

THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF PROFILERS

By

Christopher Michael Messer

Bachelor of Science

Oklahoma State University

Stillwater, Oklahoma

2003

Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate College of the
Oklahoma State University
In partial fulfillment of
The requirements for
The Degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE
May, 2005

THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF PROFILERS

Thesis Approved:

Dr. John Cross

Thesis Advisor
Dr. Ron Thrasher

Dr. Gary Webb

Dr. Gordon Emslie

Dean of the Graduate College

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my fullest appreciation to my advisor, Dr. John Cross, for his constant supervision and guidance. Dr. Cross was always available and willing to offer suggestions and to guide my research into areas that I was unable to foresee. The process of completing this thesis would have been much more stressful without his understanding of the material and his active search for new knowledge. I would also like to express the same appreciation for both Dr. Ron Thrasher and Dr. Gary Webb, committee members, for their participation. Dr. Thrasher and Dr. Webb have always been willing to help in any area that I need help and have set a great examples for not only teaching, but also for being a good people. I've enjoyed and highly value every situation that has caused us to work together. I am a better student because of my experiences with them.

I would also like to express my appreciation to those who provided assistance outside of my committee. Stan Hodges has helped me not only by providing suggestions for this research, but also throughout my whole experience in graduate school. Without his assistance, I'm not entirely certain I would have lasted this long. Also, Mark Vermillion for his constant assistance and friendship. This experience in graduate school was always entertaining with him involved. Also, Jaime Burns for her guidance and patience. Jaime was always willing to lend an ear and offer suggestions. I would also like to thank Dr. Bell for her cooperation and advice on not only my thesis, but the whole process of graduate school as well. I'm very grateful for her help and for the opportunity to become a better researcher

because of the work she gave me on an extra project. Finally, I would like to thank my family. Without their patience and understanding, my life would be drastically different. I couldn't ask for a more supportive and loving family.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter

I. Introduction	1
II. The History and Development of Criminal Profiling	7
Origins	8
Geographical Profiling	11
Psychological Profiling	14
Racial Profiling	17
Criticisms	20
Summary	22
III. Theoretical Concerns	25
Professionalization	26
Expertise	30
Credentialism	31
Autonomy	32
Summary	33
IV. Methodology	35
Content Analysis	36
Summary	41
V. Analysis	43
Usage & Methodology	46
Duties	57
Training & Qualifications	60
Success	67
Summary	73
VI. Conclusion	77
Limitations to the Study	82
Suggestions for future research	83
Bibliography	85

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Beginning in the late 1600's, a monumental step was taken in predicting characteristics of criminal offenders. This began with the search for signs of witchcraft. Since that time, drastic steps have been taken to improve not only the perception of criminal profiling, but also the scientific approach by which it is guided. Originating from more of a physical type of criminal profiling, investigators now focus on psychological aspects, geographical aspects, and quite possibly, racial aspects (which could be considered more broadly as cultural aspects). The use of these types of profiling tend to vary across categories. Today, investigators may strongly believe that a murderer on the loose has little social skills, is living alone, and has a below-average level of intelligence. They may then come to the conclusion that this offender is an example of a disorganized murderer (Theoharris 1999). Another example is the discovery of an autoerotic death in which investigators must determine if someone else was responsible (Hazelwood, Dietz, and Burgess 1982). Or consider the raping of 14 women in a fourteen-year period by a man in Lafayette, Louisiana. After thousands of suspects were gathered over the years, investigators finally found a geographical pattern to the murders that nearly pinpointed one of the suspects, which then led to a quick DNA match and arrest (Barnes 2002).

The approach to profiling has led to several successes at least as a tool that helps to narrow down the list of possible suspects. However, there are examples where the use of profiling has gone far beyond its expected realm. A summary of an example is taken

from Innes (2003). After little success in finding the killer of Rachel Nickell, the police began to focus on one man, Colin Stagg. In the meantime, authorities asked Paul Britton, a psychologist in Britain to help draw up a profile. Police authorities decided that they did not have enough evidence to keep Stagg, so he was released three days after his arrest. Britton still felt that Stagg was responsible for her murder. Later, he told police that it may be necessary to use an undercover policewoman to write and meet Stagg in order to draw out his sexual fantasies. After several correspondences between the two, Stagg admitted to watching Nickell's death. This prompted Stagg's arrest. When brought to court, the judge immediately decided that this evidence was gathered through deceptive conduct and that he would not allow the evidence to be presented. The case was dropped and Britton's reputation was harmed.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This research project will focus on the movement to professionalize criminal profiling, more specifically, psychological profiling. Though powerful insight could be gained from looking further into both geographical profiling and racial profiling, this study will focus on psychological profiling and the role professionalization can play in its development. This research will focus on psychological profiling as an investigative tool which uses similar past offenses along with the case specifics at hand to develop a profile describing the likely characteristics of the offender. A profession will be defined as an organized "group which is constantly interactive with the society that forms its matrix, which performs its social functions through a network of formal and informal relationships, and which creates its own subculture requiring adjustments to it as a success" (Greenwood 1957:17). While some may argue that criminal profilers do not

make up a profession (Egger 1999;Ainsworth 2001; Turvey 2002), this paper seeks to describe the process in which occupations can become professions and to compare this process with that of criminal profiling. The purpose of this project is to examine professionalization and to determine whether or not criminal profiling can be deemed a profession. If not, this project then seeks to determine the steps that must be taken to achieve the status of a profession. This study also seeks to discover public perceptions of profiling by conducting a content analysis of books, journals, magazines, and newspapers.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE STUDY

This research later relies heavily on conducting a content analysis, in which relevant documents regarding psychological profiling are both examined and analyzed in order to develop an analysis of where profiling stands today as a profession. This study is relevant for two reasons. First, there is a lack of integrated material on psychological profiling. Although vast amounts of literature exist that discuss certain aspects of it, very little material integrates numerous aspects with the exception of Turvey (2002). Second, to this author's knowledge, no research has been conducted that applies a theoretical framework of professionalization to psychological profiling. Again, several articles on profiling briefly identify that there are necessary steps to be taken to professionalize, but these documents do not integrate these steps to that of a theoretical model of professionalization. This project seeks to contribute in that matter.

PREVIEW OF REMAINING CHAPTERS

This author begins this research by dividing the project into five more chapters. The second chapter will focus on the historical development of criminal profiling, reviewing four types of criminal profiling: 1) physical, 2) psychological, 3) geographical, and 4) racial. The chapter will begin with a presentation of the roots of criminal profiling and conclude with an explanation of where each type of profiling stands today. This chapter will show that much of the profiling that exists today began in the late nineteenth century with the Enlightenment period's stress on science and knowledge around the time industrialization took hold. From its origins, profiling of all types have developed much further. For instance, we will see that racial profiling developed around the 1920's and remains a strong and controversial form of profiling today. Geographic profiling has evolved from the work of researchers including Guerry and Quetelet (Turvey 2002), Park and Burgess (1925), and Shaw and McKay (1942), who sought to identify where certain groups of people were located to a profiling that can be conducted by using technology that can sometimes nearly pinpoint the whereabouts of a suspect. The criticisms that remain regarding the use of each type of profiling, which are most certainly not limited, will also be included at the end of the chapter.

Chapter 3 will focus on the theoretical perspective that the author will employ throughout the research process. Though the reader will see that there are numerous studies that have defined professionalization, extensive research led to the use of Eliot Freidson's (1984) model of professionalization, which states that professions must have expertise, credentialism, and autonomy. Though other models include other steps towards professionalization, such as training and altruism, the author here will argue that

most of these other aspects can be placed into the three categories that Freidson identifies. Without each of these aspects, an occupation cannot move into a professional status. This research will discuss in much greater detail what each of these aspects entail and also explain how the author intends to fit that framework into the research on psychological profiling. Furthermore, this chapter will focus also on why expertise, credentialism, and autonomy are absolutely necessary in order for an occupation to become a profession.

Chapter 4 will then move into the methodology that the author will use in order to form an analysis on profiling and professionalization. Quite possibly, the best method for the researcher to use is a content analysis. This developed out of researching, in rich depth, fifty articles of literature resulting from newspapers, magazines, peer-reviewed journal articles, and published books. Another very crucial source to this research is the review of 20 job postings by law enforcement agencies. These announcements provide the duties and qualifications that are necessary to become a profiler within the different agencies. The sources of literature were derived from newspaper and magazine columnists to professors at various universities to current and former profilers. Some of this literature focuses on the use of profiling within certain contexts (rape, murder, burglary, etc) and other literature focuses on profiling in a general sense. This was an intended approach in order to fully analyze the professionalization process without a dominant bias. The content analysis will then produce a much richer interpretation of what current attitudes towards to the professionalization of criminal profiling appear to be.

Chapter 5 will mark the beginning of the analysis resulting from the methodology stated above. This analysis will provide the thematic groupings derived from the content analysis, which included usage and methodology, training, and success. Usage and methodology was a category created to explain the article's inclusion of both the types of crimes that profiling is used and the description of the methods that profilers employ. Training refers to the literature that contained information on the ways in which profilers develop that particular status. Finally, success refers to the literature that is concerned with how the value is to be measured within profiling and how the author(s) views profiling in terms of its value to the investigation procedure. These three categories will be applied to expertise, credentialism, and autonomy, the three benchmarks of a profession, according to Freidson. This chapter will show through the literature that currently, psychological profiling cannot be considered a full profession. This a result from several aspects of the use of profiling, in which there is no certification process, no standardization of the use of profiling, and no outright autonomy. Further, this research, specifically through the analysis of job announcements, will show that the qualifications necessary to become a profiler result from a specialized knowledge.

Finally, Chapter 6 will be dedicated to the conclusions of the research. This will summarize not only the analysis, but also the author will make some final arguments regarding the professionalization of psychological profiling. At last, this conclusion will present not only the limitations to the study, but also some suggestions for future research on not only psychological profiling, but also other types of profiling as well.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF CRIMINAL PROFILING

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will focus on the historical development of criminal profiling. Today, profiling is used as an investigative tool that studies the evidence “relating to the known victimology and crime scene characteristics of a particular case, or a series of related cases, in order to infer investigatively relevant characteristics of the offender responsible” (Turvey 2002: 681). However, this chapter will show that the use of profiling has undergone several changes and adaptations.

Since the beginning of criminal profiling in the late 1600's, profiling has become a very helpful investigative method used by all levels of law enforcement. Profiles can assist investigators in trying to determine race, gender, age, marital status, level of education, occupation, or other characteristics. Investigators may also be able to discover how the offender relates to other people, the likelihood of prior criminal activity, whether there are feelings of remorse, and the likelihood of committing another similar crime (O'Toole 1999:224). While there is no question that profiling has led to successful apprehension in some cases, there lingers a doubt as to how successful this endeavor is. The purpose of this chapter is to present a historical development of criminal profiling in order to make way to a discussion of professionalization.

Included in this chapter is the historical development of four main areas of profiling: physical profiling, or also the origin of profiling, geographical profiling, psychological profiling, and racial profiling. This author will look deeply into each of

these realms of profiling and explain how each area developed into where it is today. Finally, I will discuss the criticisms involved in the use of criminal profiling.

ORIGINS

The use of profiling has been a consistent phenomenon considered by the media. We can trace this back to Sir Conan Doyle's timeless accounts of the *Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*. The innovative detective once said, "The ideal reasoner would, when he had once been shown a single fact in all its bearings, deduce from it not only all the chain of events which led up to it but also all the results which would follow from it" (Doyle 2004:154). There is no doubt that throughout his casework, Holmes' work consisted largely of elements of several types of profiling. Movies such as *Silence of the Lambs* and *Red Dragon* have shown the dramatic (maybe overly dramatic) investigations of profilers. TV has added to this interest by adding shows such as *CSI* that have captivated audiences nationwide. However, the problem with many of these shows is that they do not adequately reflect the nature of profiling. *Silence of the Lambs* does not portray the serial killer as a working, middle-class citizen, which is a dominant characteristic in most serial killers.

As the reader proceeds, though, he or she must consider profiling as a method that, in an overall sense, focuses on street crime, rather than white-collar crime. Sutherland (1995:20-25) reminds us that the upper class has a greater influence on the law than the lower classes due to the power they possess both economically and politically. Therefore white-collar crime is seldom included in crime statistics or profile analysis. Friedman (1993:151) adds that, "One can be sure that it was not the wealthy or the powerful who were arrested on suspicion and thrown into jail cells". Bazelon

discusses why this white-collar crime does not make up such a large percentage of the crime statistics available. Bazelon (1990:298) contends that, “Yet, as costly and corrosive as such crimes are, they do not instill the kind of fear reflected in the recent explosion of public concern” (Bazelon 1990:298). He adds later that, “The offenders that give city dwellers nightmares come from an underclass of brutal social and economic deprivation”.

Although there is no precise time and location of the origin of criminal profiling, it can be assumed that profiling may date back to Europe and the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Local authorities searched for signs of witchcraft by looking for certain marks on the body, supernatural abilities, or spectral evidence (Gribben 2004). Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994:150) note that authorities searched mainly for women because “they are more credulous and have poor memories, and because witchcraft comes from carnal lust, which is in women insatiable”. They also noted that crimes such as murder by sorcery, stealing milk from cows, and ruining crops by hailstorms, and worshipping the Devil, were often believed to be crimes committed by witches. In addition to this approach, authorities also declared guilt or innocence by tying the suspected witch up, and then throwing her in the water to see if she would float (Vold and Bernard 1986). In an overall sense, crime was considered to be the result of demonic work (Quinney 1970).

However, a more famous origin comes from Cesare Lombroso. Lombroso is often credited with being the first person to formally offer a classification for profiling offenders of the law (Turvey 2002). Bernard and Vold (1986) describe these types of profiles. In the late 1800’s, Lombroso offered the results of a study done on nearly 400 prisoners. Lombroso argued that by studying various characteristics of a criminal (age,

sex, education, race, etc), predictions could be made about future offenders. He believed there were three types of criminals: born criminals, insane criminals, and criminaloids. Born criminals had certain physical deficiencies in common. Some of the deficiencies included an asymmetrical face, an abnormally shorter or longer chin, longer arms, and abnormally larger ears. Insane criminals, on the other hand, were criminals that Lombroso believed had mental and/or physical deficiencies. Finally, criminaloids were a group of criminals who didn't necessarily have shared characteristics, but they had certain mental or physical deficiencies that predisposed them to committing crimes.

Innes (2003) also discusses conclusions drawn by Sheldon in 1949. Sheldon studied delinquency among youth and concluded that people could be categorized into three body types. The first type of people, labeled endomorphs, were profiled as generally soft and rounded in shape, and were usually very friendly and well-liked. Second, mesomorphs were muscular and athletic. These were profiled as strong and aggressive, and could become explosive. These types of people were more likely to become criminal. Finally, ectomorphs were thin and weak. These people were profiled as shy and unsociable.

Although many of the arguments presented by Lombroso and Sheldon may sound preposterous today, a very important step was taken in criminology. This was one of the earliest forms of classifying criminal offenders based solely on various physical and mental characteristics.

Brent Turvey (2002) also credits Hans Gross with being one of the leading founders of criminal profiling, mainly in regard to physical aspects of the criminal or the criminal act. Gross (1924) provided many examples of how one could understand

criminals by the way they commit crimes in *Criminal Investigation*. Here for the first time, Gross mentions the useful application of modus operandi, in which a criminal leaves behind important traces of how particular crimes were committed. Turvey (2002:65-66) provides an example of modus operandi. In burglary investigations, authorities will look at how entries were granted and types of items that were taken at the scene.

Similar to the notion of modus operandi from Gross, another example of criminal profiling may have derived from Dr. George Phillips, a British surgeon who was involved in several murder investigations in 1888 (Turvey 2002). Dr. Phillips decided to study the various wounds inflicted on the victims in order to find patterns and to draw inferences into the behavior and the personality of the killer. This offender is believed by some today to have been “Jack the Ripper”. This was another monumental study that led many to believe that the behavior of a criminal may sometimes aid in understanding the criminal’s personality also. Today, forensic scientists study these very same patterns while investigating crimes by conducting a wound-pattern analysis, which is a method that often helps to discover the way in which a victim was injured, or killed. Occurring at a very similar point in time, but very different from the physical focus of profiling, the development of geographical profiling began.

