a National Crime Faculty. The findings stated that they wanted a centre of excellence which would define investigative strategies and provide training on crime reduction and investigation techniques. This was the initial remit of the National Crime Faculty, which has been working for nine months now. My role within the National Crime Faculty is that of a liaison officer. Previously, I had spent more than three years investigating serial rape, and analysing rape and murder cases with the Metropolitan Police Service in London. I also have 14 years of experience within our criminal investigation department. My work within the National Crime Faculty includes training and operational assistance, the main task being to acquire and maintain links between particular individuals in our country who are involved in investigating, analysing, or researching significant crimes. We want to hear about any new research, any new investigative strategies, as well as any potentially linked or other significant crimes relating to sexually motivated murders, sexually-oriented child abductions, and stranger rapes. In addition, there will be difficult or protracted cases where the investigation team might benefit from more specialised investigative support. In such instances, it is the liaison officer's task to facilitate access to and communication between any specialist advisors and the senior investigating officer and his or her team.

The National Crime Faculty's main *raison d'être* is to support and assist the investigator in the field. To this end, one of the main methods employed is to take a support team to an investigation but only when this has been requested by the senior investigator. I should like to put special emphasis on the term 'team', for we pursue a team approach, i.e. the senior investigating officer will be assisted by a group of individuals who will work together to formulate new ideas. In such cases, we try to involve a senior investigator who has dealt with a similar crime in the recent past, a forensic scientist who has some experience with that particular crime scene, a forensic pathologist, and a psychologist or psychiatrist. In the UK, we now have a list of accredited offender profilers who, under the aegis of the Association of Chief Police Officers Behavioural Science sub-committee, are considered to have the competence and experience required to assist the police in an investigation.

Another section of the National Crime Faculty is concerned with the development of relevant databases. A recent review of databases existing within the UK with relevant information yielded a number of 46, the majority of which are coded differently. The National Crime Faculty through its Serious Crime Analysis section is about to begin the collation and analysis of offence and offender characteristics from sexually motivated murders, child abductions and rape cases in order to be able to hopefully better identify potentially linked cases or significant precursor offences. An important part of my role as a liaison officer is to make a senior investigating officer aware of a particular database that might be useful to him or her.

The National Crime Faculty is also involved in the preparation and delivery of training aimed at developing the expertise of senior investigating officers and officers in overall command of linked series. This includes an introduction to the behavioural sciences and the role of offender profiling in investigations. Senior investigating officers are reminded that offender profiling is only one of many investigative techniques and that it should not be seen as an expedient replacement for traditional investigative methods.

Offender Profiling at the National Crime Faculty

Adrian West: While the theoretical debates about the different approaches within offender profiling (Grubin 1995, Copson et al 1997) have yet to

be resolved and ethical and scientific concerns cannot be overlooked (NB Poythress et al 1993), several positive developments have been associated research that serves to build the foundations of profiling as a 'scientific endeavour', so improving the validity and reliability of a profiler's claims.

It is my hope that familiarity with the logic of scientific inquiry and a willingness to apply the findings of investigative psychology (Canter and Alison 1997) will improve police efforts. My own approach which I refer to below is enhanced by such research, but is based primarily on my knowledge of types of offenders through my exposure to those offender/patients whom I am asked to assess. An obvious difference, however, is that on those occasions where I am examining a crime scene, the perpetrator is not before me for direct assessment, there is therefore less data to work with yet I am often asked to do more with it (Poythress 1993). The need to safeguard against going beyond the realm of conventional expertise is obvious.

As a forensic clinical psychologist, where a perpetrator is before me, the main focus of my clinical work in Ashworth High Security Hospital is the assessment of personality and psychopathology in mentally disordered offenders detained under the sections of the 1983 Mental Health Act. Assessments by Clinical Psychologists are already used to provide psychological information in many areas of legal decision making (Haward 1981) and indeed a formal body of specialised knowledge called 'forensic psychological assessment' has continued to establish itself (Grisso 1987). Assessment involves the systematic gathering of reliable data on the characteristics of offenders and the offences which they have committed in order to develop understanding of the dynamics of offending and relevant intervention strategies.

Assessment is a process of generating hypotheses about the the origins and maintenance of an offender/patient's problems with regard to his or her core conflicts, critical relationships and other significant developmental experiences. It should also detail the severity and chronicity of their problems and attempt to identify the situational and interpersonal determinants of their offending behaviour. Thus, the aim of the assessment process is to make sense of the offender/patient's behavioural disturbance (including offending behaviour) through an understanding of their personal histories which also includes taking account of any possible

intervening neuropsychological or organic deficits. Ideally, the results of such an assessment should contribute to multidisciplinary decision making about whether a patient requires or continues to require conditions of maximum security. The findings with the growing interest in profiling. Firstly, it has focused increasing attention on the specific details of serious crimes, and the need to correctly interpret those details. Secondly, it has led to developments in empirical criminological research and investigative psychology in particular (Canter and Alison 1997). It is such of the assessment should also contribute to the specification of the offender/patient's treatment goals and predictions about their future risk of re-offending. This process should include, *inter alia*, assessments of the offender/patient's personality, cognitive/neuropsychological functioning, psychosexual functioning as well as analysis of their index offence and offending history. Such assessments typically involve intensive and searching interviews with patients. Ideally, they should occur in an environment that is conducive to the development of a therapeutic relationship where trust is developed and information is disclosed over time.

In my own work in the hospital I have developed a protocol for the analysis of offence characteristics in homicide which has drawn on earlier seminal work (Ressler et al 1988; Canter 1994). It considers, for example, what themes (of aggression, sadistic sexuality, criminality) are being demonstrated in the commission of a particular offence and in what ways might this offence be different from what we know about the offender's previous offence history? It asks whether there are clearly identifiable precursor offences that indicate previous behavioural try outs of parts of an offender/patient's repetitive masturbatory fantasies (MacCulloch et al 1983; MacCulloch et al.1995). This is particularly important when we consider the possibility that an offender/patient's *modus operandi* might not be constant, but might change over time and could be influenced by his own development and the behaviour of previous victims.

It examines the victim and offender relationship and asks what role does the victim play in the life of the offender in terms of – 'people to be controlled, vehicles to carry the offender's rage, objects to be abused'. (Canter 1994 p6; Adshead 1997). Had the offender previously threatened the victim (Macdonald 1968)? Was the victim targeted? How quickly did contact with victim become sexualised? What information did the offender use in deciding to enter a particular premises? In what other ways

did the victim's lifestyle, psychological appearance or activity attract the notice of the offender? What was it that made this victim stand out from other possible victims?

It also asks what aspects of the offender's motivation and behaviour are demonstrated in the commission of the offence which are intrinsic to or associated with any personality disorder psychopathology? What extra information could the offender's offence behaviour indicate about the severity of their personality disorder (Norton and Dolan 1995) or the theme(s) of their delusions.

Such an explicit behavioural analysis of the offence focusing on 'overt, direct, intentional human aggression' (Megargee 1995) does not, of course, preclude the relevance of other kinds of psychological explanation. What is the meaning of the act is still the recurrent question (Cordess & Hyatt Williams, 1995) as is allowance for an exploration of 'covert, indirect, unconscious, and passive forms of aggressive behaviour.' (Megargee 1995 p396) Glasser (1996) emphasises that a person's dangerousness is often indicated 'by the meaning of the act to the perpetrator rather than the act itself... it is this basic consideration that led Scott (1977) to state that 'quality of violence is a better indicator of dangerousness than quantity'. (Glasser 1996).

In this gradual way, just as psychological testing and interpretation aim through the process of hypothesis generation (Gudjonsson 1995) to integrate complex information into a cohesive and plausible account (O'Neill 1995), so the inferences that can be derived about the possible causes of an individual's offending behaviour can also be further explored in assessment and therapy.

The results of such an improved assessment and the consequent formulation provide a more comprehensive explanation of offending behaviour in each specific case. Such improvements not only enhance clinical inference which has been demonstrated to be of equivocal reliability, but should also lead to a greater specificity of treatment goals and the opportunity therefore for more objective monitoring of change and risk assessment (Clark et al, 1983; BPS, 1993). The identification of the behaviours, characteristics and situational aspects which are hypothesised to have contributed to the original offence also allows for a more objective monitoring of a patient's or prisoner's behaviour throughout their detention in order

to observe whether any behaviour patterns similar to those associated with the index offence are repeated (Clark et al, 1983).

It is my opinion that Psychiatry in forensic settings has failed to pay sufficient attention to the detail of the index offence. In primarily concerning itself with the task of determining issues of individual responsibility and agency in terms of the presence or absence of a recognised psychiatric syndrome (Bromberg 1948; Gould 1959), such a narrow focus has allowed for an emphasis on the offender's interpretation of events and less objective consideration of the offence. Wertham writing in 1937 commented then how Psychiatry attempted to determine the clinical diagnosis 'quite independently of the criminal act which has been committed, assigning to the criminal act no role other than that of a single symptom in a whole clinical picture.' Some sixty years on, it has to be conceded that the majority of clinicians involved in the assessment and treatment of the mentally disordered offender, still avoid analysing and presenting this extra useful information about the actual offence which might better inform not only the judiciary in its sentencing and parole decision making, but also those other agencies involved in the prevention of crime and the rehabilitation of offenders.

Currently, lack of attention to the detail of the index offence calls into question the role of the forensic psychologist and forensic psychiatrist in the assessment of risk and dangerousness, begging the question, how can any decisions be made about admission, treatability, risk of re-offending and discharge if we do not know what the offender has done? Since it is supposed to be the case that patients detained under sections of the 1983 Mental Health Act would not normally be allowed to leave the Special Hospital/Regional Secure Unit system until there is a clear understanding of the motivation for the index offence (Peay, 1989), just how clearly do we know what the offenders that we assess and treat have done? The need for Mental Health Review Tribunals to have more detailed information than they have at present about an offender-patient's index offence is a criticism made by recent inquiries into cases involving homicide committed by psychiatric patients. It is argued that focusing on the specific offence behaviour might prevent the 'downgrading' or 'devaluation' of the index offence and a more accurate appraisal of the risk factors involved (Blom Cooper et al., 1995; Blom Cooper et al., 1996; Prins 1997). Moreover, attempting to understand the nature of the index offence is an exercise that should not be postponed and should be reformulated as extra information

becomes available. Otherwise as the reading of some old case notes can demonstrate, sometimes more than twenty years has passed with few attempts made to answer this question.

It is my experience that in England many psychiatrists and psychologists never review victims' statements, nor do they receive or ask for crime scene photographs. They never talk to senior investigating officers and so they avoid learning about the circumstances of the offence from a different perspective other than that of the offender/patient. Exposure to crime scenes and subsequent investigations has taught me how necessary it is to utilise these other sources of data. Whilst collaboration with investigators inevitably forces clinicians to focus their attention on the phenomenology of the offence under investigation in ways which are often more immediate and less sanitised than their usual ways of working, it is such experience which enhances my understanding of the offence behaviour of offender/patients.

In my own practice as an offender profiler, I attempt to follow the dictates of my work as a scientist practitioner, adopting an empirical approach. This involves 1) receiving clear terms of reference 2) ascertaining the strength of the available corroborative and contradictory evidence by reviewing the available statements 3) generating provisional hypotheses about possible offender(s) characteristics and motives and 4) continuously reviewing these hypotheses as extra information becomes available. Ideally, I should then discuss a range of possibilities with the senior investigating officer so that he or she might then be able to gauge the relevance of my opinion in deciding how it might be used to prioritise possible lines of inquiry. The importance of a team approach again cannot be understated and we have found that a forensic scientist is an invaluable member of the team.

Let us now turn to our case study. From the material we have attempted to put forward a sequence of events. We also have the statement of the great-grandmother about pre-offence and subsequent behaviour.

Simon Wells: The method we used to analyse the information given by the great-grandmother was to break down her statement into its component parts. The easiest way to describe it is by a sequence of time lines. You need to be able to break down the information between statements, and then do a sequence of events chart on the computer system, which will

organise it so that people who were the closest together will come together. The main parties within the great-grandmother's statement were the victim and the grandmother, and then the suspect and the interaction between the two. So I have the child as the top line, the grandmother as the second line, the suspect as the third line, and the great-grandmother at the bottom line. You then do a sequence of events of how the four parties interact, beginning at pre-offence behaviour through the offence to the conclusion. This, however, is done on a purely analytical basis. Normally, I would not do that happily in an offence where I was relying on just one statement.

Adrian West: The major problem we had was that there were no crime-scene photographs. The pre-offence behaviour, from our analysis, starts on Saturday morning at 8.30 a.m. when the tiler was in the house.

On Saturday afternoon, great-grandmother, grandmother, and the baby go for a walk in the area around the school for carpenters in Wennerwald forest. Mr. Bl saw them walking along there, and they also met some of the daughter's neighbours on their walk. On the way back they have coffee at the daughter's place. Between 5.30 and 6.00 p.m. the grandchild is tired, and they decide to return to the house of the grandson. Having returned home, grandmother, the grandchild, and great-grandmother spend about an hour in the dining-room on the lower first floor.

Nothing in particular happens, like phone calls, or someone ringing the door bell.

We are also informed that the offender scaled a small tree at the side of the garage, gained access to and crossed the garage roof and evening-room extension, and forced open the children's window, which is the middle one of three windows, using an implement. On entry, he walked directly from the window to the door, he did not enter other rooms, he descended to the middle floor, he entered the master bedroom, he walked around, apparently he did not enter the living-room, and then followed the staircase to the basement dining-room area where the struggle occurs. A ball-point pen and ransom demand are on the table in the dining-room. There is a wicker chair removed from the kitchen to the dining-room, and the dining-room chair in the kitchen has bindings. There is electrical tape, a knotted handkerchief, and a shoelace that has been cut on the front of the leg. In the centre of the kitchen there is a belt buckle, and in the dining-room, there is a child's belt without the buckle. In the housecraft room there is a

female corpse lying on its back, bloodstains on the inside of the left hand, naked parts of the body have been taped with cellophane. There is a curtain rod nearby, haemorrhage above the left eyebrow, injury to nose and face, death by suffocation due to strangulation, a choking device has been used, and there were defence wounds on forearms and hands again. In the UK, we would normally rely on the photographs.

We then had the descriptions of the actions of great-grandmother, grandmother, and child within the house: At 7.00 p.m., great-grandmother, grandmother and child sit in the dining-room. Grandmother goes to the kitchen, and great-grandmother hears a noise. She follows grandmother to the kitchen and sees the suspect bending over her. The suspect then puts great-grandmother, grandmother and child in the basement and locks it. Then the child is taken from the basement, and threats are made by the suspect to make them reveal the combination of the safe, or the child will be killed. The suspect is at the front of the house, with the child, and grandmother is pleading to him through the basement window. The child is then passed back into the basement, and the suspect returns and takes out the grandmother. Five minutes later, he takes out great-grandmother and the child, and great-grandmother sees that grandmother is tied to a chair in the dining-room. The suspect tells great-grandmother to put the child in a playpen, and then puts great-grandmother back into the basement. Great-grandmother hears someone walking about on the first floor in the bedroom and then in the bathroom, and then hears what she said sounded like a metal object falling down the stairs. Then the child screams twice. Shortly after that, the main entrance door slams.

So we know that there is a wall safe in the basement and that the suspect demanded the combination for this. The suspect did not enter the basement before this. Great-grandmother believes that the suspect knew in advance about the safe, and he asked for the combination, not the keys, without examining it beforehand. We all know about the problems of the reliability of witness evidence. On the basis of the information that we use primarily from the great-grandmother's witness statement, the following opinion is offered:

It is assumed that the background of great-grandmother, including her relationship with grandmother, has already been reviewed and has been deemed unproblematic to the exclusion of the extreme possibility of some sophisticated staging.

One thing that I was told by one of our elder wise psychiatrists is that sometimes 'the enthusiasm persists', i.e. if somebody has committed an offence when they were 18, one should not think that they cannot do the same again when they are 68. The primary intent of the offender in our opinion seems to have been to steal money or personal valuables from the domestic safe. The killing either occurred in the course of an attempt to extort information, or as a result of general excitement or disinhibition during the break-in, or as part of a move to avoid being recognised later. The level of organisation, in our opinion, is that his plans for dealing with the occupants he encountered seem to have developed as the incident went along. The perpetrator's targeting appears to have been on the house rather than the occupants. Since the safe had only very recently been installed (two weeks beforehand), we think that the perpetrator is likely to have a local connection and a burglary history. While the style of burglary suggests some experience, it is not particularly professional in its execution. We would anticipate that the perpetrator has a juvenile record for acquisitive and assaultive offences, and possibly an adult record for assaultive offences. The witness actually gives a description of the perpetrator, but the caveat is the unreliability of witness' evidence. We take the description with reservation, though it is possible that the offender is a white male, who is either unemployed or in a manual unskilled occupation, and who probably has access to a vehicle. A fairly standard police line of inquiry would involve all previous callers to the house in the period at least three months before the incident. We would research the following: local workers with previous convictions for dishonesty, burglary, theft, forgery of cheques, and possible (work) connections with the family.

Let me conclude by saying that in the absence of crime-scene photographs and comprehensive details of the case, these observations are offered as gross possibilities about the possible characteristics of the perpetrator involved in the case study.

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Offender Profiling in Sweden

Swedish Experiences in Offender Profiling and Evaluation
of Some Aspects of a Case of Murder and Abduction in Germany

Ulf Åsgård

1 Offender Profiling in Sweden

In 1988, the Swedish Police started a structured evaluation of people who threaten members of the Royal Family and the Government. The technique of offender profiling was added to routine police investigative techniques and was also applied in cases of extortion, which led to some cooperation with the FBI.

In 1991–92, the Laserman committed his heinous crimes and an offender profile was used in the evaluation of some suspects. This proved successful in the final hunt for the assailant. The pros and cons of the technique were assessed in a project group which recommended that a national group should be implemented with the task to perform crime analysis and profiling mainly in cases of murder, rape, extortion and firesetting. This group of four policemen and one psychiatrist, who consults the group on a part-time basis, has been in full operation since March 1995. Of the four policemen, one is an experienced forensic detective, while the other three are proficient homicide investigation detectives. The group has been trained in profiling mainly by FBI special agents, but we are not solely dependent on the FBI-concept. Wherever we find interesting information or applicable knowledge – we use it. This eclectic approach is typical of police work, and we believe that profiling should be one of the four pillars of a police investigation, as forensic and forensic medical assessments and interrogation.

Our basic assumption is that personality is expressed in strategies of choice, or how we give priority to matters and in motives. These are reflected by behaviour of all kinds. While personality is fairly consistent over time, behaviour is more trait-dependent than state-dependent. Thus, criminal behaviour as expressed in a crime scene can show a glimpse of the personality behind it.

We always work on request, but requests are sometimes vague, and eventually it turns out that the investigators really want an independent analysis of the crime. We define crime analysis as a meticulous analysis of the crime scene, offender and victim behaviour. A thorough crime analysis may generate useful information about the offender, in accordance with the basic assumptions.

For each individual case, there is one person responsible in the group who has to make sure that all available information is gathered, and that there is no information leaked about identified suspects.

Information about suspects is deleted since that would bias our analysis. We want to conserve or preserve the crime scene for weeks or months in order to be able to analyse it from every conceivable angle. This is impossible in ordinary investigations since all attendees are confronted daily with confirmations and rejections.

In virtually all cases, there are at least two of us who read all available information. After that we have a short discussion so that all members familiarise themselves with the case, and after that most members visit the crime scene, bringing along their video camera and a digital still photo camera. This camera could be plugged in a computer, and photos could be incorporated into our final written statement.

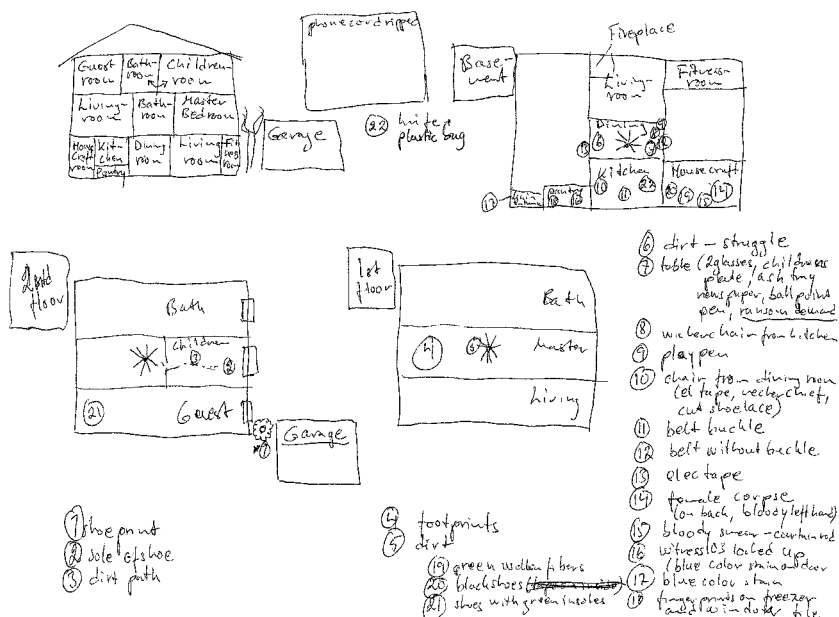
The analytical process involves the formulation of hypotheses outside of the group. These are later tested in group discussions where every minute detail or aspect is discussed. The goal is to reach a consensus about the case – not a compromise, of course, although sometimes the exact circumstances cannot be identified so that we have to leave that area for investigative speculations. At times we have to wait for additional facts. Before we deliver our written statement we make an oral presentation to the investigation, where additional facts often complete the picture and misinterpretations are corrected. The written statement is delivered two to three months after the initial contact.

