Unsubs and Profilers: Reality or Fiction? Depictions of Criminal Profiling in the Television Series "Criminal Minds"

Author: Emily Ann Legros

UNSUBS AND PROFILERS: REALITY OR FICTION?

DEPICTIONS OF CRIMINAL PROFILING
IN THE TELEVISION SERIES *CRIMINAL MINDS*

By
Emily Ann Legros

A Senior Honors Thesis Submitted to the
Department of Communication
of Boston College

May 2010

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

Images of crime and authorities' attempts to protect society from evil, which saturate dramatic programming on television, have the potential to influence public perception of crime and of crime-solving tools used in the real world. Although *Criminal Minds*, a popular and highly-rated broadcast series, shares this potential, it distinguishes itself from others of its genre through its use of criminal profiling as its primary crime solving mechanism. Using standards provided in Douglas et al.'s *Crime Classification Manual: A Standard System for Investigating and Classifying Violent Crimes, Second Edition (Crime Classification Manual II* or *CCM-II)*, the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fourth Edition (DSM-IV)*, and the "Hare Psychopathy Checklist Revised (PCL-R)" as theoretical frameworks, this Communication thesis examines how the criminal profiling depictions of two *Criminal Minds* episodes conform to established criminal profiling conventions and considerations utilized by law enforcement professionals. The results of these analyses, despite a few exceptions, suggest that the criminal profiling portrayals in the episodes "L.D.S.K." and "Fear and Loathing" adhere to legitimate real life criminal profiling considerations and practices, ultimately suggesting that this program may not be as fictional as its dramatic category may lead viewers to believe.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Unsubs, MOs, signatures, and special agents—these are just a handful of terms frequently used in the hit CBS drama *Criminal Minds*. The presentation of images of crime on television is not a new development; both the news and entertainment industries have incorporated crime into their programming for decades. In recent years, one show in particular has centered its stories on the utilization of criminal profiling as a crime-solving mechanism. In CBS's *Criminal Minds*, which airs Wednesdays, 9/8c, a "team of FBI profilers [called the Behavioral Analysis Unit (BAU)] flies from Quantico to the focal point of the criminal activity of various serial killers, to investigate the evidence on the crime scenes, compose a profile and try to prevent the next fatal strike" (Vissers).

Although images of crime saturate television programming, the presence of images of crime on television is not unique to the series *Criminal Minds*; many fictional dramas have storylines revolving around crime and crime fighters' attempts to solve them. Crime has taken on many different faces in fictional televised programming; dramas have followed crime fighting detectives conducting standard police procedures, have highlighted the legal side to law enforcement's attempts to apprehend criminals, and have told stories of investigators who utilize the power of science and forensics to solve crimes. Contemporary fictional programs include *CSI, CSI: NY, CSI: Miami, NCIS, NCIS: Los Angeles, Law and Order, Law and Order: CI, Law and Order: SVU, The Closer, The Mentalist, Bones, Numb3rs, Cold Case,* and *Without a Trace.* Shows beyond the fictional realm, including nonfictional shows such as *America's Most Wanted*, *Forensic Files*, and *Cops* also attract viewership. The existence of an abundance of such shows provides ample opportunity for consumption; when coupled with the large followings they draw,

these shows may have the ability to influence viewer perception, stimulating misperceptions, unwarranted degrees of fear of crime, and decreased levels of confidence in the efficacy of criminal profiling.

The analytical frameworks applied in this thesis were acquired from three sources that provide criminal profiling guidelines and are used by Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) profilers. Using standards provided in Douglas et al.'s *Crime Classification Manual: A Standard System for Investigating and Classifying Violent Crimes, Second Edition (Crime Classification Manual II or CCM-II)*, the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fourth Edition (DSM-IV)*, and the "Hare Psychopathy Checklist Revised (PCL-R)" as analytical frameworks, this thesis examines how the criminal profiling depictions of *Criminal Minds* conform to established criminal profiling conventions and considerations utilized by law enforcement professionals.

Though much research exists on crime drama programs, little attention has been paid to criminal profiling-based programs specifically. First, "Chapter Two" surveys existing literature relevant to the topic of study. Second, "Chapter Three" presents the rationale and grounds for the completion of this thesis. Next, "Chapter Four" defines criminal profiling and describes the FBI's utilization of the technique. The next section, "Chapter Five," explains the general premise of the series, including a discussion of the overall plot structure, recurring characters, and the program's popularity. Following, "Chapter Six" details how episodes were selected for analysis and describes the frameworks utilized for analysis. The next two sections, "Chapter Seven" and "Chapter Eight," each analyze an episode of *Criminal Minds* according to the frameworks explained in "Chapter Six." "Chapter Seven," which discusses the *Criminal Minds* episode "L.D.S.K.," and "Chapter Eight," which discusses the episode "Fear and Loathing," each provide

a summary of their respective episode and an analysis of the criminal profiling depictions present according to the aforementioned frameworks. "Chapter Nine" concludes with a discussion of this thesis's overall findings, suggestions for communication scholarship, potential implications of the program's adherence on viewer perception, and a closing note.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Though an extensive amount of research has focused on "a broad range of media treatments of criminal activity," few studies have examined criminal profiling-based drama specifically (Durham 144). Relevant existing literature can be divided into six categories: portrayal of crime in print, crime in fictional programming on television, portrayal of women in television crime drama, the forensics of television crime drama, crime on television and cultivation analyses, and criminal profiling-based research. The following discussion presents a survey of existing literature.

Crime in Print

Some scholars have researched portrayals of crime in true crime books. Durham, Elrod, and Kinkade, in their article "Images of Crime and Justice: Murder and the 'True Crime' Genre," examine portrayals of crime through content analyses of fifty true crime books and discuss how they diverge from reality in comparison with Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) statistics. Having acknowledged that "media portrayals of crime often deviate substantially from reality," Durham, Elrod, and Kinkade sought to "determine the extent to which true crime homicide cases resemble[d]…typical homicide committed in the United States" according to the FBI's *Uniform Crime Reports* from 1991 (144). Durham, Elrod, and Kinkade coded character features (gender, race, and social class), depictions of murder, weaponry used, types of crime, and case outcomes and determine that their "examination of the characteristics of the sample of true crime books generally confirms what has been discovered in studies of television and newspapers" (144, 150). Durham, Elrod, and Kinkade conclude that the books' representations of crime deviated from factual statistics and that "although such books depict actual murder cases, they fail to

accurately represent the features of homicide as they typically occur in the United States" (150). Thus, the true crime books examined by Durham, Elrod, and Kinkade inaccurately portrayed real life crime.

Crime on Television: Fictional Programming

Some researchers have conducted similar analyses of how crime portrayals in television crime drama programs compare to actual reported statistics. Eschholz, Mallard, and Flynn, in their article "Images of Prime Time Justice: A Content Analysis of *NYPD Blue* and *Law and Order*," examine how crime portrayals in the television crime drama shows *NYPD Blue* and *Law and Order* compare to actual reported statistics. Through content analyses of forty-four episodes from the 2000-1 seasons, Eschholz, Mallard, and Flynn compared portrayals of sex/gender, types of crimes, weaponry used, and civil rights violations with FBI statistics; Eschholz, Mallard, and Flynn also examined depictions of race and control talk, including insults and derogatory language. Eschholz, Mallard, and Flynn conclude that "both news and entertainment media consistently portray a more violent and dangerous view of our world than exists in reality" (164). Still further, Eschholz, Mallard, and Flynn note that crime dramas "dramatically misrepresent the crime statistics in New York City and the United States" (174). Accordingly, Eschholz, Mallard, and Flynn provide a model of analysis for assessing the reality of fictional programs and suggest that the televised portrayals do not accurately depict real life crime and the circumstances which surround it.

Lee, in her article "'These are Our Stories': Trauma, Form, and the Screen Phenomenon of *Law and Order*," "examines the role of modern television crime drama as a forum for working through the trauma of living in a violent culture" and discusses how the television crime drama *Law and Order* "represents a fantasy of dealing with violence" (81, 91). In the face of

horrendous crimes and violence, the detectives, prosecutors, and psychiatrists of *Law and Order*

remain unaffected, where good triumphs over evil, and order over chaos (Lee 82-3). The

audience, with little actual experience with crime, participates in the *Law and Order* experience

from a safe psychic distance; through a mediated containment of violence, the audience watches

"as detached spectators" (Lee 84). This notion of protection from violent forces fosters the belief

that the show's portrayal of crime is realistic (Lee 83). Lee suggests that inaccurate depictions of

crime in fictional programs may exist in response to "a public desire for authentic participation

in a world that, though genuine, stands at a necessarily spectral remove…and with its even-

tempered characters and violence contained, also provides…a sense of psychic protection" (87).

Through her discussion, Lee assesses "what in this television scenario…seems so true that

viewers across the country accept it as a realistic portrait of crime and the criminal world" (83).

In her article "Prime-Time Murder: Presentations of Murder on Popular Television

Justice Programs," Soulliere compares television crime depictions from *NYPD Blue, Law and

Order,* and *The Practice* with actual FBI reported statistics and offers reasons for discrepancies

between televised depictions and reality. Through content analyses, Soulliere analyzed the

crimes committed, character gender and race, circumstances surrounding and types of murder,

and explanations for murder. Soulliere found that media portrayals of crime converged with

reality in terms of the nature of murder but diverged from real life crime with an

overrepresentation of violent crime, for example. Soulliere suggests that discrepancies between

reality and media portrayals may exist to entertain. Dominick, author of "Crime and Law

Enforcement on Prime-Time Television," explains that "our exposure to crime, violence and the

criminal justice system may be obtained largely through the media rather than through personal

experience" (qtd. in Soulliere 12). Viewers may tune in to be entertained or to safely "experience

crime," as television drama acts as an outlet by which audiences can have access to crime (Soulliere 12-13). Thus, Soulliere analyzes how media portrayals converge and diverge with real life crime and attributes possible causes for divergence.

Women of Television Crime Drama

Research has examined the depictions of women in television crime drama. Cuklanz and Moorti, in their article "Television's New Feminism: Prime Time Representations of Women and Victimization," examine how gender functions and how women are depicted in *Law and Order: Special Victims Unit (SVU)*. In their examination, they explore the roles occupied by women in *Law and Order: SVU*, ranging from victims of rape to monstrous perpetrators, especially in the private domestic sphere. They analyze how characters of both genders function in and are influenced by the existence of separate private and public spheres. Cuklanz and Moorti identify "stories center[ed] on the recurrent manifestation of…the monstrous maternal" (313). In focusing on the "demonization of feminine characteristics" and the crimes committed by women, the role of motherhood is called into question (310). They explain that "SVU narratives…question women's ability to participate in this primary role" (315). Thus, Cuklanz and Moorti approach the crime genre from a unique perspective, qualitatively analyzing the function and depiction of women.

Jermyn, in her article "Women with a Mission: Lynda La Plante, DCI Jane Tennison and the Reconfiguration of TV Crime Drama," approaches the crime drama genre in a similar fashion as Cuklanz and Moorti. Jermyn analyzes the British television crime drama *Prime Suspect*, examining the "presence of central, leading roles for women characters" (47). She addresses how issues of both gender and realism manifest themselves in this British series. Jermyn explains that the show depicts an "imbalance between the sexes" and "portrays the compromises and

negotiations necessitated by being a woman 'in a man's world' with bleak candour" (51, 52). This gendered dichotomy is expressed in "the recurrent ways in which the male officers and Tennison are oppositionally framed and shot" (Jermyn 56). Jermyn explains that the show attempts to foster realism by supplying "graphic attention to forensic detail and the foregrounding of the authenticity of the corpse" (48). Thus, Jermyn addresses the position women occupy and discusses how these various depictions of women compare to reality.

The Forensics of Television Crime Drama

Some researchers have focused their attention on crime dramas with plotlines revolving around forensic investigation and analysis. Several researchers have examined the show *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation* in particular. Cavender and Deutsch, in their article "*CSI* and Moral Authority: The Police and Science," explore how "*CSI* combines the traditions of the crime genre with a new forensic realism to fuse the police and science with a moral authority" (68). Cavender and Deutsch use *CSI* and its two spinoffs *CSI: Miami* and *CSI: NY* as their focal points for analysis. They conducted a content analysis of crime statistics, crime genre, and forensics by coding twenty-three shows from the first season. They compared eight episodes of the three series from the 2006 season with the original season. To define elements of the crime drama genre, they draw upon previous published commentary and make their own observations. They explain how *CSI* qualifies as a crime drama and provide specific examples of scenes that encompass major features of the genre. Cavender and Deutsch identify elements they claim constitute a separate forensic crime drama and provide examples of scenes to demonstrate how the genre functions. Thus Cavender and Deutsch discuss two frameworks with which *CSI* can be analyzed.

Deutsch and Cavender in their article "*CSI* and Forensic Realism" apply a framework coined by Tuchman, a strategic web of facticity, to analyze the program *CSI.* They "focus on how *CSI* has combined the traditions of the crime genre with a sense of forensic realism" (Deutsch and Cavender 34). Tuchman explains that "a web of facticity is a strategic, ritualistic practice which ensures that a group of presented facts is seen as credible and objective, and that, 'when taken together, present themselves as both individually and collectively self-validating'" (qtd. in Deutsch and Cavender 36). Through a content analysis of *CSI*'s first season, involving crime statistics, crime genre, and markers of forensic realism, they examined how *CSI* compared to the "conventions of television police dramas" and "how *CSI* created its representations of science and technology" (Deutsch and Cavender 37). They discuss how police procedure and science are portrayed to promote the appearance of reality. Thus, Deutsch and Cavender examine forensic crime drama features and how various elements function to appear authentic.

Crime on Television and Cultivation Analyses

Existing research has also examined the potential for crime dramas to cultivate fear and particular perceptions of crime in viewing audiences. Grabe and Drew, in their article "Crime Cultivation: Comparisons across Media Genres and Channels," examine how television genres and channels, such as television and newspapers, influence audience perception of crime. Through surveys of 505 randomly selected adults, Grabe and Drew measured the frequency that participants used different channels as well as the frequency that they watched certain kinds of programming on television. Grabe and Drew explain that their "study tests the idea that media genres and channels have varying potential to cultivate perceptions, fears, and potential behavior related to crime" (150). Using cultivation as their theoretical framework, Grabe and Drew focused on message characteristics and assessed their results in terms of crime orientations,

demographics, and media variables. Grabe and Drew note that their "study produced…little evidence of cultivation effects associated with television crime drama, whereas nonfiction did produce cultivation outcomes" (163). According to Grabe and Drew, "TV news has…been held responsible in public debate and academic research as fear inducing…newspapers should not be overlooked" (166). Thus, Grabe and Drew examine how various television genres and channels have the potential to cultivate perceptions of crime.