GEOGRAPHICAL PROFILING

While many were looking at common physical aspects of criminal activity, others were focusing on the geographical nature of crime. After the French government began producing crime statistics in 1827, Guerry and Quetelet were able to begin finding different levels of crime across various neighborhoods (Ainsworth 2001). They had

attributed this to the different social living conditions throughout these neighborhoods. This became one of the first examples of a form of geographical profiling, which is drawing inferences about criminal characteristics through analyzing locations of the crime and the relationships between the crime scenes (Barnes 2002). It is also important to understand the social context of which this study took place. Increasingly, workers migrated to the urban areas as industrialization began to take place. Sutherland (1924:98) noted that, “almost all immigrants settle in the cities and, as has been shown, cities have higher rates than the rural districts for arrests, convictions, and commitments”. Sutherland went on to argue that it was possible that the immigrants had higher rates of crime because they lived in the city rather than because they were immigrants. This process led to differentiating the criminal class from the working class so that the industriousness of the latter would not be affected (Foucault 1977).

Another set of researchers who performed a similar study were Shaw and McKay (1942), who formed the social disorganization theory of crime. This theory argues that when there is an absence of well-established norms and a breakdown in institutions within the community, behavior within the community is often unable to be controlled. Ainsworth (2001:84) adds, “Using what might be seen today as somewhat unsophisticated methods, they plotted the residential address of each offender and placed this onto a map of Chicago”. Dividing the area up into sections of one square mile, Shaw and McKay were able to demonstrate the spatial distribution of offenders across different areas of Chicago. What is notable to this study is that they developed this theory in response to the Park and Burgess study that introduced the “concentric zone theory” (Schmallegger 2004). This theory stated that there were specific areas where certain

people lived (Park and Burgess and McKenzie 1925). They developed five “zones” where specific people tended to live or work. Zone I consisted of the business district. Zone II consisted of mostly immigrants and was centered around the business district. Zone III then was the home to the working class. Zone IV consisted of the middle class, and finally, Zone V had the wealthier members of society. As economic conditions would improve for the workers, they would tend to migrate to the outer zones. These cases appear to be some of the earliest studies on geographical profiling.

Today the basic premise behind geographical profiling is that most criminals commit offenses within a close proximity of where they live (Rossmo 2003). One reason behind this is very likely to be due to wanting to stay within their “comfort zones”. People often feel more comfortable in an area in which they are more familiar. Geographical profiling can now actually be conducted through a computer program developed by Dr. Kim Rossmo. The crimes are entered into a database and a map is produced showing the area the suspect most likely comes from. Rossmo (2003:47) writes, “As the distance from the criminal’s home base increases, there’ll be a decrease in the probability of a crime – we call this a ‘distance decay’ or ‘least effect’ theory”. But criminals don’t want to operate too close to their homes for fear of being identified – this is the ‘buffer zone’ theory. The program combines these two aspects to work out where the criminal is based. Like all techniques involving criminal profiling, geographic profiling is not intended to be the sole method used in order to determine who the offender is. Rather, it is a helpful tool intended to assist investigations along with several other techniques.

PSYCHOLOGICAL PROFILING

Another form of profiling that has very recently developed is psychological profiling, which focuses more on the behavior of the offender. In 1956, the first well-publicized case arose in which psychological profiling was applied. Turvey (2002) explains that a psychiatrist, James Brussel, believed that by analyzing several crimes performed by a single offender, he could come up with several key characteristics about the offender. The offender, George Metesky (also known as the “Mad Bomber”), was later arrested having fit the profile created by Brussel. This profile included the following characteristics: male, suffering from paranoia, unmarried, Roman Catholic, etc. He even predicted that when the offender was caught, he would be wearing a double-breasted suit. Each characteristic that Brussel predicted was correct. Brussel used his experiences with patients to discover different psychological characteristics about the offender.

Beginning around 1972, the FBI began to explore criminal profiling (Ainsworth 2001). Conducted at the FBI headquarters in Quantico, Virginia, FBI personnel worked extensively with thirty-six convicted serial murderers through interviews and developed a psychological profile on these murderers. By discovering various characteristics, the FBI linked characteristics together that appeared to be common themes. The result included typologies that categorized offenders as organized or disorganized (Theoharris 1999). Organized offenders were thought to have average or above average intelligence, a skillful job, sexually competent, etc. They also tend to commit crimes in a similar manner. They tend to plan their crimes, show behavioral control at the scene of the crime, leave very few, if any, clues at the scene of the crime, and they tend to attack

strangers (Egger 1999). On the other hand, disorganized offenders were credited with being the opposite – socially deficient, below average in intelligence, sexually incompetent, etc. The crimes they commit occur in nearly the opposite manner as the organized offender. They do not plan their crimes, and commit crimes in a haphazard manner (Egger 1999). However, Pfohl (1985) adds that these descriptions often result in confusion about the terminology. Pfohl cites the work of Cleckly, who provided a typology for the sociopath. A sociopath was considered, amongst other symptoms, to possess superficial charm and good intelligence. Pfohl argues that it is very difficult to know precisely what superficial charm is. Likewise, in a profile of the organized or disorganized offender, it is difficult to assess symptoms such as above average intelligence or sexually incompetent. Ainsworth (2001) adds that more often than not, the offender is actually classified as “mixed”. This endeavor into criminal profiling was monumental and brought about a new approach to studying crime. As a result, police, through profiling, can identify the amount of planning that went into the crime, the amount of control used by the offender, the level of emotion at the scene, the risk level, and the appearance of the crime scene (O’Toole 1999). Moreover, the original work of the FBI based on the thirty-six interviews with convicted murderers and rapists still serve as a foundation for profiling.

At about the same time, Groth and colleagues began to develop typologies of rapists (Groth, Burgess, and Holmstrom 1977). Ainsworth (2001) argues that the typologies developed by Groth could be considered much more reliable than the typologies developed on the organized and disorganized offenders. Groth developed 4 categories of rapists: the power reassurance, power-assertive, anger-retaliatory, and

anger-excitement (Groth et al 1977:1239-1248). The first category, the power reassurance, is the most common type of rapist. This offender is believed to be unselfish in that he doesn't use a great deal of force with his victims and he feels sexually inadequate and doubts his masculinity. This rapist usually attacks at night or early morning and most often has kept some sort of watch on the victim prior to the attack. The next type of rapist, the power assertive, differs in that this offender does not doubt his masculinity and feels that he is sexually adequate. This type of rapist uses a high level of force, but only after he has displayed himself as friendly and harmless to the victim. This rapist also appears friendly and harmless when he appears at court, and juries often find difficulty in believing that this offender actually committed the crime. The next type of rapist, the anger-retaliatory, most often has a high level of animosity towards women in general. This offender often selects a victim that symbolizes someone who has offended him in some way in the past. Therefore, this victim will have very similar characteristics to another woman that he has animosity towards. This type of rapist uses what profilers call a blitz-style attack, where the offender attacks the victim suddenly and quickly. Finally, the anger-excitement rapist derives a sense of joy and thrill from raping women. This style of rapist is very dangerous in that he methodically plans out his victims and offense style. He tries to consider all possibilities prior to the rape and during the rape uses a high level of violence and torture.

The next monumental step in psychological profiling occurred in 1985 when authorities contacted David Canter, a psychologist then located at the University of Surrey in England to help in catching a criminal nicknamed the "Railway Rapist" (Crace 1995). By developing a profile of the suspect, John Duffy, authorities then decided that

much could be gleaned from the investigation. Egger (1999:246-247) notes that the result of Canter's research was that he discovered five aspects important to psychological profiling: 1) interpersonal coherence, 2) significance of time and place, 3) criminal characteristics, 4) criminal behavior, and 5) forensic awareness.

Interpersonal coherence addresses the amount of variation involved in the criminal activity of the offender. Investigators may look at this variation and compare it to the variation in how the offender acts with others in everyday contact. Second, time and place may prove to be a crucial aspect of discovering the offender. Third, the characteristics of the offender can help to form a classification of offenders by looking at general patterns of the nature of crime and the way it was committed. Fourth, criminal behavior can allow the police to search for the unidentified behavior by looking at past offenses. Finally, forensic awareness refers to the ability of the offender to hide physical evidence. If the offender is able to cover up evidence, this can show authorities that the offender has prior knowledge about the police's investigative techniques. The pioneering work of David Canter has even led to the development of a graduate studies program in investigative psychology at the University of Liverpool. Today, psychological profiling is not limited to murderers and rapists. It is also used in hostage negotiations, terrorism, letter analysis, burglary, and arson. At a very similar time of the development of the FBI's typologies, racial profiling also became an issue, and remains a strong one today.

RACIAL PROFILING

Another type of profiling that has caused tremendous controversy is that of racial profiling (Harris 2002). Though there is a debate about whether racial profiling interferes with civil liberties, there are few arguments about whether racial profiling exists at some

level (Prosis and Johnson 2004). However, while some will refer to this as racial profiling, it should be mentioned that there could be a larger aspect of cultural profiling. It is the author's opinion that racial profiling is the result of broader cultural, economical, and structural aspects than it is an attitude of racism. Galliher and Walker (2003) provide an example of this. While a prior study had contended that marijuana laws originated to suppress working Mexicans in the southwest, Galliher and Walker show that there was a different symbolic legislation involved that reflected the lack of opposition to the ban of marijuana in general. Whether or not these aspects have contributed to the use of racial profiling is not the focus of this research. Rather the aim of this section is to present the literature that shows that some forms of racial profiling do exist at some level.

The history of racial profiling can be traced back to the beginning of the twentieth century (Hester and Eglin 1992). For instance, in Canada, research has shown that Opium Laws were developed around the early 1900's in response to what was considered to be a growing problem resulting from the increased use of Opium (Comack 1985). The users were profiled to be mostly of Chinese descent, therefore the "typical" Opium user became Chinese. Later, racial profiling became a more prominent issue after profiles were created in the 1960's when planes began to be hijacked. This continued through the 70's and 80's when profiles were created focusing on race in accordance to the increase in drug smuggling within the U.S. (Harcourt 2003).

Risse and Zeckhauser discuss at great length the issues involved in racial profiling. They note that, "The utilitarian argument for racial profiling assumes certain crimes are committed disproportionately by certain racial groups" (Risse and Zeckhauser 2004:131). One example today is the highway. Recently in New Jersey, the Attorney

General reported that 77 percent of cars that were pulled over and searched belonged to minorities (Cole 2001). Out of these that were pulled over and searched, 73 percent of them were of African-American descent. However, as Heather Macdonald (2003) argues, many embellish the extent to which racial profiling occurs while on the highway.

Another recent, but just as controversial, form of racial profiling that has arisen is that of airport security. After the hijackings that also occurred in the 80's and the September 11 attacks, airport security has been increasingly cautious of Arab travel within the United States. Some believe this is another immoral form of racial profiling in which civil liberties are systematically being destroyed (Ramirez, Hoopes, and Quinlan 2003; Macdonald 2003). While several states have laws that prohibited racial profiling, one must consider the states' definition of racial profiling. For instance, Oklahoma defines racial profiling in terms of profiling someone based solely on the race of an individual (Oklahoma State Courts Network 2005). While this prohibits profiling based solely on someone's race, it does not prohibit all racial profiling. In order to profile someone, there has to be other characteristics involved.

One more recent example of profiling in which predictions were made as to the race of a particular offender was the sniper shootings in Washington D.C. Because the sniper was categorized as a serial killer, John Lee Malvo was thought to have been Caucasian. In his article, "Profiles in Confusion", Eli Lehrer (2002:12) writes, "Nearly every profiler who appeared on TV guessed that a white male was doing the shooting, since nearly all famous serial killers have been men of European descent." This was not the only type of profiling used, though. As discussed earlier, geographic profiling was also used in the sniper case. Lagesee (2002:35) wrote at the time of the events that,

“among the few clues left by the Washington-area sniper was geography itself: the locations of the nine shootings confirmed by the end of the week.”

Whether a profile is accurate or not, it is important to keep in mind that these profiles are developed based on previous crimes and offenders. If a Caucasian woman between the ages of 18-30 committed nearly every bank robbery, then it is fair to assume law enforcement officials would be keeping in mind each woman who fits into this profile. However, as has been mentioned, this is only one aspect of the investigation process. Although racial profiling is very different from every other aspect of criminal profiling, it is important to discuss the topic, as it is a part of criminal profiling as a whole. Next, we move into criticisms that remain involving where criminal profiling stands today.

CRITICISMS

Now that the history and development of criminal profiling has been discussed, it is necessary to present the ongoing criticisms that persist today surrounding the use of criminal profiling. The most overpowering criticism of using criminal profiling surrounds the validity of it (Turvey 2002; Ainsworth 2001; Glasser 2002). Critics believe that the FBI's approach, and other law-enforcement agencies, lacks validity and that their approaches are much more subjective than they are objective. They argue that their approach is much more similar to an art than it is a science. Explained further, many argue that rather than forming systematic hypotheses, a large amount of guesswork is involved. This “guesswork” is also inherent in many other deviant organizations (Vaughan 1997). This negative view to the approach, which the reader will discover later, is most likely focused on the methodologies that profilers employ.

Along the same line, profilers claim to be the “experts” when attempting to apprehend the offender. However, because the profiling process tends to be subjective, these “experts” often disagree on courses of action to take (Vaughan 1997; Marshall and Picou and Gill 2003; Labash 2002; Hillis 2002). Webb (2002) noted that during the September 11 attacks, coordination was difficult because of the wide response from different organizations. He contends that communication during a disaster can become problematic. He notes that, “with the involvement of so many different organizations and a rapidly changing environment, coordination is difficult. As a result, response efforts are often duplicated, and resources may be used inefficiently” (Webb 2002: 89). This problem in communication can occur during the process of profiling as well. During the sniper attacks, TV programs all over the country offered “experts” who claimed to know how to profile the offender. Moreover, the massive search for the snipers resulted in confusion because of the vast array of police forces involved in the hunt (Lehrer 2002).

Another characteristic inherent in organizations, especially profiling, is that they are selective of information (Vaughan 1997; Marshall and Picou and Gill 2003; Glasser 2002; Hanson 2003). This refers to the idea that often times, the use of profiling generates so much information that authorities “weed out” what they feel is unnecessary information. Vaughan (1997:277) notes that, “They sort through knowledge claims, determining in relevance of information by its social appropriateness as well as its technical accuracy.” The result, according to Vaughan (1997:277) is “an informal network that excludes certain knowledge claims, perpetuating partial understanding and the possibility of unexpected negative outcomes.” Once again, during the hunt for the snipers, authorities were given a vast array of information from a plethora of sources.

They, in turn, selected only the information they believed was truthful. Another strong criticism of criminal profiling rests on the premise of profiling itself. Profiling assumes that characteristics of offenders can be drawn from past criminal acts. Clarke and Short (1993) have noted that organizations most often strive for efficiency, which often results in those organizations becoming very inflexible to change. Profiling, then, relies heavily on past experiences, which then guides their investigations. As noted earlier, the FBI began using typologies of the organized and disorganized offender based only on thirty-six interviews with convicted serial criminals.

Finally, organizations often contain a large amount of structured secrecy (Vaughan 1997; Dynes 1993). Profiling appears to be very similar in this aspect. Due to this secrecy, it is extremely difficult to assess the success rate of the use of profiling. Adding to the difficulty of measuring the success of profiling is the idea that profiling is a process rather than a single event in time (O'Toole 1995). Further, Tyler and Wakslak (2004) show that many citizens are skeptical about profiling.

SUMMARY

This chapter has focused on the historical and contemporary development of criminal profiling. Profiling, which can be a helpful investigative tool, has undergone what appears to be many changes over the past several hundred years. If profiling has not changed, it certainly has matured. Moving from early forms of witchcraft detection to Lombroso's view of the three types of criminals, to the FBI's approach at creating typologies of the organized and disorganized offender, the development of profiling has proven to be great. Lombroso, often thought of as one of the founders of profiling, was also joined by Hans Gross, who introduced *modus operandi*. This refers to the act where

a criminal leaves behind important traces of how particular crimes are committed. Along with Lombroso and Gross, we saw that Dr. Phillips focused on the physical aspect of criminal profiling.