The bottom line of all crimes analyses is to establish a chronology of events. Since reality does not easily lend itself to achieving this end, this usually takes a long time. The reason why it is so important to establish chronology might be obvious, but this procedure gives a particular insight into peoples minds.

2 The Case Analysis

Figure 1

Map of the crime scene, based on the crime scene report



The sketch of the house was used to put in as much of the forensic findings as possible in order to get an overview, thus trying to establish a chronology of events. The information at hand implies that the offender later killed the child he abducted from the house where he also had killed a woman. Both these killings are assumed to have occurred haphazardly since they seem pointless, taking into consideration the goal of an extortion.

2.1 Significant forensic findings in the house

It was raining but the offender did not bother; he squelched in the clay and subsequently left lots of shoe-prints in the house. The phone cords were ripped out, and the offender later stated that he will contact again by phone! He left fingerprints on the freezer and binding gear in the kitchen. The conclusion is that the offender does not pay attention to details and probably is a self-confident man. The way he entered the house implies that he knew the layout – he must have spent a fairly long time in the house without fearing the intrusion of other members of the family.

2.2 Significant forensic findings in the notes

The offender uses synonyms and fairly unusual expressions as far as our German helps us. This implies some degree of education. The ransom demand is the uneven sum of 1.2 million not 1, 2 or e.g. 5 or 10 million, which might indicate a willingness to compromise or negotiate. The construction of the extortion notes is very time-consuming. The letters we had at hand consisted of some 160-165 cut-out pieces. To avoid putting fingerprints and leave DNA-material you have to use non-circulated newspapers or magazines, or you send a copy (which he did not do, so he is not a very cautious man). You also have to use cotton or rubber gloves. These notes should therefore have been produced before committing the crime, but he added distorted hand-written notes, apparently during the crime. This is especially evident in the first note: 'Monday at 2200 hrs.'. The conclusion is that he is a self-indulgent man who overestimates his own skills, and that he is determined to carry through this enterprise.

2.3 Probable capacities of the culprit

In view of the points mentioned above (the overestimation of skills, the killings, the forensic findings, the determination), it seems that the offender is a psychopath. Wealthy people always attract this kind of offender but these then tend to cooperate with others. This operation seems to have been carried out by a man acting alone.

Considering this superficial sketch of the offender, negotiations should be guided by well-known principles that should not be publicly available.

Behavioural Science-based Criminal Investigation Expertise

Paul van den Eshof and Carlo Schippers

1 History

Between 1988 and 1991 a Dutch working group consisting of representatives of the Amsterdam police, the then Central Criminal Investigation Police Office (CRI) and of the Rechercheschool, responsible for training C.I.D. officers, studied the possibilities for using offender profiling in the investigation of violent crimes. After reviewing the literature in depth and after many discussions with forensic psychologists and police experts, it was decided to continue with the development of an offender profiling method, although initially the working group had taken a very sceptical view of such methods. The president of the American FBI granted the request to allow a Dutch C.I.D. officer to be trained as a criminal investigative analyst. Following his training in the United States, the profiler was deployed with the CRI for a period of three years. It was decided to form a multidisciplinary team that included this profiler and a psychologist. The team provided support in deadlock investigations by creating offender profiles at the request of the domestic police departments. Two years later, the Dutch Study Centre for Crime and the Administration of Justice (NISCALE) conducted a consumer satisfaction assessment to establish a track record of the team (Jackson, Van Koppen en Herbink, 1993). This assessment was based on 20 investigations where the profiling team had either submitted an offender profile or rendered consulting services at the request of the respective police stations. Chief investigators and C.I.D. officers were interviewed about the performance of the profiling team. Interestingly enough, it was only in six of the 20 cases that support in the form of offender profiles had been given. The reason for this was that in most cases, the available evidence was not sufficient for offender profiling purposes. In the majority of cases, the team simply limited itself to giving advice about the direction the investigation should take. Other advice given related to the personality of a possible suspect or the structuring and planning of the interrogation of a certain suspect.

The NISCALE researchers came up with the following results:

- (1) Most of the C.I.D. officers interviewed were satisfied with the support they had received. Only two of the 42 evaluations were negative.
- (2) The advice given was highly valued. Sometimes this was due to the fact that the police station involved did not have the specialist knowledge required for a particular crime, and sometimes this was because the investigators had become bogged down.
- (3) There was a general feeling that the police had a need for more applied knowledge from the behavioural sciences.

The conclusions of the NISCALE report led to the decision to continue along this path. In the course of its day-to-day operations it became clear that the profiling team did more than just draw up offender profiles. Consequently, it was decided to offer these services henceforth under the heading of 'behavioural science-based criminal investigation consulting services'. Furthermore, research and development were to focus more on how behavioural sciences might be applied to the reality of criminal investigation, and to give a fresh impetus to the development of 'behavioural science-based criminal investigation expertise'.

2 Behavioural Science-based Criminal Investigation Consulting Services

Until now, most of the CRI's criminal investigation consulting services correspond to those offered by the FBI. Due to the specific demands of the Dutch police force, additional emphasis is put on lending support in interrogation methods. Future scientific studies will have to show whether re-orientation is required.

The following consulting services are offered today:

- *Offender profiling*
- Advice in cases where it is not clear whether a death can be attributed to a crime, suicide or an accident (*equivocal death opinions*).

- *Investigative suggestions* directing the further course of investigation based on the analysis of available information about the crime.
- *Comparative case analysis* based on similar behaviours.
- *Personality assessments* as to whether someone qualifies as a suspect.
- Strategic advice on how to interrogate suspects.
- *Threat assessment*.

3 Behavioural Science-based Criminal Investigation Expertise

This term is to hint at the marriage of crime investigation expertise and applied psychology that we are aiming at. Any available psychological knowledge is meant to serve the investigator working on a case. Behavioural science-based criminal investigation expertise relies on the following principles:

- (1) The point of departure is the behaviour of the offender, the victim or the witnesses.
- (2) The procedural approach is based on the integration of criminal experience and behavioural-science knowledge.
- (3) The objective is to consult and to manage ongoing investigations (*management instrument*).

3.1 Behaviour as the starting point

A person's behaviour is the focal point for any behavioural science-based criminal investigation expertise. What has been said above suggests that information about the offender's behaviour is required. In offender profiling we depend on statements of the victim or evidence gathered at the crime scene. When a case is being reconstructed, information about characteristic behaviours is of the utmost importance. Most important in this respect are behavioural patterns which may be linked to specific categories for which there is empirical proof. The assessments may ori-

ginate from scientific research, general profile analyses, or real-world experience.

Generally speaking, analyses like these provide relevant information about crimes with specific motives, such as

- sexual crimes;
- homicides with sexual, psychotic or bizarre motives (murder combined with mutilation);
- serial arson;
- threats (letters, phone calls).

The above-mentioned analysis may also be helpful in serial crimes, such as sexual crimes, homicides or threats. An approach based on behavioural psychology enables one to assess whether several cases may be linked to one specific perpetrator. Serial crimes can yield additional results, because in many cases a telling development may be observed. The potential threat an offender poses, for instance, can be deducted from an analysis of threat letters. Changes in tone, choice of words and the general make-up may point to a step-by-step development of the perpetrator towards becoming a serious threat to the victim.

In summary, one can say that a behaviour-oriented crime expert analyses crimes where the behaviour of the offender provides useful hints for the direction the investigation should take.

3.2 Criminal investigation experience and behavioural science

Offender profiling may be defined as a structured way of passing on real-world experience to C.I.D. officers. In our country there are only few C.I.D. officers with investigative experience in cases of bizarre homicides or serious sexual crimes, for different reasons. First of all, crimes of this nature are relatively rare in the Netherlands. Furthermore, it is customary for C.I.D. officers to rotate on a regular basis. An additional problem is that we do not have specialised departments for homicide investigations. The latter two circumstances cause a loss of experience gathered in the real

world. The Dutch police regularly ask psychologists for help. Quite a few C.I.D. officers believe that psychologists, within their special field of expertise, are able to answer all the questions arising in an investigation. Many of these questions, however, cannot be answered. There are only few studies in psychology on the activities of crime fighters, while those that do exist rarely address the issues confronting a C.I.D. officer involved in case-work. Furthermore, few psychologists have any experience with criminal investigations, and are thus hardly aware of the existing practical and legal constraints. However, when a psychologist comes up with an answer to the investigator's questions in spite of all these limitations, such statements are valuable nevertheless. But we believe that one must clearly differentiate between this kind of sporadic psychological consulting and what we call behavioural science-oriented criminal expertise. In the latter case we are dealing with a host of knowledge oriented towards real-world police work; ideally, science and criminal work should mutually benefit from one another. Thus, striking features of specific crimes may trigger scientific research efforts, whereas the results from research may prompt changes in the analysis of actual crimes.

In general, the questions raised by investigators tend to be very specific and relate to individual cases. It is not unusual for investigators to look for a specialist expert. In order to satisfy this demand, it would be desirable to exchange information so as to establish a central database with the names of available experts in Europe.

3.3 Consulting and management in ongoing investigations

Offender profiles or advice on interrogation methods must provide practical suggestions as to the direction the investigation should take. If a profile complies with this requirement, it may be used as a management tool. Based on this profile, the team leader may make an informed decision on the most promising direction the investigation should take. This way, human and material resources may be used more efficiently. Of course, one may object to this on the grounds that the investigative process may quite possibly follow a wrong lead because of a profile, and suggest to take a broader approach to the investigation. This argument, however, ignores the fact that in the real world we are forced to make decisions because our resources are not unlimited. If a broad-based approach is taken, there is the danger that decisions will be taken implicitly and without good reason.

Also, the decision-making process may be slowed down, even though speed may be essential in an investigation.

Real-world oriented advice is also required when interrogating suspects. The features of a crime and the behaviour of the suspect provide a background for any approach to the questioning; but not every psychological method complies with the legal framework set for an interrogation.

4 Development of Expertise

There are three possibilities to develop expertise:

- (1) Documenting real-world experience,
- (2) analysing solved criminal cases, and
- (3) scientific research.

4.1 The documentation of real-world experience

In the past, our department conducted a study in an attempt to collect experiences of C.I.D. officers involved in rape investigations (Van der Heiden and Van den Eshof & Schama, 1990). The study was divided into two steps. Step one required the investigators to define rules based on their own experience, linking the characteristics of an offence with the personality of the (apprehended) offender. In the second step, this body of rules was presented to a group of investigators. At this point it became clear that there was precious little agreement on whether most of these rules had any relevance beyond the cases they were derived from in the first place. Also, we found that those rules which were accepted by everyone were mostly based on stereotypes without any relevance for real police work. Furthermore, in order to check such rules, the files of the respective cases would have to be consulted. Collecting experience this way would thus be very time-consuming and bear little fruit.

Another approach is to enter all relevant data about the offender and the offence in a computer programme in a structured way after the crime has been solved. This also allows the recording of data on rare links between

offender and offence. The Canadian VICLAS programme is particularly useful for recording data relating to sexually-motivated crimes. Trials with this programme are currently being conducted in the Netherlands.

4.2 The analysis of solved cases

VICLAS is a tool taking into account those categories of offence characteristics that are relevant for behavioural-science based criminal expertise, which makes it much easier to conduct occasional analyses. However, in the absence of a good file, there may be a need for quantitative analysis. Questions which repeatedly crop up in the course of an investigation may be answered by analysing solved cases.

Our department analysed a total of 267 rape cases in which the victim and the perpetrator did not know each other. The prime focus of the study was on the biography of the offender and on links to other offences, in particular bank robberies and similar offences. It turned out that of all rapists, 72% had a record for offences against property, while only 42% had a record for sexual offences. Interestingly enough, the biography of rapists coincides quite often with the biography of (bank) robbers (Van den Eshof, De Kleuver, Ho Tham, 1996). This implies that the investigator should not necessarily expect to find a rapist among the group of previously convicted sexual offenders.

The analysis also showed that links with the pattern of previous convictions could be derived both from the offence itself and from certain offence characteristics. In the case of rapists, it emerged that it was more the function of the violence than the degree of violence that permitted statements about the biography of the perpetrator. Offenders for whom violence had an expressive function tended to have a history of violent crimes, in contrast to those offenders who used violence only as a tool to subdue their victims.

The analysis also took into account geographic information. The distance between the places of residence of the offenders and the locations where they met their victims was measured. We found that in 45% of all cases the distance was no more than 2 kilometres. The type of place where they met was also important. If the perpetrator meets the victim in the victim's home or nearby, the average distance to the offender's home will be 4.2

kilometres. If the offender meets the victims at a 'neutral location', the average distance will be 16.4 kilometres. (De Kleuver, Van den Eshof & Zwiers, 1996). These results illustrate the kind of real-world knowledge that can be gathered from the analyses of the files of solved cases.

4.3 Scientific research

Many structural-type questions can only be answered with the help of scientific research. The results of the study by Knight and Prentsky (...) about sexual crimes allow us to define different types of rapists and paedophiles. This is a sound basis for future studies on investigative criminal work in the real world. In particular, this enables us to study the link between offender types and offence characteristics.

A case in point is research concerning the link between nonverbal behaviour and misleading behaviour (*nonverbaal gedrag en misleidend*, Lochun, 1996). Our department is regularly confronted with questions about the design of an interrogation. Very often, this includes the question, Which kind of – mostly nonverbal – behaviour indicates that a suspect is lying? The questions reveal that it is not rare for C.I.D. officers to have very clear ideas about this (Vrij, 1996). As to the relationship between nonverbal and misleading behaviour, there are many – mostly experimental – studies. Lochun says very clearly that these results cannot always be implemented in terms of tangible interrogation methods. Many experiments are conducted with students. The tense situation during an actual interrogation with very different interests on either side cannot be simulated easily.

Thus, the Lochun study yields a very significant conclusion: The results of the various scientific studies do not provide a reliable foundation for recognising attempts at misleading behaviour on the part of the suspect during an interrogation based on his nonverbal behaviour. This conclusion will have a bearing on the development of interrogation strategies.

In general, however, our department's possibilities for conducting scientific studies are rather limited. Therefore, we always try to cooperate with universities.

5 Conclusion

In this paper we have attempted to describe the development of behavioural-science based criminal expertise in the Netherlands. The examples show that we have mainly been concerned with sexual crimes. Currently, studies are under way that investigate the possibilities of offender profiling and comparative case analysis in the field of paedosexual crimes (in co-operation with the University of Utrecht) as well as the possibilities for developing interrogation methods.

This paper does not lend itself to a detailed description of the results of our analyses of the last few years. To obtain such information, the interested reader is kindly requested to refer to our bibliography.

Literature

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Science, Psychology and Psychological Profiling

An Epistemological Perspective

Julian Boon

1 The Need for Clarity

In the literature relating to offender profiling it is very common to find reference to the words 'psychology', 'science', 'psychological', and 'scientific', yet it is very uncommon for the various authors to provide any precise definitions as to the ways they intend such terminology to be used. It is argued in this paper that it is essential for the furtherance of constructive debate regarding psychological profiling that all parties interested in profiling (from whatever discipline) are clear as to what they and their fellow professionals personally understand to be science and psychology. It is suggested that without clear statements of the associated definitions there is a danger of misunderstandings arising from a false sense of consensus that everyone is using terminology in the same way. It is further suggested that in turn, this has led to misrepresentations of viewpoints and sterile debate among profilers with different approaches and ideas.

In short, debate on the way ahead for psychological profiling techniques has hitherto been built on the basis of the unwitting ignorance of well-intentioned professionals and, on occasion, the wilful misunderstanding of others' perspectives. The contingent misunderstandings which have arisen at an often unrealised and fundamental level, have resulted in the communication of messages on entirely different wave-lengths, and prevented constructive debate concerning the development of the (i) most effective blueprints for operational profiling, and (ii), optimal utility profiling research.

Accordingly, this paper will present different views of what constitutes psychology and science and argue a rationale for a preferred, albeit untypical of mainstream, approach. In so doing, the aim is to offer one perspective on how we may most effectively go forward and develop a bona fide scientific basis for the psychological profiling of offenders. At the outset it is important to note that the paper is addressing issues relating to profiling from a psychological perspective. While the usefulness of such alternative

inputs to offender profiling as criminology, statistical approaches, demographical information, investigative experience etc. is fully acknowledged, the focus of the paper will be on the psychological input per se.

2 Psychology and Science

Before coming to the particularities of the relationship between science and psychology it is important to be clear about the precise location and nature of the goal-posts for which we should be aiming. To this end let us kick off with statements, in as straightforward a set of terms as possible, as to the way this paper intends the usage of the terms 'science' and 'psychology'.

In the case of science the aim and function should be to *make a model of reality* in the domain of phenomena into which a scientist is purporting expertise of enquiry, and in the case of psychology, that model should be of *the mind*, and associated phenomena such as action, motivation, and experience. In the USA and the UK there has been, for a very significant majority of psychology's history of research and theoretical development, a strong emphasis on the study of behaviour per se with research pertaining directly to the mind, experience and motivation being widely regarded as unscientific.

This skew of emphasis has not only thwarted the growth of *a bona fide* scientific psychology but has also lead to a whirligig of disintegrated research and piecemeal theory.

Before looking directly at a recommended blueprint for a 'scientific approach to psychological profiling it is first necessary to look at the century-old discipline of psychology, its prodigious contingent research and its theoretical foundations. Historically, this blueprint for mainstream academic psychology in the USA and UK has been that of empiricism. Stemming from philosophical traditions dating back to Locke, Berkeley, and Hume this scientific orientation holds that it is only possible to infer anything about reality if the observations that led to any given inference are themselves objectively demonstrable. Strictly speaking, under empiricism it is held that there should be no preconceptions as to which data to collect, since preconceptions by their very nature can lead to contamination of the objectivity of the data and ergo compromise its objectivity.

Under this blueprint of science, growth in knowledge occurs with successive observations of objectively determinable events with a contingent growth of a theoretical base which it is held will progressively model reality.

Those who support empiricism argue that it ensures the growth of a unified knowledge structure which is built on the solid foundations of objective data and logical inference. It is argued here that this view has had very serious and deleterious consequences for the study of psychology, its research remits and theoretical output. Psychology as a discipline represents a special case with qualities which are unique, and which therefore require correspondingly special prerequisites for the pursuit of a genuinely scientific understanding, and the development of research and theory.

The question raised in this paper is whether the current interest in psychological profiling is destined to be yet one more dis-unified foray into the worlds of headless-chicken data collection and handsome research grants. If so, then in time in psychological profiling we'll know more and more about less and less until we know pretty well everything about very little at all. The still prevailing view is to collect data without thought rather than to think first and decide which data are most helpful in understanding psychology. For any genuinely scientific progress to be made in psychological profiling research, far from eschewing the input of considerations such as motivation, mental events and experience, it is essential to not just acknowledge their existence, but to take account of them head-on in the development of theory.

No-where in psychology could the fundamental importance of this be more starkly made plain than in the field of psychological profiling. To attempt to understand offenders by observation of behaviour alone is as absurd as trying to stop a charging rhino with a pea-shooter. Instead, it is vital to take a realist (see Whetherick, Bhaskar) perspective in research, and only in this way can there be any unified progression in psychological (sic) profiling research for applied purposes.

3 The Contribution of Personality Theoretics - The Realist Perspective

As noted above, the mission of science should be to make *a model of reality* in whichever domain the scientist has chosen as an area of interest.

Theories are then advanced to explain observed data arising in relation to that domain, and to the extent the theory fits the observed data, it can be judged a success. The way forward for science is to continually revise the theoretical base so that it can make the most accurate model of reality possible.