Romer, Jamieson, and Aday, in their article "Television News and the Cultivation of Fear of Crime," examine the relationship between local television news that highlights crime and the public's fear of it (88). Through three studies, the researchers considered the theoretical frameworks of cultivation theory, diffusion of fear through social networks, and social-comparison hypothesis; they conclude that "viewing local television news is related to increased fear of and concern about crime" (Romer, Jamieson, and Aday 88). Romer, Jamieson, and Aday found "support for the theory primarily in the realm of news reporting, especially at the local level" (103). In essence, "the focus of local television news on criminal violence may condition audiences to focus on crime and to ignore other problems that are as important but translate less readily to the television news format" (Romer, Jamieson, and Aday 103). Still further, they note that "crime coverage may not only condition viewers; fears of victimization…may also affect perceptions of places where crime is likely to occur and the persons stereotyped as typical perpetrators" (Romer, Jamieson, and Aday 103). Thus, by assessing public perception of crime through a cultivation theory lens, Romer, Jamieson, and Aday suggest that public fear of crime is associated with television news depictions of crime.

Dowler, Fleming, and Muzzatti, in their article "Constructing Crime: Media, Crime, and Popular Culture," discuss the state of the relationship of crime, media, and popular culture in

Canada and North America. According to Dowler, Fleming, and Muzzatti, crime as entertainment appeals to audiences, and this appeal, whether pursued via television news or drama, can influence viewer perceptions of crime. Dowler, Fleming, and Muzzatti explain that "ideas about crime emerge…from news sources and reality television…[and] from dramatic movies and television shows" (838). In some cases, viewers believe that media portrayals are more realistic than they actually are; accordingly, "the boundary between crime information and crime entertainment has been increasingly blurred" (Dowler, Fleming, and Muzzatti 837). Dowler, Fleming, and Muzzatti offer that this blurring has bolstered the CSI Effect, which "relates to the popularity of…programs that portray scientific and forensic evidence-gathering procedures to catch criminals" (838). According to Dowler, Fleming, and Muzzatti, "the 'effect' is the rise in expectations of real life crime victims and jury members"; additionally, "prosecutors lament the fact that they have to supply more forensic evidence because jurors expect this type of evidence, having seen it on television" (838). The selective nature of crime news…has produced a distorted picture of the world of crime" (839). Thus, Dowler, Fleming, and Muzzatti suggest that media portrayals can influence viewer perceptions of crime.

Pettey and Bracken, in their article "Priming Science Attitudes in Fictional Presentations: the CSI Effect," examine how the theoretical paradigm of priming applies to fictional programming and explore how the show *CSI* has the potential to influence public perception. Pettey and Bracken acknowledge that fictional programming can affect perceptions of science, priming audiences to hold certain perspectives, a phenomenon referred to as the CSI effect. Priming is a variation of the traditional agenda setting perspective, whereby the media informs its audiences what to think about, how to perceive it, and how to act accordingly (McCombs and Estrada qtd. in Pettey and Bracken). In the study, participants watched a *CSI* episode and

"answered questions about their interest in and attitudes about a variety of issues," "science media and fictional program use," and the frequency of viewing *CSI* programs which measured the participants' "reservations concerning science and technology and…beliefs in the promise of science" (Pettey and Bracken 8). Pettey and Bracken offer that by watching *CSI* and its spinoffs, viewers are exposed to storylines centered on "a set of scientists and technicians as heroes in the pursuit of truth" and that audiences "can be primed to view…science and scientists more favorably depending on the treatment within an entertainment program" (13). Thus, it is suggested that crime drama television can influence audience perceptions of reality.

Lowry, Nio, and Leitner, in their article "Setting the Public Fear Agenda: A Longitudinal Analysis of Network TV Crime Reporting, Public Perceptions of Crime, and FBI Crime Statistics," examine how news segments depict crime and how such portrayals compare with FBI crime statistics. Lowry, Nio, and Leitner initiated their research in response to the 1994 "Big Scare," in which media treatment of crime incorrectly suggested crime was on the rise. Lowry, Nio, and Leitner reviewed and compared newscasts, data gathered from FBI crime reports, and Gallup polls indicating audience perception. Lowry, Nio, and Leitner view the media in terms of agenda setting and acknowledge its ability to arouse fear in the audience. Lowry, Nio, and Leitner found that though public perception of crime increased, statistics did not indicate any drastic increase in violent crime. Lowry, Nio, and Leitner's research stresses the power of the media to influence audience perception of crime and demonstrates that the media's portrayals do not always reflect the reality of crime.

Criminal Profiling-Based Research

Though research on criminal profiling drama is scarce, one scholar has explored how criminal profiling has been portrayed in the media. Herndon, in his article "The Image of

Profiling: Media Treatment and General Impressions," examines the ways that various media have depicted criminal profiling. Herndon surveys existing forms of media presentations, including movies, fictional novels, non-fictional and biographical books, fictional television programs, non-fictional televised documentaries, magazines and periodicals, and newsmagazines, all which take criminal profiling as their subject matter. Herndon explains that "the intent of this chapter has been to review and consider the various forms of media presentations of criminal profiling" (319). Herndon acknowledges that "public impressions are greatly influenced by the media, not always in positive ways" (303) Herndon further notes that "the reality of profiling has been lost in the continual sensationalization of the practice by those who like to titillate others" (303). Herndon adds that "in the fictional media (movies, TV series, and novels), profiling is dramatized, glamorized, and even distorted for the effect of entertainment value" (319). This dramatization can affect viewers as "young minds are impressionable and the image of profiling in the media can influence expectations of actual real-world applications" (Herndon 319). Thus, "if one believes the movies, novels and TV shows on the subject, then the perception of profiling cannot square with the reality shared by some profilers" (Herndon 319). Through his examination, Herndon suggests that media portrayals of criminal profiling can influence viewer perception of it.

Overview of Findings

The previous survey of existing literature reveals a number of research trends. Some researchers have assessed the realism of fictional portrayals of crime by quantitatively comparing them with factual statistics; others have taken a qualitative approach and have focused on the function of race, gender, and forensics. Some researchers, through a cultivation lens, have gone further and have examined the potential effects of unrealistic televised depictions of crime.

Though a broad array of literature on crime dramas exists, very little research on criminal profiling dramas, in particular, has been conducted. The general scarcity of research focusing on media representations of criminal profiling calls for increased scholarship on the media's treatment of criminal profiling.

CHAPTER THREE

CRIMINAL PROFILING ON TELEVISION: A SUBJECT WORTHY OF ANALYSIS

The previous review of literature indicates that very little research on media depictions of criminal profiling exists; accordingly, scholarship is warranted. Media portrayals of criminal profiling, on television specifically, are worthy of examination as televised depictions of criminal profiling, which involve criminal activity, have the potential to influence public perception; such depictions have the potential to cultivate fear in viewing audiences and to influence viewers' real life perceptions of the efficacy of criminal profiling.

First, as Grabe and Drew, Romer, Jamieson, and Aday, Dowler, Fleming, and Muzzatti, Pettey and Bracken, and Lowry, Nio, and Leitner all suggest, images of crime on television have the potential to cultivate fear in viewing audiences. Though a fictional drama, if the televised portrayals are revealed not to be as make-believe as viewers may perceive, if some criminals really do have sick and twisted minds, if murders really are as heinous and morbid, and if both of these facts actually warrant an elite squad of specialized agents to apprehend them, then it is possible that viewers may no longer perceive television as a safe haven escape for make-believe fantasy and may grow fearful.

Second, televised representations of criminal profiling have the power to influence viewers' real life perceptions of the efficacy of criminal profiling. As Herndon explains, even though "the public does realize that movies…are fictional portrayals and that there is a certain amount of flair…added to the truth…young minds are impressionable and the image of profiling in the media can influence expectations of real-world applications" (319). It is also possible that the fictionalization of some aspects may generate a distorted conception of criminal profiling in viewers' minds, as it is "dramatized, glamorized, and even distorted for the effect of

entertainment value" (Herndon 319). However, though this fictionalization does not automatically render all depictions of profiling inaccurate, viewers may nonetheless misconceive how criminal profiling works in the real world.

Ultimately, televised depictions of criminal profiling, as has been demonstrated with general depictions of crime, have the potential to influence audience perception of its real life applications. An analysis is warranted to ascertain whether the televised portrayals of criminal profiling in *Criminal Minds* are realistic and to consider the implications that such depictions may have on viewer perception.

CHAPTER FOUR

CRIMINAL PROFILING: WHAT IT'S ALL ABOUT

As previously explained, this thesis examines the portrayals of criminal profiling in the

hit television drama *Criminal Minds*. In order to contextualize the analyses that follow, an

understanding of criminal profiling, both in theory and practice, is necessary.

Criminal Profiling: The Phenomenon

In theory, criminal profiling is an investigative tool that investigators use to "determine

characteristics of the perpetrator['s]" personality and to narrow down suspects (Burgess,

"Forensic"). Criminal profiling is a technique that "entails coming up with basic characteristics

of the unsub," properly known as the unknown subject, "and the victims (referred to as the

victimology), using evidence…and matching that information to historic precedents and

psychological analyses as a means to solve the case" (Huggo; Burgess, Personal interview). The

utilization of behavioral science, as it is formerly called, "is all about better understanding

criminals—who they are, how they think, why they do what they do—as a means to help solve

crimes and prevent attacks" ("Behavioral"). Investigative profiling also has been described as "a

strategy enabling law enforcement to narrow the field of options and generate educated guesses

about the perpetrator" (Douglas et al., "Chapter 6" 97). Others describe an investigative profile

as "a collection of leads[,]…an informed attempt to provide detailed information about a certain

type of criminal[, and]…a biological sketch of behavioral patterns, trends, and tendencies"

(Rossi qtd. in Douglas et al., "Chapter 6" 97; Geberth qtd. in Douglas et al., "Chapter 6" 97;

Vorpagel qtd. in Douglas et al., "Chapter 6" 97). In crimes in which neither the offender nor the

victim is present, profiling via retroclassification becomes necessary; investigators "rely on the

only source of information that typically is available: the crime scene" which "reflect[s] the

murderer's behavior and personality in much the same way as furnishings reveal a home owner's character" (Douglas et al., "Chapter 6" 97-8; Geberth qtd. in Douglas et al., "Chapter 6" 97). Thus, criminal profiling appropriately can be conceived as a crime-solving technique. However, it is more than just a textbook framework; members of the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) actively use criminal profiling techniques to apprehend dangerous criminals.

Criminal Profiling and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)

In practice, criminal profiling is considered a legitimate investigative tool and has been incorporated into the FBI's agenda. Criminal profiling is an investigative tool used by the Behavioral Analysis Unit (BAU) of the National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime (NCAVC), a division of the FBI's Critical Incident Response Group (CIRG). Knowledge of the function and purpose of each of these divisions is necessary to understand how criminal profiling is used in law enforcement efforts.

FBI's Critical Incident Response Group (CIRG)

As the FBI explains in their CIRG Mission Statement, "CIRG facilitates the FBI's rapid response to, and the management of, crisis incidents" ("Investigative: CIRG - Mission"). "Established in 1994 to integrate tactical and investigative resources and expertise for critical incidents which necessitate an immediate response from law enforcement authorities," the CIRG deploys "investigative specialists to respond to terrorist activities, hostage takings, child abductions and other high-risk repetitive violent crimes" ("Investigative: CIRG - Mission"). The CIRG is composed of the Operations Support Branch, the Tactical Support Branch, and the NCAVC. Relative to the research project's scope, an explanation of the mission of the NCAVC is warranted.

National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime (NCAVC)

The NCAVC, a division of CIRG, "combine[s] investigative and operational support functions, research, and training in order to provide assistance…to federal, state, local, and foreign law enforcement agencies investigating unusual or repetitive violent crimes" ("Investigative: CIRG"). "FBI Special Agents…provide advice and support in a variety of investigative matters and other law enforcement related functions" ("Investigative: CIRG"). Such matters involve "child abduction or mysterious disappearance of children, serial murders, single homicides, serial rapes, extortions, threats, kidnappings, product tampering, arsons and bombings, weapons of mass destruction, public corruption, and domestic and international terrorism" ("Investigative: CIRG"). The NCAVC is comprised of the Behavioral Analysis Unit (BAU), the Child Abduction Serial Murder Investigative Resources Center (CASMIRC), and the Violent Criminal Apprehension Program (VICAP). Again, relative to the research project's focus on criminal profiling, an explanation of the mission of the BAU is warranted.

Behavioral Analysis Unit (BAU)

Special Agents of the BAU "provide behavioral based investigative and operational support by applying case experience, research, and training to complex and time-sensitive crimes, typically involving acts or threats of violence" ("Investigative: CIRG"). Specifically, program areas include "Crimes Against Children, Crimes Against Adults, Communicated Threats, Corruption, and Bombing and Arson Investigations" ("Investigative: CIRG"). The BAU receives requests for services from federal, state, local, and international law enforcement agencies. When these agencies request assistance, "BAU services are provided during on-site case consultations, telephone conference calls, and/or consultations held at the BAU with case investigators" ("Investigative: CIRG"). Specifically, "BAU assistance to law enforcement

agencies is provided through the process of 'criminal investigative analysis'" ("Investigative: CIRG"). According to the FBI, criminal investigative analysis is "a process of reviewing crimes from both a behavioral and investigative perspective" that "involves reviewing and assessing the facts of a criminal act, interpreting offender behavior, and interaction with the victim, as exhibited during the commission of the crime, or as displayed in the crime scene" ("Investigative: CIRG"). As part of criminal investigative analysis, "BAU staff conduct detailed analyses of crimes for the purpose of providing…crime analysis, investigative suggestions, profiles of unknown offenders, threat analysis, critical incident analysis, interview strategies, [and]…search warrant assistance," among others ("Investigative: CIRG"). Accordingly, the BAU utilizes criminal profiling techniques in providing assistance to various law enforcement agencies.

The preceding discussion highlights the art of criminal profiling as an investigative tool and further positions it among the functions of the BAU, a subdivision of the NCAVC of the FBI's CIRG. Relative to this thesis's focus, the BAU's criminal profiling function is the crime-solving tool utilized by the fictional BAU of *Criminal Minds*.

CHAPTER FIVE

CRIMINAL MINDS: AN OVERVIEW OF THE SERIES

As was previously discussed, criminal profiling is the primary crime-solving tool utilized by the Behavioral Analysis Unit (BAU) of the show *Criminal Minds*. An overview of the general plot structure of the program, information on the recurring characters, and an indication of the show's popularity are provided to contextualize the analyses that follow.

General Premise of *Criminal Minds*

First, an understanding of the program's general plot structure is necessary to situate the analyses that follow. Each episode of *Criminal Minds* "revolves around an elite team of Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) profilers who analyze the country's most twisted criminal minds, anticipating their next moves before they strike again" ("About *Criminal*"). Throughout the series, the Behavioral Analysis Unit (BAU) profiling team travels from their headquarters in Quantico, VA, "to the focal point of the criminal activity of various serial killers. There they investigate the evidence from the crime scenes, compose a profile and try to prevent the next fatal strike" (Vissers). To prevent the criminal from striking again, "the BAU uses the controversial scientific art of profiling to track and apprehend" the criminal (Huggo, "Plot: *Criminal*"). The two episodes selected for analysis, which are explained in detail in their respective sections, adhere to the elements of this general premise. However, the overview of the program is not exhausted; familiarity with the program's cast is also crucial.