Next, geographical profiling, using crime characteristics to lead to the whereabouts of a criminal, was discussed. Both Guerry and Quetelet and Shaw and McKay led the way by showing that certain criminal acts could be profiled according to social living conditions of the time. The Shaw and McKay study was based on the theoretical framework of the concentric zone theory developed by Park and Burgess. These studies came about during a move to industrialization. Later, Rossmo showed how geographical profiling has matured today. Criminals tend to stay very close to areas they are familiar with when committing crimes. Computer analysis has been developed to locate the area in which the suspect is likely to be.

Later, psychological profiling was touched on. Here, psychological profiling focuses more on behavioral characteristics of the offender. James Brussel, who profiled the “Mad Bomber”, became eerily close to his predictions of who the offender was by comparing the behavior of the suspect with various patients he had studied in the past. Shortly after, the FBI began to conduct interviews with convicted serial criminals in order to develop a typology of offenders. Focusing on behavioral characteristics, the result was the typology of the organized and disorganized offender, although we find that most criminals are placed in a category of mixed offenders. Also, we see that a valid form of profiling rapists has been developed from the work of Groth.

Next, a discussion of racial profiling was presented. Though a very controversial issue, racial profiling does exist. We can find the origin of racial profiling by tracing it

back to the 1920's where the use of opium was linked to Chinese identity. We also see the rise of racial profiling during the 60's when plane hijacking became more common. A discussion of racial profiling was presented regarding traffic stops of a higher proportion of minorities. Later, we discussed the attacks of September 11th and the tightened airport security that resulted from these attacks. Racial profiling exists as the most controversial issue now at stake within criminal profiling. However, the author does suggest that further studies consider the overall effect of cultural aspects on profiling, rather than focusing solely on race.

Finally, we looked at the criticisms that remain involving the use of profiling. Some critics argue that profiling lacks validity due to profiles often being created subjectively. Profiles often involve a selectiveness of information in which authorities "weed out" what could be valuable information. Profiling also relies heavily on past cases and characteristics and doesn't adapt well when the actual offenders don't fit the criteria. Finally, the success of profiling is under question due to much structural secrecy. Now that the development of criminal profiling has been established, it is necessary to review literature on professionalization. It is relevant to discuss what has been theoretically constructed regarding what distinguishes an occupation from a profession.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL CONCERNS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the characteristics of professionalization. Weber (1958) once noted that professionalization was the result of a growing modernity. He stated that, “A really definitive and good accomplishment is today always a specialized accomplishment” (Weber 1958:155). Though extensive work has been done on professionalizing occupations (Etzioni 1964; Vollmer and Mills 1966; Jackson 1970; Baker 1995; Hodson and Sullivan 2002), this research focuses on the work of Eliot Freidson because his model assumes that professionalization occurs as a process involving three certain steps. Also, this model applies to not only professions, but also occupations that are trying to achieve this professional status.

Freidson (1984:10-11) offers the following characteristics of professionalization: expertise, credentialism, and autonomy. After discussing these three characteristics, the researcher will then apply these to psychological profiling. Through further research, the researcher will use each of these applications as a backdrop to discover whether or not criminal profiling as a whole can be considered a profession. If so, what brought profiling into a profession? If not, what has to be done in order for this to change?

This chapter begins by offering Freidson’s theoretical model of professionalization. It is offered how this model can be used to examine criminal profiling, and how it does or doesn’t apply to a typical profession. This chapter then

concludes with a summary followed by the ways in which the research will show whether criminal profiling fits into a model of professionalization.

PROFESSIONALIZATION

Greenwood (1957) defines professions as an “organized group which is constantly interactive with the society that forms its matrix, which performs its social functions through a network of formal and informal relationships, and which creates its own subculture requiring adjustments to it as a success” (Greenwood 1957 as found in Vollmer and Mills 1966: 17). Leggatt (1970) adds that professions are class-based because the barriers to enter a profession require some amount of wealth. He argues that professions have 5 characteristics similar to each other. First, he maintains that professions are founded upon an estoric knowledge, or a special knowledge known only to a few. Second, this knowledge comes as a result of a long period of education. Third, those who practice the profession are seeking an altruistic service rather than the achievement of monetary gain. Fourth, there is a control of the profession through recruitment, training, and certification. Finally, Leggatt argues that these professions adopt an ethical practice.

Freidson (1984:10-11) provides the theoretical framework for viewing professionalization that will be employed. He contends that there are three characteristics that define a profession that also help to differentiate a profession from an occupation. These three characteristics are 1) expertise, 2) credentialism, and 3) autonomy. These characteristics consist of components that can be found in other models of professionalization as well. Examples of expertise can be found in the medical field. While assistants aid doctors, the doctors are often expected to have a superior knowledge

to those beneath them. Similarly, college professors go through extensive coursework preparing them to become experts within their field of study. This expertise can be achieved in several ways. For the purposes of this study, chapter 5 will show that the necessary components to gain expertise come through some form of education, particularly through a psychological understanding of criminal behavior, experience, intuition, and logic. However, as of today, this expertise is not specialized. While workers may have expertise as “Crisis Counselors” or “Police Psychologists”, they are not experts as “Profilers”.

One could consider the development of professionalism in law (Vago 2003). Once the necessary specialized technique was acquired, law went through 5 other steps to professionalize. First, a job in law became a full-time occupation. Second, training schools were established that were university-affiliated. Third, local and national associations were introduced. Fourth, state licensing laws came into effect. Finally, there was a formal code of ethics established.

Hodges (2002:30) explains that credentialism is an “educational system for formal training that allows for the transference of knowledge.” This process of credentialism is also class-based in that the process requires an extended education, making it costly (Leggatt 1970). Another area of professionalism, the police force, took steps in the early 1900’s to achieve this area of credentialism. Baker (1995) notes that August Vollmer, the police chief of Berkeley, California from 1902-1932, was the first to initiate this process. Vollmer created a police-training program in 1908 that encouraged future officers to attend classes taught at the University of California. He later introduced psychological and intelligence testing as part of the recruitment process. Today, police forces offer

training courses that focus on educating future police officers and employ testing procedures very similar to those introduced by Vollmer. Along with credentialism is the idea that there is some form of certification available deeming the worker a professional. This study will show that as of right now, the profiling industry has yet to adopt a certification process. Therefore, anybody who wants to be a profiler can be a profiler.

Finally, a third characteristic of professions is autonomy, which refers to the profession's ability to self-govern by making its own decisions (Hodson and Sullivan 2002). An example of this can be found in a lawyer's profession. Though lawyers can make costly mistakes, they are able to form their own decisions about courses of action to take. This autonomy is often the result of acquiring expertise in their field. Clients of these professions are reliant on the knowledge of these experts. Here, there should be some form of code of ethics adopted that the professionals comply with.

Hodson and Sullivan (2002:295) also note that there are several steps involved in professionalization. The first step is to actually form the organization or to strengthen one that already exists. The key to this step is to convince others that the organization's claim to professional status is a legitimate one. Another step is to standardize the body of knowledge that exists already, which often comes through the formal training that has been discussed. The public must also deem the profession's information as important. Finally, many times a code of ethics is developed, which displays a moral foundation.

We can see these steps if we view the process of how policing became professionalized over the past twenty years (Baker 1995). Prior to 1979, police agencies around the country sought ways to be considered professional, but these agencies were unsuccessful. However, in 1979, four law enforcement associations came together to

form a professionalization process. These agencies included the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the Police Executive Research Forum, the National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives, and the National Sheriff's Association. As a result of this meeting, the Commission on Accreditation for Law Enforcement Agencies (CALEA) was formed. This commission began to develop a standard for police functions that included roles and responsibilities, organization, personnel administration, law enforcement operations, etc. Then, in 1983, police agencies from around the country began to be accredited as a result of meeting these criteria. Therefore, police departments now became self-regulated by this standardization.

Earlier, a discussion was presented that detailed four types of profiling that have dominated the area in the past. These types include physical, behavioral, geographic, and racial profiling. The researcher chose to omit physical, racial, and geographical profiling. Physical profiling was disregarded because the large majority of this type of profiling falls into the category of psychological profiling today. Few physical characteristics are considered in profiles today. Racial profiling was also ignored. Although the topic is very important and relevant to a study of profiling, my interest lies in psychological profiling. Many studies have been presented on racial profiling, and the researcher suggests studies in the future should focus more on the cultural aspects of profiling that exist, rather than focusing solely on race. Much of the geographical profiling done can also be used while conducting a psychological profile, as the author will show throughout this study. The author will, in this study, look at how psychological profiling fits into Freidson's model of professions. A discussion will be presented regarding whether or not this area has expertise, credentialism, and autonomy. Furthermore, a discussion will aim

to explain what needs to be accomplished in order for this area to more fully be considered professional.

Now the author will further detail what was intended to be discovered through researching the use of psychological profiling. This will be accomplished by applying the three aspects of professionalization to psychological profiling. The first aspect of acquiring professionalism is expertise.

EXPERTISE

When looking at expertise, the author considered several questions concerning criminal profiling. First, are criminal profilers “experts” within their field? Is this expertise measurable? If so, how do they become experts? If not, what has to be done in order to accomplish this expertise? Is there an educational process through formal training? Are there other ways to acquire expertise? Can it be merely through apprenticeship or experience that profilers gain expertise?

Some very interesting conclusions have arrived from these questions, especially in the area of psychological profiling. This may pertain to psychological profiling based on training within the FBI. Turvey (2002) suggests that profiles often result from a more subjective approach. This is the case with psychological profiling due to some of the “guesswork” that may be involved in the process. This study will also show the necessary backgrounds a profiler must be educated in to qualify as a profiler, at least within the FBI and law enforcement agencies. This background must also be joined with an understanding of criminal behavior and the ability to think the way a criminal would think. The process also requires both logic and intuition. The degree of expertise will also vary, as this study will show later in chapter 5.

CREDENTIALISM

The next area of professionalization is credentialism, which often follows expertise. After a specialized knowledge is acquired, these people may begin to train others through formal education. This creates several questions about profiling as a profession. First, how is this credentialism accomplished? Do profilers often obtain a level of credentialism through a formal educational aspect of training? If not, what other ways is this accomplished? Also, does public perception of criminal profiling impact credentialism? What kind of impact does science have on credentialism? Is the method of profiling closer to an art or a science? Is there a certification process involved in becoming a profiler?

This area will provide several interesting answers. This credentialism is a result of expertise. The focus on credentialism will look at the training process. This process comes in the form of formal education, such as university lectures and seminars, or publications of professional associations. We see that often this training comes through a formal education in criminal psychology, though it can be earned through several other names, such as Investigative Psychology, Forensic Psychology, etc. Training in profiling is also the result of learning experiences from other officers rather than a professional training. This training process can also be influenced with interviewing past criminals to better understand their actions and motivations. Research has shown that David Canter and some of his colleagues have developed a graduate studies program at the University of Liverpool. This demonstrates at least some step toward credentialism. However, there is yet to be developed a system of certification, in which only certain people can become profilers. Moreover, the analysis of the job announcements reviewed will show that

agencies around the country do not hire “Profilers”. Rather, they hire “Crime Analysts”, “Police Psychologists”, “Forensic Managers”, and “Investigator Trainees.” While these positions often require the work of profiling, these positions aren’t limited to the work of only profiling.

AUTONOMY

Finally, the third characteristic, autonomy, poses several questions. First, are authorities who employ criminal profiling, a self-regulating entity? Are profilers able to determine the judgments and decisions they feel are necessary to create a profile? Who is ultimately responsible for the profile they create? Also, does criminal profiling create a full-time position or do full-time officers profile part-time? Finally, does the use of profiling consist of some type of code of ethics, or professional association?

Research shows that these answers are also important to the overall understanding of where the position of psychological profiling lies in regards to a profession. Research will show that although the FBI has an important task in profiling, a lot of profiling is done at the local level where police departments hire independent profilers, usually in the form of psychologists to conduct the profiling process. The FBI has developed typologies that have a widespread use in psychological profiling that suggests that a lot of the knowledge that has been gained through profiling has been developed through the FBI’s research. Finally, Hodson and Sullivan (2002:287) note the importance of altruism in professions . Altruism, which stems from autonomy, usually comes in the form of some type of code of ethics. Research shows that although profilers can be punished by their specific field of profession such as psychology or forensics, there has yet to be a system that regulates profiling. In other words, while a psychologist can be banned from

his/her profession, in all reality, the police department that hires the psychologist can still hire the person as a profiler, even if his/her title has been taken away as a psychologist.

SUMMARY

This chapter has focused on a theoretical framework of professionalization and how it relates to criminal profiling. The researcher chose to base this framework off of Eliot Freidson's model of professionalization. Freidson argues that professions have three characteristics in common: expertise, credentialism, and autonomy. Expertise refers to a "super-knowledge" within a realm of study. We will see later that expertise, at least at some level, exists within profiling. Credentialism deals more with the training that is passed down from these experts. This can often come in the form of a formal training such as lectures, seminars, or publications. Research will later show that there are several forms of training, but there has yet to be developed a method of certification for profiling. Finally, autonomy signifies that the profession is self-regulated. There is a deep trust given to the profession that its decisions can only be made by professionals. Meanwhile, there is usually a form of ethics involved in these professions. This research has presented examples of each of these characteristics. A discussion was then presented that detailed expertise, credentialism, and autonomy, and how each of these can fit into researching where criminal profiling stands as a profession. Each of these characteristics poses several questions for this research that the researcher has mentioned.

The next chapter will focus on the methods of research that will be used to study criminal profiling as a profession. The author will argue that the best method to use for this will consist of a content analysis discussed by Babbie (1998) developed from 50

articles of literature and 20 job announcements posted by various law enforcement agencies.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

Now that the historical development of criminal profiling and the theoretical concerns of professionalization of profiling have been presented, it is now appropriate to discuss how the author measured the level of professionalism surrounding the use of psychological profiling. From the chapter dedicated to the historical development of profiling, this researcher discovered that much literature has been produced regarding the use of profiling. The author, therefore, decided that this literature be reviewed by conducting a content analysis for the method of measurement. While other methods of research are indeed beneficial, it is argued that for the study of psychological profiling, a content analysis is most beneficial, at least currently. Interviewing profilers could very well be a strong source of analysis, but these interviews are very difficult to obtain. Therefore, to get the strongest picture possible of where psychological profiling stands as a profession, a content analysis was selected. Babbie (1998) provides several general guidelines to follow when conducting a content analysis, which will be discussed in greater detail in this chapter.

Now that the author has introduced the method that is employed in this study, a discussion will present in further detail each of these methods and how the different variables were measured. Each of these methods will focus on the area of profiling that has been discussed - psychological profiling. These methods will also be geared towards

measuring the three components of Freidson's model of professionalization: expertise, credentialism, and autonomy. The method of content analysis will be discussed next.

CONTENT ANALYSIS

Babbie (1998:293-302) suggests that a content analysis can be a very helpful tool in providing evidence of what is under observation. A content analysis is a "quantitatively oriented technique by which standardized measurements are applied to metrically defined units and these are used to characterize and compare documents" (Manning and Cullum-Swan 1998:248). Babbie (1998) provides a detailed description and guide of how a successful content analysis should be conducted. In each guideline, this author will apply it to this research, and finally, will address the relevance of using such a method. The first stage in the process is to determine the subject that one will study and to determine the units of analysis. Babbie explains that the researcher must decide what precise topic(s) he or she will choose to investigate. These topics include what subject matter he or she will study, what group(s) one will look at, experiences one will study, etc. Once these topics have been established, the researcher must explore the scope of literature that is available. The topic under examination in this research is the professionalization of criminal profiling. In the chapter dedicated to professionalization, a discussion of Freidson's three characteristics of professions were presented: expertise, credentialism, and autonomy. In determining the scope of literature then, articles of literature were located that dealt with at least one of these characteristics. The author chose, specifically, to conduct an in-depth review of fifty articles of literature that directly pertain to psychological profiling. In addition to these fifty articles, the author also chose to examine twenty job announcements in order to infer the necessary duties

and qualifications to work within police and other government agencies in order to become a profiler. As presented earlier, the author chose to research only psychological profiling because elements of the other types of profiling can all be found in psychological profiling. However, further research should focus on other specific types of profiling, such as geographical or cultural profiling. These articles of literature did not have to focus on the concept of professionalization, but the mission was to find readings that provided some insight into expertise, credentialism, or autonomy. Thus, fifty articles and job announcements were located that appeared to cover at least one of these issues. From the readings, it is suggested that a fruitful analysis can be gleaned from a variety of sources and authors. As will be further discussed in the next stage, these readings came from published books, magazine articles, newspaper articles, peer-reviewed journals, and job postings.