Common theories may be (but need not be) mutually exclusive in their provision of an account for any given set of data, and where this is the case, one theory may be judged as being more 'successful' than another. In any given context, theories can be judged as being the more 'successful' to the extent that the account generated is: (i) more concise, (ii) more precise, and (iii) more widely applicable than that of a rival theory. The way of science is to adopt the most successful currently available theory for understanding the data under consideration.

In advancing this view, there exists the problem of stating where these theories come from, and it is proposed here that the answer lies in a loosely formulated set of beliefs which serve as guiding principles for the formation of theory by theorists. Such a collection of ideas have 'framework' status, and these ideas in themselves cannot be falsified. However, the theories that develop and which are derived from them are specific, testable and ergo falsifiable against observed reality, and are refinable in the face of error. To the extent that a framework can be said to more pervasively generate theories which are successful in making models of reality (along the lines of the criteria outlined above) that framework will hold sway. However, at any given time currently favoured frameworks which are being adopted for theory generation are constantly under challenge from new theories which are being generated by alternative frameworks and ideas (please see Figure 1). The way forward for theoretical development is charted on a survival of the fittest basis with evolution of theory being tested in conjunction with empirical work.

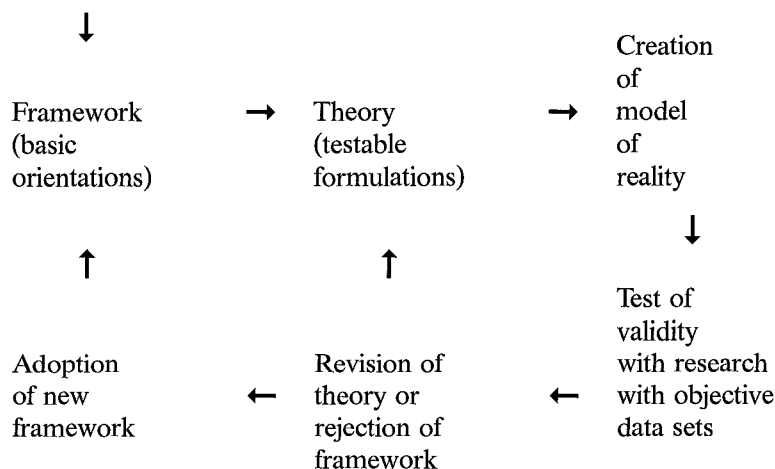
It is vital to understand that even though their proponents may and frequently do insist that theirs is the sole course of useful understanding, there is not yet a right and wrong framework or theory for the understanding of all data contained in a given domain. What might be the best available theoretical base with which to interpret one data set may not be the best for the interpretation and understanding of another. In addition there exists the possibility that in asking different questions of a common data set, a blend of different theories may be called upon to answer

these – each being the most helpful at any given time and for any given context.

Figure 1

**The Relationship between Frameworks, Theories, and Data Sets
in a Theory-driven Model of Personality Theoretics**

**Emergence
of a given
scientific
concern**



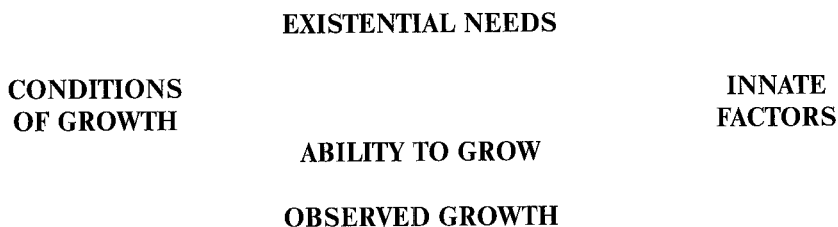
The reason for providing this exposition is that it is critical to understanding the ways in which a psychologist with specialisms in personality theoretics can apply them to real world phenomena. Essentially, employing personality theoretics in profiling works with the selection of the most effective psychological theories with which to understand the crime(s) and the perpetrator(s). This is done in relation to the making of highly detailed observations of the crime-scene, victim statements, witness statements, documentation etc., which form the unique data set for that case. The contingent selection from the available frameworks, theoretical tenets, and research bases as to which is best tailored to the data set, can play a major part in the psychological profiling process.

4 A Framework for Developing Personality Theory for Applied Profiling

The following will now describe a proposed form of personality framework for use in profiling work. It is proposed that there be four kernel elements comprising existential needs, innate qualities, conditions of growth, and observed growth (see Figure 2), to be defined for the purposes of this paper as (i) existential needs being those needs – physical or mental – which are required for the successful functioning of the human condition, (ii) innate qualities being the mental, behavioural, affective, and physical characteristics originating from genetic individual differences, (iii) conditions of growth being the learning and personal environmental history of the individual, and (iv) observed growth being how and why an individual thinks, feels, acts (sic), and behaves at any given point or across successive points in time.

Figure 2

Framework for the Application of Personality Theoretics to the Process of Psychological Profiling



5 Recurrent Themes from Personality Theoretics in Relation to the Framework

Existential needs

In discussing the role of existential needs as portrayed by personality theoretics it is necessary to draw a distinction between needs originating from physical sources and those stemming from mental sources. Among the former are biological requirements relating to hunger, sex and thirst which themselves can be sub-partitioned in that hunger and thirst require short-term satiation relative to that of sex. Put simply, if the human doesn't eat or drink he/she will perish and little or no amount of fantasy or wishful

thinking will overcome this short-fused biological imperative. Sexual urges and drives on the other hand, while still being physically ineluctable can be managed at a personal level.

This distinction is critical. Reinforcers for thirst and hunger are of necessity very precisely defined as being for drink and food, respectively. Such drives would be expected to have strong influences on motivation and contingent behaviour patterns, and these behaviour patterns should be relatively easy to predict and understand. However, the position for sexual drives is radically different in that gratification can take place at an internal level with the possibility of an indefinitely extendible period of non-involvement with the outside world. There exists a potentially infinite range of convenience as to the triggers of means of gratification. That is to say sexual drives, having the capacity to operate and be satiated (a) internally, and (b) over an extended time-space, can have a far more diverse and complex impact on personality development than can hunger and thirst.

The question then arises as to what determines the pattern of growth, and here personality theoreticians have provided a wide range of answers each generated from their proponents' own frameworks.

6 Conditions of Growth, Innate Qualities, and their Contingent Patterns of Growth

Distillation from the core elements of extant frameworks and theories reveals the pattern of needs and conditions of growth contained in Figure 3. The proposed framework is interactive in the sense that the extent to which the needs are realised is a function of the specific conditions of growth which have prevailed through an individual's life.

The needs which have been identified as a function of the mental needs of human existence include those listed in Figure 3. These play a very potent part in the development of personality and contingent behavioural and mental characteristics. Such influences are also interactive with the conditions of growth pertaining to any given individual. Furthermore they are mediated by (a) the physiological/genetic predisposition of his/her central nervous system, and (b), effects stemming from perceived organ deficiency or negative physical characteristics. When addressing issues of psycho-

logical profiling therefore, it is necessary to acknowledge and take into account the fact that innate factors play a part in personality development and behaviour and that this will, to a varying extent, interact with the prevailing conditions of growth.

Figure 3
Patterns of Needs and Some Determining Patterns of Growth Emerging from a Meta-analysis of Personality Theoretics

| | | |
|--|---|-------------------------------|
| Existential needs | | |
| Food and drink | } | Primary (physical) |
| Sex | | |
| <hr/> | | |
| Stimuli/boredom avoidance | } | Secondary (mental) |
| Attachment | | |
| Need to influence world/achieve | | |
| Uncertainty management | | |
| Definition of personal cause | | |
| <hr/> | | |
| Conditions of growth | | |
| Caringness | } | Ability to grow |
| Open lovingness | | |
| Empathy | | |
| Balance in relationships | | |
| Bona fide respect | | |
| Consistency | | |
| Goal setting | | |
| <hr/> | | |
| Innate qualities | | |

Additionally, there is the complication of a second-order interaction stemming from a mismatch between any given individual's *objective* and *subjective* perceptions of conditions of growth. An objective record of the conditions of growth which have prevailed may differ markedly from those which are perceived from the phenomenological perspective of the individual. It is essential not only to recognise the possibility of a such a mismatch between objective reality and perceived reality (of the past, present and anticipated future conditions), but also to establish as clearly as possible the nature of any such mismatch. Such information can be very helpful in establishing understanding of motivational patterns and can be

Figure 4

**Personality Correlates of Existential Needs
and Antecedent Conditions of Growth**

SELF-ACTUALISING

acceptance
undistorted awareness
openness
growth striving
'other'-interest
change-receptive
integrated
empathic
warmth
loving
creative
reality-orientated
biophilous
power orientation
– societal

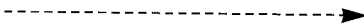
Possible avoidance strategies including:

- intoxication
- denial
- intellectualisation
- abdication of persona through animal behaviour
- minimisation of existential needs through
religious beliefs, affiliation to dogma
(e.g. Marxism, Nazism, cults etc.)
- dropping out of society

LIFE-THWARTING

defensiveness
denial
distorted awareness
disintegration
spoiling
control interests
self-interest
practice-bound
neo-phobic
partitioned
pseudo-warmth / cold
pseudo-loving / no love
destructive
fantasy-orientated
necrophilous
power orientation
– personal

TIME



of use in helping to select which theory/ies will be of greatest utility in understanding any given offender's behaviour.

7 Observed Growth

In the applied context the use of personality theoretics can provide insight into understanding a wide range of behaviour and psychological phenomena found in everyday profiling work, including sadism, masochism, necrophilous interests, paraphilia, psychopathy, and extortion. By articulating the roots and routes of the development of human personality these personality theoretics provide for example: (i) a direct set of predictors of antecedents to observed growth, (ii) a direct statement as to the ability of an individual to grow, insight into (iii) the offenders' motivation (past, present and future), (iv) the nature and depth of his/her sexual needs, (v) his/her needs for self-control, (vi) needs for control of others, and (vi), his/her vulnerability to triggers. Armed with such information it becomes possible to offer statements on matters which police routinely seek, e.g., Has the offender committed the offence before? What other types of offence is he likely to have committed? Is he likely to do it again?, etc.

The focus of the Chapter will now turn to some of the contingent personality correlates which have been flagged by different personality theories and their associated research bases. Figure 4 shows one possible formulation of a set of personality correlates which can be related not only to antecedent life-styles but current and future characteristics of an individual's psychological profile.

8 The Application of Personality Theoretics and Its Contingent Research Bases

Generally the psychologist employing personality theoretics in psychological (sic) profiling proceeds in the following stages: (i) defining a starting block with the formation of a general framework from which to formulate appropriate questions with relation to offenders and offences, (ii) examining that which is currently available from theory and research to answer these questions, (iii) moving through a process of selection of the most germane and fruitful theory/blend of theories and related research for the unique case data, and (iv) applying this body of theoretical and research

evidence so as to provide as much accurate psychological insight into the case as possible. This lies beyond simply the possession of a working knowledge of the content of the available personality theoretics. Although such knowledge is clearly pre-requisite, additional skills lie in (i) the formulation of criteria by which to select the most appropriate theories, (ii) the contingent identification of the theory or theories which are most helpful for the understanding of any given data set, and (iii) their subsequent application to that case.

Although there may be substantial degrees of overlap, no two offences are literally identical. The criteria for selecting a relevant theoretical and research basis for guidance may vary markedly when (a) an offender repeatedly offends, or (b) two ostensibly similar crimes are committed in seemingly different circumstances. The smallest of differences may have a very large impact on the case interpretation. As will be discussed further below, theoretical perspectives are adapted on a 'which is best for the job' basis – the adoption of different theories at different times being a reflexive function of the immediate stages of the profiling process in the context of the overall strategy being employed. There is skill not just in the identification of the most effective instruments for any given position, but in their execution and application to case understanding.

9 Personality Theoretics in Context

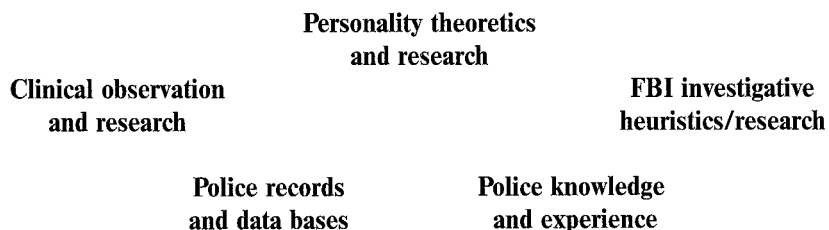
The purpose of this Chapter is to provide an articulation of the potential contribution that personality theoretics can make to psychological profiling, and a definition of a truly psychological and scientific research agenda. However, it should be made clear that it is but one input to the overall process. Figure 5 shows other sources of complementary and supportive input used by operational profilers employing personality theoretics.

The line of this paper has been to argue that the wealth of information from personality theoretics and the contingent research can, if effectively and appropriately utilised, make a material contribution to psychological profiling and ergo police investigations. It was made clear that the paper would be addressing the process of psychological profiling – it being argued here that this is the quintessential element which psychologists (as distinct from statisticians, epidemiologists, criminologists etc. which also

have a purchase on the area) can offer as a bona fide psychological contribution to police investigations.

Figure 5

**Coexisting and Interacting Sources of Information
in Operational Psychological Profiling and Research**



It was argued here that psychology's particular contribution in profiling involves attempting to understand the motivation, thought processes, value structures, affective responses, and global insight into the offenders' phenomenological fields, and that this should be reflected in future research.

It is of special importance that this in no way should be taken to suggest that other contributions emerging from police officers' experience, the FBI's research, and police data sets are in any way eclipsed by the purely psychological contribution per se. Instead the opposite view is being proposed, namely that a pragmatic, complementary approach be adopted, utilising all credible sources.

Nobody Saw What Happened

Marc van de Plas

1 Introduction

1.1 Mission

My mission was to address the following issues:

- If there are no eyewitnesses, to what extent can the police assess what happened at the original crime scene?
- Putting the question the other way round, how much more information do we get from an eyewitness statement?
- Offender profile(s).

The third issue explicitly harks back to the title of this seminar. As regards the first two issues, I think of them as the implementation of a case analysis, with a focus on the special value of an eyewitness.

1.2 Definitions

First of all, let me briefly explain what we mean by ‘case analysis’ and ‘offender profiling’.

- ‘Case analysis’ can be defined as ‘the study of a major crime by presenting a chronology of activities of all persons involved (victims, witnesses, perpetrators and suspects), before, during and after the crime’. The sequence of events provides a survey of all available information, which permits us to get insight in possible contradictions, to discover gaps of information, and to initiate investigative activities.
- ‘Offender profiling’ is ‘the description of (an) unknown perpetrator(s) of one or more crimes by means of behavioural clues found at the crime scene or any other available source of information’. The pur-

pose of this technique is to focus the research on likely perpetrators, or to make a selection from a larger group of suspects.

1.3 Available information

The information available to me is

- a superficial crime-scene report (document No. 6);
- the letters from the extortionist (documents No. 21, 5, 4, 3 and 23); and
- the calls from the extortionist (documents No. 22, 13, 11 and 12).

1.4 Methodology

In the following, I will first present the sequence of events and the available information distilled from it, and then go on to explain the possible contradictions and assumptions regarding the active victim (the child).

I will then tackle the extra questions that must be asked on the basis of the available information (gaps, hypotheses if information is lacking, conducting further investigation).

Further on, I will sum up the essential sources of information, with special attention devoted to the extra value of an eyewitness.

Finally, I will try to draw a profile of the offender. No explicit theoretical pattern will be used. The deductions concerning the author(s) are purely based on our own experience with similar events, with a little bit of intuition added ...

2 Sequence of Events

See annexed time line, created with The Analyst Notebooks/Case Analyser.

3 Gaps of Information, Hypotheses, Conducting the Investigation

3.1 Document 21

3.1.1 Questions

- Are there any indications to determine the moment of creation of the extortion letter (did the perpetrator already have it with him when he broke into the house, did he write it on the spot, did he return after the murder?)
- Has the letter been manipulated before the arrival of the police?
- To whom is it addressed?
- Are there ways to observe the house ('permanently watched')?
- Were suspicious activities reported around the house, in the days or weeks prior to the abduction?

3.1.2 Hypotheses

We suspect that the perpetrator left the letter at the time of the murder and the abduction. Because of the time needed to manufacture cut-out words, we suppose that he had them ready in advance, and therefore that the abduction was planned.

3.1.3 Starting the investigation

The possibility of observing the perpetrator's house must be examined. If necessary, a counter-observation must be carried out.

3.2 Document 6

3.2.1. Questions

- (1) About the murdered woman:
Who was she? (It is only at the moment of the seminar that I realised that she was the grandmother.)
When exactly was she murdered?
Why?
Are there any more details about the murder?
What is meant by 'naked parts'?
- (2) About the great-grandmother:
Why was she locked up?
When exactly did this happen?

- (3) About the abducted child:
How old is he?
Was he still alive at the time of abduction?
Did he usually sleep in the aforementioned 'children's room'?
- (4) About the perpetrator:
How many persons are involved?
Description(s)?
Known – unknown?
What did he (she/they) say?
What was the initial motive?
Were there any goods stolen?
- (5) About the other inhabitants of the house:
Where were the parents (alibi)?
Background information about the parents:
– When did they get married?
– Number of children
– Relationship
– Religion(s)
– Socio-economic status
Background information about the family and the circle of relatives.
- (6) About the location of the house:
Description of the house (remote?)
How high is the risk of burglary?
What is the burglary history of the house and its environment?
Was it easy for outsiders to
– know how to enter,
– know where the child slept,
– know that the parents were out?
- (7) About the crime:
What is the exact sequence of events (time of the murder, when was the witness locked up, ...)?
What kind of abduction are we talking about (parental, political, religious, criminal abduction)?

3.2.2 Hypotheses

We suspect that the perpetrator is an outsider, that is to say that he is not known by the witness and that we are facing a criminal abduction that was planned in advance.

3.2.3 Starting the investigation

- (1) Questioning the witness (great-grandmother):
Can she provide an answer to questions (1) through (6)?
- (2) Questioning the parents and other members of the family to obtain information about the active victim, about the mutual relation, their alibi, the family structure and the larger family (likely suspects who could know how to enter the house, where the child was sleeping, that the parents were absent ...).
- (3) Questioning the local police:
About the house's location (remote?), risks of burglary, police antecedents of the house and its inhabitants (former attempts at burglary, at abduction), crime overview in the area.
- (4) Investigation in the vicinity:
Suspicious movements prior to the abduction. Maybe extra questions about the family, its status, etc.

3.3 Document 22

3.3.1 Questions

Relationship aunt/sister-in-law/parents

Where do they live?

Can outsiders easily get hold of telephone numbers?

Has the perpetrator been stalking the family members?

How does he address A and A1: In a familiar or distant manner (this may say something about their relationship)?

3.3.2 Necessary investigation

To check the above questions with persons involved and other family members.

Investigations about stalking in the vicinity.

3.4 Document 5

Questions

What happened during the rally?

How and why was the perpetrator stopped?

3.5 Document 13

Question

Where does T call from?

3.6 Document 4

Questions

What happened during the rally?

How and why was the perpetrator stopped?

3.7 Document 3

3.7.1 Question

When and where was the letter received?

3.7.2 Hypothesis

T counter-observed the rally.

3.8 Document 11

Questions

Whom did T call?

What happened after the call? Answering these questions is indispensable for putting this document into a larger context.

3.9 Document 12

Questions

Is there a logical explanation for the delay of two days between the same messages (Documents 11 and 12)?

How did the third rally end?

3.10 Document 23

Questions

Who is A2?

During the seminar, we discovered that A2 was the mother of the abducted child, so the next question was, How did T manage to contact the mother while the other calls were answered by the C.I.D.? Is it just a mistake, or does it say something about the relationship between the family and the perpetrator?

4 Extra Value of the Witness

The extra value of the witness concerns the following items:

- It gives us a *more precise picture of the chronology of events*:
Did the perpetrator break in first, what has he done afterwards while he was in the house (murder, locking up the great-grandmother, extortion letter)?
- She can give us *more information about the perpetrator*:
Their number
Physical description:
Corpulence, face, clothes, weapons, distinctive marks.
Was the perpetrator someone she knows?
Psychological description:
This has to be asked indirectly, by asking her the attitude of the perpetrator(s) and the reasons for it (as far as she knows).
If witness of the murder: How and precisely why?
Activities and features that cannot be immediately disclosed by the forensic report, such as

stealing objects;
the language he spoke;
his emotional reactions.

- She can give more *background information* about
the identity of the family,
the other inhabitants of the house and the parents' alibi at the time of
the events,
the abducted child:
 Age;
 description;
 was he sleeping in his bedroom through which the perpetrator
 entered the house?
 What was his condition at the time of the abduction?
Suspicious things seen before, that can be put in relation with the
crime;
suspicions about likely perpetrators?
Since the documents do not reveal the identity of the murdered
woman, the witness must be asked about it.