Characters of *Criminal Minds*

In the episodes selected for analysis, seven recurring characters carry the plot. FBI BAU Supervisory Special Agent Jason Gideon, played by Mandy Patinkin, is the all-knowing, expert profiler; deemed "one of the BAU's best profilers," Gideon mentors the team in the BAU's

attempts to solve cases and apprehend criminals ("Biography for Gideon"). FBI BAU

Supervisory Special Agent and Unit Chief Aaron Hotchner ("Hotch"), played by Thomas

Gibson, is "a family man who is able to gain people's trust and unlock their secrets"; he directly

leads the team's crime-solving efforts as "head of the BAU team" ("About *Criminal*";

"Biography for Hotchner"). Lola Glaudini plays the role of FBI BAU Special Agent Elle

Greenaway; she contributes to the team with her ability to speak Spanish and her expertise in

sexual offense crimes ("Biography for Greenaway"). Though present for the first and half of the

second seasons, Elle is replaced by "FBI BAU Supervisory Special Agent Emily Prentiss"

played by Paget Brewster ("Biography for Prentiss"). An ambassador's daughter, Emily "has

spent time traveling the Middle East [and can] speak fluent in Arabic[,]…some Russian and

Spanish" ("Biography for Prentiss"). Special Agent Derek Morgan, played by Shemar Moore, is

"an expert on obsessional crimes" and has bomb squad and Chicago police experience ("About

Criminal"; "Biography for Morgan"). Special Agent Dr. Spencer Reid, played by Matthew Gray

Gubler, is "a classically misunderstood genius whose social IQ is as low as his intellectual IQ is

high" ("About *Criminal*"). Reid is gifted in "geographic profiling, cryptology, and discerning

patterns," has "an eidetic memory," and "holds doctorate degrees in Mathematics, Chemistry,

and Engineering as well as Bachelor's Degrees in Psychology and Sociology" ("Biography for

Reid"). Also part of the team is Jennifer Jareau, "J.J.," played by A.J. Cook; J.J. is "a confident

young agent who acts as…unit liaison for the team," but is not a criminal profiler ("About

Criminal"; "Biography for Jareau"). The final major recurring character, Penelope Garcia,

played by Kirsten Vangsness, is "a computer wizard who helps research the cases" as an

"audio/visual technician" at headquarters ("About *Criminal*"; "Biography for Garcia"). In

essence, "each member brings…expertise to the table as they pinpoint predators' motivations

and identify their emotional triggers in the attempt to stop them" ("About *Criminal*"). Thus, a description of recurring cast members is complete. Still further, however, a brief summary of the audience's liking for the show is warranted.

Popularity of *Criminal Minds*

The popularity of the show *Criminal Minds* establishes it as a program worthy of analysis. Ratings issued highlight the show's significance. *TV by the Numbers*, a website dedicated to television statistics and data pertaining to the television industry, provides insight into the popularity of *Criminal Minds*. According to Seidman, for the week ending November 1, 2009, *Criminal Minds* drew in 9.886 million viewers of all ages, earning itself the twenty-third spot in the top twenty-five broadcast shows ("*NFL*"). For the week ending October 25, 2009, the show attracted 14.268 million viewers of all ages, ranking ninth of the top twenty-five broadcast shows (Seidman, "*2009 World Series*"). Still further, dating back a week, in a press release, it is explained that "at 9:00 PM, *Criminal Minds* was first in households (8.6/13), viewers (13.73m), adults 25-54 (4.8/11) and adults 18-49 (3.6/09) for the fifth consecutive week" (Seidman, "*Criminal Minds*"). More recent numbers speak to the continued viewership and popularity of the show. According to Seidman, for the week ending February 7, 2010, *Criminal Minds* ranked tenth of the top twenty-five broadcast shows and drew in 14.745 million viewers ("*Super Bowl*"). Accordingly, the statistics provided by *TV by the Numbers* highlight the show's popularity.

Thus, with an overview of the plot, characters, and popularity of the program *Criminal Minds* having been provided, an explanation of the methodology applied to facilitate this thesis's analyses follows.

CHAPTER SIX

METHODOLOGY

An understanding of the methodology utilized in this thesis is necessary to understand the following analyses. This chapter is comprised of two sections: an explanation of how the two episodes were chosen and a detailed description of the frameworks applied in the analyses sections of this thesis.

Episode Selection

Episode selection began with a survey of the episodes of the first and second seasons of *Criminal Minds*. Though about thirty episodes from the first and second seasons along with countless episodes from other seasons were viewed, the sixth episode of the first season, Wilder's "L.D.S.K.," and the sixteenth episode of the second season, Zelman's "Fear and Loathing," were selected for analysis. These episodes were selected as they contain elements characteristics of a typical *Criminal Minds* episode. Time and space restraints limit this section to the detailed analyses of two episodes. A description of the frameworks used to allow for such extensive analyses follow.

Textual Analysis: Frameworks Applied

The analyses presented in this thesis are facilitated by the application of both criminal profiling-based and psychiatric disorder-based frameworks. The criminal profiling-based frameworks are drawn from Douglas et al.'s *Crime Classification Manual: A Standard System for Investigating and Classifying Violent Crimes, Second Edition (Crime Classification Manual II or CCM-II)*. From the *CCM-II*, this thesis uses the three frameworks of Classification by Number, Classification by Type, Style, and Number of Victims, and a conglomeration of Additional Profiling Considerations. The second category of frameworks, psychiatric disorder-

based, is drawn from the explanations provided in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fourth Edition (DSM-IV)* and the "Hare Psychopathy Checklist Revised (PCL-R)." Explanations of these two frameworks are supplemented by the commentary of Dr. Ann W. Burgess. Detailed descriptions of these frameworks follow.

Crime Classification Manual II (*CCM-II*)

Using Douglas et al.'s *CCM-II* as a guide, I examine how two *Criminal Minds* episodes incorporate crime classification conventions. On the back cover, Douglas et al. explain that the manual "is the second edition of the landmark book that standardized the language and terminology used throughout the criminal justice system. It classifies the critical characteristics of the perpetrators and victims of major crimes…based on the motivation of the offender." Based on this motivation, defined as "(1) criminal enterprise, (2) personal cause, (3) sexual intent, and (4) group cause," "the *CCM* leads to an increased understanding of the nature of crime and the individuals who commit such crimes" (Douglas et al. Back cover; Douglas et al., "Preface" X). Douglas et al.'s work affects both "law enforcement personnel who are responsible for the investigation of a crime [and,]…professionals in other disciplines who address the crime problem," including "criminal justice professionals directly involved with the legal aspects of crime[,]…mental health professionals,…[and]…criminologists who study the problem of violent crime" (Douglas et al., "Preface" XI-XII). The classification and profiling techniques they discuss comprise the frameworks according to which two episodes of *Criminal Minds* are examined in this thesis.

Organization of the Manual

The *CCM-II*, comprised of four parts, provides guidelines for the analysis and classification of crime. "Part One focuses on crime analysis and practice and presents a review of

the study of crime and the key concepts in the decision process for classifying a crime,"
including elements such as modus operandi (MO), signature aspects, staging, prescriptive
interviewing, and classification based on severity (Douglas et al., "Preface" XI). "Part Two
contains the classification categories of Homicide, Arson/Bombing, Rape and Sexual Assault,
Nonlethal Crimes, and Computer Crimes" (Douglas et al., "Preface" XI). Part Three explores
"the topics of mass, spree, and serial homicide," and "Part Four contains chapters on wrongful
convictions and criminal confessions" (Douglas et al., "Preface" XI). This analysis uses
selections from the first three parts of the manual as points for comparative analysis.

Modes of Classification

In analyzing homicide, there are two modes of classification; murder can be classified
according to both standards.

Classification by Number

Crimes can be classified by the motive of the perpetrator according to a Crime
Classification Numbering System. "The numbering system for classifying crimes uses three
digits, with the first digit representing the major crime category" (Douglas et al., "Introduction"
13). The five major categories depicted in the *CCM-II* include homicide, arson/bombing, rape
and sexual assault, nonlethal crimes, and computer crime. "The second digit of the code
represents further grouping of the major crimes" (Douglas et al., "Introduction" 13). Four groups
comprise the homicide classification; they include criminal enterprise, personal cause, sexual,
and group cause. "Individual classifications within these groups are further divided into
subgroups using two additional digits following a decimal point after the code" (Douglas et al.,
"Introduction" 13). Defining characteristics are provided for each individual classification.

Defining Characteristics

Each individual classification is described in terms of its defining characteristics. In the "Introduction" of their manual, Douglas et al. discuss the defining characteristics that assist the crime classification process. Douglas et al. explain that "to classify a crime using the *CCM*, an investigator needs to ask questions about the victim, the crime scene, and the nature of the victim-offender exchange. The answers to these questions will guide the investigator toward making a decision on how best to classify the offense" (Douglas et al., "Introduction" 6-7). Five major characteristics, including victimology, crime scene indicators, staging, forensic findings, and investigative considerations, as recommended by Douglas et al. in the *CCM-II*, are pertinent to the classification process and require elaboration.

Victimology

The first major defining characteristic that requires elaboration, victimology, refers to the "complete history of the victim" (Douglas et al., "Introduction" 8). In trying to ascertain victimology, "the investigator tries to evaluate why this particular person was targeted for a violent crime" (Douglas et al., "Introduction" 8). Douglas et al. explain that "one of the most important aspects of classifying an offense and determining the motive is a thorough understanding of all offender activity with the victim" ("Introduction" 8). Victimology is but one of the crime classification factors that should be considered in classification attempts.

Crime Scene Indicators

Second, the defining characteristic of crime scene indicators should be considered in crime classification attempts. According to Douglas et al., predominant crime scene indicators include the number of crime scenes, the environment, time and place of the offense, the number of offenders, the organized or disorganized nature of the crime scene, the presence of evidence or

weapon, body disposition, and any items left or missing ("Introduction" 8-11). Though these features are typical indicators, it is important to note that "of the many elements that constitute the crime scene, not all will be present or recognizable with every offense" (Douglas et al., "Introduction" 8).

In their manual, Douglas et al. define the aforementioned crime scene indicators. Firstly, deciphering the number of crime scenes can assist investigators, as the "use of several locales during the commission of an offense frequently gives the investigator[s] significant insight into the nature of the offender" (Douglas et al., "Introduction" 9). Secondly, investigators should consider the environment of the crime scene(s), or, "the conditions or circumstances in which the offense occurs" (Douglas et al., "Introduction" 9). Deciphering the time the offender spends at the crime scene also can be informative, as often the time "the offender spends at the scene is proportional to the degree of comfort he feels committing the offense at that particular location" (Douglas et al., "Introduction" 9). Thirdly, identifying the number of offenders can "help the investigator determine whether to place the offense into the criminal enterprise category or the group cause category," which each carry their own implications (Douglas et al., "Introduction" 9). Fourthly, assessing the degree of organization, physical evidence present, and the weapon used are significant factors as "the general condition of the crime is important in classifying a crime" (Douglas et al., "Introduction" 9). As Douglas et al. explain, "the amount of organization or disorganization at the crime scene will tell much about the offender's level of criminal sophistication" and "will also demonstrate how well the offender was able to control the victim and how much premeditation was involved with the crime" ("Introduction" 10). Douglas et al. explain that in assessing the weaponry used, investigators should consider if it was a weapon of choice ("brought to the crime scene by the offender") or opportunity ("acquired at the scene")

("Introduction" 10). Fifthly, investigators should examine the victim's body disposition; for example, was the body left in the open or hidden and did the position appear unnatural or staged (Douglas et al., "Introduction" 10)? Lastly, items left at or missing from the crime scene can assist "the investigator in classifying the offense. The presence of unusual artifacts, drawings, graffiti, or other items may be seen with offenses such as extremist murder or street gang murder" (Douglas et al., "Introduction" 10). In some cases, items are taken from a crime scene. In some cases, "a victim's personal belongings [also] may be taken from the scene of a sexual homicide. These so-called souvenirs…(all belonging to the victim) often may not be monetarily valuable" (Douglas et al., "Introduction" 10-1). Though elaborate, the aforementioned indicators do not exhaust the list of considerations of investigators.

Staging

Another crime classification strategy involves analysis of the presence of staging, another defining characteristic. According to Douglas et al., "staging is the purposeful alteration of a crime scene" ("Introduction" 11). Douglas and Douglas explain that "there are two reasons that someone employs staging: to redirect the investigation away from the most logical suspect or to protect the victim or victim's family" ("Chapter 2" 34). Further, "when a crime is staged, the responsible person is not someone who just happens upon the victim"; "it is usually someone who had some kind of association or relationship with the victim" (Douglas and Douglas, "Chapter 2" 34). Thus, noting the presence of staging can assist investigators in their classification attempts.

Forensic Findings

Still further, forensic findings, another defining characteristic, can inform the classification process. Douglas et al. explain that "forensic findings are the analysis of physical

evidence pertaining to a crime, evidence that is used toward legal proof that a crime occurred"

("Introduction" 11). The primary sources of physical evidence are the victim, the suspect, and

the crime scene. Secondary sources include the home or work environment of a suspect"

(Douglas et al., "Introduction" 11). Forensic analysis involves investigation into the cause of

death, trauma, and sexual assault, among others. Douglas et al. explain that "the type, extent, and

focus of injury sustained by the victim are additional critical factors the investigator uses when

classifying a crime" ("Introduction" 11). Forensic findings can also include evidence of sexual

assault; "evidence of assault to the victim's sexual organs or body cavities [can have] great

bearing on motive and classification. The type and sequence of the assault is important as well as

the timing of the assault (before, during, or after death)" (Douglas et al., "Introduction" 12).

"Sexual assault also includes insertion of foreign objects, regressive necrophilia, and many

activities that target the breasts, buttocks, and genitals" (Douglas et al., "Introduction" 12).

Accordingly, forensic findings can inform the crime classification process.

<div align="center">Investigative Considerations and Search Warrant Suggestions</div>

A last major defining characteristic involves the development of "Investigative

Considerations and Search Warrant Suggestions" (Douglas et al., "Introduction" 12). Douglas et

al. explain that "once the investigator has classified the offense (and thus the motive), the

investigative considerations and search warrant suggestions can be used to give direction and

assistance to the investigation" ("Introduction" 12). Douglas et al. provide specific detailed

considerations and suggestions for each of the crime classification number groups.

<div align="center">*Classification by Type, Style, and Number of Victims*</div>

Crimes can also be classified by the type, style, and number of victims. In terms of

homicide, "a single homicide is one victim and one homicidal event. A double homicide is two

victims, one event, and in one location. A triple homicide has three victims in one location during one event[, and]…a homicide involving four or more victims in one location and within one event" is a mass murder (Douglas et al., "Introduction" 12-3). When more than one murder is committed, the crime can be classified further according to the time span in which the murders occur; accordingly, a multiple murder can be classified as a spree murder or a serial murder. "A spree murder involves killing at two or more locations with no emotional cooling-off period between murders. The killings are the result of a single event, which can be of short or long duration. Serial murders are involved in three or more separate locations with an emotional cooling-off period between homicides" (Douglas et al., "Introduction" 13). Though insightful, the discussion of Classification by Type, Style, and Number of Victims does not conclude the frameworks borrowed from the *CCM-II*.