This stage requires the investigator to develop a representative sample. Further, the reader should not constrain his or her reading to only literature of well-respected authors. Rather the reader should include readings from less-familiar works as well. In this research, this very approach is offered. Out of the fifty articles of literature that are reviewed, there were 22 newspaper articles, 13 journal articles, 8 books, and 9 magazine articles. The discrepancy in the amount of literature reviewed can be justified because the books and peer-reviewed journal articles paint an overall picture of psychological profiling. However, the magazine and newspaper articles help to paint a local picture of profiling. This local picture of profiling, as the reader will discover later in the discussion of the analysis, serves to explain the different approaches that profiling takes, which is central to a study on professionalization. The books and journal reviewed were

prepared by profilers and professors. Some of the profilers included current former FBI agents such as Robert Ressler, John Douglas, and Roy Hazelwood, and independent profilers, such as Brent Turvey and David Canter. Other articles and books were presented by professors at various institutions such as Andrea Kapardis and Steven Egger. This approach was intended in order to fully investigate profiling without creating a generalization based on bias. For the newspaper and magazine articles, the researcher referred to databases including Factiva, Ebscohost and Proquest to locate nearly every article that directly pertained to profiling, whether it was concerning a specific case, or if it concerned the general use of profiling. The newspaper articles ranged from the *Seattle Times* to the *New York Times* to *USA Today* to newspapers outside of the US. The journal articles also came from a variety of sources, ranging from the *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin* to *Corrections Today*. Also, magazine articles reviewed came from countries such as the US, Britain, and Canada. This was a guided approach to look at the uniformity, or lack of uniformity, in profiling. Finally, the job postings also strongly contribute to this study. The author researched any job postings that were available to prospects interested in profiling. Interestingly, no postings were hiring “profilers”. Rather, the researcher had to find postings calling for “crime analysts”, “crisis counselors”, or “police psychologists”. The title of these positions alone suggests that profilers are given a range of responsibilities. These articles of literature will be more notably detailed in the following stages. Each of these articles of literature was read in-depth, and then reviewed during the last stage of the content analysis as a form of validity.

The second stage of the content analysis involves coding. Babbie points out that after reading the text, themes should emerge that deal with experiences and perceptions. Along with multiple readings, Babbie suggests that notes should be taken by a classification of themes. In this research, many themes emerged from the various readings. For instance, in the articles reviewed on profiling, themes emerged that focused on the development of profiling, the success of profiling, the extent to which it is used, the people who employ profiling, and the manner in which the approach is used. The major themes in the job announcements regarded the various job duties to be performed and the qualifications necessary within the particular department. At least one of these themes was persistent within each article for this study on psychological profiling. The research suggests that while the literature on psychological profiling may be somewhat optimistic in nature, many criticisms of the approach still arise.

The third stage is to develop categorizations based on the thematic elements contained in the literature. Here, the researcher is to classify the themes he/she discovered. Also in this stage, the researcher will find the frequency of the themes discovered. For example, the manner in which it is used could classify much of the literature on psychological profiling. These themes then were categorized as “usage and methodology”. This category was present in every article of literature reviewed. Themes that focused on specific crimes and the use of profiling, the general types of crimes in which profiling can be used, and the methodology of profilers were prevalent throughout the research. Another category was developed from the review of job announcements and was classified as “duties.” This category focused on the job roles of hired workers. Babbie suggests that a content analysis should result in categories that are both manifest

and latent. Thus, the manifest categories, or visible thematic elements resulted in the categories of “usage and methodology” and “duties”. The latent categories, or hidden thematic elements, consisted of “training” and “success” because the researcher had to incorporate a level of interpretation. “Training” is actually both a latent and manifest category, though, because manifestly, it is a category that includes the job qualifications and training that is listed in the job announcements reviewed. Latently, this category involves a level of interpretation resulting from the review of the fifty articles of literature that will be discussed in the next chapter. Though Babbie suggests that categories developed by their latent meaning somewhat harms the reliability, the creation of these categories are very useful because a stronger analysis can be drawn from the creation of these categories. This study involved these latent categories because some interpretation is necessary. Very little discussion in the literature directly pertained to professionalization.

Success was another latent category developed in order to present the arguments of both how the authors felt success should be measured in profiling, and whether or not the author felt that the use of psychological profiling was beneficial. Not every article focused on each one of these categories. Thus, the thematic elements developed vary in frequency. These themes helped to construct an analysis based on the frequency of their occurrence and were then linked to the three elements of professionalization: 1) expertise, 2) credentialism, and 3) autonomy. This will be further discussed in the analysis.

Later, the fourth stage requires the researcher to construct an analysis. This analysis allows the researcher to more fully understand the subject matter. This particular method will focus on the arising themes developed from the literature on profiling and

allows the researcher to apply the data to the general theory of Freidson's model of professionalization. The author will show in the next chapter how the three categories of "usage and methodology", "training", and "success" can all relate to Freidson's model. The literature reviewed suggests that although there are steps that have been taken to professionalize psychological profiling, there still exist major steps to be taken in the future. A couple examples of these steps that must be taken include a standardization of the practice and a certification process that doesn't allow just anybody from calling themselves a profiler.

The use of this method is very relevant. This approach allows the researcher to fully investigate the literature that has been produced in respect to psychological profiling. This literature helps to get a general picture from around the world of what the perception of psychological profiling is and where it stands in reference to a profession. Further, this method allows the researcher to review this literature and form an analytical construction based on Freidson's model of professionalization.

SUMMARY

This chapter has presented the methodology that will be used throughout this research. It is argued that a content analysis would be most beneficial to understanding the process of professionalization involved in psychological profiling. The content analysis will consist of a review of fifty articles produced on psychological profiling and also twenty job announcements for various positions requiring the use of profiling as one of the duties. Babbie (1998) provides four general guidelines to follow while conducting a content analysis. The basic premise is that by reviewing these articles, the researcher can develop a thematic analysis based on the content of each reading. This allows the

researcher to look at produced research and perceptions on the professionalization of psychological profiling and to develop an analysis based on the categorization of thematic elements. These categories included usage and methodology, duties, training, and success. These four categories will each be related to Freidson's model of professionalization in the next chapter, which focuses on the analysis of the reviewed data.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

The analysis begins with a very brief discussion about a content analysis. As discussed in Chapter 4, Babbie (1998) argues that a content analysis can produce very helpful themes and can lead to a fruitful analysis of what is under investigation. A discussion of the four guidelines for conducting a content analysis and how these guidelines fit into this research on the professionalization of psychological profiling was presented. The author now presents the findings by discussing each of these steps beginning with the articles reviewed pertaining to psychological profiling. Then, in the final analysis resulting from the content analysis, these themes and categories to Freidson's model of professionalization will be related. We will see throughout this chapter that although there are elements of professionalization, there still exist several key steps to be taken in order for the use of psychological profiling to become professional. If there were a correct term for where it stands today, psychological profiling would be considered "semi-professional."

FINDINGS

The first stage of the content analysis is to determine the scope of literature that one will investigate and to determine the units of analysis. Discussed in greater detail in the chapter dedicated to methodology, this entailed a rich review of fifty articles resulting from magazines, books, peer-reviewed journal articles, and newspaper articles, along with twenty job announcements from different law enforcement agencies calling for workers that use profiling. The occupational backgrounds of the authors also varied. The

authors ranged from newspaper and magazine columnists to professors and actual profilers. This variation was intended in order to fully investigate psychological profiling without a dominant bias towards the investigative tool.

Some comment is necessary concerning the placement of where these articles of literature were located. As discussed earlier, the books were prepared by profilers that gave a more in-depth review of the characteristics of profiling. While the subject matter varied, these books do not focus solely on specific cases. Rather, they touch on the overall picture of psychological profiling. The journal articles subject matter also varied. Some of these articles were merely shortened versions of the books reviewed, but others focused on a specific type of crime that profilers can investigate. This will be further discussed later in the analysis when the first thematic category “usage and methodology” is reviewed. The newspaper and magazine articles, though, differed greatly in subject matter. Here, the articles focused only on specific cases in which profiling was used. However, these articles were still reviewed and analyzed because important insight can still be gained from this literature. The only exceptions to these articles was that prepared by CBS Evening News (2002) and Breed (2005). Concerning the CBS news program, a document was later printed that detailed a special story done on the news with Dan Rather concerning psychological profiling. This particular story, reported by Lee Cowan, focused on psychological profiling and the perception of profiling that one officer in New York had of it. This particular officer argued that psychological profiling was not useful as an investigative method of catching a criminal. Breed (2005) also focused on profiling as a whole and also how it applied to the process of apprehending Dennis Rader, the infamous “Bind, Torture, Kill” or “BTK” killer. Breed contends that profiling specific

serial killers becomes very difficult because they are often able to present themselves as ordinary individuals with sociable personalities. This will be discussed later also in the discussion of thematic categories, but for purposes here, it is important to note that these newspaper articles in general do not focus on profiling as a whole, but its use in a particular case. Moreover, these articles appear to vary in where these articles were located in the papers and magazines. For instance, some articles were placed in the final pages of particular sections, while other articles, specifically 4 articles, were placed on the front page. What is worth noting, however, is that these 4 articles located on the front page regarded two specific cases – the Green River killer (Gary Ridgeway) and the sniper attacks in Washington D.C. (Malvo and Muhammed). This suggests that the more famous the case is, the more publicity psychological profiling will get. Moreover, it may suggest that in order for psychological profiling to get national publicity on the front page of the newspaper, the case usually has to involve murder.

The most important steps of the content analysis concerning this analysis are stages 2-4. Stage 2 involves developing themes resulting from the coding of literature. Stage 3 involves developing categories that these themes can be classified in, and stage 4 involves developing an analysis based on the thematic categories. The remainder of this section will focus on these three stages. After four thematic categories were developed, the analysis was constructed according to Freidson's model of professionalization and how these four categories can be applied to his model. The four categories developed include 1) usage & methodology, 2) duties, 3) training & qualifications, and 4) success, which will be discussed now. Although these categories do not cover each and every theme that was prevalent in each article, the author will argue that the themes and

categories that are presented adequately generalize the level of professionalization of psychological profilers according to the various authors. This analysis begins by discussing the first category created, "Usage & Methodology."

USAGE AND METHODOLOGY

Every article that was reviewed stated at least one type of crime in which profiling could be used. Out of the fifty articles, ten directed the focus on one use of profiling. For example, Klump (1997) focused on profiling used in business crime. Kapardis and Krambia-Kapardis (2004) focused on the use of psychological profiling in fraud detection and prevention. Moreover, White (1996) directed his attention to profiling used in arson. Also, Chaddock (2000) and Morris (1999) focused on the introduction of psychological profiling into schools to identify potential "trouble-makers." Five other articles focused on serial murder. These articles that only focused on serial murder were produced by newspaper columnists and focused on specific crimes that were being investigated at the time. This summarizes the usage of these ten articles. The remaining articles focused on psychological profiling as a whole as it applies to its use in serial murders, rapes, arson, robbery, fraud, hostage taking, kidnappings, letter analysis, and bombings. A more recent development allows authorities to use the program, Mosaic 2000, which helps to develop a psychological profile of students who have "at risk" behavior. This program includes students who could potentially be involved in school crime, such as fighting (Morris 1999; Chaddock 2000). This approach has been used in both Canada and the US where states such as Illinois, Massachusetts, and Connecticut have at least initiated the use of Mosaic. Furthermore, studies have shown that psychological profiling is also used when trying to determine the likely characteristics of foreign leaders by finding out what

“makes them tick”. This has been used to develop profiles of Aristide, Yeltsin, Castro, Hitler, and Hussein (Omestad 1994). Recently, a profile has been developed describing Osama Bin Laden (Assuras 2001). Tandler (1993) also argues that psychological profiling can be used in conjunction with geographical and physical features of the crime.

Six of the articles were prepared by persons directly involved with psychological profiling. Although these articles were much more detailed in information, nevertheless, they could be somewhat biased because of their affiliation with profiling (Turvey 2002). Nevertheless, they are included because they provide a much more detailed description of how profiling has been used and where they have used it. While these articles don't mention every instance in which profiling is used, the point is that they don't direct their focus to a particular case or cases. They focus on profiling in a more general sense.

The usage also varied according to the geography of which psychological profiling has been employed. Outside of the US, many countries have recently become involved in psychological profiling. Among the authors who presented the use, Moor (1998) and Bevin (2002) showed the use of profiling in Australia, Prentice (1991) in Britain, *The Times of India* (2004) in India, Woodard (1997) and Morris (1999) in Canada, and *The Xihua News Agency* (1999) in Hong Kong. Ressler (1997) also shows cases where the former FBI agent helped with cases in Japan and Africa. This analysis will now include some of the themes that were present through a discussion of the methodology that profilers use.

Deductive vs. Inductive Profiling

These articles also had themes that were concerned with methodology involved in the creation of profiles. This refers to the way in which profilers actually develop the

profile of offenders. It also refers to characteristics of the method such as whether the method is closer to an art or a science, the origin of the methodology, and the approach of the method. Several themes are prevalent here. Turvey (1998) differentiates between the deductive method and the inductive method that profilers use. The deductive method, in short, develops from the general to the specific. He provides an example of each method that will also be used here in order to provide the reader with a clear sense of what differentiates the two methods. In applying the inductive method to a specific case, Turvey includes the following example:

“80% of known serial killers that attack college students in parking lots are white males age 20-35 who live with their mothers and drive Volkswagon Bugs—Our offender has attacked at least three female college students on separate occasions; our offender has attacked all three victims in parking lots. Therefore, our offender, who is in part of this large group who fits this “profile” called “serial killers” is a white male between age 20-35, lives with his mother, and drives a VW Bug” (Turvey 1998:2).

Next, Turvey provides an example of what he considers to be a deductive profile:

“The body of a female victim is found nude in a remote forest location with 4 shallow, careful incisions on the chest, cutting across the nipples. The victim’s genital areas have all been removed with a sharp instrument. Petechiae are evident in the eyes, neck and face above pattern compression on the neck. No blood is found at the crime scene. No clothes are found at the crime scene. The victim bears ligature furrows around her wrists with abraded contusions but no ligature is present. Fresh tire impressions are found in the mud approximately 20 yards from where the body is located. Therefore the offender in this particular offense bound the victim to restrain her while she was still alive indicated by the abrasions around the wrists associated with struggling. Our offender removed the ligature before disposing of the body, indicated by the fact that we didn’t find it at the scene. The victim was likely asphyxiated with a material ligature about the neck, indicated by the pattern compression and the petechiae. The location where the body was found is a disposal site and not the actual location of the offense indicated by the fact that no blood was present at this location. The offender has a vehicle consistent with the tire impressions and is mobile. All of these details together indicate a competent, intelligent offender whom is likely able to sustain employment, and is very likely a sexual sadist. This is deductively suggested by the vehicle, the use of a secondary scene to dispose of the body to avoid transfer evidence, the removal of the victim’s genitals, and the deliberate cutting to the victim’s nipples intended to cause pain but not seriously injure” (Turvey 1998:4).

By using these two examples to distinguish between deductive and inductive methods, Turvey clearly demonstrates the deductive method as being more scientific than the inductive method. Turvey (2002) later suggests that the inductive method is used by the FBI. Douglas et al (1986) offer, however, that the FBI's approach is, indeed, deductive. Douglas et al support this claim by noting that the FBI begins the investigation by studying the victimology and studying other patterns to arrive at the profile. O'Toole (1999) strengthens this argument by noting that the FBI considers the crime scene, psychopathology analysis, witness statements, forensic lab reports, and autopsy photos, etc. While there is probably some sense of an inductive method used, surely there are aspects of the deductive method involved because their profiles are deductively suggested by the crime scene specifics. Prentiss (1991) also shows that Canter, who is considered to be a leading expert of profiling in Britain, also uses these very approaches. It appears that by using this method, the profilers involved are moving from the general aspects of the crime to the specifics of the crime (the profile being the most specific result). Because Turvey uses this very approach, his contention that the FBI's method is inductive could be misfounded, or at least misinterpreted.