5 Overview of Possible Sources of Information

| Sources of information | Available information | Gaps of information |
|--|--|--|
| Crime scene examination | Rather formal information very limited contents | |
| Physiological examination of victim | | How exactly murdered Other violations (e.g. rape, mutilations)? |
| Interview of victims and witnesses | | Chronology of facts |
| | | Physical description of perpetrators |
| | | Psychological description of perpetrators |
| | | Further background information about the kid-napped child, the murdered woman, the other family members, previous suspicious attitude, suspicions about likely perpetrators, |
| Interview of family members | | about the relations between the inhabitants of the house, |
| Examination of neighbourhood | | especially about previous suspicious attitudes. |
| Physical description of larger environment | | What is the likelihood of burglary and abduction committed either by an outsider or an insider? |
| Criminalistic examination of area | | (attempts at) burglary or abduction in the house or in the vicinity |
| Direct or indirect contact perpetrator | Calls letter | |

6 Offender Profile

6.1 Features

- (1) The perpetrator is rather intelligent and well-organised:
Extortion letter with cut-out words.
Ransom demand precisely defined.
Does not give opportunity to ask questions during calls).
Has knowledge of rally strategy.
Did counter-observation during the first rally.
- (2) Probably more than one perpetrators (he said 'we' during calls).
- (3) Directive, dominant character:
Stylish speech during calls.
Negotiator takes a submissive position.
- (4) Probably has a history of burglaries:
The idea that the perpetrator 'walked around' in the house suggests that he already knows it and has committed burglaries before.
- (5) He knows the house and its surroundings well, suggesting that either he is an insider, or he often comes to the area, or he lives here.

6.2 Advice for the Investigation

Check if people who may be known for burglary live in the area. If this is the case, show pictures to the great-grandmother and the parents.

7 Conclusion


Although it appears from the initial mission that I could have ALL possible information at my disposal in order to carry out a case analysis (with the natural exception of eyewitnesses), I want to stress that the information available was extremely limited.

However, this approach leads to a number of interesting conclusions:

I was forced to carry out the analysis in a very conscious and explicit way, leaving out no detail.

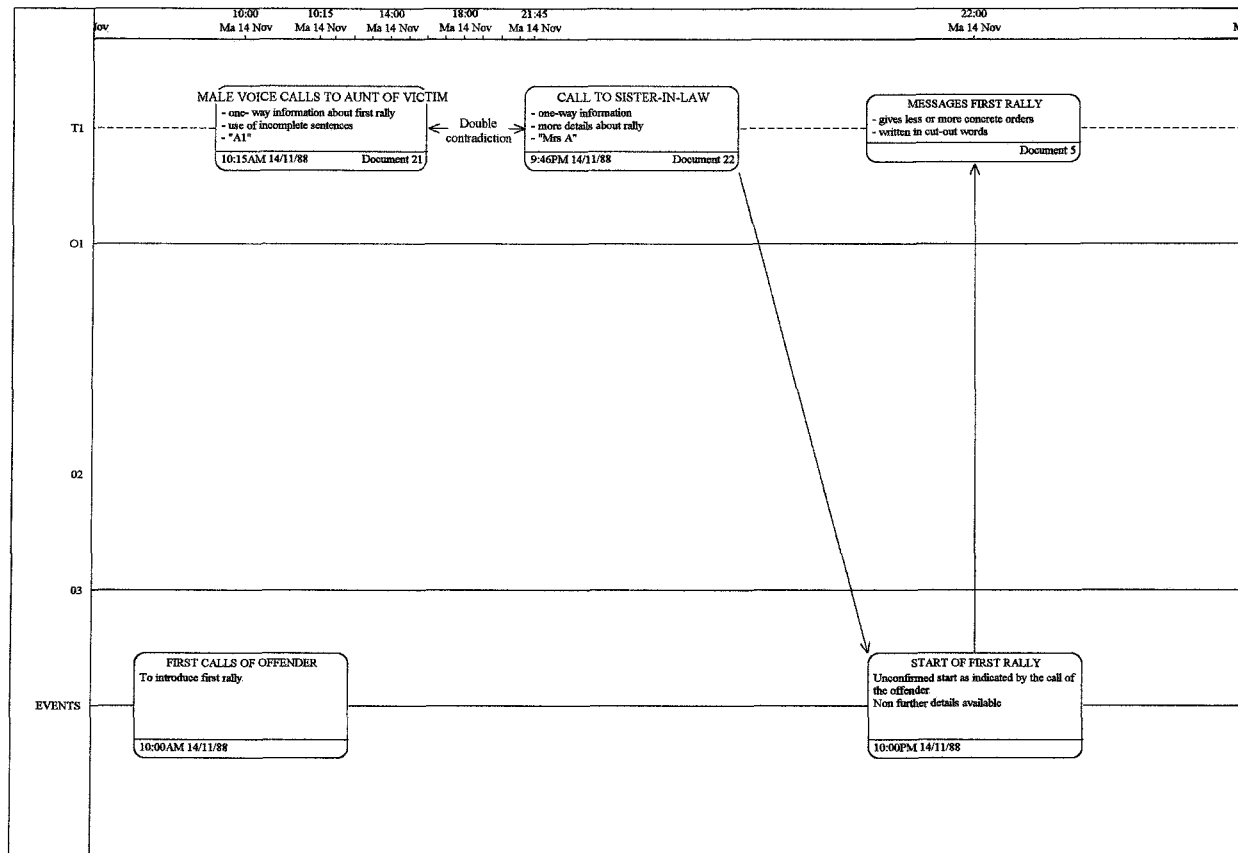
If the data are handled in a more neutral way by an outsider, less bias will be shown, and premature closure will be less likely.

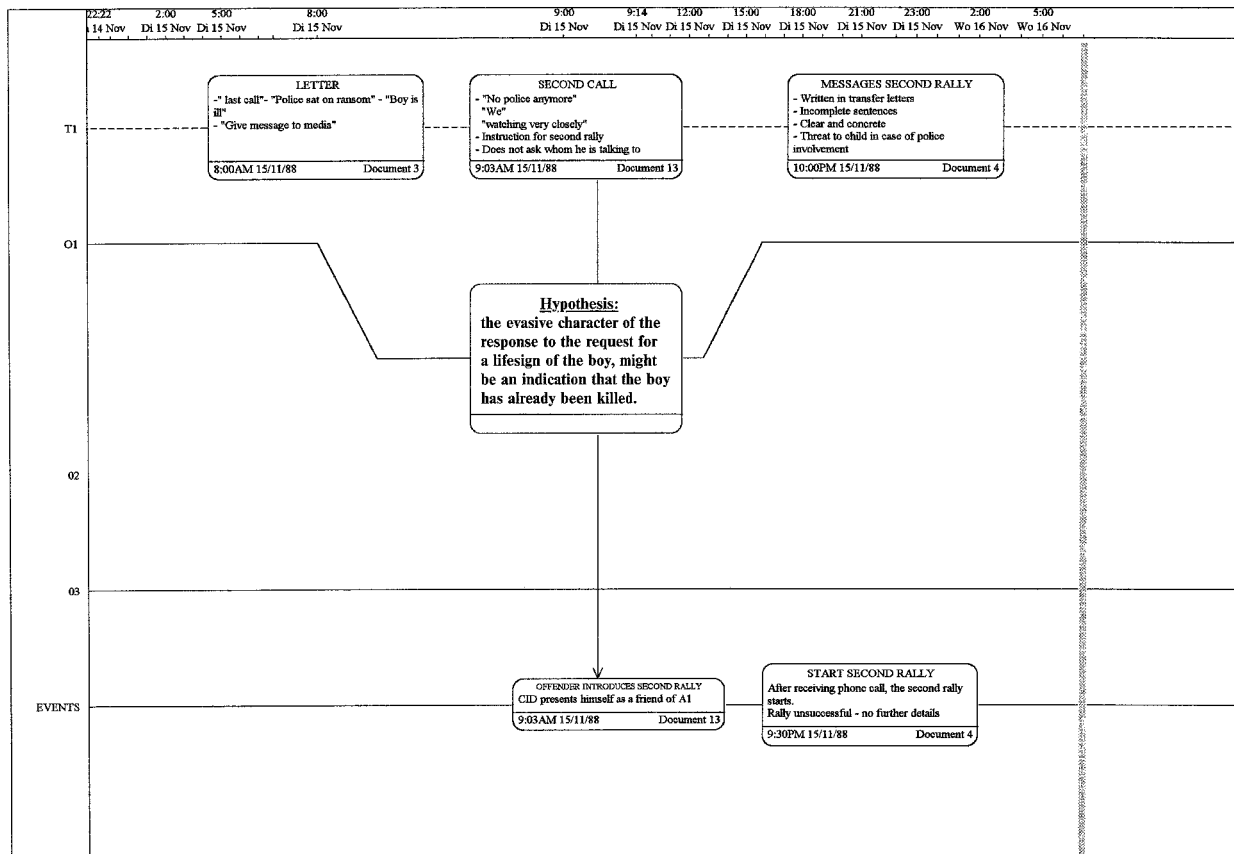
All in all, it is remarkable how limited a number of data can lead to a number of conclusions.

| | 12:00 | 14:00 | 16:00 | 17:00 | 18:00 | 19:00 | 20:00 | 21:00 | 22:00 | 23:00 |
|--------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|---|
| | Za 12 Nov | Za 12 Nov | Za 12 Nov | Za 12 Nov | Za 12 Nov | Za 12 Nov | Za 12 Nov | Za 12 Nov | Za 12 Nov | Za 12 Nov |
| T1 | | | | | | <div>OFFENDER COMMITS DIFFERENT OFFENCES</div> <div><ul style="list-style-type: none">- breaks into the house via garage roof, forcing the window of the children's room on the second floor,- has conflict/struggle in the dining room,- probably ties up one victim with electrical tape and neckerchief- locks up 03 in pantry- rips out phone cords</div> <div>Crime scene report /6 Extortion letter/21</div> | | | | |
| O1 | | | | | | <div>BOY IS ABDUCTED</div> <div>No further details</div> <div>7:00PM 12/11/88 Crime scene report/6</div> | | | | |
| O2 | | | | | | <div>WOMAN IS KILLED</div> <div><ul style="list-style-type: none">- Found dead in housecraft room in basement- Lies on her back- Has "naked parts"</div> <div>7:00PM 12/11/88 Crime scene report/6</div> | | | |  |
| O3 | | | | | | <div>GREAT-GRANDMOTHER LOCKED-UP IN PANTRY</div> <div>7:00PM 12/11/88 Crime scene report/21</div> | | | | |
| EVENTS | | | | | | <div>SEQUENCE OF EVENTS CAN BE IMAGINED BEING</div> <div><ul style="list-style-type: none">- burglary via children's room- fight with inhabitants of the house- death of a victim- abduction of the child</div> <div>7:00PM 12/11/88 crime scene report /6</div> | | | | |

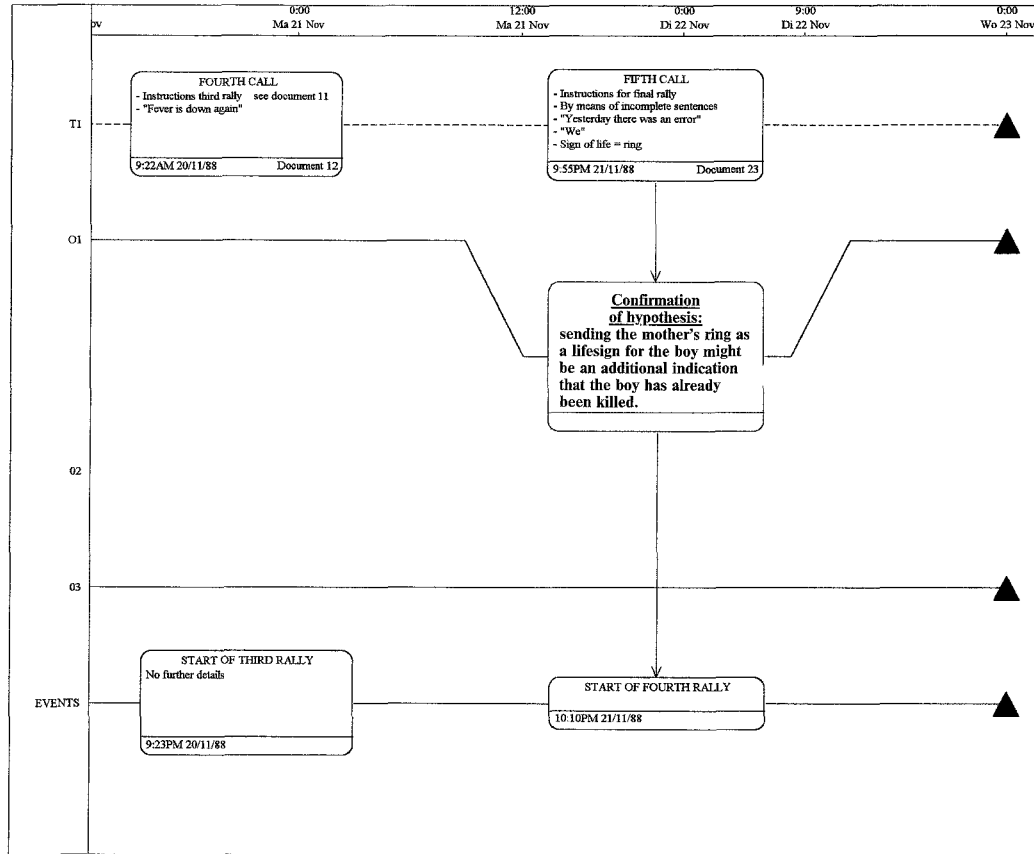
| | 0000 9 Nov | 0000 Zo 13 Nov | 1000 Zo 13 Nov | 2000 Zo 13 Nov | 3000 Zo 13 Nov | 2000 Ma 14 Nov | 3000 Ma 14 Nov | 4000 Ma 14 Nov | 5000 Ma 14 Nov | 6000 Ma 14 Nov | 7000 Ma 14 Nov | 8000 Ma 14 Nov | 9000 Ma 14 Nov | 9400 Ma 14 N |
|--------|---------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| T1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| O1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| O2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| O3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| EVENTS | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

ARRIVAL ON CRIME SCENE
 - reconstruction of events
 - analysis of extortion letter
 1:30AM 13/11/88 Crime scene report/6





| | | | | | |
|--------|--|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| | 10:15 Vr 18 Nov | 16:00 Vr 18 Nov | 19:00 Vr 18 Nov | 03:00 Za 19 Nov | 04:00 Za 20 Nov |
| T1 | <div>THIRD CALL</div> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Give instructions for third rally - Discontinue rifle - One-way message <div>6:20PM 18/11/88 Document 11</div> | | | | |
| O1 | | | | | |
| O2 | | | | | |
| O3 | | | | | |
| EVENTS | <div>No indications about whom T1 called or about what happened afterwards.</div> | | | | |



IMAGO 300¹ - Excerpt from the Preliminary Report

Sexual Homicides 1975–1994

Thomas Müller

Research Approaches - Definitions - Results

In 1995, this preliminary report of the 'IMAGO 300' project was used for the first time as information for all C.I.D. officers involved in the investigation of violent crimes. On the occasion of the 'International Symposium on Methods of Case Analysis and Offender Profiling' held in Wiesbaden from February 4th to 8th, 1996, the previous version was amended and released for publication by the BKA.

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This material was released for publication by the BKA, subject to the express promise of the BKA that a limited number of publications shall be made available to C.I.D. stations, prosecutors' offices, law courts and all participants of the symposium only.

¹ 'IMAGO 300' is a project name describing the FBI's differential-psychological control examination of findings on crime scene-offender-correlations, which serve to draw up psychological offender profiles.

1 General Remarks

In addition to investigating specific criminal cases, the Criminal Psychology Service (KPsD) has set itself the task of studying possible commonalities and differences of sexual crimes committed in Austria since 1975, one of its missions being to study homicide, rape, etc. from a C.I.D. perspective, to indicate differences and possible commonalities, and to interpret such information. The KPsD decided to focus its attention on the question of whether offender profiles can be useful in the investigation of sexually-motivated homicides. The results are made available to all law enforcement agencies to help them in the investigation of such homicides.

While no two murders are fully identical, there are certain ways in which an offender behaves when committing a sexual homicide that are quite telling. An interpretation of such behaviours may provide clues about the offender himself. Certain urges felt prior to committing the crime force the offender to follow specific behavioural patterns when killing the victim. They also determine whatever else the perpetrator will do with the victim afterwards. Every individual will proceed differently based on his or her personal needs. Just like the interior of someone's apartment or the car someone drives afford clues as to the lifestyle or the desires of a person, so will the crime-scene behaviour (in the case of sexual homicides) of offenders give hints as to their everyday life.

There is still a marked difference in the assessment of the danger posed by such criminals as compared to others. Very few psychologists and psychiatrists responsible for the social rehabilitation of offenders who, having committed a seemingly motiveless sexual homicide are released from prison fifteen years later as completely healed, have been trained in the analysis of crime-scene dynamics. Such experts assess the danger these offenders pose and the risk of reoffending solely on the basis of information contained in the files and obtained from personal interviews with the offenders, yet without knowing anything about the crime scene. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that their opinion clearly differs from that of the law enforcement officers, who will have to investigate such a felony again, and who, at the end of their investigations, are faced with the fact that they are dealing with a repeat offender. Austria's crime statistics of recent years provide a number of such examples.

Austria's law enforcement agencies do not have a unified database providing information on all offenders who have ever committed a sexual homicide. The kind of database we envision would contain personal data as well as information on the offender's typical crime-scene behaviour that can be traced back even if 15 years (e.g. a prison term) lie between one offence and a repeat offence.

2 First Studies by the American FBI

In the mid-1970s, the FBI began setting up a department of behavioural sciences at the FBI Academy in Quantico, Virginia. The idea was to explore from a C.I.D. perspective the offenders' behaviour during the perpetration of a premeditated murder. The study, one of the most extraordinary research approaches in the history of criminal psychology, was called Criminal Personality Research Project (CRPP), and was implemented by the then FBI Supervisory Special Agent Robert K. RESSLER under the aegis of the Behavioural Sciences Unit at the FBI Academy in Quantico, Virginia. It focused only on those criminal cases which did not involve material gain as a motive.

RESSLER et al. attempted to collect some fundamental information about abnormal criminals by contacting the American Psychiatric Association of the American Academy of Forensic Sciences and the American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law. For RESSLER, the psychiatric classification of mentally abnormal criminals and the applicability of such information to real-world C.I.D. work were two altogether different things.

It was RESSLER's goal to describe a person solely on the basis of the behaviour demonstrated while committing a premeditated homicide. He strictly delimited his field of research, and undertook to study the crime-scene behaviour of all those offenders who had killed several people for reasons other than gain. Obviously, the key to such crimes lies in the fact that the offender will possibly obtain some satisfaction from his deed, but psychiatry was not able to explain specific offender behaviours such as cutting up human bodies, keeping body parts, necrophilia or even vampirism. This made RESSLER realise that only the offenders themselves could provide answers to such behaviour.

Consequently, between 1975 and 1984 RESSLER interviewed more than one hundred offenders who were serving sentences in different penitentiaries all over the United States. Most of the offenders were willing to speak about their personal development, their criminal records, and the homicide (or homicides) for which they had been convicted. RESSLER collected all the data about a specific offender or homicide in a 55-page questionnaire, and commissioned a computation of all statistical data and any existing correlation between crime-scene facts and offender personalities.

RESSLER summarised in two books the findings of this most comprehensive criminal psychology study ever conducted in the field of crime analysis. These books still form the basis of all crime-scene analyses and offender profiles produced by the National Centre for Analysis of Violent Crime (NCAV) at the FBI Academy in Quantico, Virginia, for police stations all over the world. This Criminal Personality Research Project became the basis for the training of about 25 police officers from all over the world in the fields of offender profiling and crime-scene analysis. Today, these officers are on duty in Canada, the United States, the Netherlands, Austria and Australia.

3 Research Conducted in Austria by Group II/D of the BMI (Ministry of the Interior)

In January 1993, the Criminal Psychology Service (KPsD) was established at Austria's Federal Ministry of the Interior, Group D/INTERPOL, Department II/12. The mission of the Service is to provide answers from a psychological point of view to all questions of possible relevance for the successful conclusion of a criminal investigation. The services offered by the Criminal Psychology Service are not meant to substitute thorough, well-planned investigation, but are offered mindful of the fact that well-conducted, solid and thorough police work resolves crimes, and that this concept might provide help in achieving this goal.