<div align="center">*Additional Profiling Considerations*</div>

The *CCM-II* also emphasizes the importance of deciphering the offender's MO and signature aspect.

<u>Modus Operandi (MO)</u>

Investigators often try to decipher the offender's MO. A MO involves "actions taken by an offender during the perpetration of a crime in order to perpetrate that crime" (Douglas and Douglas, "Chapter 1" 19). Further, MO is "a learned set of behaviors that the offender develops and sticks with it because it works, but it is dynamic and malleable" (Douglas and Douglas, "Chapter 1" 20). Douglas and Douglas explain that MO evolves with the offender, as "every criminal makes mistakes, but most learn from them and try to get better with time" ("Chapter 1" 20). Accordingly, a criminal's MO is an important profiling consideration.

Signature Aspect

Also of interest to investigators is the offender's signature aspect. According to Douglas and Douglas, an offender's signature is "an individualized set of indicators that can point specifically to an offender's personality" ("Chapter 1" 19). However, it is important to note that an offender's signature is not the same as his or her MO. With the signature, the "criminal conduct goes beyond the actions necessary to perpetrate the crime—the MO—and points to the unique personality of the offender" (Douglas and Douglas, "Chapter 1" 21). Accordingly, "unlike MO, a serial offender's signature will never change at its core. Certain details may be refined over time…but the basis of the signature will remain the same" (Douglas and Douglas, "Chapter 1" 21). Thus, investigators should be attentive to an offender's signature aspect in profiling and classifying the criminal.

Beyond the CCM-II*: Mental Disorder Evaluation*

Two sets of guidelines for categorizing mental disorders inform this analysis: the *DSM-IV* and the "PCL-R."

Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fourth Edition (DSM-IV)

The guidelines provided in the *DSM-IV* inform this analysis. The *DSM-IV* categorizes psychiatric disorders and "covers all mental health disorders for both children and adults" ("Psychiatric Disorders"). "The DSM uses a multiaxial…approach to diagnosing because rarely do other factors in a person's life not impact their mental health" ("Psychiatric Disorders"). In doing so, it assesses five areas, or axes. Axis I covers Mental Disorders, Axis II covers Personality Disorders, Axis III covers General Medical Conditions, Axis IV covers Psychosocial and Environmental problems, and Axis V involves Global Assessment Findings.

As criminal profilers attempt to decipher the personalities of their criminal unsubs, short for unknown subjects, an understanding of personality disorders, from which the unsub may suffer, is crucial (Burgess, Personal interview). Therefore, knowledge of the Personality Disorders of Axis II is instrumental in the profiling process (Burgess, Personal interview). Axis II: Personality Disorders is characterized by an "enduring pattern of inner experience and behavior that deviated from one's culture" and is divided into three clusters (Burgess, "DSM"). "Cluster A: Odd, Eccentric Behavior" is characterized by paranoid, schizoid, or schizotypal personality types (Burgess, "DSM"). "Cluster B: Dramatic, Emotional, or Erratic Behavior" is characterized by antisocial, borderline, histrionic, and narcissistic personality types (Burgess, "DSM"). Lastly, "Cluster C: Anxious Fearful Behavior" is characterized by avoidant, dependent, obsessive-compulsive, or other personality types (Burgess, "DSM"). The *DSM-IV* is not the only categorization system that exists, however.

"Hare Psychopathy Checklist Revised (PCL-R)"

Guidelines provided in the "PCL-R" also inform this analysis. An understanding of the "PCL-R," which provides a categorization system for mental disorders, is also instrumental in the criminal profiling process. The "PCL-R" serves as a "diagnostic tool used to rate a person's psychopathic or antisocial tendencies"; further, "the PCL-R is used for diagnosing psychopathy in individuals for clinical, legal or research purposes" ("Hare Psychopathy"). "The PCL-R consists of a 20-item symptom rating scale that allows qualified examiners to compare a subject's degree of psychopathy with that of a prototypical psychopath" ("Hare Psychopathy"). Eighteen of the twenty symptoms are categorized into the two primary factor groups Hare's Factor One: Personality "Aggressive Narcissism" and Hare's Factor Two: Case History "Socially Deviant Lifestyle" (Burgess, "DSM"). Factor One: Personality "Aggressive Narcissism" is characterized

by a "glibness/superficial charm, [a] grandiose sense of self-worth, pathological lying, [a] cunning/manipulative [demeanor], [a] lack of remorse or guilt, [a] shallow affect, [a] callous [nature]/lack of empathy, and [a] failure to accept responsibility for own actions" (Burgess, "DSM"). Factor Two: Case History "Socially Deviant Lifestyle" is characterized by a "need for stimulation/proneness to boredom, [a] parasitic lifestyle, poor behavioral control, promiscuous sexual behavior, [a] lack of realistic long-term goals, impulsivity, irresponsibility, juvenile delinquency, early behavior problems, [and a] revocation of conditional release" (Burgess, "DSM"). Thus, like the *DSM-IV*, the "PCL-R" also serves as a diagnostic and categorization tool for mental and psychiatric disorders.

Accordingly, the analyses presented in this thesis are facilitated by the application of the frameworks acquired from the *CCM-II*, the *DSM-IV*, and the "PCL-R."

CHAPTER SEVEN

ANALYSIS OF "L.D.S.K."

The following discussion of "L.D.S.K." is divided into four sections. The first section provides a summary of the episode "L.D.S.K." The second and third sections present analyses of the authenticity of criminal profiling representations in "L.D.S.K." Using standards provided in Douglas et al.'s *Crime Classification Manual: A Standard System for Investigating and Classifying Violent Crimes, Second Edition (Crime Classification Manual II* or *CCM-II)* as analytical frameworks, the second section argues that the episode's criminal profiling representations adhere to real life crime classification standards. Likewise, the third section argues that the episode offers realistic representations; this section illustrates how personality and mental disorders discussed in the episode conform to definitions provided in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fourth Edition (DSM-IV)* and "Hare Psychopathy Checklist Revised (PCL-R)." The fourth section presents concluding thoughts on the following analysis. Throughout this chapter, references to dialogue are taken from writer Andrew Wilder's *Criminal Minds* episode "L.D.S.K." Overall, the episode "L.D.S.K." offers realistic portrayals of criminal profiling.

An Episode Summary: "L.D.S.K."

In order to contextualize the proceeding analysis, an understanding of the plot of writer Andrew Wilder's episode "L.D.S.K." is necessary. In Wilder's episode "L.D.S.K.," the Behavioral Analysis Unit (BAU) "is asked to identify a killer who is shooting at victims in broad daylight" ("*Criminal Minds*: 'L.D.S.K.'"). The BAU is called in to help the Des Plaines, Illinois, Police Department apprehend a Long Distance Serial Killer (L.D.S.K.) who, in the course of three shootings over two weeks, had shot six people and fatally wounded one. Armed with the

profile of an L.D.S.K., the team travels to Des Plaines to investigate. Upon arrival, Detective

Calvin leads Hotch, Morgan, and Reid to the latest crime scene at Franklin Park; there, the

profilers determine the location of the shooter and begin to develop a profile. Hospital

Administrator Cheryl Marston introduces Gideon, J.J., and Elle to Dr. Erstadt and Dr. Landman

"who are arguing over a diagnosis" for extracting the lodged bullet from a victim's spine

("*Criminal Minds*: 'L.D.S.K.'"). Gideon explains that obtaining the bullet could allow them to

determine the rifle type, which "could be very significant to the profile" (Wilder). While waiting

for word from Dr. Landman, Gideon, Elle, and J.J. discuss "why the shooter consistently targets

his victims between 2:55 and 3:15 in the afternoons. Gideon explains that he is purposefully

committing his crimes during police shift changes," which leads the team to suspect that the

perpetrator may be a member of law enforcement ("*Criminal Minds*: 'L.D.S.K.'"). Dr. Landman

confidently retrieves the bullet without paralyzing the patient.

Back at the police station, the team shares their theory with Detective Calvin, and

Morgan suggests that, based on Garcia's analysis of the bullet, the unknown subject ("unsub") is

"probably a marine, ranger, or other specialized unit" (Wilder; Burgess, Personal interview).

Soon thereafter, the shooter opens fire at an outdoor café, wounding three. The BAU then

delivers the unsub's profile to the police. J.J. introduces the profile with a disclaimer, explaining

that "this initial profile is not ready to be given to the media. Releasing this profile prematurely

can get people killed" (Wilder). Hotchner delivers the profile, suggesting that the unsub "once

was or is now a police officer" (Wilder).

With the cooperation of Sergeant Weigart, the BAU reenacts the shooting at the park;

police officers and "the profilers take positions around Franklin Park to try to recreate the

shooting, while J.J., Gideon, Sergeant Weigart, and Detective Calvin monitor from the Mobile

Command Center van" ("*Criminal Minds*: 'L.D.S.K.'"). During the reenactment, Reporter John

Jenkins reports live from Franklin Park and reports that Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)

"profilers have told the police task force that the sniper is, in fact, a member of the Des Plaines

Police Department" (Wilder). After being threatened with arrest under the Patriot Act, Jenkins

gives the phone number of the man who leaked the information to the news. Garcia traces the

number and identifies the leak as Scott McCarty, the officer who is playing the unsub for the

reenactment and "lying in the trunk of a sedan pointing a sniper rifle out of the back" ("*Criminal

Minds*: 'L.D.S.K.'"). Sergeant Weigart and his SWAT team apprehend McCarty; as they escort

him away, "a single shot pierces the air and takes McCarty cleanly between the eyes" ("*Criminal

Minds*: 'L.D.S.K.'").

　　　　Factoring in the latest murder, the team determines that "there is only one type of place

the unsub would be sure to meet his victims – two local hospitals" ("*Criminal Minds*:

'L.D.S.K.'"). Gideon and Reid "explain the concept of 'Hero Homicide' to Detective Calvin"

whereby offenders hurt their patients to help save them ("*Criminal Minds*: 'L.D.S.K.'").

Gideon's attention shifts to Dr. Landman, but after questioning him, the team concludes that Dr.

Landman is not the perpetrator as he does not fit the profile. In attempting to confirm Dr.

Landman's alibi, Hotch and Reid suspect that the unsub is actually a member of Emergency

Room (ER) staff, as, according to Reid, "the policemen and ER personnel are on the exact same

24-hour shift schedule" which allows for "contact with the victims" (Wilder). Hotch and Reid

realize that "it would be the staff of the hospital emergency rooms having to deal with three

shooting victims at once that would be considered the real heroes" ("*Criminal Minds*:

'L.D.S.K.'"). In speaking with a nurse, they identify the unsub as Nurse Phillip Dowd.

On Reid's way to inform Gideon of their discovery, Dowd appears in the ER, "takes a rifle from beneath his lab coat and hits Reid across the face, knocking him to the floor" ("*Criminal Minds*: 'L.D.S.K.'"). Dowd holds Hotch, Reid, and those in the ER hostage. Aware of the profile of a hero homicide offender, Hotch feeds into the mental state of Dowd. Hotch claims he knows how Dowd feels, that he was set up by the police, and that he is stuck with an incompetent boy genius. Dowd explains how he also feels undermined and grants Hotch's request to "kick the snot out of this kid" for making his "life miserable for three lousy years" (Wilder). As Hotch kicks Reid, Reid grabs the gun from Hotch's ankle holster. Dowd realizes that Hotch's ankle holster is empty, and in an instant, Reid "sites Hotchner's second gun on Dowd's forehead, presses the trigger, and follows through" ("*Criminal Minds*: 'L.D.S.K.'"). Sergeant Weigart's men stand down as Hotch, Reid, and the hostages walk out unharmed. With a detailed overview of "L.D.S.K." having been provided, an analysis of the episode "L.D.S.K." follows.

Analysis: *Crime Classification Manual II* (*CCM-II*)

When examined according to the guidelines provided in Douglas et al.'s *CCM-II*, the criminal profiling representations of "L.D.S.K." adhere to real life classification standards. The portrayals of criminal profiling in "L.D.S.K." are consistent with the guiding principles of classification standards offered by Douglas et al., including Classification by Number, Classification by Style, Type and Number of Victims, and a variety of Additional Profiling Considerations.

Classification by Number

When assessed according to the standards provided in the *CCM-II*, the crime committed by Dowd and the criminal profiling techniques used to apprehend him adhere to the

Classification by Number standards of hero homicide; specifically, the portrayals in "L.D.S.K."

are consistent with the *CCM-II*'s definition and defining characteristics of hero homicide. From a

criminal profiling perspective, Dowd fits the *CCM-II*'s definition of a hero homicide offender.

Hero homicide, Classification Number 128:02, is defined as a homicide involving an offender

who usually commits his acts on "victims who are critically ill" and does not necessarily intend

to kill his victim(s) (Douglas et al., "Chapter 6" 200). In most cases, "the hero homicide offender

is unsuccessful in an attempts to save the victim from death" (Douglas et al., "Chapter 6" 200).

In "L.D.S.K.," the BAU explicitly classifies the case as hero homicide. On their way to the

hospital, Gideon and Reid discuss their suspicions of a hero homicide offender with Detective

Calvin. Gideon explains, "I believe it's a case of hero homicide"; Reid follows in explaining that

"the best-known case was Hospital Nurse Richard Angelo. He would inject toxins then wait for

them to crash so that he could run to the rescue and save them. He killed twenty-five people, and

that's just what we know of." Accordingly, the criminal acts depicted in "L.D.S.K." fit the

general definition of hero homicide as provided by Douglas et al.

Defining Characteristics

The various elements of Dowd's crime and the criminal profiling techniques used to

apprehend him also adhere to the *CCM-II*'s defining characteristics of hero homicide.

Specifically, these characteristics include victimology, crime scene indicators, staging, forensic

findings, and investigative considerations.

Victimology

The depictions of victimology in "L.D.S.K." adhere to the victimology facets provided by

Douglas et al. in their *CCM-II*. The depictions of victimology in "L.D.S.K." adhere to the *CCM-II*'s victimology standards for hero homicides committed outside of institutional settings as

Dowd's victims are victims of opportunity. Although Douglas et al. focus their explanation primarily on cases committed within institutional settings, they do provide a brief description on the victimology regarding hero homicide incidents that occur beyond hospital walls. According to Douglas et al., "Outside the institutional setting, the hero killer's victim is a random target who has become a victim of opportunity by being in the building the arsonist torches or in the zone where the emergency medical technician works" ("Chapter 6" 201). In "L.D.S.K.," Dowd targets random victims that fit his window of opportunity, a window of opportunity which involves both time and place.