Origin

Each author that discussed this methodology pointed first to its origin. In response to the psychological profile of George Metesky (the "Mad Bomber") prepared by James Brussel, the FBI searched for ways to arrive at a larger generalization of specific criminal behavior (Gratix 1993; Ressler 1997; Egger 1999; Theoharris 1999). The FBI decided to conduct interviews with convicted murderers. Ressler notes that the

FBI chose this method because, “It was believed that a systematic study of incarcerated offenders whose appeals had been exhausted and firsthand investigative-clinical interviews with the subject, might yield important insights into the psychological nature of criminal behavior” (Ressler et al 1980:36).

Another theme that was prevalent in some of the literature regarding the methodology was the public perception of the techniques used by profilers (Crace 1995; Mandel 1998; Curphey 2002). What is interesting is that nearly all the literature that discusses this public perception of psychological profiling comes from newspaper sources. Moreover, the articles argue that the public perception of profiling is based on the presentation of profiling through the media. For instance, Mandel, in reference to a profiler in Canada, notes that, “When people hear what he does they immediately think of the movie *Silence of the Lambs* – in which actress Jody Foster played a profiler on the trail of a serial killer – or of the popular American television drama, *Profiler*” (Mandel 1998:21). The common references to the public perception of profiling by the newspapers suggest that these perceptions are formed through movies and television shows that present a very glorified image of profiling.

Method as Science or Art

The authors also differed greatly on whether the method used in psychological profiling is closer to a science or an art. Several authors argue that profiling is much more similar to an art (Jarvis 1997; Lehrer 2002; Parker 2002). This opinion referred more often to the use of profiling used within the FBI. Ressler (1997), a former member of the Behavioral Science Unit in the FBI, even admits that the FBI’s approach is “educated guesswork”. This term was used widely to describe the FBI’s method to

developing a profile (Jarvis 1997; Ressler 1997; Egger 1999; Lehrer 2002; Parker 2002). Several authors argued, though, that the process is either scientific, or could be scientific (Crace 1995; Jarvis 1997; Turvey 2002; Winerman 2004). However, the method largely considered to be the most scientific is that belonging to David Canter and colleagues in London (Crace 1995; Jarvis 1997; Winerman 2004; Prentice 1991). Winerman (2004) asserts that psychological profiling is becoming more scientific because of an increasing use of peer-reviewed work and statistics. Each author that cited Canter's work as scientific agreed that peer-reviewed work and statistics were the reasons. The reason then that the FBI's approach is seen as unscientific is most likely due to the secretive approach to profiling that they take (Ainsworth 2001; Smith and Guillen 2001; Parker 2002). It can be argued that although the FBI's approach is certainly secretive, this approach doesn't immediately deem the approach unscientific. It is hard to know whether the approach is unscientific if we are unaware of how the approach is taken. It can be easily assumed that the FBI employs the use of statistics, given the fact that many interviews have been conducted to develop typologies and that police agencies make use of statistics obtained from the Violent Criminal Apprehension Program (VICAP) and the National Center for the Analysis of Crime (NCAVC), which measure and sort crime by collecting statistics (Turvey 2002). However, it is not known whether these statistics are used in order to develop a profile. If they are not, the literature suggests that a more successful approach would be taken if they are included.

The Scientific Method

Turvey (2002:43-44) suggests that a scientific approach, or at least mostly a scientific approach, can be taken during the creation of any psychological profile. The

first step, defining the problem, requires the profiler to assess the known victimology and forensic evidence and determine the crime scene characteristics. The second step, collecting data, should entail the determination of further characteristics. The third step, forming the hypothesis, entails creating a written document containing the evidence, victimology, patterns and behaviors, and potential motivations. Next, the fourth step, the profiler should test the hypothesis by reevaluating the known hypothesis as new evidence arrives. Later, the fifth step is to interpret the results. This step requires the profiler to use only characteristics that are pertinent to the case at hand. Finally, the profile, or theory, should be developed. Turvey admits that this process isn't an absolute form of scientific research because it does involve interpretation, but it can be a method that provides the most accurate profile without total guessing involved.

The Link to Professionalization

Expertise

Earlier, Freidson's model of professionalization and the three criteria included in it was discussed. This model included expertise, credentialism, and autonomy. The "usage and methodology" category created from the literature about psychological profiling appear to comply with each of these attributes. In regard to expertise, first the definition should be considered. Freidson (1984) refers to expertise as a special skill, or knowledge. Hodson and Sullivan (2002) describe this aspect as abstract, specialized knowledge. Further, this knowledge is unique to the discipline under examination. Freidson (1986) also maintains that this specialized knowledge comes from a higher education that provides a knowledge that is unique to the discipline. The usage and methodology contained in the literature suggest that profilers at least have some level of

expertise, at least on most authors' terms because they have a knowledge that not many people have. However, this expertise comes as a result of different educational backgrounds. Though a few authors do not believe profiling is an effective way of finding a criminal (Beech 1995; Cowan 2002; Lehrer 2002), most authors appear to agree that profilers do have a special knowledge in regard to understanding criminal behavior. In order to develop a profile, the authority must rely on knowledge of past cases. Because this knowledge is somewhat limited to the necessary authorities, the knowledge could be considered somewhat specialized. Hodson and Sullivan (2002) consider this an "estoric knowledge", which is only known by a few. Furthermore, the usage of profiling (robbery, murder, arson, kidnapping, etc) suggests that a special knowledge would have to exist in order to apply it correctly. Beech (1995), though, offers that profilers only tell the audience what they already know. In this perspective, one may argue that the profilers only take the information that has been already provided and develop a profile that is very general and basic (Lehrer 2002). However, the literature overwhelmingly suggests that these profiles are not so basic that any individual could develop the profile. There are details included in most profiles that suggest that some form of a psychological education concerning criminal behavior was necessary to develop the profile. However, what prohibits profilers from possessing an expertise is that this specialized knowledge profilers have is the result of knowledge in criminal justice, sociology, psychology, business or public administration, and so on (City of Santa Rosa 1997; Town of Jupiter Florida 2001; Delta Police Department 2004). So, while these profilers have their own specialized knowledge, they do not have a knowledge that is unique to the discipline of only profiling. Rather, profiling has been subsumed by many disciplines.

One final comment regarding the expertise involved in the “usage and methodology” of profilers is that studies should be conducted that seek to differentiate the level of expertise among types of crime. This research shows that while there is a specialized knowledge involved in profiling, this knowledge comes from different educational backgrounds, and therefore does not result in expertise that is unique to only profiling. Research questions, for instance, could be formed that seek to answer whether profiling burglars is more successful than profiling done on arsonists. They could also seek to determine whether a profiler, who is assumed to be an expert on every type of crime, is more knowledgeable in the bounds of certain types of crimes. This study would most likely produce very interesting results. However, for this particular study, the literature does suggest that the “usage and methodology” of profilers does not involve a unique expertise that is classically defined within a discipline. It is further argued that the knowledge that exists is based on the understanding and the knowledge that profilers obtain from interviews with criminals and the knowledge of the particular crime scene at hand and the ability to formulate an analysis, and from different educational backgrounds.

Credentialism

Next, Freidson notes the importance of credentialism. Applied to this research, this refers to the process in which one can become a profiler. Egger (1999) and Turvey (2002) argue that this is an important benchmark in professionalization. There is an underlying idea that along with this process, there is some form of certification available that serves to create a barrier for other individuals to enter. This exclusionary practice, as it applies to usage and methodology, implies that credentialism does not exist in

profiling. While the profilers' usage and methodology is often accredited through boards of review in Forensic Science, Psychology, or Counseling, there is not a formal accreditation process available in Profiling. In order for the profiler to be professional then, there has to be other barriers, constraints, and educational regulations available to distinguish them as professional. However, this aspect of Freidson's model will be discussed in much greater detail when "training" is presented, the second category produced through the content analysis. For the purposes of credentialism involving "usage and methodology", though, this author argues that profilers lack credentialism involving the way they use profiling and the methods that they employ to create a profile. Though many profilers have what appears throughout the literature to be a knowledge in crime and criminal behavior, they do not have a form of education, structure, or program that proves an expertise exists by providing some form of certification that allows them to use the methods of profiling that they do use.

Autonomy

Finally, Friedson argues that autonomy is critical to the professionalization process. This refers to the ability to self-govern the profession. Hodson and Sullivan (2002:285) contend that, "Autonomy means that professionals can rely on their own judgment in selecting the relevant knowledge or the appropriate technique for dealing with the problem at hand". This certainly applies to literature concerning the usage and methodology of criminal profiling. For instance, Ressler (1997) and O'Toole (1999) note that the FBI has within its organization a department named the Behavioral Science Unit, which is comprised of profilers. At least some degree of informal autonomy exists, then, from this department. However, when we consider independent profilers, there is a

smaller degree of autonomy concerning usage and methodology, or the way that these typologies are created. At the introduction to this research, the author presented a case in which a psychologist, Paul Britton, clearly went beyond ethical standards in order to try to catch a criminal. Despite an investigation by a board of psychologists, one can argue that even if the board found him guilty and took his license away that deemed him a psychologist, Britton could still be deemed a profiler. The same argument could apply to the case in Canada in which a Dr. Rakoff displayed a lack of ethics in producing a profile of someone he knew nothing about (The Globe and Mail 1995). A comparison can be used by looking at the medical field. If a doctor is found to have administered harmful medications to patients, the AMA could prohibit the doctor from practicing again. However, the independent profilers have yet to create a formal system for governing each other. Turvey (2002) notes, though, that steps are being taken to change this. Turvey was a founder of the Academy of Behavioral Profiling (ABP), which seeks to begin the professionalization process by creating a set of ethical guidelines and practices for profilers. Currently, though, no profilers have a full sense of autonomy. This researcher concurs with the literature that although profilers have an informal sense of autonomy, they don't have a full, formal autonomy, complete with self regulation or rules and ethics. They have a sense of autonomy because they are responsible for forming the necessary decisions and judgments based on their ability to create the profile. However, they don't have a full sense of autonomy because their profiles aren't always viewed as legitimate among professions because they don't have a system that overlooks certain overall ethics, rules, and regulations of profiling that is independent of their social organization. However, this legitimacy appears to exist on some level because literature suggests that

the public forms their perceptions of profiling from movies and TV programs. Though this doesn't present the reality of profiling, nevertheless the popularity of the movies and programs suggests that the public may find profiling somewhat legitimate. Despite this public perception, though, the "usage and methodology" of profilers does not result in a full autonomy because these profilers are subject to the department's rules and regulations (City of Santa Rosa 1997; Town of Jupiter, Florida 2001), rather than rules and regulations formed specifically for profilers. Hence, one could argue that profiling is "semi-autonomous" because full autonomy means that profilers are able to make their own independent decisions. A profiler working for a police department under their guidelines has less autonomy.

In summary, then, this study has shown that the "usage and methodology" employed by profilers does suggest that profilers have expertise, but only in different fields that incorporate profiling. No expertise exists that results from a unique body of knowledge to profiling. Also, this same "usage and methodology" does not have a "proper" form of credentialism because the different crimes that profilers investigate and the ways that they develop typologies does not result from a specific field of profiling similar to the fields required within medical and legal professions. Moreover, this category also suggests that profilers have an informal sense of autonomy, but not enough to be considered professional. To obtain the proper amount of autonomy, profiling most likely needs a board of review that overlooks its "usage and methodology." It is now appropriate to discuss the next thematic category, properly labeled "duties."

DUTIES

The category labeled “duties” stems directly from the twenty job announcements that were reviewed. This category significantly differs from the previous category because the job announcements listed several specific job expectations of the hired worker. Thus, while the fifty articles of literature that focused on the overall use of profiling and the methods that profilers employ, the job announcements each focused on the various chores that profilers would be completing if they were hired.

The duties required by the various law enforcement agencies suggest that there are many similar elements involved in each job, but there are also several key distinctions. One key distinction is the very title of the job itself. For instance, 16 of the job announcements were hiring “Crime Analysts”. The Stillwater Police Department in Oklahoma employs a “Police Psychologist”. The Iowa Department of Personnel was seeking a “Criminalist”. Steilacoom, Washington was looking for a “Forensic Services Manager”. Finally, Amarillo, Texas was in search of an “Investigator Trainee”. Therefore, no agencies were hiring a “Profiler”. In finding an explanation for the avoidance of using the term “Profiler”, one could turn to the work of Goffman, who uses a dramaturgical approach to discuss stigmas that are created. He notes that, “Society establishes the means of categorizing persons and the complement of attributes felt to be ordinary and natural for members of each of these categories” (Goffman 1963:2). Thus, the term “Profiling” may have a stigma attached. Due to the controversial nature of at least racial profiling (Macdonald 2003), law enforcement agencies could very well be reluctant to use the term. Also included in the expected duties are objectives for the hired worker.

Objectives

Other distinctions involved in the job announcements are the main objectives expected if the prospect is hired. For instance, the job announcements all contain information that explicitly states that the worker will be expected to discover and analyze criminal trends, whether these trends derive from the criminal or the crime itself. While this is certainly profiling, only 7 of the job announcements use the specific term “profiling” within their list of duties. Aside from discovering crime patterns, each job announcement lists the requirement of the ability to communicate effectively, both verbally and written. Eleven announcements also note that the worker is to directly consult with other authorities and are subject to the organization’s rules and regulations. Another expectation is that the worker applies “advanced mapping techniques to provide research and analysis at any level of geography and depicts incident frequency or change in crime rate over time” (Metropolitan Police Department: Washington DC)). While this particular job announcement does not specifically state that the worker will use GIS, a geographical mapping program used by many profilers, other job announcements require the worker to be knowledgeable in GIS (City of Lawrence, City of Newport News, City of Salisbury, Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department). The City of Peoria and The City of Lawrence also note that their police departments require the worker to contribute to the grant-writing process. The most important aspect of these duties is that although the title used in the announcement (Police Psychologist, Crime Analyst, Investigator Trainee, etc) doesn’t have a large bearing on whether they conduct profiling, the workers have different duties within each department. These issues will be discussed next when the relation of “duties” and professionalization is presented.

THE LINK TO PROFESSIONALIZATION

Expertise

The category of “duties” can be related to at two of Freidson’s characteristics of professions: expertise and autonomy. Later, this analysis will show how the qualifications/training involved in the job announcements relates to Freidson’s characteristic of credentialism. In regard to expertise, the job announcements assume that the work performed will be the result of some obtained form of expertise. The workers have a wide range of duties that require some form of specialized knowledge. Mainly this involves discovering and analyzing criminal trends. Some of the jobs require an understanding of GIS, the program used in geographical profiling. This suggests that the hired worker will have some level of expertise. As will be presented later, though, this expertise comes from several different fields, but not a field unique to profiling. Aside from these specific duties that relate to profiling such as analyzing crime trends and criminal behavior that have been presented, some of the departments require further work, which can be explained in terms of autonomy.

Autonomy

Once again, autonomy within a profession assumes that the professional has control over his/her judgments and decisions regarding the problems that need to be solved. Through the analysis of the job announcements and the duties that these workers are to perform, it was discovered that profiling was only one of the jobs to be performed. This suggests that profiling does not have a full sense of autonomy because the departments are not hiring workers with only a function of profiling. They are also hiring workers that perform other functions along with profiling. This view of autonomy can

also be seen through the jobs announcements that require the prospective worker to adhere to the department's policies and procedures. Rather than possessing their own rules of ethics, board of review, rules, and regulations that are unique to profiling, the workers have to comply with the department's needs. Therefore, once again, profilers are not fully autonomous in terms of usage & methodology, and now, in terms of the duties they perform. The third category developed, training & qualifications, is discussed next.