In this context it must be said that all of the findings the KPsD made available to Austria's police stations until the end of 1994 (crime-scene analyses, offender profiles and expert opinions of this kind) were more or less based on the experience of American researchers.

When we worked on Austrian murders together with our colleagues from the National Centre for the Analysis of Violent Crime (NCAVC), we found that their research findings and experience could be applied to the investigation of Austrian criminal cases. From a differentiating, psychological point of view, however, it is indispensable to check and validate the American results, since different cultural backgrounds can have the effect of a filter. Specific offender behaviours in sexual homicides in the United States were also observed in the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Germany, Belgium, the UK, Hungary, and Austria. In addition to its work on specific criminal cases, the KPSD therefore started the IMAGO 300 Project (collection, analysis and interpretation of all sexual homicides from 1975 until today) in order to be able to demonstrate possible differences, and to help Austrian researchers catch up with their American colleagues.

There is no doubt that some basic expertise can be passed on. In order to improve the quality of these services and to check whether American findings can be applied without modifications to the Austrian context, the KPSD undertook a comprehensive research effort in the field of premeditated homicides and other crime categories in the fall of 1993.

4 Start of the IMAGO 300 Project

The organisation, planning, data collection, calculation and interpretation of the IMAGO 300 project were carried out by the Criminal Psychology Service of Group D so as to ensure that all other law enforcement agencies would face almost no additional work. Also, this project was implemented from a purely real-world or C.I.D. perspective. The final result may prove helpful in future investigations.

4.1 Data collection

In January 1994, a questionnaire was sent to all Security Directorates² and their respective Federal Police Directorates³ as well as the C.I.D.s of the

² Austria's police is subdivided into 9 Security Directorates (*Sicherheitsdirektionen*)

³ The Federal Police Directorates (*Bundespolizeidirektionen, BPD*) are responsible for policing cities and towns. They report to the Security Directorate.

Rural Gendarmerie Forces⁴ with the request to submit the following data to the KPsD in order to obtain a synopsis of all sexual homicides (whether resolved or unresolved) committed between 1975 and 1994:

- Name, age and occupation of the victim;
- time and location of the crime;
- cause of death and brief description of injuries;
- name, date of birth, and nationality of the offender;
- date of arrest;
- law court in charge;
- sentence received;
- current whereabouts of the offender;

and, to facilitate the further collection of information, data about the

- designation of the police station and the name of the officer working on the case, and the
- number of case files of the respective authority.

The law enforcement agencies adopted the FBI definition of sexual homicide as their standard to facilitate orientation and decision-making in the face of problems relating to the classification of such homicides:

A sexual homicide involves a sexual component or activity before, during or after the homicide proper. The homicide itself may be preceded or followed by real or attempted rape or by a symbolic sexual act (introduction of extraneous objects into the victim's body, cutting up or severing off sexually relevant body parts, e.g. breasts, buttocks, vagina or penis). All offences where the victim was found in such a condition or where the genitals were clearly visible must be included, plus all homicides involving the killing of prostitutes by a customer.

In order to cover the part of the definition that deals with prostitutes murdered by their customers, the KPsD contacted Dr. Andrea BERZ-

⁴ The Rural Gendarmerie Forces (*Landesgendarmeriekommanden, LGK*) are a federal police force that is responsible for policing rural areas. Like the Federal Police Directorates, they report to the Security Directorate.

LANOVICH of the Viennese Forensic Medicine Institute, who had studied all homicides of prostitutes between 1959 and today. This made it possible to identify additional offences (murders of prostitutes), some of which had been committed before 1975.

Additional information was obtained during the preliminary data collection phase from the EKIS⁵ database system of Austria's Federal Ministry of the Interior by means of KPA⁶, APID⁷ and EDE⁸ chaining search inquiries.

4.2 Project planning

All law enforcement agencies (file number 7570/2-II/12/93) simultaneously received preliminary information on the further planning of the 'IMAGO 300' project.

4.2.1 Preliminary data collection phase

For the first preliminary data collection, all Security Directorates and their respective Federal Police Directorates plus the C.I.D.s of the Rural Gendarmerie Forces were requested to report sexual homicides committed in their jurisdiction between January 1, 1975 and December 31, 1993 on the basis of a questionnaire designed by the KPsD. A separate questionnaire had to be completed for each offence.

4.2.2 Second data collection phase

In the course of the second data collection phase, the Criminal Psychology Service visited the police stations to study the criminal files there, and to look for any data that might be relevant for the IMAGO 300 project. This also afforded an opportunity to further explain the *modus operandi*

⁵ EKIS = Electronic C.I.D. Information System

⁶ KPA = C.I.D. File Index containing resolved cases

⁷ APID = General Police Information Service

⁸ EDE = Forensic Evidence

of the KPsD, and to hold lectures on specific examples of crime-scene analysis.

During this phase of the project, data was collected by means of a questionnaire designed in cooperation with the FBI. It consisted of four principal chapters subdivided into 26 sections. For a better understanding, the principal chapters and their sections are listed briefly in the following:

4.2.2.1 The data collection questionnaire

Section 1 of the questionnaire is subdivided into eleven areas and represents a comprehensive list of background information about the offender. It contains a total of 256 variables under the following headings:

| | |
|--|--------------|
| • General information about the offender | 31 questions |
| • Information about possible hospitalisation | 5 questions |
| • Information about offender's intelligence | 3 questions |
| • Information about offender's occupation | 10 questions |
| • Psychiatric history prior to the crime | 12 questions |
| • Psychiatric history after the crime | 13 questions |
| • Chronic behavioural patterns of the offender | 67 questions |
| • Sexual patterns of behaviour | 35 questions |
| • Criminal history as an adult | 36 questions |
| • Criminal history as an adolescent | 40 questions |
| • Religious activities | 4 questions |

Section 2 includes all of the questions relating to the attack, modus operandi and offender behaviour after the crime. It is subdivided into 6 areas covering a total of 78 variables.

| | |
|--|--------------|
| • Offender behaviour prior to the crime | 9 questions |
| • Information about time and location of the crime | 14 questions |
| • Information about the vehicle | 6 questions |
| • Information about the offender's strategy | 9 questions |
| • Offender's way of dealing with the media | 7 questions |
| • Offender's mood, both prior to and after the crime | 33 questions |

Section 3 is subdivided into 4 areas covering a total of 90 variables. These include:

| | |
|--|--------------|
| • General information about the homicide | 26 questions |
| • Information about where the victim was found | 3 questions |
| • Sexual homicide data | 42 questions |
| • Information about the victim | 19 questions |

Section 4 is subdivided into 5 areas covering a total of 46 variables.

| | |
|--|--------------|
| • Leisure-time activities of the offender | 5 questions |
| • Living conditions at the time of the crime | 8 questions |
| • Data about the arrest | 12 questions |
| • Subjective assessment of the offender | 7 questions |
| • Section about crime prevention | 14 questions |

The subdivisions of the main chapters are relevant only for the statistical computation of the data. Consequently, the individual subsections do not follow the same sequence as in the actual questionnaire. Experience showed that the present sequence greatly facilitates the collection of so many different types of data.

The present research project was guided by the desire to test the data collected in the same way as the Federal Bureau of Investigation and to establish possible links between Sections 2 and 3, and Sections 1 and 4. If our assumption was correct, the data about the victim and the crime scene, which is found in every crime, would point to the living conditions, previous convictions and the whereabouts of the offenders after committing the offence.

Visiting those offenders who had committed such crimes gave us a chance to further analyse the offender's crime-scene behaviour and to interpret it subsequently. A major part of the knowledge that we currently draw on originates from such offender interviews.

4.2.3 Computation phase

In a third data collection phase all the information is coded, entered and computed with EDP support in a detailed format of the SPSS/PC+ statistics programme designed in cooperation with the FBI and the scientific service of Germany's Wiesbaden-based BKA. This work is done centrally by INTERPOL, Department II/12 of the Criminal Psychology Service.

Afterwards, results are interpreted and a report is written which is then sent to all police stations involved in the project.

The police stations are also informed whether the information may also be used for training purposes.

4.3 Objectives

The objectives of the IMAGO 300 project were

- 1 - to set up a centralised offender file for sexual homicides at the Federal Ministry of the Interior;
- 2 - to provide support from a C.I.D. perspective in the event of future sexual homicides (crime-scene analyses and/or offender profiles);
- 3 - to shed light on the question of motives in the case of seemingly unmotivated crimes; and
- 4 - to check from a real-world, C.I.D.-oriented perspective whether American results on crime-scene analyses and offender profiling are applicable under Austrian or European conditions.

5 Data Transmitted by Individual Police Stations

In response to a request of the Criminal Psychology Service of January 1994 (file number 7570/2-II/12/94), the police stations returned 113 questionnaires. Thanks to our cooperation with the Viennese medical examiner Dr. Andrea BERZLANOVICH it was possible to include a total of 53 murders of prostitutes in the early data collection stage of the IMAGO 300 project. Some of these offences had already been reported in the questionnaires returned by the police stations, others dated back before 1975. The internal KPA, APID and EDE databases of the Ministry of the Interior yielded another four offences.

Initially, it was impossible to draw conclusions as to the true number of sexual homicides committed in the individual Länder (states), for several reasons:

Because of the quantity of data available, not all of the offences could be clearly defined as being sexually motivated. Some of these cases were excluded from the study at the end of the principal data collection phase. This was either due to the fact that, as a result of the victim/perpetrator relationship and other data, the crime was deemed to be a relationship crime, or the data material was insufficient to allow for an unambiguous classification as a sexual homicide.

Owing to the complexity and the different dynamics of a sexual homicide, it was also conceivable that some crimes had not been identified as sexually motivated at all and therefore had not been recorded as such.

Nevertheless, at this stage of the project it seemed to be in the interest of the study to have rather more cases to work with. A clear-cut definition and thus a final inclusion in the third data collection phase would only be possible after an assessment of all C.I.D.-relevant and forensic medical facts (second data collection phase) had been made.

As a consequence of this study, the KPsD considered it to be important that all police stations be informed about the meaning of specific terms, definitions and crime-scene characteristics which the FBI study had yielded.

6 Terms and Definitions

In the course of a ten-year project, the FBI's National Centre for Analysis of Violent Crimes established a classification system for all premeditated homicides, as follows: The dynamics of every premeditated homicide depend very much on the underlying motive and the victim-offender relationship. Depending on the motive and the characteristics of the victim-offender relationship, the crime scene will reflect another set of dynamics and another *modus operandi* of the offender. Basically, all homicides can be classified according to four principal groupings (according to DOUGLASS, RESSLER et al. 1989).

6.1 Classification of homicides by motive

- Murder for gain with eight subgroups

A premeditated murder for gain affords the offender some material benefit as a consequence of the crime. This benefit can take the form of money, goods, a right to property, or a favour.

- Murder for personal reasons with eight subgroups

Such homicides have their origin in interpersonal aggressions which lead to the death of one or more persons, who do not necessarily know each other. The offence is the result of an underlying emotional conflict which makes the offender kill the victim.

- sexually-motivated homicides with four subgroups

A sexual homicide includes some sexual activity before, during or after the homicide proper. The meaning of this action varies according to the offender. The homicide may be preceded or followed by a completed or attempted rape, or the rape may be replaced by some symbolic sexual activity (introduction of extraneous objects into body cavities, severing or cutting up of sexually significant body parts). A sexual homicide always represents an act of power, dominance and control.

- Murder caused by group dynamics with three subgroups

Such homicides are committed by two or more persons sharing a specific ideology that allows them to kill a person. The homicide itself may be committed by one or several members of the group.

This classification system was necessary because profiling an unidentified offender is like a classification that works backward. Normally, we classify a known fact under a specific category. In such a process, we take certain characteristics which meet the criteria of a given category. This approach seemed to be particularly difficult to follow in cases where there was no relationship between the victim and the perpetrator, and where the motive remained obscure. This was true of all types of sexual homicides.

In a C.I.D. investigation of a homicide, however, we do not have the perpetrator or the witness account of the victim to work with. Therefore, it is necessary to rely on the only information which is normally available: the crime scene. This information is therefore used to draw up an offender profile or to classify an unidentified person.

This also explains the large number of unresolved murders in this category. Whereas in the case of murders for gain or murders for personal reasons between 92% and 98% of the crimes were resolved, the figure for sexually-motivated homicides was only 72%. At present, premeditated homicides committed because of group dynamics are almost unknown in Austria.

6.2 Classification of homicides by the number of victims and crime scenes

An additional need for the classification of homicides arises from the location of the crime scene and the number of victims. In offender profiling we differentiate between single, double and triple murders, mass murders and serial murders. The following table provides a clearer picture:

| Classification | Single | Double | Triple | Mass | Random | Serial |
|---------------------|--------|--------|--------|------|--------|--------|
| Number of victims | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4+ | 2+ | 3+ |
| Number of events | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3+ |
| Number of locations | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3+ |
| Cooling-off phase | — | — | — | — | No | Yes |

Single murder means that the perpetrator killed one victim in the course of one event. In the case of a double or triple murder only the number of victims changes, not the fact, however, that there is one event at one location. Any homicide involving four or more victims that takes place at one location in the course of one event is called a mass murder.

Two completely different types of offenders committing several homicides are so-called random or serial murderers. They differ from classical mass murderers in that the homicides involve two or more localities. The random murderer kills in the course of one event but he changes the locality. In general parlance, the word amok is often used as a qualifier for such a person. An offender of this type, who is armed with several weapons and who keeps on killing people in a frenzied rush through streets and

shops, sometimes even taking the car to a different locality, is called a random murderer. There is no cooling-off phase between individual killings. Despite the different localities, the murders constitute a single event.

A serial killer differs from a random killer in that there is a cooling-off phase. He kills at different times and different locations, and between killings he indulges in fantasies about his previous murders. Sometimes, even years may elapse between killings. So far, there is no clear explanation as to what influences the duration of the cooling-off phase. We know, however, that serial murderers tend to shorten the periods of time between killings.

A correct classification of individual homicides appears to be extremely important. Let us assume a single murder is reported at a specific locality. Two weeks later there is another murder. After another week, a third single murder is reported from a different locality. If, after another period of time, a fourth murder is reported to us, which presents similarities in terms of forensic findings and the analysis of the crime scene, it will be extremely important for any further C.I.D. investigation to attribute these killings to a mobile serial offender. There can be no doubt that this will have a significant bearing on how the investigation is conducted.

6.3 Different stages in the course of a sexual homicide

In order to be able to link a specific crime-scene behaviour of the offender (how the victim was killed, selection of the victim, choice of location, additional activities with the dead or living victim, and the place where the victim is deposited) and his other living circumstances before and after the crime, it is necessary to take a closer look at the different phases of a sexual homicide and at the different types of crime-scene behaviour of the offender.

Homicides can be subdivided into four stages: (1) the planning and behaviour prior to the crime, (2) the killing of the victim, (3) removal of the dead body and (4), the behaviour after the crime. The offender's pattern of behaviour influences his choice at every stage. Even though these stages are discussed one by one, they are nevertheless intertwined with each other to shape one single event: the murder.

In the course of 20 years of experience in investigating and assessing sexually-motivated crimes from the behavioural sciences point of view, the FBI has come up with terms and definitions in order to facilitate the work of all law enforcement agencies. In addition to a classification system for all premeditated homicides, the FBI also studied and defined such terms as mass and serial murderers, the different stages of sexually-motivated homicides and the different crime-scene characteristics of organised and disorganised offenders.

This study looked into the personal development and living circumstances of 36 serial murderers, from childhood through adolescence, until they committed their crimes. Together, they had killed more than 118 people. A large number of these offenders said that their sexual fantasies often came combined with violent fantasies and that after a while violence, power and control became the dominant themes. In the end, they were only able to obtain sexual satisfaction by making their fantasies come true.

If his fantasies make the offender commit the homicide, it is his needs that force him to show a specific behaviour while committing the crime. First of all, the offender is free in his choice of victim or the mode of killing the victim. He can carry out certain acts, he can leave the body in a certain way, and after the crime, he can behave in one fashion or another. However, the actual decisions taken by the offender in view of the choices are in many ways a mirror of his personality. In most cases, these decisions of the perpetrator are reflected in the fundamental element of a C.I.D. investigation: the crime scene.

In the context of the present IMAGO 300 report, the Criminal Psychology Service believed it to be important to list all of these terms and definitions in a first step, and describe them in greater detail later on. It goes without saying that these are purely C.I.D.-specific – and not psychiatric – classifications.

7 The Crime-scene Perspective

From the point of view of criminal psychology, it is important to interpret the offender's behavior at the scene of the crime. The conclusions drawn from this analysis can be meaningful for the further course of investigation.

Especially in cases of sexually-motivated homicide or rape it appears to be essential to look at five typical behavioural aspects, which – if present at the crime scene – can relatively quickly tell us

- whether the crime at hand is part of a series;
- what the underlying motive for the homicide was, or whether it was a sexually-motivated homicide after all;
- to what extent the perpetrator knew the victim prior to committing the crime (offender-victim relationship/victim-offender relationship);
- to what extent the perpetrator modified the crime scene after committing the crime in order to put the investigators on the wrong track;
- whether the perpetrator must be considered to be extremely dangerous because of the risk that he may commit such a crime again.

For a better understanding of the aforesaid, we must begin by precisely defining the following types of behavior:

- modus operandi,
- personation,
- signature, calling card,
- undoing,
- overkill,
- staging.

7.1 Modus operandi

In the case of offences against property, the modus operandi in most cases enables the investigator to discover a connection between several crimes that were committed at different times. In the case of sexual crimes, however, this approach works only in the first three or four months after the offender has started committing his crimes.

Following the same modus operandi has three advantages: (1) It ensures success, (2) keeps the offender's identity secret, and (3) provides a guar-

antee for escape. However, the *modus operandi* tends to change in the course of the years, because the offender becomes more experienced and learns from the mistakes he makes. He also adds to his knowledge through newspaper articles, media reports or expert statements, and with age, he becomes more responsible. It was shown, for instance, that offenders changed their *modus operandi* after serving long prison terms, because they had learned something from the experience of their fellow inmates. The *modus operandi* is also connected with the perpetrator's physical capabilities.

In the case of sexual homicides and rape, however, it is not possible to link individual crimes by means of the *modus operandi*. Such crimes, after all, are not committed subject to whether success is ensured, the identity of the perpetrator kept secret, and a safe escape guaranteed. Rather, crimes of this sort are committed in order to fulfil a need that is different in every human being. The best one can hope for in the case of such crimes is that the crime scene will yield a personal aspect of the offender, that is to say the way he implements his fantasies – his personation.

7.2 Personation

The sole purpose of personation is to put into effect the fantasies someone has, and – in its own right – this has nothing to do with the commission of a crime. In order to recognise this personation at the crime scene, the question, What did the perpetrator do above and beyond what was needed to commit the crime? must be investigated. This is because the course of a violent crime begins in the realm of the offender's fantasies. Daydreams about raping, torturing and killing people, the production of bombs and arson are the starting point. Once the offender starts putting into effect his fantasies, his needs force him to show a very particular behaviour. So if the offender's behaviour at the crime scene goes far beyond what was needed to commit the crime itself (*modus operandi*), we call this personification.

The following example provides a clearer picture of the difference between *modus operandi* and personation:

The idea of committing a rape only if the victim wears a certain type of nylon stockings springs from the offender's fantasies, from his way of

becoming sexually stimulated. It has nothing to do with the rape proper. Therefore it is a personation.

Making the woman take a shower is a way of concealing his identity by getting rid of all biological traces (sperm, pubic hair). Cutting the phone cord and the threat to return enable the perpetrator to get away safely and therefore constitute a *modus operandi*.

The point of looking at a crime this way is that it is in the interest of the investigators to be able to trace several crimes down to one offender, even in such cases where the *modus operandi* does not seem to be appropriate for this.

7.3 Personal 'hallmark'

If an offender shows the same kind of behaviour that goes beyond what is needed to commit the crime in several instances, we call it his 'personal hallmark'. This is the multiple repetition of his personal needs, i.e. his personation.

It goes without saying that such a clear-cut personation cannot be observed in all sexual homicides. This is because either the offender did not have the requisite time available at the crime scene to put into effect his fantasies, or the crime scene is already so much destroyed (if the victim is found weeks or months later, or the crime scene has been recorded in a sloppy manner) that the crime-scene behaviour cannot be studied anymore. In such a case, one has to make do with a lower-level crime-scene analysis, that is all those decisions the offender has taken in order to choose the victim, to kill it and to dispose of the body.