Dowd's victims are typical of hero homicide victims as they are opportunistically selected with respect to time. In "L.D.S.K.," Dowd strategically shoots his victims during the hospital emergency room (ER) personnel second shift changes. In delivering his profile to Des Plaines Police Department, Hotch explains the BAU's initial theory that the unsub had been or is currently a member of law enforcement due to the unsub's timing. Hotch explains, "We believe he changes jurisdictions intentionally and strikes during first/second shift change, indicating an intimate knowledge of law enforcement." Dowd had been a police officer prior to becoming a nurse, as Morgan explains as he briefs the team on Dowd's history: "He joined the army at eighteen, went to Ranger school, did six years before being dishonorably discharged in '95 for conduct unbecoming, obviously lied about it and joined the Arlington P.D." Though Dowd had been a cop, the reasoning for the timing is attributed to another profession's shift change time frame: ER personnel. In trying to build a better sketch of the unsub, Reid mentions that "the policemen and ER personnel are on the exact same twenty-four-hour shift schedule." Hotch realizes that "the unsub wasn't shooting at shift change because there are fewer cops on the

street. He works the second shift in the emergency room." Thus, the timing of the second shift change limits Dowd's opportunistic selection of victims.

Dowd's victims also adhere to the victimology of hero homicide as they are opportunistically selected with respect to place. The locations Dowd chooses to carry out his shootings are strategically selected. As the team tries to piece together details of the cases and build a solid profile to apprehend the unsub, Morgan explains that "since the crime scenes aren't centered on one single location, Garcia can't get a geographical profile without additional data." Once the team gathers additional data, specifically another crime scene, Morgan alerts the team that "Garcia nailed down the geographic profile. The crime scenes are centered on two separate locations." As Garcia reveals and the team suspects, the crime scenes are centered on the two hospitals at which Dowd works. Strategically, Dowd positions his crime scenes in zones covered by the hospitals at which he is stationed. The locations of the crime scenes are within Dowd's "physical" window of opportunity, a feature characteristic of the *CCM-II*'s description of hero homicide victimology. Accordingly, the victimology of "L.D.S.K." adheres to the victimology of hero homicide as defined in the *CCM-II*.

<p style="text-align:center">*Crime Scene Indicators*</p>

The presentations of crime scene indicators in "L.D.S.K." follow the conventions defined in the *CCM-II*. The crime scene indicators in "L.D.S.K." adhere to the *CCM-II* as Dowd initiates the crises and is then conveniently present to intervene as hero. "L.D.S.K." first conforms to the *CCM-II*'s guidelines as Dowd causes the crises. Douglas et al. explain that "in an institutional setting, the hero killer creates the crisis, usually with drugs" ("Chapter 6" 201). Though Dowd creates the crises beyond the hospital walls and drugs are not involved, Dowd nonetheless spurs the crises by shooting his victims, ultimately forcing them into situations in which Dowd can

intervene as hero. The presentations of crime scene indicators in "L.D.S.K." also adhere in a second way.

Second, "L.D.S.K." presents images consistent with the guidelines set forth in the *CCM-II* as Dowd is conveniently present to help his victims and play the role of hero. Douglas et al explain that "in cases involving an emergency, the hero killer is conveniently present" ("Chapter 6" 201). In "L.D.S.K.," Dowd is conveniently present for the shooting victims' arrivals at the ER and has contact with the victims. During the investigation, Gideon explains, "We know if the killer has no contact with his victims he will contact the media." Elle replies, "But he hasn't contacted the media," which leads Gideon to the conclusion that "he has contact with his victims." This conversation holds significance when, later in the episode, Hotch and Reid become aware that Dowd, as Hotch states, "works the second shift in the emergency room." Reid responds, "Contact with the victims." By working as an ER nurse, Dowd is conveniently present and has contact with his victims in a manner consistent with the *CCM-II*'s description of hero homicide crime scene indicators. Thus, the crime scene indicators depicted in "L.D.S.K." generally conform to the standards defined by Douglas et al.

Staging

The staging present in "L.D.S.K." adheres to the description of staging provided for hero homicide in Douglas et al.'s *CCM-II*. In "L.D.S.K.," Dowd's criminal acts rely on the staging of "life-threatening cris[es]," a defining feature of hero homicide (Douglas et al., "Chapter 6" 201). Douglas et al. explain that, "in a sense, staging is the central element of [hero] homicide" ("Chapter 6" 201). Specifically, "for the hero killer, it is a miscarried attempt to stage a scenario, a life-threatening crisis, in which the offender has the starring role as the hero. The fireman or arsonist sets the fire, only to rush back for the rescue" (Douglas et al., "Chapter 6" 201). The

staging on "L.D.S.K." conforms to the *CCM-II*'s hero homicide staging standards. Dowd fits Douglas et al.'s model of hero homicide offender through his use of staging. As Douglas et al. explain, "the nurse or emergency technician makes a timely response to the person after inducing the state of crisis" ("Chapter 6" 201). As previously discussed, the success of Dowd's scheme relies on the implementation of effective staging. In shooting and treating his victims, Dowd stages his crimes in conformity with the *CCM-II*'s description of hero homicide staging.

Forensic Findings

The forensic findings depicted in "L.D.S.K." do not adhere to those indicated by Douglas et al. in the *CCM-II*. The forensic finding guidelines provided by Douglas et al. involve hero homicides committed in institutional settings, in which toxic drugs and poisons play a major role. No foul play involving the injection of poisons or drugs is depicted in "L.D.S.K." Accordingly, the hero homicide forensic findings suggested in the *CCM-II* do not surface in "L.D.S.K."

Investigative Considerations

The portrayals of investigative considerations in "L.D.S.K." are consistent with the *CCM-II*'s hero homicide investigative recommendations. The investigative considerations in "L.D.S.K." adhere to the *CCM-II* as the show's BAU investigates the background of the unsub Dowd and seeks the opinion of his coworkers. The episode adheres to the *CCM-II*'s guidelines as the BAU examines Dowd's employment history. Douglas et al. explain that the "inspection of a suspect's employment history is important: the investigator should look for frequent job changes with a corresponding increase of mortality associated with the suspect's employment" ("Chapter 6" 202). In "L.D.S.K.," the BAU examines Dowd's employment history in two instances. First, during their investigation and prior to classifying the case as hero homicide, the BAU team develops a preliminary profile; the profile suggests that the unsub would have an unstable

employment record. Hotch, in delivering the preliminary profile to the Des Plaines Police Department, explains that the unsub "has no friends and his career history has been marked by frequent job changes." The BAU also researches Dowd's background later in the episode.

Second, the BAU discusses their findings that Dowd actually has an unstable employment record. As Dowd holds Hotch and Reid hostage, Morgan, J.J., and Elle discuss their findings of Dowd's history characterized by frequent job changes; Morgan explains that Dowd "joined the army at eighteen, went to Ranger school, did six years before being dishonorably discharged in '95 for conduct unbecoming, obviously lied about it and joined the Arlington P.D." J.J. replies, "You were right. He was a cop." Elle adds, "For nine months. When they found out that he lied about the discharge, they kicked him out. Soon thereafter, Dowd got his nursing license. He's been bouncing from hospital to hospital ever since." Thus, the BAU's investigation into Dowd's unstable employment record conforms to Douglas et al.'s recommendations for hero homicide investigative considerations.

"L.D.S.K." also conforms to the *CCM-II*'s investigation guidelines as the BAU seeks the opinions of Dowd's coworkers. Douglas et al. explain that "interviews of coworkers may reveal that the offender demonstrates an unusually high level of excitement or exhilaration while participating in the rescue or resuscitation efforts. Conversations may often involve the rescue or resuscitation incidents" ("Chapter 6" 202). The depictions in "L.D.S.K." adhere to this standard as Hotch and Reid discuss the unsub and interview Dowd's coworker based on their discussion. First, when Hotch and Reid search for Dr. Pate to confirm Dr. Landman's alibi and assess the profile, Hotch explains that "Richard Angelo wanted to be a hero because in his everyday life, he was a nobody. Landman's a surgeon. He has power and recognition." Reid responds, "Yeah, but you know surgeons are a different breed. They are the stars in their field, and Landman is

definitely not one of them." Hotch notes that "the motivations for hero homicide are excitement, power, and respect, and even though Landman's not a star, he still gets respect. Racing against the clock to save someone's life is exciting." In their discussion, Reid and Hotch indicate that a hero homicide offender seeks excitement, a key feature as noted by Douglas et al. Reid continues with, "Maybe it's not exciting enough. That's why he shoots three people at a time" which leads Hotch to conclude that Dr. Landman can "only operate on one at a time; it wouldn't be any more exciting. At least, not for Landman and not in the O.R." From their conversation, Hotch and Reid rule Dr. Landman out as a suspect and develop a better understanding of the unsub.

Based on the profile they pieced together in their discussion, Hotch and Reid question a nurse at the ER, Dowd's coworker, in which they discover the unsub's identity. Hotch explains, "We're FBI agents, and we believe that one of your staff members might be the sniper. Now, the man we're looking for works second shift, and he would have transferred from Arlington in the past two weeks." Hotch continues, "He's in his thirties, he's vain, rude, arrogant, he works out, he shows up to work late. He blames others for his mistakes, doesn't take responsibility for his behavior. All of his coworkers detest him." The nurse suddenly knows whom Hotch is referring to and replies, "Oh my God. It's Phillip Dowd. He picks up shifts at Arlington." Thus, the BAU's interview of Dowd's coworker proves fruitful in identifying the unsub and is consistent with the *CCM-II*'s hero homicide investigative consideration standards. Accordingly, the previous analysis demonstrates how the BAU's investigation into Dowd's background and its questioning of Dowd's coworker adhere to the *CCM-II*'s guidelines for hero homicide investigative considerations. Though thorough, the previous analysis is not conclusive; the adherence of "L.D.S.K." to crime classification standards is also demonstrated when assessed using a different crime classification method.

Crime Classification by Style, Type, and Number of Victims

When assessed according to the Classification by Style, Type and Number of Victims standards of the *CCM-II*, the crimes committed by Dowd and the criminal profiling techniques used to apprehend him adhere to the defining characteristics of spree murder.

Spree Murder

Dowd's crime and the BAU's discussion of it adhere to the definition of spree murder provided by Burgess in the *CCM-II*. Though the BAU team in "L.D.S.K." classifies Dowd as a Long Distance Serial Killer (L.D.S.K.), when analyzed according to the standards set forth by Burgess, Dowd more appropriately fits the definition of a spree murderer. A number of spree murder characteristics apply to Dowd's case. Dowd fits the definition of a spree murderer as he randomly selects his victims, acts within a short time frame without cooling off, and does not stop shooting until authorities intervene.

First, Dowd fits the profile of a spree murderer as he randomly selects his victims. As Burgess explains, "spree murderers, like serial murderers, appear to select their victims at random" (Burgess 448). However, this standard carries a caveat as spree murderers will "go for those who will meet their personal needs at the time" (Burgess 448). Dowd's case adheres to this principle. As previously discussed, Dowd randomly selects his victims; he does not target a specific race, gender, or age. However, his selection of victims is governed by limitations on time and place; he shoots individuals who are in the hospital's range during the second shift change. Accordingly, Dowd meets the first general characteristic of a spree killer.

Second, Dowd fits the definition of a spree killer as he shoots his victims within a short time period. Burgess explains that "spree killers tend to do their damage within a short time span. There is generally no cooling-off period" (Burgess 448). The timeline of Dowd's shootings is

characteristic of spree murder. Three instances in the episode illustrate this point. For example, when the BAU first takes the case, Dowd has shot ten people, fatally wounding two, within two and a half weeks. When the BAU team first gets the case, Hotch explains:

> Two weeks, three shooting incidents. Six victims, all shot in the abdomen. First
>
> and only fatality, Henry Sachs….Nine days later, Doug Miller and Kevin Parks
>
> were playing basketball at a community center. Franklin Park, four days later,
>
> Jerry Middleton, Kate Murray, and Tim Reilly.

Dowd's criminal acts do not cease here, however. Another example involves Dowd's shooting at a restaurant. Two days after the shooting in Franklin Park, Dowd opens fire at a restaurant. At the crime scene, Elle notes, "Three more victims, with nonfatal wounds, and it's only been 48 hours since the last shooting." Gideon replies, "The media attention and the FBI presence will only escalate his desire to shoot again." In yet another instance, within a day's time, Dowd shoots and kills a police officer; Gideon explains, "What do we know? Our unsub went from wounding civilians to executing a police officer. So, he's escalated." Thus, by shooting his victims within a brief amount of time, Dowd's behavior conforms to a second general characteristic of spree murderers.

Third, Dowd fits the definition of a spree murderer as he does not stop his rampage until the BAU stops him. As Burgess explains, spree murderers are "like killing machines up to the point that they are caught or turn themselves in" (448). In other cases, however, "the killer often commits suicide or goes for what is known as 'suicide by cop': putting himself in a position where police will have to kill him" (Burgess 448). By taking Hotch, Reid, and the people in the ER hostage, Dowd places himself in a position typical of spree murderers and sets himself up for suicide by cop. The discussions of both Hotch and Dowd and Gideon and Sergeant Weigart

reiterate this point. While held hostage, Hotch says to Dowd, "I know your plan is to go down in a hail of bullets." Hotch adds, "When they come in here to get revenge for the cop you killed you're gonna go down fighting, and in the crossfire a lot of innocent people are going to die." In another scene, Gideon talks with Sergeant Weigart and highlights Dowd's "killing machine" nature (Burgess 448). Gideon explains, "You send your men in, they're just gonna become villains in his little hero fantasy." The words of Hotch and Gideon seem to indicate Dowd's fate. Before Dowd can act, Reid shoots Dowd in the forehead, eliminating the threat, and facilitating suicide by cop. Thus, by facilitating suicide by cop and by necessitating the BAU's intervention to stop him, Dowd again qualifies as a spree murderer.

Overall, by randomly selecting his victims, by not operating with a cooling off period, and by not stopping his criminal acts until the BAU is forced to intervene, Dowd fits Burgess's definition of a spree murderer. Though a substantial argument as to how Dowd's case adheres to standards provided in the *CCM-II*, the analysis of "L.D.S.K." is still not complete.

Additional Profiling Considerations in "L.D.S.K."

The portrayals of criminal profiling in "L.D.S.K." also adhere to several additional considerations offered in the *CCM-II*. The BAU's attempts to decipher Dowd's modus operandi (MO) and signature aspect are consistent with the *CCM-II*'s profiling recommendations.

Modus Operandi (MO)

Criminal Minds' BAU investigators attempt to decipher the offender's MO, a crucial element of the profiling process as defined by Douglas and Douglas in the *CCM-II*. In "L.D.S.K.," the BAU attempts to decipher the unsub's MO, as suggested by the *CCM-II*, by conducting crime scene analysis, crime scene evidence analysis, and crime scene reenactment. The BAU in "L.D.S.K." conforms to the *CCM-II*'s recommendation to decipher the unsub's MO

analyzing the crime scene at Franklin Park. While at the crime scene, Hotch observes that a freshly painted handicapped spot "couldn't be any farther away from the entrance of the building" and "also has line of sight to all three victims and the flagpole." Hotch explains to Morgan and Detective Calvin the significance of examining the spot's location:

> At this range, the unsub would have to factor in wind direction and speed as he shot. To do this, he needed a spot with a wide field of fire where he could see the flag to judge how the wind would affect each shot. He came here before the shooting, decided this was his spot, and ensured that it would be empty when he came back. My guess is he's shooting from his car.