TRAINING & QUALIFICATIONS

The category "training and qualifications" was developed to refer to the process in which one becomes a profiler. While Ainsworth (2001:114) notes that there are no classes offered that result in a person becoming a profiler, other literature suggests that there are at least several ways in which people can gain the necessary knowledge to become a profiler. For example, Kocsis et al note that, "It remains fair to say that the most internationally renowned program for training psychological profilers is that conducted at the FBI Academy in Quantico, Virginia by members of the FBI's Behavioral Science Unit (BSU)" (Kocsis et al 2000:311). In total, thirty-four articles of literature cited the BSU as a training site for profilers. Rosen (1997) adds that many of these profilers such as John Douglas were trained by studying Applied Criminal Psychology. Some select students of law have had the opportunity to attend and receive training from within the BSU. Other profilers within the US that work with law enforcement agencies appear to use their educational background as grounds for becoming a profiler within the agency, rather than a formal training. Furthermore, there is a discrepancy in regard to the training process that results from the readings. While two authors cited the one-year training program (Moor 1998; Bosworth 1999), Mandel

(1998) and Miranda (1998) discuss a two-year training program within the FBI. This suggests that there are different levels of training available within the Behavioral Science Unit.

Though the names of the courses differ somewhat, nevertheless, several authors cite the importance of an understanding of some criminal behavior aspect in psychology as an important area of study (Jarvis 1997; Klump 1997; Egger 1999; Theoharris 1999; Kocsis et al 2000). For instance, Egger (1999) and Jarvis (1997) offer that masters and doctoral degrees are offered in investigative psychology at the University of Liverpool. Less specifically, Klump (1997) notes that courses are taught in criminal behavior through criminal justice programs in the US, Canada, Britain, and elsewhere. Theoharris (1999) adds that these programs should offer knowledge in criminalistics, medicolegal death investigation, and psychology.

The job announcements, however, reveal many different qualifications necessary within each department. Newport News, Virginia requires an equivalent to a bachelors in fields related to Criminal Justice, with a knowledge in research and statistics. Peoria, Arizona desires knowledge of crime statistics and criminal theory. Santa Rosa will accept applications from degrees in Criminal Justice, Statistics, and Public or Business Administration. Santa Rosa also requires analytical experience with another agency. The Crime Analyst hired in Santa Rosa must be accredited with a Crime and Intelligence Analysis Certificate. Corpus Christi, Texas will hire someone with a degree in Criminal Justice, Computer Science, or Math. Salisbury, North Carolina wants a degree in Information Technology. Adding to the variety of degrees accepted is the police department in Delta, British Columbia, that will accept degrees in Political Science,

Geography, Sociology, Criminology, and Criminal Justice. Amarillo, Texas will hire the Investigator Trainee even without a bachelor's degree as long as it is replaced with experience. Finally, only two agencies require more education than a bachelor's degree. Steilacoom, Washington was hiring a Forensic Services Manager and required a doctoral degree in Psychology with a state license to practice and two years of post-degree practice. In Washington DC, the Metropolitan Police Department requires its Crime Analyst to have two years of graduate study. However, if the prospect has one year of specialized service, he or she will still be considered. These qualifications provide much analysis, which is discussed next.

THE LINK TO PROFESSIONALIZATION

Expertise

We can relate this category of “training” to Freidson’s model as well. In viewing expertise, it is important to view the authors’ perspective of what constitutes expertise. Although none of the authors use this direct term, they all directly concern themselves with the characteristics necessary to become a good profiler. Furthermore, several authors that have been mentioned above provide the necessary background for a profiler to obtain. This suggests that expertise, at least at some basic form, can be achieved. Not including the job announcements, the literature suggests that expertise can be obtained through some form of criminal behavioral study. This can be seen throughout countries outside of the US as well. By and large, according to the articles of the literature that suggested these classes, the authors appear to believe that these classes produce a certain “expertise” among the students that allows them to become profilers. Further research could be directed to locating the most effective forms of training. It could be that the

psychology background is the most important element of profiling according to the fifty articles of literature reviewed.

When the job announcements are considered, however, it appears that the necessary degrees accepted do not have to be in only Psychology. In fact, only the California Employment Development Department even mentions Psychology as a field accepted to be a Crime Analyst. The Stillwater Police Department hires a Police Psychologist to conduct much of its profiling, and Steilacoom, Washington requires a doctoral degree in Psychology in order to be its Forensic Services Manager. If the Crime Analyst positions are reviewed, one finds that out of the twenty departments reviewed, twelve different bachelor's degrees are accepted. This is crucial evidence that while some level of expertise exists, there is not an expertise that is unique to only profiling. No degrees are offered that are central to profiling. Moreover, this knowledge gained by job prospects is most often not the result of an extended education that Freidson (1984) finds to be a crucial component to professions. It is most often the result of a bachelor's degree. Finally, even these bachelor's degrees can often be replaced with analytical experience (Town of Jupiter FL; Amarillo, TX; Renton, WA).

In summary, the "training and qualifications" category developed from the literature suggests that expertise exists on some level, but not at a professional level. While the literature shows that the proper educational background usually results from some sort of degree in psychology, the job announcements show that several degrees are acceptable. But expertise rarely exists in professional terms, because very few departments require anything beyond a bachelor's degree and these degrees are not central to profiling. For profilers to be considered complete experts, this researcher

argues that a “program” must be developed in universities that centers around only profiling. This will no doubt include elements of different fields, but it is necessary to merge these in order for profilers to be considered experts according to the “training” they have received. The same process of professionalization can be seen in fields of law and medicine.

Credentialism

“Training and Qualifications” also directly concerns itself with Freidson’s second aspect of professionalization, which is credentialism. Once an expertise is gained through the proper study, this knowledge can be passed down through the form of university education that was discussed earlier. The problem that arises with psychological profiling, though, was described earlier by Ainsworth (2001). Although courses are offered that provide the necessary expertise specific to some fields, there is no expertise provided to only profilers. Also, to the author’s knowledge, there is no form of certification available to deem one a profiler. To be considered professional within Freidson’s model, this certification must exist. Many authors presented profilers as properly trained and capable profilers. Curphey (2002) notes that both training and certification can be accomplished in the field of forensic science in Britain, which she specifically describes as “professional”. She also makes the argument that these forensic scientists can become profilers, which in her argument makes profilers professional because of their certification in forensic science. Should this really deem a profiler professional? Surely there is more to profiling than the sole use of forensic science. This same argument can be seen by the job announcement provided by the California Employment Development Department, which states that a Crime Analyst must be

certified. While Crime Analysts do conduct profiling, it is not their only duty. As for the “training” link to credentialism, then, this is by far the major barrier to profiling from being considered a profession. This research shows that the proper “training” that leads to expertise in different fields must also exist in a field unique to profiling and that these forms of training and qualifications necessary must be the result of an accreditation process unique to only profiling.

Autonomy

Next, Freidson considers autonomy the last benchmark for a profession. After expertise is gained and credentialism is created, the process should lead to autonomy where the field becomes self-regulated. So, does this “training” process create autonomy? The answer to this inquiry may vary. If one begins by looking at only the FBI, he or she can view the organization as at least semi-autonomous. To be fully autonomous, the FBI would need some form of external control. Though Congress does have this power to regulate, the FBI currently appears to be controlled internally. Therefore, profilers within the FBI are controlled internally and could be considered semi-autonomous. The key components of this autonomy are power and authority (Freidson 1984). The organizations must be able to form their own judgments and decisions. All profilers, then, have at least some degree of autonomy. Independent profilers even could be argued to have this degree of autonomy because they are responsible for the profiles they create. However, to be fully autonomous there must be some form of punishment within the system of profiling in cases where the profiler has damaged the investigation, or the accused. In regard to independent profilers, we saw earlier that Turvey (2002) has mentioned the creation of the Academy of Behavioral

Profiling (ABP). If the ABP at some point could in some way become the governing body of profilers, the use of profiling could then be said to be autonomous, as long as this is coupled with a certification process and an expertise that is a result of an extended education unique to profiling. So, for the “Training and Qualifications” involved in profiling, this study again shows that autonomy doesn’t fully exist. Though the ABP has been developed, all properly trained individuals would have to adhere to its standards. Currently, this isn’t the case.

In conclusion, then, the category of “Training and Qualifications” has not achieved the proper expertise necessary, and the author here suggests that this training must be more uniform and structured in regard to the educational programs that are offered to become a profiler. The current training and qualifications do not result in the necessary credentialism for an occupation to turn into a profession. Profiling needs a uniform certification process. Finally, full autonomy also does not result from the training and qualifications process as of today. A board of review, in the classical sense, is necessary for this to happen. As of today, the training and qualifications only result in semi-autonomy because, once this training is completed, profilers do have the opportunity to conduct profiling within police agencies. However, they need an overseer to the process and a profession that limits its responsibilities to only profiling. Finally, this study will consider the last category created, “success”. Numerous themes will be described in this section.

SUCCESS

In this final category, the author considers an overall theme of “success” within the literature. This term carries with it many references. To begin, many authors

considered ways in which success of profilers should be measured (Tendler 1993; Bennetto 1995; Moor 1998). This resulted in two different approaches: 1) success as a measurement of catching the offender and 2) success as a measurement of narrowing the investigation. These two measurements are considered first.

Five authors measured the success of psychological profiling in terms of whether the profile led to the arrest of that suspect (Beech 1995; Vedantam 1996; Smith and Guillen 2001; Cowan 2002; Lehrer 2002). Smith and Guillen (2001) examined the profile of the Green River killer, Gary Ridgeway. They note that the profile did fit the description of Ridgeway, but this profile created by John Douglas was one of the few cases where profiling was successful. Cowan (2002) and Lehrer (2002) also believe that profiling is, in an overall sense, unsuccessful because it doesn't lead to the apprehension of the offender very often. Beech (1995) further suggests that not only do these profiles not lead to the apprehension of the suspect, but the process of profiling doesn't even tell the audience information that they couldn't figure out on their own. If the profiles do fit the description of the offender, it may still take eighteen years to catch him, as was the case with Ted Kaczynski (Vedantam 1996). Breed (2005) also notes that the apprehension of Rader, the BTK serial murderer caught in Wichita, took 30 years. It is important to note that these authors all write in a newspaper rather than published articles or books. The authors who appear to have investigated profiling in more depth describe the measurement of success differently. These authors contend that a different measurement must be used to rate the success of profiling. They believe that profiling should be assessed in terms of how well it helps the investigation by narrowing the list of possible suspects (Douglas et al 1986; O'Toole 1995; Egger 1999; Theoharris 1999;

Kocis et al 2000; Kapardis and Krambia-Kapardis 2004). However, the arguments presented by some newspapers that profiling is unsuccessful do make valid and blunt arguments that are worth noting. For example, Cowan (2002) offers an interesting perspective. Referring to the sniper attacks, Cowan commented, "Profiling may help investigators to get into the mind of the Washington sniper, but if history is any guide, whoever it is may already be their own worst enemy" (Cowan 2002:1). Cowan is then arguing that profiling isn't what apprehends the suspect, but rather a mistake by the offender leads to the apprehension.

Another way of measuring success in the authors' perspectives is in terms of the characteristics inherent in a successful profiler. For example, Toufexis (1991) argues that a profiler's ability is the result of experience and research. Rosen (1997) says that experience and intuition are the important characteristics. Klump (1997) adds training as another feature. Although Kocsis et al (2000) do not believe experience is critical based on a qualitative study, they do believe the important components are a knowledge of criminal psychology, logical thinking, and intuition. Finally, members or former members of the FBI cite the importance of characteristics such as intuition, brainstorming, educated guesswork, and viewing the crime from the offender's perspective (Ressler et al 1980; Douglas et al 1986; O'Toole 1995). The job postings overwhelmingly suggest that rather than some of these more inherent characteristics, a successful employee will have knowledge in crime trends and patterns. They will also often have knowledge in statistical and methodical procedures.

Finally, authors measure success in terms of the methodology discussed earlier. Ainsworth (2001), for instance, believes that the FBI's method involved in creating

profiles is not scientific because there is no reliability and validity check. He argues that Canter (the profiler in Britain mentioned earlier) is much more scientific because he employs good methodology based on the availability of his methods and use of statistics. Godwin and Canter (1997) add that the US has too many unsolved murders based on poor methodology because they do not make enough use out of existing statistics. This study has shown through the review of job postings, however, that police departments hiring workers who conduct profiling are required to make use of these statistics.

THE LINK TO PROFESSIONALIZATION

Expertise

Once again, we now link these viewpoints of “success” in terms of Friedson’s model of professionalization. In regard to expertise, we consider how this view of success relates to a specialized knowledge. It was noted earlier the components necessary to be a successful profiler. In terms of expertise, then, and merging the perspectives of the authors, we find that this expertise can be gained through a psychological background and possibly some form of training. However, Bennetto (1995) reminds us that Canter, considered to be an expert himself, finds expertise very difficult to measure. Also, several authors stated the importance that experience plays in the development of expertise (Ressler et al 1980; Bennetto 1995; O’Toole 1995). Finally, many argue that expertise in psychological profiling also rests on intuition (O’Toole 1995; Rosen 1997; Kocsis et al 2000). Intuition and experience, though, appear to be characteristics that aren’t necessarily taught.

For purposes here, the author concurs in part with the literature on “success”. It is argued that the best way to measure success is in terms of how the profiling process

helped to narrow down the list of possible suspects, rather than if the process pinpointed the actual offender. For a profiler to be considered an expert, then, this study is firmly grounded in the argument that the “success” of the profile must be measured in some standard way. Therefore, when a profile is created and if the offender responsible is later apprehended, success must be measured by noting whether or not the profile limited the scope of investigation significantly. If not, and this occurs time and again with a particular profiler, the profiler should not be considered an expert, nor should he or she be employed. Furthermore, it is argued that the necessary features of “success” in regard to expertise are the proper educational background that has been discussed along with the ability to think like a criminal, and profilers must have logic and intuition. The job postings, though, note that successful profilers are those who are able to employ statistical and methodical works to develop crime trends and patterns. Further, the job postings show that proper backgrounds, again, come from a variety of sources. This is the most damning evidence that the link of “success” to expertise does not exist because the expertise that leads to success does not exist in a fashion uniform and unique to profiling.

Credentialism

Next, credentialism and its relation to the authors’ perspectives of “success” are considered. Once again, if a view of training as one of the main backdrops of credentialism is taken, one sees from the literature that studies in psychological behavior are necessary. Godwin and Canter (1997) also note the importance of training in methodology. They argue that a properly trained profiler will employ peer-reviewed studies and they will base their profiles on the use of statistical procedures. Some of the

authors who argue this are Prentiss (1993), Tandler (1993), and Ainsworth (2001).

However, once again, when we consider credentialism we must concern ourselves with how one becomes a profiler. Nearly every author avoided this aspect of credentialism in their account of “success”, with the exception of Turvey (2002). He maintains that for profiling to move forward as a profession, it is at the utmost importance that profiling becomes much more standardized. One of the steps involved in this is certification.

The author here does not view this category of “success” as contributing to the proper credentialism explained by Friedson. First, we must consider a couple of the components necessary to be considered successful as a profiler, logic and intuition. If these are not attributes that are taught in some way, then the components probably can’t be components that qualify profilers as professional. More is needed than these two components. Further, more is needed than the proper educational background. One sees through the job announcements that these educational backgrounds are accepted from a wide variety of degrees. It is argued once again, that this category of “success” does not result in credentialism. Even if the literature suggests that profiling can be successful in terms of limiting the investigation, a process of certification is necessary to be considered fully professional.

Autonomy

Finally we consider the link between autonomy and the category of “success”. Within autonomy, we find that the profession must be self-regulated and the profession must form its own judgments and decisions. However, it is important to note that autonomy can be limited as a result of bureaucratic rules (Hodson and Sullivan 2002:205). The reader must remember that there are two general ways of measuring

success of psychological profiling: 1) a success which is measured by whether or not the actual offender fits the profile and is caught as a result of that profile, and 2) a success which is measured by how much assistance the profile gave to the police. The latter has more leniency, but is also much harder to measure statistically. Let's consider the example of Paul Britton once more. Colin Stagg, the man who Britton believed was responsible for the death of Rachel Nickell, either committed the murder or he didn't. Britton compiled damaging evidence that he did. However, his autonomy was limited by the judge who found his method of profiling to be unethical. Hence, the profiling done by Britton was deemed unsuccessful. Had the judge allowed the evidence, Britton's profile would have been considered successful in terms of how his profile helped narrow the investigation.¹ Therefore, this author argues that the profiling process in terms of "success" does not result in autonomy for profilers. This "success" should be measured by a board that overlooks and regulates profilers. No board, as of today, exists. Now that the content analysis has been discussed, it is necessary to summarize what was found through the literature so that these findings can be efficiently summarized. The author summarizes this by integrating the four thematic groupings of "usage and methodology", "duties", "training & qualifications", and "success" that were developed into Friedson's model of professionalization.