7.4 Making emotional amends

Making emotional amends is a very special type of personation with a more obvious meaning. This behaviour is frequently encountered at crime scenes when there was a close relationship between the victim and the offender, or when the victim meant something very special to the offender. The following examples explore this concept of making emotional amends a little further. Someone stabbed his mother because of a long pent-up

aggression. After the killing, the son realised what he had done. First of all he changed the blood-soaked clothing of the victim. Then he placed the body on the bed in such a way that the head came to rest on the pillow. He then covered his mother's body with a blanket and folded her hands on her chest as if she were sleeping peacefully. Thus, he showed repentance by trying to make emotional amends.

Cleaning the crime scene and the victim's body and covering the face or even the whole body of the victim constitute other forms of making amends. In another case, an offender, who had just strangled his girlfriend in a fit of jealousy, put a rose between the victim's hands which were folded as if in prayer. The meaning of individual acts of this special kind of behaviour varies from one offender to another, of course. After visiting the crime scene, however, such acts can provide some quick information about a possible relationship between victim and offender.

7.5 Overkill

Massive blows or injuries, which are not normally necessary to kill a person, are generally called 'overkill'. A great many premeditated homicides which are committed because of some underlying aggression against the victim give this kind of impression at the crime scene. Rage, hatred and aggression against a specific person force the offender to not just kill the victim but to give free rein to his pent-up feelings while committing the offence. There are no fixed rules for overkill, as there are no unchangeable rules for the other behaviours presented. However, if there are more than 10 heavy blows or stabbing wounds aimed at the victim's head or face this may be rightfully called overkill. In the context of an analysis of the other crime dynamics this may give us important clues as to a possible relationship between victim and perpetrator.

7.6 Staging a crime scene

When drawing up an offender profile, an attempt is made to draw conclusions about significant characteristics of the offender based on the interpretation of the behaviour he displays during the commission of the crime. Sometimes, offenders rearrange the crime scene before the police arrives, either to distract the C.I.D. investigation from the most obvious suspect, or to protect the victim or the family of the victim.

If the crime scene has been staged, it is extremely unlikely for the offender not to know the victim. In most of these cases, there was a link or even a relationship between the offender and the victim. The offender changes the appearance of the crime scene in order to divert the investigator's attention away from himself since the prevailing circumstances would point to him as the most likely offender. Therefore, a person should never be excluded from the list of possible suspects just because want to cooperate in the investigation or seems particularly upset about the crime.

Another reason for tampering with or staging the crime scene is to protect the victim or the victim's family. In most instances, this will happen in rape cases with subsequent killing of the victim, or in autoerotic accidents. Offenders committing a sexual homicide often leave the victim in a provocative or humiliating posture. Upon discovery by close relatives or family members, the position of the victim or the crime-scene in general are changed quite often, because the relatives are unable to cope with what they see. Therefore, law enforcement officers recording a crime scene should check first of all whether existing traces comply with the position in which the body was found.

Acts of sexual satisfaction without the presence of a sex partner are called autoerotic activities. A study conducted by DIETZ and HAZELWOOD (1982/FBI) showed that one third of the victims of autoerotic accidents were encountered completely naked while another third was found wearing women's clothes. In such a crime-scene situation, the victims are often dressed or their clothes changed in order to avert any discrimination of the family or to protect their reputation. Sometimes a farewell letter is written to make the accident look like a suicide. In other cases, the crime scene is modified to such an extent that it may even suggest a homicide. Regardless of any such attempt, the traces, the crime-scene dynamics and the search for comprehensive information about the victim usually shed light on what really happened.

In most cases it will be fairly obvious whether a crime scene has been staged or not. Sometimes, however, a comprehensive crime-scene analysis is required before the final word can be spoken. Offenders who do change a crime-scene tend to make mistakes because they are under great stress, and they do not have the time to present the dynamics of a crime in a logically consistent manner. This leads to inconsistencies which, from the C.I.D. perspective, cast doubt on the genuineness of the crime scene. Such

inconsistencies are often called 'red flags' for a staging and prevent the investigation from heading in a wrong direction. Whatever the case, the fact that the crime scene has been tampered with means that the offender must be looked for among those people the victim was acquainted with.

8 Results of the Early Data Collection Phase - IMAGO 300 Project

In the course of the data collection from 1975 until the end of 1995, we studied a total of 169 sexually-motivated, premeditated homicides in Austria. In the fall of 1996, a central 'behaviour file' will be set up, taking cues from the Canadian ViCLAS system. The Criminal Psychology Service translated the ViCLAS database system into German before it was introduced in Austria in the spring of 1996.

The different decisions the offender must make in the course of committing the crime (choice of victim, mode of killing, deposition site plus other acts) lead to new approaches an investigation may take. The data showed some unresolved crimes where the offenders had made the same decisions as in some resolved crimes.

What is decisive in the choice of a victim is the risk the offender must run in order to gain control over the victim. Therefore, people who fall victim to such crimes (sexual homicides) are classified according to low, medium and high-risk individuals.

A large part of the population, if not most people, will run an extremely low risk of becoming victims because of their living environments (children, primary and secondary school students, apprentices, housewives, civil servants, female university students, nurses and others).

Individuals who meet many people whom they don't really know, be it because of prevalence of chance acquaintances or specific living or working conditions or an association with the criminal demi-monde belong to the medium-risk group.

People who are involved in drug-peddling or other criminal activities run a higher risk. Prostitutes, however, who have sex with almost anybody (and mostly people they don't know) are a high-risk group among the potential victims of sexual homicides.

Therefore, it is important in the context of this study to classify all of the victims according to these three risk groups, because in most cases offenders tend to choose victims from the same risk group:

Victims classified according to risk

| | |
|-------------|----|
| High risk | 57 |
| Medium risk | 20 |
| Low risk | 71 |
| Unknown | 21 |

Because of the data available to us, we cannot yet provide a conclusive interpretation of the figures. It is true, however, that there is an extremely large number of people who run a low risk of ever becoming the victims of a sexual homicide.

An offender who kills more than once will in most cases stick to his accustomed mode of killing. It is not possible, of course, to link two homicides on the basis of the choice of victim and the mode of killing alone.

If, however, the offender's decision as to where and how to deposit the victim is included in the crime-scene analysis, it will hardly be coincidental if the same decisions were made in different cases.

From what we know today about crime-scene analysis, we can assume with a high degree of probability that two homicides, which happened at different times and locations, were committed by the same perpetrator if they betray the same offender decisions in terms of the choice of victim, the mode of killing, and the deposition of the corpse plus a specific, unique behaviour that bears no relation to the killing itself (personation).

9 Outlook and Continuation of the Project

One of the major problems for the police and the courts is to establish links between crimes, in particular homicides, which happened at different times and different locations. Under pressure from the public (media etc.), each case is considered on its own, and the local authorities conduct their investigation accordingly. Sometimes technical shortcomings plus a lack of both the appropriate basic variables and electronic data processing make it hard to realise that several individual crimes are part of a serial crime. Therefore, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) began to set up a country-wide data information network in 1981. It was developed to collect data on specific violent crimes, and to compare and analyse them. At present, the system focuses on the following crimes:

- 1 - Resolved or unresolved homicides or attempted homicides, especially those involving an abduction, which obviously are devoid of any objective or motive or have a sexual orientation. Also included are murders which are known or assumed to be part of a series.
- 2 - Missing persons in cases where circumstances make an unnatural death very likely, and where the offender is still at large.
- 3 - Unidentified corpses where it is known or assumed that death was caused by some other person.

The central computer in Washington, DC, can provide the respective number of similar cases in a matter of hours, if the inquiry asks for the variables stored in the computer system. This Violent Crime Apprehension Program (VICAP) was also used in the above cases in order to check whether there were any links with cases investigated in the USA.

The IMAGO 300 project presented here is intended to prepare and establish a similar system in Austria. It will enable every police station to have access to all decisions taken by offenders in the course of a sexual homicide over the last 30 years. Naturally, such a database can never solve a case on its own. It can only serve as an additional support mechanism for the investigation of sexual homicides.

In the spring of 1995, the Criminal Psychology Service of INTERPOL Vienna tested the Canadian ViCLAS system (Violent Crime Linkage Ana-

lysis System). This system builds on the ViCAPO system, and by 1995 it was operational in two languages. Following a comprehensive test phase, which included knowledge and data gained from the IMAGO 300 project, Austria purchased the ViCLAS system and had it translated into German. Data were entered in the fall of 1996.

In the meantime, several European countries have expressed their interest in the ViCLAS system.

The National Crime Faculty in Bramshill, UK, for one, has begun to run operation ENIGMA (collection and evaluation of 200 unresolved homicides) in order to test the ViCLAS system on the basis of this test-run.

Currently, the ViCLAS system is used in the following countries: Canada, Australia, New Zealand, UK and Austria. The following countries have already demonstrated their interest by sending observers to international training seminars: Germany, Malta, Poland, Switzerland, Greece and Sweden.

Methods Employed by the 'Case Analysis' Research Team of the Federal Criminal Police Office, Wiesbaden

Jens Vick

Task:

The task of the 'case analysis' research team is to develop case analysis methods to serve as models – including offender profiling –, to implement them as an advisory system, to test them and, if applicable, to adapt them for different areas of crime.

The term 'case analysis' describes the consideration of the entire body of available information on a case against the background of similar cases and with the inclusion of criminological knowledge in order to

- close gaps in information,
- find approaches for conducting investigations,
- assess and forecast offender behaviour, and
- to deduce offender personalities and, if applicable, offender configurations.

Offender profiling is a sub-field of case analysis.

During the research phase, criminological case analysis is being developed to serve as a model for the crimes of extortion and kidnapping for ransom. The purpose is to prevent unproductive competition situations and duplication of research efforts at the international level.

The situation:

There is hardly a police station with experience in more than five major extortion and kidnapping for ransom cases, and in a position where decisions are made, and able to provide information, for the following reasons:

- Extortion and kidnapping for ransom are rare occurrences in Germany.

- Each of the 16 *Länder* (states) is autonomous as regards police matters. For this reason, only those cases that have taken place in a Land are processed on its territory. There is no central agency responsible *per se* for such cases.
- It is common practice for police officers to remain in a particular position for about five years before they are assigned another function. Any experience which the officers have acquired during this period is largely lost for the specialist division they leave, but the individual officer's scope of experience and skill grows.

In an actual case of extortion or kidnapping for ransom the situation is aggravated further by a lack of information about the offender's personality, their future behaviour, and by uncertainties regarding the adequacy of the measures adopted by the police. It is assumed that these uncertainties can be reduced by providing relevant information and supplying it in a contingency situation.

It appears worthwhile therefore to compile empirical knowledge about the sensitive criminal-investigative fields of extortion and kidnapping for ransom, and to impart it by means of courses and advisory systems so as to provide experience on an artificial basis for the contingency situation.

These considerations led us to two questions:

- How can artificial empirical knowledge be produced, and
- how can this knowledge be implemented in practice?

The project was subdivided into two phases: an information acquisition or research phase, and an application development phase, aimed at devising a mature advisory system. By force of necessity, separate methods must be employed to deal with these two phases.

Methodology:

The first or research phase of criminological case analysis is about collecting and structuring items of information, and producing the results that

are to be used for advisory case analyses in the second or application phase. At present, criminological case analysis is still in the research phase. For this reason, the focus here is on the methods used in this phase. This presentation is a workshop report.

In the research phase, both tried-and-tested and newly-developed sociological methods are applied. These methods mostly originate from the qualitative repertoire of methods and are supported in individual cases by quantitative procedures. The procedures to be used in the field exist partly as a collection of ideas, partly they are already mature procedures. These components still need to be welded together in consultation with the users of the system to yield a harmonious product.

General fundamental assumptions:

It is assumed that the police force's empirical knowledge is comprised of items of information and methods, the former being the knowledge of the existence and dynamics of a body of facts, the latter a procedure for operating with items of information. In order to devise an advisory system it is indispensable to provide artificial empirical knowledge in the form of relevant items of information and methods which can be placed at a user's disposal.

In order to generate artificial experience, past cases should be reviewed in a retrograde fashion. This review consists of the following steps:

1. Standardisation of unstructured case descriptions (preparation of textual representations),
2. identification of relevant items of information and methods within cases (categorisation),
3. creation of cross-references between the cases processed (recognition of a pattern),
4. generalisation of recognised patterns of a crime (modelling), and
5. incorporation into an application (implementation).

Methods in the research phase:

Retrograde case analysis:

Retrograde case analysis is the backbone of all evaluative activity in the research phase of criminological case analysis, providing the data that serve as the basis for comparisons and complex evaluations.

First of all, typical cases are reviewed so as to create a quasi-standard. In addition, evaluation criteria are to be prepared that enable us to distinguish atypical cases from typical ones at an early stage.

The objective of case analysis applied to atypical cases is to identify deviations and variations from typical cases, and to systematise these deviations wherever possible.

Procuring the material:

Entries in the crime notification system, reports from the specialist department or police station handling the case, press releases and descriptions of relevant extortion cases from external evaluations, e.g. the advisory teams, are all sources for the identification of relevant cases.

If a case has been classified as high in information content, all relevant investigation, criminal and court files and expertises are requested. After perusing the files, obvious gaps in information are filled by requesting additional files or, if possible and necessary, by interviewing the persons involved.

Textual representation:

The purpose of textual representation in criminological case analysis is to document the structure of criminal cases, their relevant internal and external relationships, and to create a basis for in-depth analyses.

The textual representation already incorporates various kinds of analyses. These include both analyses and interpretations of the text author as well as external analyses and information which help to complete the case structure.

The method developed by the research team for adapting the cases is roughly based on the textual representation model by Oevermann¹ and constitutes a subject-oriented further development of this approach for retrograde case analysis. The original approach provided for parallel, but not retrograde, textual representation.

A well-texted case may contain between 1,000 and 3,000 lines of full text, depending on the complexity of the case.

Figure 1:

Textual representation model for retrogradely reviewed criminal cases

Textual Representation

Reconstruction of the case structure

Case

Chronological representation of the case including
all internal and external relationships

Horizontal retrieval:

After texting, the cases are categorised according to a defined schema. This type of coding process has already been described in the literature on several occasions.²

¹ Ulrich Oevermann, Leo Schuster and Andreas Simm, "Zum Problem der Perseveranz in Delikttyp und modus operandi" [On the Problem of Perseverance Regarding Both the Type of Offense and Modus Operandi], (BKA-Forschungsreihe Vol. 17), Wiesbaden: 1985; Ulrich Oevermann et al., *Kriminalistische Datenerschließung* [Criminal-investigative Discovery of Facts], (special volume in the BKA-Forschungsreihe [BKA research series]), Wiesbaden: 1994.

² Udo Kuckartz, "Einsatz der Informationstechnik in der qualitativen Sozialforschung" [Application of Information Technology in Qualitative Sociological Research], (Lecture paper), Berlin: 1989; Matthew B. Miles and A. Michael Habermann, *Qualitative Data Analysis*, Thousands Oaks 1994; Udo Kelle, *Computer-Aided Qualitative Data Analysis*, Mannheim: 1996

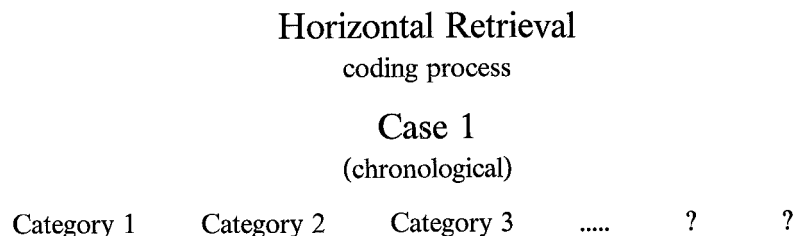
The categorisation represents the horizontal retrieval component according to the principles of qualitative methodology. Through horizontal retrieval, the bodies of facts described are delimited from one another and labelled.³ To this end, each line of a textual representation is analysed and the body of facts described therein assigned to one category. The categories are entered in the margin of the textual representation. This may appear very time-consuming at first glance, but only exact coding ensures adequate control of the data.

Already existing schemata, e.g. the variables in the C.I.D. reporting system for this area of crime and other structures, were unsuitable for the purposes of criminological case analysis. For this reason, a system of categories of extortion and kidnapping for ransom which was appropriate for our purposes had to be developed. This was done on the basis of several specimen cases that were analysed word by word. The categories are not hypothetical artefacts artificially superimposed over a case but brief descriptions of the bodies of facts actually contained in the textual representations.⁴

The categories were then listed in a 'dictionary'. This dictionary will be expanded if new bodies of facts cannot be assigned to existing categories. At present, there are approximately 85 categories available so that the cases can be described quite well for the purposes of criminological case analysis.

Figure 2:

Coding of the texted cases



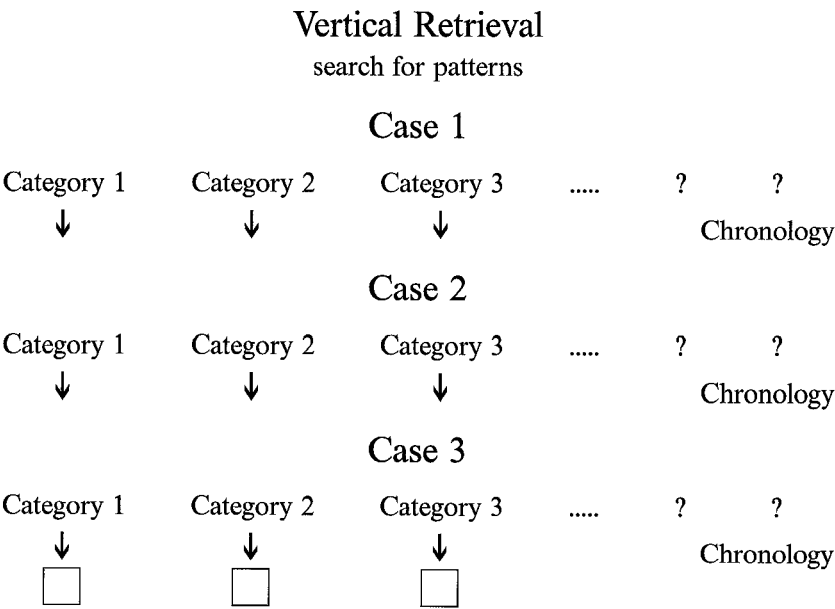
³ Udo Kuckartz, *"Einsatz der Informationstechnik in der qualitativen Sozialforschung"* [Application of Information Technology in Qualitative Sociological Research], (Lecture paper), Berlin: 1989.

⁴ Udo Kelle, *Computer-Aided Qualitative Data Analysis*, Mannheim: 1996

Vertical retrieval:

The ultimate goal is to research the individual categories vertically, i.e. between all cases, in order to describe precisely how they are composed. The purpose of this retrieval variant is to search for hidden patterns and schemata⁵ representative of the phenomenology of the case at hand.

Figure 3:
Search for patterns within categories



Shortcomings of vertical retrieval:

The design-inherent disadvantage of vertical retrieval is that it is restricted to one dimension, i.e. to the internal phenomenology of individual categories. It is not suited for analysing connections and associations between the categories without an unreasonable amount of effort.

⁵ Udo Kelle, *Computer-Aided Qualitative Data Analysis*, Mannheim: 1996

This disadvantage can be made up for by another type of analysis which, in turn, had to be specially developed. This 'text-structural retrieval' is an intermediate step between horizontal and vertical analysis of the information and bridges a major methodological gap.

Text-structural retrieval:

In text-structural retrieval, all the relevant categories are represented as a configuration. To do this, all assigned categories are isolated in the textual representation and recoded numerically. After that, successive categories are juxtaposed in pairs in a line and the frequencies of the combinations calculated. These are entered into a data matrix and evaluated by correspondence analysis. In a graphic representation of the configuration, the content-related or chronological proximity between categories is simulated by distances: two closely-related categories are at a small distance from one another, while the distance between those not having much in common is greater.

The advantage of the method developed by the 'case analysis' research team is that groups of content-related bodies of facts can be identified in the texted cases, and separately so for each individual case. This way, the case retains its individuality while at the same time, it lends itself much more to the development and examination of models and typologies.

Cases with several thousand lines of text can be represented graphically with all reference relationships on one page.

Those categories cropping up frequently in the textual representations in the vicinity of the 'offender profile' category are of special importance for the offender profiling of a particular criminal case and must be given special consideration during a profiling process.

Figure 4:

Content-related or chronological relationships between categories

Text-structural Retrieval
configuration of bodies of facts

Developing a standard:

The quality or appropriateness of an offender's action may decisively influence the further course or outcome of a crime. If the plan of a kidnapping envisages the release of a victim, it would be inappropriate for the offender to be unmasked during the kidnapping, as he/she might be identified. In several cases, the possibility of the victim identifying the offender was the chief motive for killing the victim.