By examining the crime scene to figure out how the unsub works and decipher his method of operation, Hotch and Morgan are able to surmise that the unsub is shooting from his car, a valuable piece of information. Accordingly, the BAU in "L.D.S.K.," by means of crime scene analysis, attempts to decipher the unsub's MO, an important part of the profiling process as stressed in the *CCM-II.*

The BAU in "L.D.S.K." also adheres to the *CCM-II*'s guidelines on deciphering MO by analyzing crime scene evidence; specifically, the BAU examines the bullets taken from the victims. Prior to traveling to Des Plaines to assist in the case, Hotch explains that the unsub is "using frangible rounds, which fragment on impact, making ballistics comparisons impossible." However, analysis of the bullets is not rendered all together useless. When Gideon, Elle, and J.J. first arrive at the hospital after the first shooting, Dr. Landman and Dr. Erstadt discuss extraction of a bullet still lodged in one of the victims. Marston, the hospital administrator asks, "What significance does the bullet have in building the profile?" Gideon explains that "even if we can't get a ballistics match, we can get a rifle type, and a specific type of rifle a suspect uses, that

could be very significant to the profile." Later in the episode, Morgan relays Garcia's results from analyzing the evidence. In referring to the unsub, Morgan explains, "He was probably a marine, ranger, or other specialized unit. Garcia says that the bullet was a .223 fired from an M-4 variant of the M-16." Reid adds that "all the services use an M-4," and Morgan notes, "It's got a shorter barrel than the M-16. It's less accurate and a lot harder to fire, especially at these distances." Thus, in analyzing ballistics evidence, the team develops an understanding of the unsub's weapon, an important component of a murderer's MO. Thus, in their analysis of crime scene evidence, the BAU in "L.D.S.K." attempts to decipher the unsub's MO, an important consideration as deemed in the *CCM-II.*

In "L.D.S.K.," the BAU again attempts to understand the unsub's MO by reenacting the shooting at Franklin Park. Hotch explains to Sergeant Weigart that the team "would like to reenact the third shooting during the shift change" in order to "better understand his [the unsub's] MO. How does he get there? How does he leave? What's the traffic like?" J.J. explains how reenacting could "help us with witnesses. Maybe the victims or bystanders saw something, but don't realize the significance of what they saw." Accordingly, by reenacting the crime scene, the BAU in "L.D.S.K." strives to decipher the unsub's MO, a significant consideration as explained in the *CCM-II.*

In "L.D.S.K.," the BAU's crime scene analysis, crime scene evidence analysis, and crime scene reenactment are practices conducive to deciphering the unsub's MO, a consideration highlighted in the *CCM-II.* However, analyses according to the *CCM-II*'s additional profiling considerations are not exhausted.

Signature Aspect

The portrayals of criminal profiling in "L.D.S.K." adhere to an additional *CCM-II* profiling consideration; the BAU's attempts to decipher Dowd's signature aspect are consistent with the *CCM-II*'s profiling recommendations. In "L.D.S.K.," the BAU team examines the unsub's signature or "unique personality of the offender" (Douglas and Douglas, "Chapter 1" 21). Douglas and Douglas explain that "the crime scene can include aspects of an offender's signature in, for instance, evidence of excessive force" ("Chapter 1" 22). In "L.D.S.K.", the opposite is the case; two examples illustrate this point. First, the BAU discusses the possibility that the unsub's signature is defined by underkill. Gideon explains that "sometimes it's not what the unsub does that reveals the profile, sometimes it is what they do not do. Reid observes that the unsub "doesn't kill his victims." Gideon stresses that, in this case, "underkill's a unique signature." Hotch poses several important questions related to this subject; he explains, "The question is: Does he shoot them in the stomach intending just to wound them, or is he just aiming at the biggest part of the target? Specifically, does the unsub lack the skill to make the head shot, or simply the will to take it?" The BAU elaborates on this point later in the episode.

Second, the BAU determines that Dowd's signature is characterized by underkill upon discussing the ballistics report. As the team examines Garcia's results from analyzing the evidence, Morgan notes that the unsub's weapon has "a shorter barrel than the M-16. It's less accurate and a lot harder to fire, especially at these distances. This level of skill indicates specialized training." Reid adds that "if he has specialized training, he knows exactly what he's doing." Hotch speculates that the unsub "intended to wound them," to which Morgan elaborates, "the underkill is deliberate." Thus, the episode's inclusion of Dowd's signature is consistent with Douglas and Douglas's explanation of signature aspect. Accordingly, in "L.D.S.K.," the BAU's

attempts to discover the unsub's signature aspect is a practice consistent with the *CCM-II*'s

profiling guidelines.

Though the *CCM-II* provides a variety of frameworks for analysis, including

Classification by Number, Classification by Style, Type, and Number of victims, and Additional

Profiling Considerations, it does not provide an adequate discussion of the various mental and

personality disorders from which perpetrators may suffer. Therefore, additional sources are

necessary for the remainder of this analysis of "L.D.S.K."

Analysis: Mental Disorder Evaluation

In "L.D.S.K.," the depictions of mental and personality disorders adhere to the

descriptions provided in the *DSM-IV* and the "PCL-R." In the episode, the BAU team believes

that the unsub Dowd suffers from several personality and mental disorders; the descriptions they

provide of these personality disorders are consistent with those defined in the *DSM-IV* and the

"PCL-R." As both guides offer overlapping characteristics, this examination is organized

according to disorder traits. Specifically, the discussions the BAU have regarding Dowd's

disorders of paranoia and narcissism are consistent with the definitions provided in the *DSM-IV*

and the "PCL-R."

Paranoia

The BAU's description of paranoia in "L.D.S.K." conforms to the definition provided in

the *DSM-IV.* An explanation of paranoia, as defined by the *DSM-IV*, is necessary to

contextualize the following analysis. According to Burgess, paranoia, a personality type of the

DSM-IV's Cluster A, is a "pervasive distrust and suspiciousness of others" ("DSM"). Paranoid

behavior includes "interpreting the actions of others as deliberately threatening or demeaning,"

being "untrusting, unforgiving, and prone to angry or aggressive outbursts," "perceive[ing]

others as unfaithful, disloyal, condescending or deceitful," and being "jealous, guarded, secretive, and scheming" (Burgess, "DSM"). With a proper explanation of paranoia having been presented, an analysis of the episode's treatment of it follows.

The adherence of the BAU's descriptions of paranoia to the *DSM-IV* definition is notable in three scenes of "L.D.S.K."; the BAU's descriptions adhere during their initial analysis of the Franklin Park crime scene, in the profile delivered to the local police department, and in Gideon's pleading to Sergeant Weigart to let the BAU handle the hostage negotiation. First, upon initially analyzing the crime scene at Franklin Park, Hotch and Morgan take note that they are dealing with a paranoid unsub. Hotch, Morgan, and Detective Calvin theorize that the unsub is shooting his victims from his car, allowing for a quick and east getaway. This deduction leads Hotch and Morgan to believe that the unsub does not stick around long enough to watch his victims suffer. Ruling out the unsub as a sadist, Hotch hypothesizes that they are dealing with "a very smart, very resourceful, very paranoid sociopath." Thus, in his own words, Hotch describes the unsub as suffering from paranoia, a personality disorder of the *DSM-IV*'s Cluster A.

Second, upon delivering the BAU's preliminary profile to the Des Plaines Police Department, Hotch explains that the unsub suffers from paranoia. Hotch reveals that "the unsub suffers from both narcissistic and paranoid personality disorders." Specifically, Hotch highlights the untrusting, guarded nature of the unsub; he suggests that the unsub "works out obsessively and is never without a weapon." Thus, again, Hotch describes the unsub as a paranoid man.

Third, upon trying to persuade Sergeant Weigart not to intervene and to let Hotch and Reid proceed with the hostage negotiation, Gideon stresses Dowd's paranoia. Gideon speaks to Dowd's scheming nature and explains that Dowd "is a violent, deranged paranoid. It's a game. He's going to do whatever he has to." Thus, Gideon stresses Dowd's personality disorder.

Accordingly, in "L.D.S.K.," the BAU's descriptions of Dowd's paranoia during the initial analysis of the Franklin Park crime scene, in the profile delivered to the local police department, and in Gideon's pleading to Sergeant Weigart adhere to *DSM-IV*'s definition.

Narcissism

The BAU's discussion of narcissism in "L.D.S.K." conforms to the descriptions provided in the *DSM-IV* and the "PCL-R." In "L.D.S.K.," Dowd is described as being narcissistic; narcissism is a personality type of *DSM-IV*'s Cluster B and the "PCL-R's" Factor One. For this analysis, the defining features of narcissism can be divided into three main categories. In describing Dowd as possessing grandiosity, lacking empathy, and failing to accept responsibility, the BAU's conception of narcissism is consistent with the *DSM-IV* and "PCL-R" definitions.

First, in "L.D.S.K.," the BAU's description of Dowd as a narcissist with a grandiose personality is consistent with explanations of grandiosity provided in the *DSM-IV* and the "PCL-R." An explanation of grandiosity, as defined by the *DSM-IV* and "PCL-R," is necessary to contextualize the following analysis of grandiosity. According to Burgess, in terms of the *DSM-IV*'s Cluster B, narcissism is a disorder defined by "grandiosity [and a] need for admiration" ("DSM"). Narcissism involves an "exaggerated sense of self-importance," in which the subject is "absorbed by fantasies of unlimited success, and seek[s] constant attention" (Burgess, "DSM"). Further, the subject is "oversensitive to failure" and suffers from "mood swings between self-admiration and insecurity" (Burgess, "DSM"). The "PCL-R" similarly characterizes narcissism in terms of grandiosity; Factor One of the "PCL-R" discusses a "grandiose sense of self-worth" (Burgess, "DSM"). One who has a grandiose sense of self-worth is "self-assured, confident, cocky" and does not see himself "as [a] failure or social outcast" (Burgess, "DSM"). With a

proper explanation of grandiosity having been presented, an analysis of the episode's treatment of it follows.

The adherence of the BAU's descriptions of grandiosity to the *DSM-IV* and "PCL-R" explanation is notable in Hotch's delivery of the unsub's preliminary profile to the Des Plaines Police Department, in Gideon's discussion with Reid and Detective Calvin regarding the unsub's profile, and in Morgan and Hotch's discussion of the unsub's signature. For example, in delivering the profile of the unsub to the Des Plaines Police Department, Hotch provides a description of Dowd's grandiose nature that is consistent with the explanations provided in the *DSM-IV* and the "PCL-R." Hotch explains that "the unsub suffers from both narcissistic and paranoid personality disorders." Hotch elaborates, explaining that the unsub is "completely self-centered." Still further, Hotch adds that the unsub is "drawn to high-stakes job by a need to prove his superiority to a world he perceives has undervalued him." The BAU's discussion of Dowd's grandiosity does not cease here.

A second example of the BAU's accurate discussion of Dowd's grandiose nature involves Gideon's discussion of the unsub's profile with Reid and Detective Galvin; Gideon provides a description of Dowd's grandiose nature that is consistent with the explanations provided in the *DSM-IV* and the "PCL-R." Gideon stresses the unsub's "exaggerated sense of self-importance" and explains that the unsub is "arrogant, conceited, [and] feels superior to everyone around [him]" (Burgess, "DSM"). Again, however, the BAU's discussion of Dowd's grandiosity does not cease here.

In yet another example, in discussing the unsub's signature, Morgan and Hotch provide a description of Dowd's grandiose nature that is consistent with the explanations provided in the *DSM-IV* and the "PCL-R." When Morgan states that "the underkill is deliberate," Hotch replies,

"Everything he does is deliberate, but it's as if he needs to show us how smart he is." Hotch thus suggests that the unsub feels as though he needs to assert himself and reaffirm his self-worth. Accordingly, in "L.D.S.K.," the BAU's descriptions of Dowd's narcissistic grandiosity, specifically in Hotch's delivery of the unsub's profile, in Gideon's discussion of the unsub's profile with Reid and Detective Calvin, and in Morgan and Hotch's dialogue regarding the unsub's signature, adhere to the "PCL-R" and *DSM-IV*'s explanations.

Second, in "L.D.S.K.," the BAU's description of Dowd as a narcissist who lacks empathy is consistent with explanations provided in the "PCL-R." A characterization of one who lacks empathy," as provided by the "PCL-R," is necessary to contextualize the following analysis. According to Factor One of the "PCL-R," which details a subject's "callous indifference/lack of empathy," one who lacks empathy typically is "arrogant [and] consider[s] others to be inferior" (Burgess, "DSM"). He also usually is "intolerant of others," and "indifference comes across in remarks" (Burgess, "DSM"). Additionally, the narcissist "tend[s] to exploit interpersonal relationships" (Burgess, "DSM"). With a sufficient description of a lack of empathy having been presented, an analysis of the episode's treatment of it follows.

The adherence of the BAU's descriptions of a lack of empathy to the "PCL-R" explanation is notable in Hotch's delivery of the unsub's preliminary profile to the Des Plaines Police Department, in Hotch's discussion with the hospital nurse, and in Hotch's discussion with Dowd while being held hostage. For example, in delivering the unsub's profile to the Des Plaines Police Department, Hotch's description of the unsub as lacking empathy adheres to the description provided in the "PCL-R." Hotch explains that the unsub "cannot empathize with others." Hotch adds that the unsub "has no friends and his career history has been marked by frequent job changes." In another instance, as he describes the unsub to the hospital nurse, Hotch

provides a description of an unsub who lacks empathy consistent with that given in the "PCL-R." Hotch explains that the unsub is "in his thirties, he's vain, rude, arrogant, he works out, he shows up to work late." Still further, in talking with Dowd while being held hostage, Hotch feeds Dowd's lack of empathy, depicting Dowd in a light consistent with the descriptions provided in the "PCL-R." Dowd's lack of empathy and disrespect for others is demonstrated in his agreement with Hotch's remarks; Hotch explains, "I know you're the smartest guy in every room you've ever been in and no one's ever known it. People feel threatened by you and try to sabotage you every chance they get." Hotch adds, "You think you got it rough? These people have done nothing but undermine me since I got here." Here, Hotch plays the role of narcissist to feed Dowd's disorder. By role playing, Hotch highlights Dowd's lack of empathy, a lack of empathy that is consistent with the description given in the "PCL-R." Accordingly, in "L.D.S.K.," the BAU's descriptions of Dowd's narcissistic lack of empathy in Hotch's delivery of the unsub's profile, in Hotch's description of the unsub to the hospital nurse, and in Hotch's discussion with Dowd while being held hostage, adhere to the "PCL-R" explanations.

Third, in "L.D.S.K.," the BAU's description of Dowd as a narcissist who fails to take responsibility for his actions is consistent with explanations provided in the *DSM-IV* and "PCL-R." A characterization of one who fails to take responsibility for his actions, as provided by the in the *DSM-IV* and "PCL-R," is necessary to contextualize the following analysis. According to Burgess, in terms of the *DSM-IV*'s Cluster B, the narcissist commonly attributes his "present circumstance [as a] result of bad luck" ("DSM"). The "PCL-R" elaborates on this concept. Factor One of the "PCL-R" notes that a "failure to accept responsibility for [one's] own actions" involves engagement "in massive justification and minimization if not outright denial" (Burgess, "DSM"). Narcissists often "blame the victim" and "won't even take responsibility for speeding

tickets" (Burgess, "DSM"). An analysis of the episode's portrayal of a narcissist who fails to take responsibility for one's actions follows.