SUMMARY

First, the author considers expertise. A view of expertise as an abstract, specialized knowledge is taken. In this study, from the literature, the author developed four thematic elements that were intended to show whether or not profilers can fit into

¹ The author has made several references to Mr. Britton not to criticize him, but rather to display what we can learn through the mistakes that we are never told about in criminal profiling.

this definition of expertise. The first grouping was usage and methodology. According to the literature, there are many uses involved in psychological profiling. These include burglaries, murder, arson, rape, fraud, hostage taking, letter analysis, and even profiling that works within schools and analyzing world leaders. Within these uses, profilers should use the same methodology for each profile. It is widely accepted that the deductive method be used where the profiler should move from the general aspects of the crime to the specifics. The author also argues that the best methodology includes statistical analysis and also includes peer-reviews. Further, the author argues that studies should be conducted that differentiate the expertise among the various uses of profiling. For example, it is possible that a profiler may have more expertise in an investigation involving serial murder than he or she would in one involving fraud. There is not enough literature existing today that amply achieves this. The study might be hindered by the secretive nature of profiling and the difficulty of measuring the success as a result of this secretive nature. Overall, expertise does not result from “usage and methodology” that profilers use. Though there may be a perception of expertise found through only reviewing the literature, a more formal expertise is needed in order for profiling to be viewed as professional. This is most notable after reviewing the job announcements. This expertise involved in the “usage and methodology” would have to be the knowledge applied resulting from a specialized knowledge that is unique to only profiling. Currently, the knowledge that profilers employ from this category is not the result of a knowledge central to only profiling.

The second thematic category developed in order to measure expertise was “duties.” This category was developed from the job announcements. The category

showed that the various jobs given to profilers suggest that although certain levels of expertise are attained, this expertise comes from a variety of educational levels, but no educational degrees of profiling are available. Further, these degrees would have to require more than just a Bachelor's degree. Thus, this expertise is not a specialized knowledge unique to the discipline of profiling.

The next element of expertise considered was "training and qualifications". The author here was concerned whether or not the literature suggests that training played a vital role in developing an expertise in profiling. By and large, the authors argued that experts in profiling do exist, and, therefore, training can be accomplished that passes on this expertise. However, this training mostly exists with an understanding of criminal behavior from a psychological background according to the articles of literature reviewed. The job postings suggest that the reality of trained profilers is that degrees vary strongly and that psychology is only one of many degrees accepted. The disappointing element according to the literature and the job postings is that there are no programs available that result in this student becoming a certified profiler, which is discussed in the next aspect of professionalization. Serving the purpose of this view of expertise, nearly every article reviewed that many profilers do have at least some level of expertise in result of the proper training, but that this expertise is not central to profiling. Rather, it is an expertise that comes from several different areas, not including an area of profiling. Furthermore, it has been suggested that the training become more uniform in order for a more uniform expertise to be developed.

Finally, a review of literature concerning success and how it fit into the model of expertise was presented. The articles contained information that overwhelmingly

suggests that successful profilers, or experts, have the proper background, intuition, and these profilers must think from a criminal's perspective. Experience appears to play a vital role also when considering expertise. Most certainly this experience involves a role within law enforcement. This view of success relates to legitimacy. The authors mostly view the process of profiling as legitimate. The author further suggests that the "success" of profiling be measured only in terms of how the profiling process helped to limit the investigation. If this is deemed successful, then the profiler provided a sense of expertise.

The next stage of Freidson's model of professionalization is "credentialism", which refers to the training process. This stage suggests that there is some form of certification available that prohibits some people from becoming the proper expert in their field. The key area to this stage is the training process. It has been shown several times now what type of training profilers should have (the proper education, experience, etc), but what is lacking in profiling is a process of certification. In this instance, no type of profiling could be considered professional because today anyone could become a profiler. The job postings only solidify this point. Only one author really concerned himself with this aspect of professionalization. Turvey (2002) calls for this certification by demanding that a process be put in place. Though he is a co-founder of the ABP, there is yet to be a certification process to be constructed. Until this happens, no professionalism will exist, at least in Friedson's model, or in many other models for that matter. It is not enough to rely on the characteristics of "success" where profilers are expected to have the proper background, experience, logic, and intuition.

The last stage of Freidson's model of professionalization is autonomy. This refers to the ability for the profession to be self-governed. If only Hodson and Sullivan's

(2002) view of autonomy is considered, then profilers could be seen as autonomous. They suggest that autonomy exists when a professional has the power to form one's own decisions and techniques. Profilers do have this power at first. They are able to employ their own methods of inquiry. However, they're not completely self-governed because no system has been developed that ensures the profilers adhere to certain ethics, rules, and regulations. Further, the job postings show that currently many of the hired workers that profile are subject to the police department's rules of conduct. They do not have their own set of regulations. In summary, Freidson's model of professionalization is not fulfilled through profiling at any level: expertise, credentialism, and autonomy. This will be further discussed in the next chapter, which this author turns to next.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

This study has looked at profiling and the process of professionalization. The author has studied whether or not there is a level of professionalism, and if not, whether there is a current movement towards professionalization. This study relies on a content analysis based on 50 articles of literature including books, magazines, journals, and newspapers. Further, the author analyzed 20 job announcements to investigate the current level of professionalism among profilers. The literature shows that, currently, there is no consistent level of professionalism among profilers. Furthermore, there appears to be no movement towards professionalization. The literature shows that several things must happen in order for profilers to professionalize. First and foremost, there is not a standardized, unique expertise central to profiling. The job announcements showed that profilers are accepted within police departments by possessing knowledge in many different areas, but currently there are no specific degrees whatsoever that involve only profiling. While different fields of study incorporate aspects of profiling, the focus of the degree is not profiling. In order for expertise to exist, this has to happen. To be considered professional, the level of expertise that exists according to the literature would have to be more specialized. Second, professionalism implies that some level of

credentialism has been attained. This is usually achieved by certifying those who are properly trained, or some other form of licensing. Because profiling has no standardized knowledge, there is also no form of certification for profilers. Although there are certifications for areas that incorporate profiling, no certification or licensing process exists that is central to profiling. There must be a certification process for professionalization to take hold. When looking at the training and qualifications of profilers, one sees that both the articles of literature and the job announcements show that this process doesn't exist. Though training is done at the FBI, the process does not lead to certification and the training varies by length, suggesting that the training occurs at different levels. Third, profilers do not have the level of autonomy that is needed to professionalize. Though profilers have a sense of autonomy in that they are able to create profiles using their own techniques, they are many times subject to the police departments' rules and regulations, as was seen by reviewing the job announcements. One of the major obstacles to professionalization are bureaucratic rules and regulations (Hodson and Sullivan 2002). Further, these profilers have duties within the departments that differ across departments, which also hinders professionalization. In order to professionalize, a board of review that overlooks the uses, methods, ethics, rules, and regulations of profilers needs to be put in place.

This study has shown that profiling cannot be considered professional, at least as it is defined in this research. Is there movement towards professionazation? For the most part, it could be argued that there is not a movement. One can see this by looking at Freidson's three benchmarks for professions. First, no movement has taken hold to centralize expertise. No university programs, at least within the U.S., have been

developed that are central to profiling. In Britain, there is a master's program available in Investigative Psychology, but this appears to be the only program available. Profilers in the U.S. are still accepted with merely bachelor's degrees ranging from Criminal Justice to Public or Business Administration to Sociology to other fields as well. So, while fields central to profiling are not necessary, either is an extended education. This shows no movement towards professionalization. Second, very little movement has taken place to provide profilers with the necessary credentials to be considered professional. Although one job announcement requires their Crime Analyst to be certified, this is the only position that requires such. Further, this certification is, once again, not focused on profiling. This shows very little movement towards credentialism, if any. Third, there appears to be very little movement to create autonomy within profiling. Though the ABP exists, currently profilers do not have to adhere to its policies. Rather, most of them still have to adhere to the police departments' policies. Though the creation of the ABP shows some movement, it doesn't appear that this board is making successful strides to professionalize. One may ask why this movement isn't taking place. There are relevant reasons as to why this is not occurring, which is discussed next.

By now the reader is aware that according to the definition of professionalization provided in this research, profilers are not considered professionals. Moreover, the reader should also be aware that there is no movement towards a professionalization of profiling, even if profilers are professional in other fields, such as Psychology. To begin, one could consider why occupations should become professional. The manifest function of becoming professional is that the process enhances knowledge. Not only does the process enhance knowledge, but it also standardizes knowledge. Given this valuable

reason to become professional, why isn't a movement occurring? There are several valid reasons for this. To start, a personal conversation with a Police Psychologist suggests that by demanding a process of certification for profilers, many qualified and experienced experts would no longer be qualified to profile. This suggests that expertise can exist without the necessary credentials. Surely, there is logic to this argument. One could look back to where psychological profiling began in the U.S. Brussel, a psychologist, had an expertise that resulted from his experiences with many patients. Due to an expertise of human behavior he was able to understand the behaviors and likely characteristics of George Metesky, the "Mad Bomber." He wasn't a certified profiler, yet he had an expert knowledge that led to the arrest of the suspect. On the flip side, if a certification process exists and profilers obtain the necessary credentials, does this automatically deem them experts? The literature reviewed highly suggested that experience plays a major role in becoming a successful profiler. So, if a certification process takes hold, this process doesn't necessarily include experience, which is a valuable asset to a profiler. Most certainly, this applies to other fields as well. Finally, concerning autonomy, it could be argued that profilers should remain to be subject to the police department's rules, regulations, ethics, and procedures, rather than their own set of guidelines. This makes the department's expectations more uniform. While this research shows that, currently, there is no movement towards professionalization, there are limitations to this study that future research could help to strengthen and solidify the literature on the professionalization of profiling.

LIMITATIONS TO THE STUDY

This study consists of several limitations. One limitation to this study involves the methodology that was used. Generalizing information regarding the professionalization of profiling proved to be a difficult task because very little literature exists that covers the topic. Because this literature is lacking, the author chose to investigate literature that only focuses on profiling as a whole rather than only the professionalization of profiling. The research process began by investigating only the 50 articles of literature discussed, but later it became relevant to also study job announcements. While these announcements provide much more strength to the position that little movement exists in the professionalization of profiling, in the future, more announcements must be analyzed. This task was also hindered by the fact that police departments aren't hiring Profilers, but rather they are seeking Crime Analysts, Investigative Trainees, Police Psychologists, and so on.

Another limitation that may exist to this study is the use of the categories created through the content analysis. There are possibly other categories that could have been beneficial to this study. Although the author argues that these categories sufficiently covered the many different themes involved in the literature reviewed, other researchers may find that these categories don't adequately consider all of the themes. Further, these researchers may find that there are simply more themes than this author considered.

A third limitation to this study is that the research does not include the perspective of profilers in regard to their attitude towards the professionalization of profiling. Although the author conversed with one Police Psychologist, many other interviews would be necessary in order to arrive at any generalizations. These perspectives are

important, but appear to be fairly difficult to obtain. Although this study included the perspectives of several profilers by reviewing literature they have presented, this focus does not cover their attitude towards professionalization.

A fourth limitation to this study involves the theoretical position this study takes. Though Eliot Freidson's model is a classical model of professionalization and involves most of the components of other models of professionalization, it could be argued that a different model would also be beneficial. An example of another model that could be used would be a postmodern position that views professionalization as a hindrance to occupations. While this study focused on professionalization as an important step in advancing knowledge, others may see professionalization as a barrier that prohibits many qualified workers. Other research has shown that ethics may be an important component to the professionalization model (Hodson & Sullivan 2002). Ethics could be a very important issue specifically within the profiling field.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

One suggestion for future research is that the research could be more focused on specific types of psychological profiling. It could be that a certain level of expertise is more prevalent in, for example, cases of arson. Surely, there is a very different approach to identifying arsonists than rapists. This research did not adequately cover these differences, so future research could contribute strongly in that area. A second suggestion is that future research could use a different approach to professionalization as a whole. Listed as a possible limitation, the model used in this research implies that professionalization is beneficial to society. Future research could identify the advantages that exist to keep profiling from becoming professional. A third suggestion is that future

research could employ a different methodology. It is suggested that future research obtains the perspectives of profilers regarding their attitudes involving professionalization by conducting interviews with them. Though obtaining these interviews could become problematic, the research would be enormously strengthened with this approach. Finally, future research should focus on other types of profiling as well, such as geographical and racial profiling. This study focused on psychological profiling, but future research could focus on another type. It may be that there are more elements of professionalism in, for example, geographical profiling. By studying these different types, a more comprehensive understanding could be gained about profiling as a whole.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ainsworth, Peter B. 2001. *Offender Profiling and Crime Analysis*. Portland, OR: Willan Publishing.
- Assuras, Thalia. 2001. "Analysis: Psychology of a Terrorist." *CBS News: The Saturday Early Show*, December 1.
- Babbie, Earl. 1998. *The Practice of Social Research*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co.
- Baker, Stephen A. 1995. *Effects of Law Enforcement Accreditation*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
- Barnes, Scottie. 2002. "Profile a Killer." *Geospatial Solutions* 12:10.
- Bazon, David L. 1990. "Solving the Nightmare of Crime" in *Taking Sides* edited by Kurt Finsterbusch and George McKenna. Guilford, CT: Dushkin Publishing Group.
- Beech, Anthony. 1995. "Offender Profiling." *Journal of Mental Health* 4:5-8.
- Bennetto, Jason. 1995. "Police Arm Themselves with New Psychology." *The Independent*, May 1, 5.
- Bernard, Thomas J. and George B. Vold. 1986. *Theoretical Criminology*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Bevin, Edith. 2002. "Reaching into the Mind of a Killer." *Northern Territory*, January 24, 11.
- Bosworth, Charles. 1999. "Woman Commands State Police District." *St Louis Post*, February 19, B1.
- Breed, Allen G. 2005. "Serial Killers Break the Stereotypes." *Tulsa World*, March 6, A10.
- California Employment Development Department. 1999. "Labor Market Information." CA, Retrieved February 4, 2005. (<http://www.calmis.cahwnet.gov/file/occguides/CRIMANLT.HTM>).
- Campbell, John H. and Don DeNevi. 2004. *Profilers*. Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books.

- CAMSLab Mailing List Archives. 2000. "City Job Opening." Corpus Christi, TX, Retrieved February 4, 2005.
(<http://www.sci.tamucc.edu/~mailarch/csclub/2000/msg00580.html>).
- Chaddock, Gail R. 2000. "A Radical Step for School Safety: Districts Begin to Use Psychological Profiles of Students." *Christian Monitor*, January 13, 1.
- City of Fullerton. 2002. "Crime Analyst." Fullerton, CA, Retrieved February 4, 2005.
(<http://www.cityoffullerton.com/personnel/descriptions/crimeanalyst.html>).
- City of Lawrence. "Employee Job Listing." Lawrence, MA, Retrieved February 4, 2005.
(<http://www.ci.lawrence.ma.us/JobPostings/CrimeOrDisorderAnalyst.asp>).
- City of Newport News. 2005. "Crime Analyst." Newport News, VA, Retrieved February 4, 2005.
(<http://jobsearch.monster.com/getjob.asp>).
- City of Omaha. 1994. "City of Omaha Class Specification: Crime Analyst." Omaha, NE, Retrieved February 5, 2005.
(http://www.ci.omaha.ne.us/personnel/archive/class_specs/a-c/crime_analyst-2250.htm).
- City of Peoria. 2005. "Job Description: Crime Analyst." Peoria, AZ, Retrieved February 4, 2005.
(http://www.peoriaaz.com/Jobs/Descriptions/JIMS/crime_analyst_j.htm).
- City of Salisbury. "Crime Analyst." Salisbury, NC, Retrieved February 4, 2005.
(<http://www.salisburync.org/hr/JobDesc>).
- City of Santa Rosa. 1997. "Job Description: Crime Analyst." Santa Rosa, CA, Retrieved February 3, 2005.
(<http://ci.santa-rosa.ca.us/hu/jobs/3336.asp>).
- Clark, Lee and James Short. 1993. "Social Organization and Risk: Some Current Controversies." *Annual Review of Sociology* 19: 375-399.
- Cole, David. 2001. "Profiles in Policing" *Diversity Factor*, Retrieved July 5, 2004 Available: Ebsochost.
- Comack, E. 1985. "The Origins of Canadian Drug Legislation: Labelling Versus Class Analysis" in *The New Criminologists in Canada*, edited by T. Fleming. Toronto, CA: Oxford University Press.
- Cowan, Lee. 2002. "Psychological Profiling Does Not Catch Killers." *CBS Evening*

News with Dan Rather, Oct. 15.