Proceeding from this knowledge, criminological case analysis develops standards that permit assessing the quality of an offender's action, which serves as a basis for risk assessment and forecasts on the offender's future behaviour as well as for tactical measures.

To this end, those actions of the offender identified as significant by vertical retrieval are compared with the standard, and evaluated. After weighting these actions, the case is reassessed, and a recommendation is made on police tactics.

Developing the application:

Some conceptual considerations were made concerning the application phase. These considerations were influenced to an enormous extent by experience from cooperation with other police stations.

One option is to integrate knowledge indirectly via trained advisers. The disadvantage of this option is the time it takes to implement this knowledge in courses and to teach it to law enforcement officers. Another problem is how to review the material and prepare it so as to be able to retrieve it quickly in a contingency.

A significant advantage of this option is that it avoids internal conflict situations and furthers a broader dissemination of knowledge. It would make sense to communicate knowledge to the existing units already involved in an extortion case. Target groups would be mainly the advisory groups of the *Länder* and probably those units responsible for the analysis of extortion letters and/or telephone calls, unless identical with the advisory groups. The advisory groups in the *Länder* are generally standing, inter-linked units responsible for lending the designated senior investigating offi-

cer⁶ in charge tactical and technical advice. The members of such units know the situation on site much better than external advisers, who first need to be briefed about the case and the internal situation.

Since the minimal staffing level of the 'case analysis' research team prevents it from performing direct advisory work itself, preference is given to this option. It is only in a few exceptional cases that we deviate from it, and in that case only the advising or analysing units can be assisted.

So far, little can be said about the methods to be used in the application. A complete set of tools will be designed and tailored to the needs of the users of the system. This includes analysis methods just as much as creative techniques and elements of objective hermeneutics to support holistic case perception. These techniques must, however, be accepted by the users. For this reason, there must be close cooperation with the users during the development of the application. The first steps have already been initiated. Future meetings on methods of case analysis and offender profiling will surely offer ample opportunities to report on these methods.

⁶ Translator's note: Under the German police system a senior police officer is given over-all command over the investigation effort in a particular case. He has authority to muster all police resources he deems necessary for the purposes of the investigation and reports only to the local police chief. Regardless of his normal ranking, he will be the *Polizeiführer* (or designated senior investigating officer) in that particular case.

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Loose Ends and Solution of the Case

Roland Pistor

1 Preparing the Crime

About six to eight weeks prior to the crime, the perpetrator accidentally came upon the home of the 'A' family when he was out picking mushrooms. He already knew about the 'A' family.¹ Since the house was being rebuilt at the time, and there was nobody at the building site, he had a look around. He entered the building in order to see whether there was something he might steal and discovered a wall safe. About three weeks prior to his apprehension² it occurred to him to kidnap the child and to demand ransom. He was indebted and expected to have his ransom demand satisfied within two days.³

A few days before the crime the perpetrator prepared the first extortion letter in his own study. He had already made himself a face mask, and he had cut out words from several newspapers.

[The following text was made up of newspaper cuttings]

1.2 million
500,000.- in notes of 100
remainder in notes of 1,000
no police
and no bargaining
We watch you all the time

Monday, 10 p.m.

¹ The family of O1 and A1 has lived in Eslohe for several generations. They run a successful building materials business there. The perpetrator also worked in the construction industry. The victim's family had a reputation for being extremely wealthy, but only local people really knew about them.

² This may have been about the time when he realised that he had to make an affirmation in lieu of an oath before the municipal court of Lennestadt. The perpetrator would have to be questioned about this, before this may be said with any certainty.

³ Source: confession of the perpetrator T1.

The words 'Monday' and '10 p.m.' had been written on the same piece of paper in the living-room, at the scene of the kidnapping.

2 How the Crime Was Committed

On Saturday, November 12, 1988, between 1800 hours and 1900 hours, T1 drove in his wife's car to the house of the 'A' family and parked it on the premises of the company. He was carrying with him tape, the face mask, a screwdriver, a handgun⁴, the extortion letter, the inside lining of a parka, and gloves. Then he walked along the access road to the house of the 'A' family. Outside, near the house, he deposited the inside lining of his parka, into which he planned to wrap the child.

He waited for about 20 minutes until a car arrived from which a woman descended with a child on her arm. He waited for about another hour. Then he advanced across the flat roof to the window of the child's bedroom, opened the window lock with a screwdriver and entered the room. When he saw that the child was not in the room, he went to the rooms below where he came upon the child's grandmother. Later the great-grandmother arrived there, too. The perpetrator threatened both women and ordered them to open the safe at gun point. After both women said that they were unable to do so, he locked them in the basement. He put the prepared extortion letter with the ransom demand on the dining room table and added the words 'Monday, 2200 hours' in his own hand.

Then he went on to search the house. In the master bedroom, he found three small necklaces in a jewellery box and took them. Afterwards, T1 returned to the living-room, took the child from the playpen and left the house. In the meantime, the grandmother had pushed up the metal grid of the light shaft in the basement, and she succeeded in getting hold of the child. T1 pretended to release the child. Then he pushed back both persons through the shaft into the basement room and attached the metal grid on top of the shaft in such a way that it now became impossible to get out.

⁴ . . . which he had not bought expressly for this crime. He had already owned the gun before making up his mind to commit this crime.

After going back into the house, the perpetrator extracted O2, i.e. the grandmother, from the pantry, pushing back O3, i.e. the great-grandmother, who held the child, when she wanted to leave the room, too. In the dining-room he pressed O2 into a chair, and with the electrical tape he had brought along, he tied her hands and feet to the chair. Then the perpetrator went for the great-grandmother with the child.⁵ Great-grandmother O3 found her daughter O2 bound to a chair in the dining-room. The perpetrator demanded that the great-grandmother put the child into the playpen. At the request of the grandmother, she put the boy inside there. Following this, the offender locked the great-grandmother in the pantry again. Meanwhile, the grandmother had succeeded in moving into the kitchen with the chair, grabbing a kitchen knife there and cutting loose her bonds. When the perpetrator heard sounds from the kitchen, he returned to the same and a fight ensued between him and the grandmother. She offered him DM 300.- from her purse and said she would not call the police. The perpetrator did not accept this. Instead he grabbed the purse and took the DM 300.-. The grandmother put up resistance, and she managed to tear the mask from the offender's face. He got scared he might be recognised.⁶ An intense struggle ensued in the course of which he strangled the grandmother with both hands until she stopped moving.⁷

Then he searched the entire house once again, tore telephone cords out of the walls, went back to the basement and picked up the child. He locked the basement again and left the house.⁸

Outside the house he wrapped the child in the interior lining of his parka, which he had left there. With the child on his arm, he first slid down

⁵ Why didn't he fetch the great-grandmother with the child earlier? It is possible that the grandmother put up the strongest resistance and he wanted to get rid of her opposition step by step.

⁶ According to the indictment he did not know any member of the 'A' family prior to the crime.

⁷ The autopsy report speaks of several minor lesions on the grandmother's corpse, which indicate a struggle prior to the strangling.

⁸ The idea of ripping out the phone cords was to prevent anyone from getting help quickly and from disturbing the offender during the search of the house. Furthermore it assisted him in his flight with the child, i.e. the kidnapping. This rules out panic behaviour.

the slope and then continued to run towards the company premises where the car was parked. When the child started to scream⁹, he first put his hand over its mouth. When it did not stop screaming, he grabbed the child's neck with both hands and kept on pressing until the body became limp.¹⁰

He put the dead child in the foot well of his car in front of the passenger seat. The offender stated that he shook the child 'at least ten times' during the drive, 'but it did not move anymore'. He went to his home with the dead child and, without his wife being able to notice anything¹¹, picked up a shovel and drove somewhere. He got out of the car and walked about 15m away from the road into the forest to a patch with newly planted trees, where he dug a hole in the ground measuring 80 x 40 cm. He placed the child, which was still wrapped in the parka lining, inside the hole and then covered it up with soil and twigs. He said he had chosen the spot where he had buried the child – somewhere between the towns of Schönholthausen and Weichert – completely at random. After he had buried the child, he drove home again.

On the evening of the crime, the offender hid his clothes in his own basement. He hid the jewellery he had stolen in a drain pipe in the garden.

After three hours, the great-grandmother O3 managed to make a hole in the door with a hammer and to liberate herself. She found her daughter (O2, the grandmother) lying strangled on the kitchen floor.¹²

Calling the police had taken so long for two reasons: firstly, because initially the great-grandmother had waited for a little while and then had tried to open the door with a piece of wire for a picklock, before she finally got herself free with a hammer; secondly, because the offender had torn the telephone cord from the wall. The 76-year-old great-grandmother had to

⁹ It is inconceivable that the perpetrator was not prepared for such a contingency.

¹⁰ Quoted from the indictment.

¹¹ From his own statements it becomes obvious again and again that he tries to exonerate his wife from any co-responsibility for the crime.

¹² Source: Note EA 31–32. The period of time of three hours in unconfirmed and is certainly not based on the interrogation of the great-grandmother on 13/11/88. During this interrogation, she said that she had waited for a while at first and then had tried to pick the lock of the door with a piece of wire, before she had used the hammer.

walk one kilometre through the woods before she reached a tavern from where she was able to call the police around 2300 hrs.

What followed was the chaotic emergency call situation which was discussed at the outset of the symposium.

On Sunday, November 13, 1988, the offender prepared three more extortion letters at his home.

On the same day, the parents of the abducted child returned to Germany on board a private jet.

On Monday, November 14, 1988, the perpetrator called the number of the sister of the abducted child's father from a public phone booth. He had probably found the number in a telephone directory. After dark, the perpetrator hid the letter somewhere along the route the money courier was supposed to take.

At 2146 hrs., the offender called the number of the family of the abducted child and started the conversation with the following words: 'Now listen to me. Mrs. A drives alone, with the money.'

At 2249 hrs., the money courier reached the place where he was supposed to hand over the money. The perpetrator was hiding out nearby, observing the courier. The offender fled because he suspected the courier to be a police officer.

On the morning of Tuesday, November 15, 1988, the offender prepared five more letters which he hid once again along the route in the evening.

At 2103 hrs., he called the family on the phone again and demanded: 'Don't work with the police.'

After passing four points, where directions to the next point had been left, the courier deposited a bag with a message for the offender.

On Wednesday, November 16, 1988, the family made a public appeal to the kidnapper.

On Thursday, November 17, 1988, the family launched another appeal to the kidnapper on the radio.

On Friday, November 18, 1988, the offender prepared the extortion letter beginning, 'Last call . . .'

At 1822 hrs., the offender called the family again and gave the starting signal for a new attempt to bring him the money by car. This attempt was aborted, though.

On Saturday, November 19, 1988, the police made an announcement in the media to the effect that they would stay in the background to make sure that negotiations between the parents and the offender could continue unhindered.

On Sunday, November 20, 1988, at 2000 hrs., the police of another federal state received an anonymous phone call hinting at the offender and his wife, both of whom had been previously convicted for child abduction and currently lived near the scene of the crime.

At 2122 hrs., the offender called the family of the kidnapped child and told them where the first written message with instructions about the hand-over of the money was hidden. The car journey had to be interrupted though, because the courier failed to find another letter that had been announced.

On Monday, November 21, 1988, the family made another appeal to the kidnapper.

At 2155 hrs., the perpetrator called the family and apologised that the money pick-up on the previous day had not worked out.

At 2240 hrs. the offender was arrested as he picked up the suitcase with the ransom. First he claimed that he had been hired by a Dutch national to pick up the money. He said the child was in the Netherlands but he didn't know where exactly. It was only after his wife T2 had been arrested, because a fragment of a fingerprint that might have been hers had been identified on an extortion letter left at the crime scene, that he confessed to the crime and led the police to the hole in the ground where he had buried the dead child.

3 Who Is the Offender?

- Age: 32
- Occupation: Unemployed concrete worker, used to be self-employed
- Marital status: Second marriage, two children from this marriage, one child from the first marriage
- Previous convictions: – In 1982 he was fined on charges of attempted gas-station burglary and of violating the gun-control law.
- In 1983 he was arrested and received a five-year prison term for violating the Controlled Substances Law.

4 Evidence for the Involvement of the Perpetrator and his Wife in Other Crimes:

- In 1983, a three-year old girl from the neighbourhood disappeared from the locality where T2 used to live at the time. Shortly before her disappearance, the girl had been playing with T2's son. Four months later she was found murdered. There were no demands for ransom. There was no concrete evidence for linking T2 with the case at the time.
- In 1987, the 25-year-old daughter of a bar owner was found murdered in her apartment, in the same locality where T1 and T2 lived at the time. In this case, too, T1 was investigated by the police. T1 had been released from prison before the end of his term, and he and his wife occasionally went to the victim's bar. The investigation did not yield any concrete suspicion, though.

5 Biographical Information / Curriculum Vitae

This section deals with questions relating to the personal details/personality, background, biographical information and previous convictions of T1 (and T2).

To what extent does T1 fit the bill of a 'normal extortionist', if there is such a thing?

Excerpts from the Psychological Expert Testimony about T1 in the present case:

He had an older brother and a younger sister, both of them married. He grew up in his parent's home. After elementary school he had gone to the Gymnasium {Translator's note: German academic high school} for a short while, but found that he was not up to the task. Then he had returned to the Realschule and received his intermediate school certificate there.

He described his parents as 'just great'. At the Gymnasium, however, he had often been in trouble with the teacher responsible for his class. The teacher had been without sympathy for T1, who had always been the scapegoat. Once, having been punished by his teacher, he had walked the six km to his home. His mother had told him to apologise to the teacher for this. Then he had to walk another four km to the house of the teacher and back. Quote: 'I'll never forget this, nor that my mother made me do it.' As a child he had perceived his parents to be very strict. Today, however, he would say that they were conservative but not excessively strict. As a child he had often been on group holidays in Switzerland or in Sweden. He had also been relatively active in his local church. He had taken part in establishing a youth village and had often travelled with church groups. His father had been very successful in his work. He had started out as a carpenter and now held a very good job at Cologne airport.

In 1975, T1 joined the Federal Border Police because wages were better there than in the Federal Army. He did not fit in, however.

He completed an apprenticeship as a concrete worker and became self-employed at age 20, when he started his own construction firm. He then married his first wife because she was pregnant at the time. He earned

enough money with his company to enable him to buy a house which he sold later on. Subsequently, he bought a second house.

In 1977 he started gambling, a habit he maintained until the time of the crime.

In 1982 his first marriage was divorced.¹³ He had been awarded custody for the child from his first marriage. After this marriage had failed, there followed a period of time when he drank a lot. This situation continued for about two years.

In 1983 he married his current wife, T2. They have two sons age four and seven. In the same year his career as an entrepreneur came to an end when he was imprisoned on charges of violating Germany's Controlled Substances Law.¹⁴

He bought a house during his prison term. After his release from prison he did not work anymore. All the savings had been spent. He had DM 150,000 in debts, and he had overdrawn his account by DM 10,000. He had been gambling for eleven years. Ever since undergoing intervertebral disk surgery in 1986, he had been treated by his physician and had been taking two pills of an analgesic every day. He did not feel that this impaired him in any way, though. He emphasised that his wife was not involved in the crimes he was charged with (two counts of murder and kidnapping and extortion).

The two psychological experts of the *Arnsberg Schwurgericht*¹⁵ stated that T1 displayed a basically belligerent attitude towards life and towards problems. This attitude also governed his way of expressing feelings and of dealing with other people's feelings. Further down in the expert testimony it says that one must believe T1 when he claims to be a compulsive gambler. However, there is no evidence that he planned and committed the crime under the influence of his desire to gamble. T1 is described as

¹³ This coincided with the time of the attempted gas-station burglary and the violation of the gun-control law.

¹⁴ T1 had gambling debts which he wanted to settle with money earned from drug deals.

¹⁵ *Schwurgericht* = German court sitting with three professional judges and two lay judges.

highly intelligent. He does not act impulsively or unthinkingly at all, like a pathological gambler does. Therefore, both psychologists agreed that the offender did not suffer from any psychological perversion or illness, thus confirming the full criminal responsibility of T1.¹⁶

The deputy director of the gambling casino, who had been summoned as a witness, told the court that T1 had been registered in the visitors' file 82 times. At the gambling table he used to identify himself as a building contractor. On a single night he would lose up to DM 40,000.

The psychological assessment of T1 two years before the present murder and abduction case is even more telling.

Quote:

'T1 is an outwardly self-confident, extremely egocentric man who is only interested in his own personal gain. He acts in a cold and calculating manner. He is incapable of dealing with conflicts in such a way as to make him reflect about his own behaviour. He only sees fault with others. This basic attitude of his, to be out for his own gain only and to exploit every opportunity for his own good, without taking into account the needs of others, has been the underlying theme of his stay in prison so far. He is always friendly and demanding at the same time. He wants to be at the centre of attention. His fellow inmates do not like him very much, because he constantly corrects them, tells them what to do and pretends to be better informed. During group sessions, where inmates sharing the same living arrangements meet, he is always the most vociferous person. He tries to win over his fellow inmates to support his interests and demands. But he does not succeed to the extent he would like to. In summary, T1 may be described as a man who finds it difficult to adapt and to subordinate himself. He accepts prison rules and guidelines only as long as they do not place excessive constraints on his personal need for liberty. He has an almost total lack of sympathy for interests and objectives other than his

¹⁶ The expert testimony dealt exclusively with the question of criminal responsibility.

¹⁷ This was to answer the question whether the offender's behaviour during his prison term warranted an early release from custody because of his violation of the Controlled Substances Law.

own. In particular, he does not seem to have learned in the course of his prison term to reduce his personal wants to a realistic level and to adapt himself to the circumstances.'

International Symposium on Methods of Crime Analysis and Offender Profiling

Federal Criminal Police Office, Wiesbaden (Germany)

February 4th to 8th, 1996

Michael C. Baumann

Summary

1 Organisers and Participants

The symposium was organised by the OFA-Team¹ of Germany's Federal Criminal Police Office (BKA). This group forms part of the Research Unit on Criminology and Criminal Investigation KI 1.

The event was prepared by:

- WOR Dr. Michael Baumann (KI 13)
- BA Manfred Lohrmann (KI 13)
- KHK Harald Dern (KI 15)
- WA Dipl.-Psych. Jens Vick (KI 13)
- KHK Roland Pistor (KI 13)
- KOKin Claudia Bernhardt (KI 13)
- WA Uwe Meckbach (KI 16) and
- BA Heinrich Schielke (KI 13)

The participants included case analysts from the following foreign police organisations and universities:

United Kingdom – National Crime Faculty, Bramshill

Detective Sergeant *Simon Wells*, B. Sc. (hons.), Metropolitan Police Service, New Scotland Yard, attached to the NCF

¹ OFA = Operative Fallanalyse (Special Squad for Operative Case Analysis)

Dr. *Adrian West*, M. A., Forensic Clinical Psychologist, Ashworth Special Hospital

Austria – Federal Ministry of the Interior, Group D/INTERPOL, Dep. II/12, criminal psychological service (KPSD)

Magister *Thomas Müller*, police officer and psychologist

United Kingdom – University of Liverpool, Department of Psychology

Lawrence Alison, M.A., psychologist

Gabrielle Salfati, M.Sc., psychologist

Belgium – General Police Headquarters (Rijkswacht Gendarmerie)

Marc Van de Plas, police officer and psychologist

United Kingdom – University of Liverpool, Department of Psychology

Dr. *Julian C.W. Boon*, M.A. (hons.), c-psychologist (forensics)

Denmark – Odense University Hospital (Odense Universitetshospital)

Prof. Dr. Med. *Jørn Halberg Beckmann*, clinical psychologist (Chef-psykolog)

Netherlands – National Police Agency / National Criminal Intelligence Division (Korps landelijke politiediensten)

Dr. *Paul van den Eshof*, psychologist and legal expert

Carlo Schippers, C.I.D. officer (offender profiling specialist with special training received at the FBI in Quantico, USA)

Sweden – Swedish National Criminal Investigation Department / NATIONAL CRIMINAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE / Unit for Crime Analysis and Offender Profiling)

Dr. *Ulf Asgard*, psychiatrist

Germany – Federal Criminal Police Office – KI 13-OFA

Dr. *Michael C. Baumann*, Dipl.-Psych., graduate psychologist, head of the department “Criminology and OFA”

Jens Vick, Dipl.-Psych., graduate psychologist, head of the OFA-Team

detective chief inspector *Harald Dern*, Dipl.-VwW, holder of a master's degree in administration sciences

detective chief inspector *Roland Pistor*, Dipl.-VwW, holder of a master's degree in administration sciences

BA *Manfred Lohrmann*

The list of participants bears out that major European case analysts or their respective institutions were represented at this symposium held in Wiesbaden. In addition to this, the approaches taken by the United States, Canada and Australia are influential throughout the world. The FBI experience received an airing courtesy of those foreign participants who had either been trained by the FBI or who endorse the FBI's approach to a large extent or in a modified form.