The adherence of the episode's depictions of a narcissist who fails to take responsibility for his actions to the *DSM-IV* and "PCL-R" explanation is depicted in Hotch's delivery of the unsub's preliminary profile to the Des Plaines Police Department, in Hotch's discussion with the hospital nurse, and in Hotch's discussion with Dowd while being held hostage. In one instance, as he delivers the unsub's profile to the Des Plaines Police Department, Hotch describes the unsub as a narcissist who fails to take responsibility for his actions. In this scene, Hotch states that the unsub is simply "incapable of admitting fault; he blames his short-comings on those around him." Hotch's description thus adheres to that provided in the *DSM-IV* and "PCL-R."

In another scene, as he describes the unsub to the hospital nurse, Hotch provides a description of a narcissist who fails to take responsibility for his actions that is consistent with descriptions provided in the *DSM-IV* and "PCL-R." Hotch explains to the hospital nurse that the unsub is conceded, "blames others for his mistakes, [and] doesn't take responsibility for his behavior. All of his coworkers detest him." The BAU describes Dowd as a narcissist who fails to take responsibility for his actions in one more scene.

Still further, in talking with Dowd while being held hostage, Hotch feeds into Dowd's inability to take responsibility for his actions and highlights Dowd as a narcissist as defined by the *DSM-IV* and "PCL-R." Dowd's failure is emphasized through his agreement with Hotch's remarks. Hotch supports Dowd's attempts to evade responsibility and explains, "You're not a bad person. You help save all of your victims afterwards. First guy wasn't your fault. If the EMTs had been there on time, he would've lived." Dowd agrees that the death of the first victim was not his fault, as it "took those guys thirteen minutes. Thirteen!" Dowd thus shifts the blame

onto the EMTs, instead of owning up to his actions; this is a personality trait that is consistent

with the description provided in the *DSM-IV* and "PCL-R." Accordingly, in "L.D.S.K.," the

portrayals of Dowd's narcissistic failure to take responsibility for his actions, as demonstrated in

Hotch's delivery of the unsub's profile, in Hotch's description of the unsub to the hospital nurse,

and in Hotch's discussion with Dowd while being held hostage, adhere to the explanations

provided in the *DSM-IV* and "PCL-R." Thus, overall, in "L.D.S.K.," the depictions of Dowd's

narcissistic grandiose nature, lack of empathy, and failure to accept responsibility for his actions

adhere to the defining characteristics of narcissism as provided in the *DSM-IV* and "PCL-R."

Concluding Thoughts

Overall, the preceding analysis demonstrates that the portrayals of criminal profiling in

"L.D.S.K." adhere to legitimate criminal profiling considerations and practices. When examined

according to Douglas et al.'s *CCM-II*, the criminal profiling representations of "L.D.S.K." adhere

to real life classification standards, including Classification by Number, Classification by Style,

Type, and Number of Victims, and a variety of Additional Profiling Considerations. The crime

committed by Dowd and the criminal profiling techniques used to apprehend him adhere to the

Classification by Number category standards of hero homicide; these portrayals generally

conform to the *CCM-II*'s hero homicide definition and defining characteristics of victimology,

crime scene indicators, staging, and investigative considerations. In terms of victimology, the

episode's depictions adhere to the *CCM-II*'s victimology standards of hero homicide committed

outside the institutional setting; specifically, Dowd randomly targets random victims that fit his

window of opportunity with respect to both time and place. The presentations of crime scene

indicators in "L.D.S.K." also follow the conventions defined in the *CCM-II* as Dowd initiates the

crises and conveniently plays the role of hero. The *CCM-II*'s standards for the defining

characteristic of staging also manifest in "L.D.S.K." Additionally, the portrayals of investigative considerations in "L.D.S.K." are consistent with the *CCM-II*'s hero homicide investigative recommendations as the show's BAU investigates Dowd's background and seeks his coworker's opinion. It is important to note, however, that the defining characteristic of forensic findings is not presented in "L.D.S.K." in a manner consistent with the *CCM-II*'s description. According to the *CCM-II*, forensic findings typical of hero homicides involve poisoning, and the criminal acts of Dowd in "L.D.S.K." do not involve lethal injections or anything related.

When assessed according to the Classification by Style, Type and Number of Victims standards of the *CCM-II*, the crimes committed by Dowd and the criminal profiling techniques used adhere to the defining characteristics of spree murder. Dowd qualifies as a spree murderer by randomly selecting his victims, acting within a short time frame without cooling off, and not stopping his shooting spree until authorities intervene. It is important to note, that despite the BAU's classification of Dowd as a Long Distance Serial Killer, when analyzed according to the standards set forth by Burgess, Dowd more appropriately fits the definition of a spree murderer. Though the reason as to why the creators of the episode call Dowd a serial killer are unclear, it is possible that the creators may have used the term in order to minimize audience confusion. If the creators were to have called it spree murder, they would have had to adequately explain this unfamiliar term to the audience. Using the term serial may have served to eliminate that obstacle. It is possible, that to an unfamiliar audience, the term serial killer is more readily understood and recognizable. Despite the BAU's claim that Dowd is a serial killer, Dowd's criminal acts nonetheless conform to standards of spree murder.

The portrayals of criminal profiling in "L.D.S.K." also adhere to the additional considerations of MO and signature aspect as offered in the *CCM-II*. Specifically, in "L.D.S.K.,"

by conducting crime scene analysis, crime scene evidence analysis, and crime scene reenactment, the BAU attempts to decipher the unsub's MO, an important consideration as deemed in the *CCM-II*. Second, the portrayals of criminal profiling in "L.D.S.K." adhere to the *CCM-II* profiling consideration of the perpetrator's signature aspect. Accordingly, with the exceptions of the representations of forensic findings and spree murder, the criminal profiling representations in "L.D.S.K." generally adhere to the classification standards offered in the *CCM-II*.

When examined according to the explanations provided in the *DSM-IV* and the "PCL-R," the depictions of mental and personality disorders in "L.D.S.K." appear to be realistic representations. Specifically, the discussions agents have regarding Dowd's disorders of paranoia and narcissism are consistent with the definitions provided in the *DSM-IV* and the "PCL-R." First, the BAU's description of paranoia in "L.D.S.K." conforms to the *DSM-IV*'s definition. Second, the BAU and Dowd's discussions of narcissism in "L.D.S.K." conform to the descriptions provided in the *DSM-IV* and the "PCL-R." The depictions of Dowd's grandiose nature, his lack of empathy, and his failure to accept responsibility for his actions, through his own words and through those of the BAU agents, are consistent with the *DSM-IV* and "PCL-R" definitions.

Accordingly, "L.D.S.K." depicts portrayals of criminal profiling techniques and standards that are consistent with established real life guidelines and practices.

CHAPTER EIGHT

ANALYSIS OF "FEAR AND LOATHING"

The following examination of "Fear and Loathing" is divided into four sections. The first section provides an overview of the episode "Fear and Loathing." The second and third sections present analyses of the authenticity of criminal profiling representations in "Fear and Loathing." Using guidelines provided in Douglas et al.'s *Crime Classification Manual: A Standard System for Investigating and Classifying Violent Crimes, Second Edition (Crime Classification Manual II or CCM-II)* as analytical frameworks, the second section argues that the episode's criminal profiling representations, with several exceptions, adhere to real life crime classification standards. The third section argues that the episode offers realistic representations; this section illustrates how personality and mental disorders portrayed in the episode conform to definitions provided in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fourth Edition (DSM-IV)* and "Hare Psychopathy Checklist Revised (PCL-R)." The fourth section presents concluding thoughts on the analysis that follows. Throughout this chapter, references to dialogue are taken from writer Aaron Zelman's *Criminal Minds* episode "Fear and Loathing." Overall, the episode "Fear and Loathing" offers realistic portrayals of criminal profiling.

An Episode Summary: "Fear and Loathing"

In order to contextualize the following analysis, an understanding of the plot of writer Aaron Zelman's episode "Fear and Loathing" is necessary. In Zelman's episode "Fear and Loathing" the Behavioral Analysis Unit (BAU) offers their assistance "to prevent a possible race riot when the murder of [three] young black women in a mostly white New York suburb appear to be hate crimes" ("*Criminal Minds*: 'Fear'"). The BAU first gets involved upon learning of the murders of a sixteen year old black girl Sandra and her white boyfriend Ken. As the episode

opens, Sandra is waiting alone in the dark on a park bench. As a car pulls up, Sandra's ex-boyfriend, Ken, who followed her there, approaches the car; the driver shoots Ken and follows Sandra into the woods to murder her. Once the team intervenes, they learn that the three girls "were found having been strangled, beaten and stabbed. The other two girls had black swastikas painted on their faces, while Sandra's white boyfriend had a swastika painted on his car" ("*Criminal Minds*: 'Fear'"). Agreeing that the recent murders were racially motivated, Mayor Hughes of Groton, Connecticut, reaches out to the BAU for help.

On the jet on their way to Groton, Connecticut, the team continues the discussion they started at headquarters. Prentiss explains "that there were traces of the date-rape drug GHB in the first two victims, but no signs of sexual assault" and that there were no "drugs in the victims in the double homicide" ("*Criminal Minds*: 'Fear'"). J.J. also tells the agents of "a threatening letter Sandra had found at her door a few weeks before her murder"; Reid concludes that the letter was written by an adolescent girl ("*Criminal Minds*: 'Fear'"). With the few pieces of information they have, the team prepares to meet with local authorities in charge of the investigation.

Upon arriving, the team meets Mayor Hughes and black "Detective Rick Ware from the state police department" (Zelman). The team first investigates the threatening note. Detective Ware advises the team that, according to rumor, a young girl, Tonya Mathis, was dumped by Ken for Sandra; Detective Ware explains that Tonya swore she did not write it, but after interrogating her, Morgan and Prentiss "get Tonya to admit she wrote the note" ("*Criminal Minds*: 'Fear'"). The team believes that Tonya wrote the note but is not guilty of murder.

Meanwhile, Gideon, Hotch, and a local police officer examine the crime scene of Ken and Sandra's murders. In examining the clothes that Sandra and Ken were wearing, Hotch and Gideon explain that they do not believe that the two were on a date, but that Sandra was meeting

the unsub. Following, the team reviews the coroner's report, which reveals "post-mortem stab wounds" and "fairly extreme overkill" (Zelman). Hotch notes that "post-mortem stab wounds almost always indicate sexual homicide" and Reid adds that the "fairly extreme overkill…is markedly different from the other two girls" (Zelman). Hotch explains that the overkill most likely signified that the murderer "didn't get what he wanted from Sandra" (Zelman). The BAU and Detective Ware begin to believe that the murderer is not committing hate crimes, but is instead a sexual predator and serial killer. The BAU further explains how the "swastikas on the bodies are a distraction…to keep law enforcement from realizing he is a serial killer." ("*Criminal Minds*: 'Fear'"). In order to, as Hotch describes, "confirm that the double homicide is linked to the first two murders," the team interviews the victims' families (Zelman). The team learns that "these girls were good students who stayed out of trouble" and who shared a common passion of singing (Zelman). Meanwhile, the unsub strikes again; another black teenager Naomi goes missing.

The most recent abduction spurs the BAU team to deliver a preliminary profile to the local police. Collectively, the team explains that the suspect is a "black male, statistically between the ages of twenty and thirty-five" who targets low-risk victims, "good girls" and "good students, [with] no behavioral problems" (Zelman). Further, the BAU believes that the unsub is a "smooth talker" and "a hustler…[who] knows how to trick impressionable young girls" (Zelman). They also believe that the unsub has a vehicle "big enough to transport a body" which is most likely "a large, dark sedan" (Zelman). Though a few young girls were unfortunate enough to fall victim to the unsub's ruse, the team believes that there must be at least one woman who was not tricked, a woman whom they needed to find. The team explains how they believe that the unsub's "ritual was interrupted when he killed Sandra Davis" and without having taken a

souvenir, the unsub is likely to "revisit her house or any place she may have frequented" (Zelman). They also advise that "because the girls are singers, the unsub may be connected to the recording industry" ("*Criminal Minds*: 'Fear'"). The team recommends heightened security and surveillance measures. Against the wishes of Mayor Hughes, who does not wish to flare racial tension, Detective Ware releases the profile to the news.

Morgan and Detective Ware separate from the rest of the team to patrol the streets together in search of the unsub. The two spot a black town car in Sandra's neighborhood. Morgan and Detective Ware draw their weapons and attempt to secure the premises. However, Morgan discovers that it is just a town car. As Detective Ware "opens a gate to leave," he is gunned down by the owner of the house, a white male who believes that Detective Ware is the unsub ("*Criminal Minds*: 'Fear'"). Detective Ware is pronounced dead at the scene. While at the crime scene, the team receives word that another black teenager, Ally, has been reported missing.

The releasing of the profile is not in vain; "a witness comes forward who was approached by a black man who claimed to be an executive with a record company" ("*Criminal Minds*: 'Fear'"). The witness reveals his identity; he is a black man, Terence Wakeland, who had played the keyboards in a high school musical. With the help of Garcia, the team discovers that Wakeland works as a security guard at A&L Studios in New York City, New York. The police race to the studio in attempt to save Ally from Wakeland.

Meanwhile Wakeland records Ally at the studio and offers her some water spiked with a date-rape drug. "Wakeland flatters her," and as she begins to get dizzy, Wakeland tells her how her skill makes him feel inferior; "he attacks her, and she kicks him between the legs and runs out of the studio" ("*Criminal Minds*: 'Fear'"). Ally incoherently approaches a police officer on the street, but Wakeland, who catches up, assures the officer that Ally is his cousin who is on

drugs. At the same time, Morgan and Hotch search the studio, sighting signs of a struggle and finding "CDs marked with the dead girls' names" ("*Criminal Minds*: 'Fear'"). Morgan, Hotch, and a mass of police officers find Ally and Wakeland on the street; they surround the couple, and "Morgan convinces the other officers to lower their weapons and he takes Wakeland into custody" ("*Criminal Minds*: 'Fear'"). With an adequate overview of "Fear and Loathing" having been provided, an analysis of the episode follows.

Analysis: *Crime Classification Manual II* (*CCM-II*)

When examined according to the guidelines provided in Douglas et al.'s *CCM-II*, the criminal profiling representations of "Fear and Loathing," despite several exceptions, adhere to real life classification standards. The portrayals of criminal profiling in "Fear and Loathing" are consistent with the guiding principles of classification standards offered by Douglas et al., including Classification by Number, Classification by Style, Type and Number of Victims, and a variety of Additional Profiling Considerations, with a minor exception.

Classification by Number

When analyzed according to the standards provided in the *CCM-II*, the crime committed by Wakeland and the criminal profiling techniques used to apprehend him adhere to Classification by Number standards of organized sexual homicide, Classification Number 131, a subcategory of sexual homicide; specifically, the portrayals in "Fear and Loathing" are consistent with the *CCM-II*'s definition and defining characteristics of organized sexual homicide. From a criminal profiling perspective, the BAU's classification of Wakeland as a sexual homicide offender is consistent with the *CCM-II*'s definition of an organized sexual homicide offender. Sexual homicide, Classification Number 130, is defined as a homicide involving "a sexual element (activity) as the basis in the sequence of acts leading to death.