- Crace, John. 1995. "Inside the Criminal Mind." *New Statesman & Society*, Feb 17, pp. 29.
- Curphey, Marianne. 2002. "Rise – Set Course – Psychological Profiling." *The Guardian* 5.
- Delta Police Department. "Posting for Crime Analyst Position." Delta, BC, Retrieved February 4, 2005.
(<http://www.police.delta.bc.ca/Pages/Crimeanalyst.html>).
- Douglas, John E., Robert K. Ressler, Ann W. Burgess, and Carol R. Hartman. 1986. "Criminal Profiling From Crime Scene Analysis." Pp. 13-33 in *Profilers*, edited by John H. Campbell and Don DeNeve. Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books.
- Doyle, Arthur C. 2004. *Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*. New York, NY: CRW Publishing.
- DSHS-Special Commitment Center. "Forensic Services Manager." Steilacoom, WA, Retrieved February 4, 2005.
(<http://jobsearch.monster.com/getjob.asp>).
- Dynes, Russell R. 1993. "Disaster Reduction: The Importance of Adequate Assumptions About Social Organization." *Sociological Spectrum* 13: 175-192.
- Egger, Steven A. 1999. "Psychological Profiling." *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 15:242-261.
- Etzioni, Amitai. 1964. *Modern Organizations*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Fort Lauderdale Police Department. "Employment: Crime Analyst." Fort Lauderdale, FL, Retrieved February 4, 2005.
(<http://www.fortlauderdale.gov/police/empcau.html>).
- Foucault, Michel. 1977. *Discipline and Punish*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.
- Freidson, Eliot. 1984. "Are Professions Necessary?" Pp. 3-27, in *The Authority of Experts*, edited by Thomas Haskell. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Freidson, Eliot. 1986. *Professional Powers: A Study of the Institutionalization of Formal Knowledge*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Friedman, Lawrence M. 1993. *Crime and Punishment in American History*. New York, NY: BasicBooks.

- Galliher, John F. and Allynn Walker. 2003. "The Puzzle of the Social Origins of the Marihuana Tax Act of 1937" in *A Search for the Origins of Law*, edited by John Galliher. Boston, MA: Pearson Custom Publishing.
- Garcia, Sabrina and Margaret Henderson. 1999. "Blind Reporting of Sexual Violence." *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin* 6:12-16.
- Glasser, Jeff. 2002. "Lessons Learned; Massive Police Investigations Rarely Go Smoothly; The Frantic Search for the Sniper Was No Exception." *US News & World Report*, November 4, 31.
- Globe and Mail*. 1997. "Study Not Actual Psychological Profile." August 26, A5.
- Godwin, Maurice and David Canter. 1997. "Encounter and Death: The Spatial Behavior of US Killers." *Policing* 20:24.
- Goffman, Erving. 1963. *Stigma*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster Inc.
- Goode, Erich and Nachman Ben-Yehuda. 1994. *Moral Panics: The Social Construction Of Deviance*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, Inc.
- Gratix, Everett. 1993. "When Men Become Monsters." *Alberta Report*, April 5, 27.
- Greenwood, Ernest. 1966. "The Elements of Professionalization" Pp.9-19 in *Professionalization*, edited by Howard Vollmer and Donald Mills. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Gribben, Mark. 2001. "All About the Salem Witch Trials". Court TV's Crime Library, Retrieved July 15, 2004. (http://www.crimelibrary.com/notorious.murders/not_guilty/salem_witches/4.html?sect+14).
- Gross, Hans. 1924. *Criminal Investigation*. London: Sweet and Maxwell.
- Groth, A. Nicholas and Anne Burgess and L. Holmstrom. 1977. "Rape, Power, Anger and Sexuality." *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 134:1239-1248.
- Hanson, Christopher. 2003. "Weighing the Costs of a Scoop" *Columbia Journalism Review* 41:34-38.
- Harcourt, Bernard E. 2003. "The Shaping of Chance: Actuarial Models and Criminal Profiling At the Turn of the Twenty-First Century." *The University of Chicago Law Review* 70:105-129.
- Harris, David A. 2002. *Profiles in Injustice*. New York, NY: The New Press.

- Haskell, Thomas S. 1984. *The Authority Experts*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Hazelwood, Robert and P.E. Dietz, and Ann Burgess. 1982. "Sexual Fatalities: Behavioral Reconstruction in Equivocal Cases." *Journal of Forensic Science*, 27:763-773.
- Hester, Stephen and Peter Eglin. 1992. *A Sociology of Crime*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Hillis, John. 2002. "Sniper Coverage Showed Cable News Weaknesses." *Electronic Media* 21:44.
- Hodges, Stan. 2002. *Humanizing the Dead: Ghosts, Spirits and the Role of the Specialists in Spiritualism 1850 to the Present*. Stillwater, OK: Oklahoma State University.
- Hodson, Randy and Teresa A. Sullivan. 2002. *The Social Organization of Work*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Group.
- Innes, Brian. 2003. *Profiling of a Criminal Mind*. Pleasantville, NY: Reader's Digest.
- Jackson, J.A. 1970. *Professions and Professionalization*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Jacoby, Joseph E. 1994. *Classics of Criminology*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, Inc.
- Jarvis, Craig. 1997. "Graduate Student Challenges FBI's Serial Killer Profiles." *Raleigh News & Observer*, March 23, 26A.
- Kapardis, Andreas and Maria Krambia-Kapardis. 2004. "Enhancing Fraud Prevention and Detection by Profiling Fraud Offenders" *Criminal Behavior and Mental Health* 14:189-201.
- Kelland, Kate. 2004. "London Police Hope to Prevent Murders Through Profiling." *National Post*, July 20, A12.
- Kinsley, Michael. 2001. "Ethnic Profiling to Prevent Terrorism is Justified." Pp. 86-88 in *Homeland Security*, edited by James D. Torr. Farmington Hills, MI: Greenhaven Press.
- Klump, Carl. 1997. "Taking Your Clue From the Clues." *Security Management*, September, pp. 123-125.
- Kocsis, Richard N., Harvey J. Irwin, Andrew F. Hayes, and Ronald Nunn. 2000.

- “Expertise in Psychological Profiling: A Comparative Assessment.” *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 15:3.
- Labash, Matt. 2002. “All Blather, All the Time.” *The Weekly Standard*, November 4, pp.9-10.
- LaGessee, David. 2002. “Tracking a Killer to His Lair; Computer Mapping” *US News And World Report*, 5.
- Las Vegas, Nevada Metropolitan Police Department. 2005. “International Association For Identification.” Las Vegas, NV, Retrieved February 4, 2005. (<http://www.theiai.org/jobs/lasvegas.html>).
- Leggatt, T. 1970. “Teaching as a Profession.” Pp. 155-177 in *Professions and Professionalization*, edited by J.A. Jackson. New York, NY: Cambridge Press.
- Lehrer, Eli. 2002. “Profiles In Confusion” *The Weekly Standard*, 8:12.
- Macdonald, Heather. 2003. *Are Cops Racist?* Chicago, IL: Ivan R. Dee.
- Mandel, Charles. “He Sees the Invisible.” *Alberta Report*, 52:21.
- Manning, Peter K. and Betsy Cullum-Swan. 1998. “Narrative, Content, and Semiotic Analysis” in *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*, edited by Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications
- Marshall, Brent K and Steven Picou and Duane Gill. 2003. “Terrorism as Disaster: Selected Commonalities and Long-Term Recovery for 9/11 Survivors.” *Research In Social Problems and Public Policy* 11:73-96.
- Metropolitan Police Department. 2005. “Civilian Position Vacancy Announcement.” Washington, DC, Retrieved February 3, 2005. (http://mpdc.dc.gov/about/employ/FA_0525.shtm).
- Miranda, Charles. 1998. “Profile of a Crime Solver.” *Daily Telegraph*, Pp.17.
- Moor, Keith. 1998. “Profile of a Killer.” *Herald-Sun*, January 3, 10.
- Morris, Chris. 1999. “FBI Tricks Will Help Find Violent Students.” *Toronto Star*, November 22, 1.
- Oklahoma State Courts Network. 2005. “Stop Racial Profiling.” Retrieved February 17, 2005. (<http://www.oscn.net>).
- Omestad, Thomas. 1994. “Psychology and the CIA: Leaders on the Couch.” *Foreign*

Policy, June 22, pp.4

- O'Toole, Mary. 1999. "Criminal Profiling: The FBI Uses Criminal Investigative Analysis to Solve Crimes." *Corrections Today* 61:44.
- Park, Robert and Ernest Burgess and R.D. McKenzie. 1925. *The City*. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.
- Parker, Laura. 2002. "Profiling: Art of the Educated Hunch." *USA Today*, Nov 1, A03.
- Pfohl, Stephen J. 1985. *Images of Deviance and Social Control*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Prentice, Thomson. 1991. "British Association: Psychological Profiling to Help Police Detectives Track Criminals." *The Times*, August 30.
- Prosis, Theodore and Ann Johnson. 2004. "Law Enforcement and Crime on Cops and Wildest Police Videos: Anecdotal Form and the Justification of Racial Profiling" *Western Journal of Communication* 68:72-92.
- Ramirez, Deborah A. and Jennifer Hoopes and Tara Quinlan. 2003. "Defining Racial Profiling in a Post-September 11 World" *The American Criminal Law Review* 1195:40.
- Renton Police Guild. 2002. "Employment: Crime Analyst." Renton, WA, Retrieved February 4, 2005.
(<http://www.ci.renton.was.us/hrrm/crimealy.htm>).
- Ressler, Robert K., John E. Douglas, A. Nicholas Groth, and Ann Wolbert Burgess. 1980. "Offender Profiles: A Multidisciplinary Approach." Pp. 35-39 in *Profilers*, edited by John H. Campbell and Don DeNevi.
- Ressler, Robert K. and Tom Shactman. 1997. *I Have Lived in the Monster*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.
- Risse, Mathias and Richard Zeckhauser. 2004. "Racial Profiling." *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 32:131-171.
- Rosen, Marjorie. 1997. "Getting Inside the Mind of a Serial Killer." *Biography*, 1:10.
- Rossmo, Kim. 2003. "Mapping the Criminal Mind" *The New Scientist*, 47: 178.
- Schmallegger, Frank. 2004. *Criminology Today*. Upper Saddle River, NY: Pearson.
- Shaw, Clifford R. and H. McKay. 1942. *Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

- Smith, Carlton and Tomas Guillen. 2001. "Green River Suspect Fits FBI's Profile." *The Seattle Times*, Dec 16, A1.
- St. Petersburg Job Line. 2002. "Job Announcement." St. Petersburg, FL, Retrieved February 4, 2005.
(<http://www.stpete.org/employee/481.htm>).
- State of Iowa Department of Personnel. 2001. "Criminalist." IA, Retrieved February 4, 2005.
(<http://www.crime-scene-investigator.net/JOBDSO1.html>).
- Stillwater Police Department. "Psychological Services." Stillwater, OK, Retrieved February 8, 2005.
(<http://www.stillwaterpolicedept.org>).
- Sutherland, Edwin H. 1924. *Criminology*. Philadelphia, PA: J.B. Lippincott Co.
- Sutherland, Edwin H. 1940. "White Collar Criminality" pp.20-25 in *Classics of Criminology*, edited by Joseph Jacoby.
- Tendler, Stewart. 1993. "Psychological Profiles Put Detectives in the Picture." *The Times*, January 28.
- Texas Department of Justice. 2005. "Investigator Trainee". Amarillo, TX, Retrieved February 4, 2005.
(<http://jobsearch.monster.com/getjob.asp>).
- Theoharis, Athan. 1999. *The FBI: A Comprehensive Reference Guide*. Phoenix, AZ: Oryx Press.
- Times of India*. 2004. "Getting Inside the Criminal Mind", November 1.
- Torr, James. 2004. *Homeland Security*. San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press.
- Toufexis, Anastasia. 1991. "Mind Games With Monsters." *Time*, May 6.
- Town of Jupiter, Florida. 2001. "Classification Specification." Jupiter, FL, Retrieved February 4, 2005.
- Turner, C. and M.N. Hodge. 1970. "Occupations and Professions" Pp. 17-50 in *Professions and Professionalization*, edited by J.A. Jackson. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Turvey, Brent. 1998. "Deductive Criminal Profiling: Comparing Applied Methodologies Between Inductive and Deductive Criminal Profiling

Techniques.” *Knowledge Solutions Library* , Retrieved February 7, 2005.
(http://www.corpus-delicti.com/Profiling_law.html).

- Turvey, Brent. 2002. *Criminal Profiling: An Introduction to Behavioral Evidence Analysis*. San Diego, CA: Elsevier Science Ltd.
- Tyler, Tom R. and Cheryl J Wakslak. 2004. “Profiling and Police Legitimacy: Procedural Justice, Attributions of Motive, and Acceptance of Police Authority.” *Criminology* 42:253-268.
- Vaughan, Diane. 1997. “The Dark Side of Organizations: Mistake, Misconduct, and Disaster.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 25:271-305.
- Vedantam, Shankara. 1996. “The Clues of a Criminal’s Psyche.” *The News & Observer Raleigh*, April 21, A29.
- Vollmer, Howard M. and Donald L. Mills. 1966. *Professionalization*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Weber, Max. 1958. *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, edited by H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. New York, NY: Galaxy Press.
- Webb, Gary. 2002. “Sociology, Disasters, and Terrorism: Understanding Threats of the New Millennium.” *Sociological Focus* 35:87-95.
- White, Ellen E. 1996. “Profiling Arsonists and Their Motives: An Update” *Fire Engineering* 149:3.
- Winerman, Lea. 2004. “Criminal Profiling: The Reality Behind the Myth.” *Monitor*, 35:7.
- Woodard, Joe. 1997. “An Evil and Seemingly Incurable Habit.” *Alberta Report*, 24:17.
- Xinhua News Agency*. 1999. “HK Police Offer Psychological Service.” August 25, 2.

VITA

Christopher Michael Messer

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Science

Thesis: The Professionalization of Profilers

Major Field: Sociology

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Overland Park, Kansas, On October 19, 1979, the son of Bob and Sonja Messer.

Education: Graduated from Ankeny High School, Ankeny, Iowa in May 1998; Received Bachelor of Science degree in Applied Sociology from Oklahoma State University in May 2003. Completed the requirements for the Master of Science degree with a major in Sociology at Oklahoma State University in May 2005.

Experience: Employed by Oklahoma State University, Department of Sociology as a graduate research assistant, 2004 to present and as a graduate teaching assistant, 2003 to present.

Professional Memberships: American Society of Criminology.

Name: Chris Messer

Date of Degree: May, 2005

Institution: Oklahoma State University

Location: Stillwater, Oklahoma

Title of Study: THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF PROFILERS

Pages in Study: 93

Candidate for the Degree of Master of Science

Major Field: Sociology

Scope and Method of Study: The purpose of this study was to examine the level of professionalism among psychological profilers and to determine the necessary steps to be taken in order to become professional. This study relied on a content analysis of books, journals, and newspaper and magazine articles. It also includes an analysis of job announcements. The authors ranged from actual profilers to professors to newspaper columnists to police departments. The analysis of this literature was then linked to Freidson's model of professionalization, which includes levels of expertise, credentialism, and autonomy in order to measure the current level of professionalism among profilers.

Findings and Conclusions: It was found that, currently, profilers cannot be considered a professional occupation. Profilers do not obtain any form of standardized knowledge resulting from a unique field of discipline. Next, there is no certification process available to profilers. Currently, anyone can become a profiler. Finally, there is not an autonomous organization that is self-governed by only profilers that all profilers are required to join. Typically, profilers adhere to the police department's rules and procedures.

ADVISER'S APPROVAL: Dr. John Cross