Thus the symposium provided a useful synopsis of current developments in the field of criminalistics-related case analysis.

2 The Didactic Concept of the Symposium in retrospective: More Exchange, Less Competition

The plan was to hold a symposium about methods of case analysis with international experts from the field, a cooperative exchange of the most up-to-date international case-analysis methods. To this end, we suggested a didactic approach for the symposium that was to avoid any destructive competition. A German criminal case (involving e.g. two killings, the kidnapping of a child and extortion), where the verdict had already been passed, was prepared for the purposes of the symposium and translated into English. Different parts of the case with different questions about the same were given to the international experts with the request for a case analysis. It was necessary to make sure that our colleagues harboured no doubts about the fairness of this didactic approach.

3 The Preparatory Phase of the Symposium

As the start of the symposium drew closer, some experts felt irritated because of the rudimentary nature of the case data. This response gave rise to the fear that the didactic concept would not be endorsed by all of the foreign participants. Apparently some of the invitees feared that the real intention was to trigger a (possibly) destructive competition between the different institutes and approaches.

These reservations were largely overcome with the help of an explanatory letter that was mailed to the participants in due time before the beginning of the symposium.

4 The Symposium

The agenda item 'Introduction/Getting to know each other' was intentionally slated for Sunday – the day of arrival. This turned out to be a good idea. The participants had worked out some creative ways of introducing themselves, and there was enough time left to get acquainted with all the other organisations and teams. Thus, on the following day everybody was ready for some serious work.

For the purpose of illustration, the participants worked on the edited criminal case throughout the symposium. The main objective of the symposium, however, was to illustrate in detail how this case would be tackled by different methods. It was not always easy for the participants to focus both on the case and the methodology while, at the same time, directing their attention to the methodology of case analysis. Thus, it came as no surprise that the criminal case tended to trigger case-related discussions about the crime at hand.

In no small part it was the demonstration of the respective methods on the basis of this criminal case that helped to illustrate and elucidate the methods that were applied. Admittedly, it would also have been interesting to work on a hitherto unresolved case.

Since the participants were interested in working out/developing the case, work continued not only during the symposium but also during the breaks and in the evenings.

The generation of hypotheses with regard to a criminal case – a process that quite often is not sufficiently appreciated – continued throughout the symposium.

5 The Sharing of Expertise During the Symposium

The result of all this was a working environment in which a potentially destructive competition gave way to a collective exchange of technical information. An abundance of methodological approaches, technical information and information about planned events were shared. The mixture of C.I.D. officers, psychologists/psychiatrists and colleagues having received training in more than one field turned out to be very fruitful. Therefore, the exchange of expertise during the symposium was extremely satisfactory.

6 The International Situation of Case Analysis (Crime Analysis, Case Analysis and Offender Profiling)

At the moment a controversy between different schools of thought is going on in the UK (case analysts with a sophisticated theoretical and methodological approach versus a pragmatic real-world approach; behavioural approach versus interpretative/qualitative approach).

In addition to this, there is another problem in the UK: Case analysts with sometimes questionable credentials make extensive statements in the media about ongoing criminal cases. In the process, they publicise details which in the unanimous opinion of the participants of the symposium should not become public knowledge. The participants firmly rejected such actions which, after all, may occur in other countries, too.

Conflicts between different schools of thought may of course hamper constructive cooperation. The competitive spirit inherent in such conflicts, however, may possibly become the spawning ground for qualitative improvements. Other than that, the impression was that the diverging points of view resulted in fruitful discussions during the symposium.

From an international point of view, it may be said that there are those approaches which, to a greater or lesser extent, follow the FBI concept and those which are wholly unrelated to it.

Many case analysts work in the fields of serial crimes, homicides and sexual crimes. It seems that the earlier crime classification in the United States as formulated by the FBI continues to have an effect (cf. 'Crime Classification Manual' of the FBI/NCACV). Also, case analysts seem to prefer applying their labour-intensive methods to violent crimes – apparently to great effect. However, case analysts working in countries with small populations cannot dedicate themselves to homicides alone. In most cases they have to work on very different types of capital crimes instead. Some case analysts have entered completely new phenomenological fields (such as 'extortion, kidnapping and hostage-taking' or 'burglary').

The final verdict on which method of case analysis is the most economical for specific types of crimes is not out yet. What is positive is a development that goes hand in hand with attempts to monitor the results of past analyses in the fields of case analysis and offender profiling. We know that some interesting work in this direction is being undertaken in the UK and in the Netherlands. However, we should not lose sight of the burning question of 'who monitors the monitors'.

7 The Results of Different Methodological Approaches

In the course of the symposium, different methods were applied with different emphasis on the qualitative, quantitative, intuitive, empirically confirmed, behaviourally-oriented or interpretative aspects.

Evidently, these different approaches have been developed in response to different contingencies (e.g. serial killers) and on the basis of different questions raised in certain countries or institutions.

The representatives of the University of Liverpool proved to be the most outspoken defenders of an empirical, theory-oriented, strictly behaviourist approach.

The Danish participants proposed a much more qualitative, holistic and also intuitive approach.

The FBI (and others, too) are convinced of their clearly more pragmatic approach that works 'somehow', although how it actually works has hard-

ly been studied yet. This approach seems to profit in particular from the teamwork of excellent crime experts.

In addition to this, there are other working groups which draw benefits from the expert knowledge that exists in a team. This holds particularly true for Austria, the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, Germany (BKA/OFA)² and the negotiation group (VG)³ of Germany's Federal Criminal Police Office.

With approaches such as the above, it may become necessary to counteract the impression (justified or not) of elitist attitudes existing within individual teams.

Most case analysts stick to one basic methodological approach. The OFA-team of the Federal Criminal Police Office, however, attempts to work with a tool-box model. Instead of subscribing to any particular methodology indiscriminately, the questions to be answered are to determine the methodology to be used. This may lead to the application of different methods in parallel, e.g. in the case of the simultaneous usage of both qualitative and quantitative methods. Surprisingly, different approaches have led to very similar results in terms of understanding specific cases in the past.

Basically, these different approaches comprise a range that begins with a more research-oriented analysis on the one hand and ends with consulting services accompanying the investigation of a case. Within the police research units the need for a more case-related approach seems to be gaining ground. Some research institutions (especially the Dutch CRI and the BKA/OFA in Germany) try to espouse both positions.

Almost all case-analysis units work on demand only, i.e. by request of the investigating police department. All countries represented at the symposium believe that police departments are extremely interested in having consulting services accompany case investigations. At the same time it was considered to be very important to acknowledge the unmitigated respon-

² BKA/OFA = Bundeskriminalamt/Operative Fallanalyse (Federal Criminal Police Office/Operative Case Analysis)

³ VG = Verhandlungsgruppe (negotiation team)

sibility of the police officer in charge who conducts the investigations at the crime-scene. It must also be up to the police officer in charge to decide what to do with the analyses and consulting services received, or even whether to take them into account at all. There was a broad consensus about this question among the participants of the symposium.

8 Working on a Specific Criminal Case

As to the specific criminal case that was presented, an extensive discussion ensued about the extremely rudimentary and chaotic information that was available at the start, i.e. during the emergency call phase of a criminal case. The Federal Criminal Police Office has conducted some research in this field (*SOKO project*)⁴. In the present case, there seemed to be a contextual link between the degree of chaos encountered during the emergency call phase and both the chaotic personality of the wrongdoer and the disorganised way in which he committed the crime.

Furthermore, it was discussed whether an improved case analysis required special training measures for particular police departments (e.g. radio dispatchers, crime-scene units).

As far as the crime scene was concerned, the case analysts expressed their need for crime-scene photographs. As a result of the discussion it appears that the standard crime-scene reports are not always fully sufficient for an appropriate case analysis. Additional information which might be helpful for analysing a case may be hidden in the crime-scene photographs.

In some of the cases discussed during the symposium significant links with the negotiation teams of the respective countries emerged. The need for cooperation with these teams was also expressed.

In general, some participants of the symposium commented that they would have liked to deal with the question of methodology in greater depth and detail. However, a strictly methodological seminar tends to become boring. The difficult thing to accomplish seems to be to strike

⁴ SOKO = special investigation team

a balance between the requirements of real-world police work and theory, and to be able to observe the methodology at work on a specific case.

9 Additional Events for International Cooperation

In order to promote cooperation, a number of similar events of this type were agreed on:

Bramshill extended an invitation to an international symposium of case analysts in the UK scheduled for March/April 1997 (contact persons for the preparation of the event: *Simon Wells* and *Adrian West*, *Bramshill*).

The CRI intends to invite the participants to the *Netherlands* for an international symposium to be held in 1998 (contact persons for the preparation of the event: *Paul van den Eshof* and *Carlo Schippers*, CRI).

The Swedish and Danish representatives expressed their intention to hold such an event in *Scandinavia*, in cooperation with Norway.

The *University of Liverpool* wishes to hold a two-day methodology conference on case analysis (with about 20 papers to be held) in *Liverpool*.

The *Austrian Ministry of the Interior* planned to hold an international VICLAS conference in *Vienna* from November 11 through 22, 1996. Among the participants will be Canadian and Austrian experts.

The *Dutch* CRI intends to hold an international workshop about the topic of 'Case and Serial Analysis in the Case of Sadistic Sexual Homicides with Maiming'.

10 Publication of Papers Held during the Symposium

Currently, different ideas for publishing the papers and discussions of the symposium are being worked out. The results will be presented to the participants for their approval. A major concern in this respect will be how to deal with sensitive information.

11 Final Evaluation from the Point of View of the OFA-team of the Federal Criminal Police Office

The intention of the OFA-team of the Federal Criminal Police Office in holding this event was to learn about the current international state-of-the-art in case analysis, and to contribute to an exchange of experience which is to be continued in the years to come. This goal was achieved with the event described above.

The participants expressed their satisfaction with the content, the results and the general course taken by the meeting.

Fall 1998 the police forces of all German states and the BKA cooperated in a decision to install both ViCLAS and the method of case analysis (including offender profiling) within the German police forces. The OFA-team (OFA = Operative Fallanalyse; engl.: operative case analysis) of the BKA will be responsible for the coordination of the national ViCLAS data and for international exchange of knowledge and data, will furthermore give aid in implementing the methods of case analysis in Germany, offer training courses and doing evaluation work in these fields. Besides the OFA-team already now supports different state polices to carry out case analysis (including offender profiles) in acute criminal cases. Until now more than fifty such case analysis have been conducted together with local police forces all over Germany.

About the Authors¹

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B Sc. Psychol (University College London), M Sc. Investigative Psychol (Surrey University), P hD Investigative Psychol. (Liverpool University).

Dr. Alison has specialised in the investigation of rhetorical issues and manipulation in relation to the psychology of Investigations. In particular he has been examining processes of influence, persuasion and coercion in undercover operations, police interrogations and the examination of issues of deception in false allegations. He is currently working as a Research Fellow at the University of Liverpool and is working on the examination of false allegations of sexual abuse. He has obtained funding for this research from the Odin Trust. He has lectured both Nationally and Internationally to academics and senior police officers on issues of concern in relation to 'Offender Profiling'.

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Born in 1948; licensed physician since 1976; specialist in general psychiatry since 1986; doctoral exam from the Karolinska Institute in 1990 with a dissertation on female suicides in Sweden – an epidemiological and psychiatric study; published some 20 original papers in the field of suicidology and related matters; 15 years of clinical experience as a psychiatrist; since 1980 he has served as a psychiatric consultant to various parts of the Swedish police; he has been introducing and practising offender profiling in the national police force since 1988.

¹ As per: November 1996.

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Diploma and doctorate in Psychology; Head of the Criminological Research Section and of the OFA-team within the Research Unit on Criminology and Criminal Investigation at the Bundeskriminalamt (Federal Criminal Police Office) in Wiesbaden, Germany; since 1976, responsible for research in victimology; since 1986, leading a major project on violence against persons; since 1995, working on case analysis in the field of blackmail and hostage taking; furthermore research on Posttraumatic Stress Disorder; for nine years member of the Negotiation and Analysing Team of the Bundeskriminalamt in cases of serious crime; various publications on the situation and needs of crime victims, senior citizens as victims, sexual deviant behaviour, personal violence. Author of a longitudinal study on sexuality, violence and psychological after-effects.

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Beckmann, Jørn Halber, Prof. Dr.

Born in 1939; Professor at the New York University, Faculty of Arts & Science; 1969–1978 Clinical Psychologist, University Clinic of Psychiatry, Righshospitalet, Copenhagen; since 1978 Chief Psychologist at the County Hospital Service of Funen, Department of Clinical Psychology; Doctor of Medicine 1988; Associate Professor of Medical Psychology at the Medical Faculties of Copenhagen, Odense and Aarhus Universities; President of the Psychosocial Committee, D.B.D.G.; former Secretary of the Quality Life Group, E.O.R.T.C.; member of the Executive Committee of the Danish Cancer Society; founder and President of the Research Foundation of Breast Cancer and Quality of Life; Vice-President of the European Society for Psychosocial Oncology; author of close to a hundred scientific articles and several books.

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Boon, Julian, Dr.

M.A.; C. Psychol; Associate Fellow of British Psychological Society, chartered Forensic Psychologist; research interests and projections: Eyewitness testimony (psychological profiling, aspects of the reliability of evidence and particular focus on the potential for cognitive interview techniques in enhancing witness recall), romantic attraction (including the role of gender and its implications for mate selection characteristics, changing qualities of love in relationships, infidelity and social stereotyping) and personality/ social environment (understanding the antecedents and correlates of destructive behaviour and the psychology of offenders' actions, motivations and thought processes).

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Born in 1961; graduated in administrative sciences with a focus on law enforcement matters; detective chief inspector within the Research Unit on Criminology and Criminal Investigation at the Bundeskriminalamt (Federal Criminal Police Office) in Wiesbaden; offender profiler working on case analysis in the field of blackmailing and hostage taking; 1984–1991 worked in the fields of sexual offences and traffic in human beings; studies in psychology, sociology and philosophy; trained in Transactional Analysis; 1991–1994 supervision of a large research project on the German Crime Notification System (KPMD) and editor of a book on that project published within the BKA research series; studies on criminal reasoning; training of hostage negotiation teams in textual analysis; scientific articles and essays on traffic in human beings, objective hermeneutics, criminal reasoning, serial killers.

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Ditlev, Gert

Trained magister artis in research theory, was attached to the University of Odense in the 1970's; acted as a secretary to the board of a large industrial concern in the 1980's and as CEO/editor-in-chief of a number of media firms; has been functioning as research consultant to the Department of Clinical Psychology, Odense University Hospital, since 1990.

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Müller, Thomas

Born in 1964 in Innsbruck, Austria; Master of Science, field of Psychology/Criminal Psychology at the University of Innsbruck; was trained at the Federal Police School in Innsbruck; became a member of the SWAT TEAM in 1985, Federal Police Force in Innsbruck after servicing in different police stations; served within the SWAT TEAM and investigated hundreds of robbery, theft, burglary, internal theft and crisis management cases from 1985 till 1991; was also responsible for the security area of the police headquarter and the airport in Innsbruck; studied psychology at the University of Innsbruck between 1986 and 1991 and finished 1991 with the masters's degree.

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Pistor, Roland

Born in 1955; detective chief inspector at the Federal Criminal Police Office (BKA); offender profiler main areas of work to date: investigative proceedings in the field of organised as well as serious and violent crime, evaluation and judicial assistance with respect to extortion, kidnapping for ransom; participation in the negotiation team of the Federal Criminal Police Office in cases of very serious violent crimes; has been working at the Criminology Institute of the Federal Criminal Police Office since 1992 and special-

ises in research in the field of criminalistic and criminological case analysis, working on case analysis in the field of blackmailing and hostage taking.

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Salfati, Gabrielle C. Dr.

Dr. Gabrielle Salfati obtained her BA (Hons.) in Psychology from the University of Nottingham in 1993, her MSc in Investigative Psychology from the University of Surrey in 1994 and her PhD on Homicide from the University of Liverpool in 1998. She is currently a Post-doctoral Research Fellow at the Centre for Investigative Psychology at the University of Liverpool. She has presented widely both nationally and internationally on homicide crime scene pattern analysis, and has assisted the police in several homicide investigations. Other research interests include linking serial-crime, criminal consistency and other aspects of violent crime.

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Started his career in Law Enforcement in 1976 with the Amsterdam Police Department; worked after basic training as a uniformed patrol officer in a downtown precinct until 1982, when he entered a one-year detective training period; was transferred to the Detective Unit of Immigration upon completion of this training; joined the Homicide Unit of the Amsterdam Police Department in 1985. With the development of criminal analysis he became a member of a working group in 1989, commissioned to research the possibilities of (what was then known as) criminal/psychological profiling. In 1990 he started training with the Behavioral Science Unit of the FBI in their one-year Fellowship Program on Criminal Investigative Analysis; upon graduation he was transferred to the Dutch National Criminal Intelligence Service; now supports as a detective-inspector Dutch police forces in their ongoing investigations of rape and homicide and teaches the use of behavioural science-oriented techniques in rape, homicide and

arson investigations. He is a graduate of the FBI's Fellowship in Criminal Investigative Analysis and a member of the International Homicide Investigators Association.

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van den Eshof, Paul

Born in 1953; studied psychology and law at the University of Amsterdam (The Netherlands); employed by the National Criminal Intelligence Division (CRI) of the National Police Agency of the Netherlands since 1988; published articles on murder and manslaughter, shootings, bankrobbery, rape and offender profiling amongst other; has been involved in the development of behavioural investigative analysis in the Netherlands since 1989.

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van de Plas, Marc

Born in 1961; studied criminology at Ghent University; trained Commissioned Officer of the Belgian Gendarmerie at the Royal School of Gendarmerie Brussels; studied business psychology at the University of Brussels; Deputy Higher Direction of Personnel of the Gendarmerie from 1985 till 1989; from 1989 till 1995 psychologist at the Recruitment and Selection Department of the Gendarmerie; Deputy Commander Central Office of Criminal Investigation from 1995 till now; involved in the Launch of the 'stress team' of the Gendarmerie, the selection and training of the hostage negotiators of the Gendarmerie and the selection, training and psychological assistance of the Belgian undercover agents; 1994 publication of a contribution in the Handbook Politiediensten, published in Brussels.

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Vick, Jens

Born in 1962; psychology graduate; offender profiler studied psychology at Bielefeld University, specialising in methodology / statistics, educational psychology and applied social psychology; research work at the Institute for Legal Outcomes Research and Criminological Policy and in various research projects of Special Research Area No. 227 (Prevention and Intervention in Childhood and Youth); market research activities with EMNID and various corporate institutions; since 1993 head of section at the Federal Criminal Police Office, specialising in: applied sociological methods; head of the OFA-team since 1993.

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Wells, Simon

Detective Sergeant with 14 years of experience; B.Sc. (Hons.) in Psychology; analysing stranger rape and murder London for the last 3 years, attempting to identify series crimes; now a liaison officer for the National Crime Faculty assisting investigations into sexually motivated murders, sexual offences and abductions.

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The 'BJA-Forschungsreihe' (BJA research series) contains the final reports on criminological and criminal investigation projects conducted either by the research team of the Federal Criminal Police Office (BJA) itself or financed by the BJA. Furthermore, the series includes lectures and discussion statements from the annual BJA working meeting and from scientific symposia. Bibliographies are also published in this series.

As a rule, the volumes of the 'BJA-Forschungsreihe' are issued only to the police and judicial authorities, official institutions and relevant scientific institutions and libraries. They are available to the above agencies free of charge. Interested parties are invited to contact:

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A general catalogue exists of all publications of the Research Unit on Criminology and Criminal Investigation of the BJA. It may also be obtained from the above address.

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(vol. 25), 2nd ed. (unrevised) 1996

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BJA-Arbeitstagung 1993 (vol. 29) 1994

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Zeit (vol. 31) 1995

Bundeskriminalamt (Hg.):
Aktuelle Methoden der Kriminaltechnik und Kriminalistik
BKA-Arbeitstagung 1994 (vol. 32) 1995

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Das Opfer und die Kriminalitätsbekämpfung
BKA-Arbeitstagung 1995 (vol. 36) 1996

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Methoden der Fallanalyse
(vol. 38.1) 1998

Case Analysis Unit (ed.):
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(vol. 38.2) 1998

Michael C. Baurmann und Wolfram Schädler:
Das Opfer nach der Straftat – seine Erwartungen und Perspektiven
(vol. 22) 2nd ed. (revised and expanded) 1998 – in preparation

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