Performance and meaning of this sexual element may vary with offender. The act may range from actual rape…to a symbolic sexual assault" (Douglas et al., "Chapter 6" 212). According to Douglas et al., "the term organized when used to describe a sexual homicide offender is based on assessment [and analysis] of the criminal act itself,…the victim, crime scene (including any staging present), and…forensic reports" ("Chapter 6" 212). An organized offender is one who typically "appears to plan his murders, targets his victims, and displays control at the crime scene. A methodical and ordered approach is reflected through all phases of the crime" (Douglas et al., "Chapter 6" 212). With a sufficient description of the definition of an organized sexual homicide offender having been presented, an analysis of the episode's treatment of it follows.

In "Fear and Loathing," the BAU explicitly classifies the case as sexual homicide in its discussion of the coroner's report, in its discussion of the unsub's staging, and during Hotch's delivery of the profile to the police department. First, while reviewing the coroner's report, Hotch and Morgan both refer to the unsub's status of a sexual homicide offender. Noting the post-mortem stab wounds on Sandra's body, Hotch explains that "post-mortem stab wounds almost always indicate sexual homicide." Morgan soon thereafter adds that "sexual predators kill for sexual release." Second, while discussing the unsub's use of staging to make the case appear to be a hate crime, Hotch explains that the case is a sexual homicide. Hotch explains that "this killer isn't driven by hate, but he wants us to think so—so we wont guess his real motive, which is serial sexual homicide." Third, as he delivers the unsub's profile to the police department, Hotch explains that the unsub is a sexual homicide offender. Hotch explains, "The suspect we're looking for is a black male, statistically between the ages of twenty and thirty-five. We know he's black because of his victims. Sexually motivated killers almost always kill within their own

race." Accordingly, the BAU's descriptions of the unsub in "Fear and Loathing" fit the general definition of organized sexual homicide as provided by Douglas et al.

Defining Characteristics

The various elements of Wakeland's crimes and the criminal profiling techniques used to apprehend him adhere to the *CCM-II*'s defining characteristics of organized sexual homicide, with one exception. Specifically, the characteristics of victimology, crime scene indicators, staging, and investigative considerations are realistically represented in the episode; however, the portrayal of forensic findings is not as consistent.

Victimology

The depictions of victimology in "Fear and Loathing" adhere to the victimology facets of organized sexual homicide provided by Douglas et al. in their *CCM-II*. The episode's portrayals of victimology adhere to the *CCM-II* as Wakeland's victims, intraracial females, are selected by Wakeland as they meet his criteria and are low-risk victims.

In "Fear and Loathing," the depictions of victims that are intraracial females, are selected according to the perpetrator's criteria, and pose a low risk to the offender are consistent with the victimology facets of organized sexual homicide provided in the *CCM-II*. First, the episode adheres to the *CCM-II*'s victimology guidelines as Wakeland's victims are intraracial females; this is evident both in the on-screen depictions and in the BAU's discussions of the unsub. According to Douglas et al., "the victim of a sexual homicide perpetrated by an organized offender is often an intraracial female" ("Chapter 6" 213). As is obvious simply from watching the episode, Wakeland, an African American, targets victims who are African-American teenage females. The only exception rests in the person of Ken, a white teenage male. The dialogue of the BAU also highlights the intraracial nature of Wakeland's victims. In delivering the unsub's

profile to the police department, Hotch explains that the "suspect we're looking for is a black male, statistically between the ages of 20 and 35. We know he's black because of his victims. Sexually motivated killers almost always kill within their own race." Thus, the episode's portrayals of intraracial female victims are representations consistent with the *CCM-II*'s victimology guidelines.

Second, depictions of victimology in "Fear and Loathing" adhere to the *CCM-II*'s victimology guidelines as Wakeland selects victims who meet his criteria; this adherence is demonstrated in the BAU's discussions of both the coroner's report and the family interview findings as well as in the delivery of the unsub's profile to the police department. According to Douglas et al., "the victim is typically not known to the offender but is often chosen because he or she meets the criteria. These criteria will especially be seen if multiple victims are involved: they will share common characteristics such as age, appearance, occupation, hair style, or lifestyle" ("Chapter 6" 213). In one instance, as the BAU reviews the coroner's report, the team notes that the perpetrator has criteria for his selection of victims. Prentiss explains that the unsub "has a specific physical type and he tries to cover his tracks." In another scene, as the BAU discusses the findings of the family interviews, Prentiss elaborates on the unsub's criteria; she explains, "African American girls between the ages of fifteen and seventeen who liked to sing. That's a pretty specific type. Sounds like the same unsub to me. And the fact that they all sing.…" Still further, in another scene, as Morgan delivers the profile to the police department, he notes that the unsub targets a particular type of victim; he explains, "The victims he's chosen are good girls. They're good students, no behavioral problems." Accordingly, the episode's portrayals of victims targeted because they meet the perpetrator's criteria are consistent with the *CCM-II*'s victimology guidelines.

Third, the episode adheres to the *CCM-II*'s victimology guidelines as Wakeland's victims are low-risk. An explanation of victim risk, as defined by Douglas et al. in the *CCM-II*, is necessary to contextualize the following analysis. According to Douglas et al., "risk is a twofold factor" ("Chapter 6" 213). The first prong involves the level of risk the victim faces; this "victim risk is determined by age, lifestyle, occupation, and physical stature" (Douglas et al., "Chapter 6" 213). Douglas et al. explain that "low-risk types include those whose daily lifestyles and occupation do not enhance their chances of being targeted as a victim" whereas "high-risk victims are ones who are targeted by a killer who knows where to find them" ("Chapter 6" 213). Additionally, "risk can…be evaluated by locations where the victim becomes more vulnerable, such as isolated areas" (Douglas et al., "Chapter 6" 213). A victim's attitude toward safety is also a factor than can raise or lower his or her risk factor" (Douglas et al., "Chapter 6" 213). The second prong defines risk differently.

The second prong is somewhat different; this prong involves the level of risk the offender places himself in by pursuing a particular victim; as such, "the level of gamble the offender takes to commit the crime" defines victim risk (Douglas et al., "Chapter 6" 213). The level of gamble includes both the time and place of the crime. Douglas et al. explain that "generally the victim is at a lower risk level if the crime scene is indoors and at a higher risk level if it is outdoors" and that "the time of day that the crime occurs also contributes to the amount of risk the offender took: an abduction at noon would pose more hazard to the offender than at midnight" ("Chapter 6" 213). With a proper explanation of victim risk having been presented, an analysis of the episode's treatment of it follows.

In "Fear and Loathing," the BAU's classification of and overall presentation of Wakeland's victims as low-risk adheres to the *CCM-II*'s conceptions of low-risk, both in terms

of the level of risk that Wakeland's actions pose for his victims and for himself. This adherence is depicted in the BAU's discussions of the family interviews, in the BAU's delivery of the profile to the police department, and in the BAU's discussion of the disappearance of Ally. In one instance, as the BAU discusses the interviews of the victims' families, Hotch notes the low-risk lifestyles of the girls. Hotch explains, "So we dug up everything on the first two victims, and basically these girls were good students who stayed out of trouble." The "good girl" nature of Wakeland's victims resurfaces throughout the episode.

In another scene, as the BAU delivers the unsub's profile to the police department, Morgan and Prentiss discuss the low-risk nature of the victims. Morgan explains that "the victims he's chosen are good girls. They're good students, no behavioral problems. They're what we call 'low-risk'" and Prentiss adds that "the lower the risk of the victim, the higher the intelligence of the unsub." This statement can be interpreted in several ways. The BAU's description of Wakeland's victims as "good girls" adheres to the first prong's conception of low risk as his victims' lifestyles and occupations, generally speaking, "do not enhance their chances of being targeted as…victim[s]" (Douglas et al., "Chapter 6" 213). At the same time, however, the BAU's acknowledgement that an intelligent unsub will target a victim who poses a low-risk adheres to the second prong's conception of low-risk; as such, the unsub is intelligent avoiding crimes that pose a high "level of gamble" (Douglas et al., "Chapter 6" 213).

Still further, in another scene, J.J. and Gideon discuss the disappearance of Wakeland's last victim Ally and highlight her good nature. J.J. explains, "The girl's name is Ally Hadley. She told her Mom she was sleeping over at a friend's house but then she never showed up there.…Says she never does this. She's a.…" and Gideon finishes her sentence with, "good girl."

Accordingly, in "Fear and Loathing," the overall presentation of and the BAU's classification of Wakeland's victims as low-risk adheres to the *CCM-II*'s conceptions of low-risk.

The previous analysis demonstrates that the depictions of victimology in "Fear and Loathing" adhere to the victimology facets of organized sexual homicide provided in the *CCM-II*. The victimology in "Fear and Loathing" adheres to the *CCM-II* as Wakeland's victims are intraracial females, are selected by Wakeland as they meet his criteria, and are low-risk victims.

Crime Scene Indicators

The representation of crime scene indicators in "Fear and Loathing" adhere to the conventions defined in the *CCM-II*. The crime scene indicators in "Fear and Loathing" are consistent with the guidelines of the *CCM-II* through the existence of multiple crime scenes, the unsub's use of restraints on the victims, and the unsub's taking of souvenirs.

"Fear and Loathing" first notably conforms to the *CCM-II*'s guidelines on crime scene indicators as multiple crime scenes exist in the execution of Wakeland's crimes. An explanation of what is meant by multiple crime scenes, as provided in the *CCM-II,* is necessary to contextualize the following analysis. According to Douglas et al., "there are often multiple crime scenes involved with the organized killing: the locale of initial contact or assault, the scene of death, and the body disposal site" ("Chapter 6" 213). In such cases, the offender may "transport the victim or body from the site of confrontation, necessitating the use of the offender's or victim's vehicle" (Douglas et al., "Chapter 6" 213). An analysis of the episode's treatment of multiple crime scenes follows.

The adherence of portrayals in "Fear and Loathing" to the *CCM-II's* organized sexual homicide feature of multiple crime scenes is evident in the BAU's dialogue and in the general unfolding of events on-screen. First, the BAU's dialogue, in analyzing the crime scene and in

delivering the profile to the police department, implies that the unsub works through multiple crime scenes. In one instance, as Gideon, Hotch, and a police officer investigate Sandra and Ken's crime scene, the three figure out that Sandra was meeting the unsub there to be picked up for a date. As Gideon explains, "Sandra didn't have a date with Ken. She had a date with the unsub." In a second scene, as the BAU delivers the unsub's profile to the police department, Morgan and Hotch explain that the unsub works with multiple crime scenes in transporting the body. Morgan explains that the team knows that "the unsub has a vehicle. Big enough to transport a body. It's clean. It's not too old. Nice enough to make a girl feel comfortable inside, but it's not flashy. This is not a guy who wants to attract attention to himself." Hotch adds that it is "probably a large, dark sedan." Thus, the BAU's dialogue adheres to the *CCM-II*'s guideline that organized sexual homicides often involve multiple crime scenes.

Second, besides the BAU's dialogue, the general events as they occur on-screen adhere to the *CCM-II*'s facet of multiple crime scenes. Though the episode does not depict the entire story of any one of Wakeland's victims on-screen, in capturing the witness's explanation of how she met Wakeland, in depicting Wakeland's escorting of Naomi Dade to the studio, in capturing Ally's encounters with Wakeland at the recording studio, and in displaying crime scene photos of Wakeland's first victims, the episode presents the notion that multiple crime scenes exist in the execution of Wakeland's attacks. For example, the episode depicts a teenage witness who provides the BAU with an account of how she, and most likely his other victims, first encountered Wakeland. The witness explains that she first met Wakeland "after choir practice at the church. He came up to me outside. This black guy. Told me he was [an] executive at some record company, and he goes to churches in the area to scout talent. He said I had a great voice, and he'd like to record me." The witness also explains that Wakeland "gave me some kind of

business card and told me to call him if I changed my mind. It didn't even have a company name on it. Just his name and a phone number." Thus, the witness provides insight into a typical instance of Wakeland's initial selection of victims.

A second example of an on-screen depiction that indicates the existence of multiple crime scenes involves the episode's depiction of Naomi Dade. The episode highlights how Naomi Dade, and most likely the other victims, physically, yet unknowingly, placed themselves in harm's way. Naomi waits at a park bench, just as Sandra had earlier in the episode. A dark car pulls up, and Wakeland greets her with "Hi, Naomi. Nice to see you again. Hop in." Naomi replies with, "Thanks for picking me up" once she is in the car, to which Wakeland replies, "I wouldn't have it any other way." Thus, the episode depicts how Wakeland's victims most likely placed themselves in dangerous situations.

A third example of the existence of multiple crime scenes is provided in the episode's portrayal of Ally at the studio. The episode portrays how Ally, representative of Wakeland's other victims, is taken to the studio, is recorded as she sings, and is drugged and attacked by Wakeland. After recording Ally, Wakeland offers her some water. Once Ally starts drinking, Wakeland begins to flatter Ally with compliments. Within a few minutes, evidently affected by whatever drug Wakeland had slipped into the drink, Wakeland asks Ally if she is alright, to which she responds, "Uh, yeah. Just…a little dizzy." It is at this point that Wakeland snaps; he says, "What I'm saying is that it's so beautiful. Ally, I—I just can't—let it live. You ever feel that way? Like there's something so beautiful—so beautiful you just can't let it live to show you—to remind you of how ugly you are?" Ally continues, "I—I don't feel so good." Wakeland hits her, exclaiming, "Stuck-up little bitch! You think I'm ugly! Don't you?" Ally is able to fight

back and escape, but his prior victims were not as fortunate. Thus, the episode depicts how Wakeland's victims most likely were drugged and attacked.

A final example of the existence of multiple crime scenes is provided in the depiction of crime scene photographs. As the BAU first discusses the case in the conference room at headquarters, they view the crime scene photographs of Wakeland's victims. The victims' bodies obviously had been transported and dumped in a location where they were discovered by authorities. The previous survey of scenes demonstrates that Wakeland commits his criminal acts at multiple crime scenes; these scenes include where Wakeland first selects his victims, where his victims join Wakeland in his car, where Wakeland drugs, records, and attacks his victims at the studio, and ultimately, where the victims' bodies are discovered.

"Fear and Loathing" also conforms to the *CCM-II*'s guidelines on crime scene indicators as Wakeland uses restraints on his victims. In this episode, Wakeland uses the restraint of the date rape drug, GHB; Wakeland's use of the drug is depicted as the BAU team discusses the crimes on the plane on their way to New York and as Ally is depicted feeling sick and disoriented from the drugged water Wakeland gives her to drink. A clarification of the term restraint, as defined in the *CCM-II,* is necessary to situate the following analysis. According to Douglas et al., the "use of restraints is often noted by the presence of tape, blindfolds, chains, ropes, clothing, handcuffs, gags, or chemicals" ("Chapter 6" 213-4). "The use of restraints…reflects a methodical approach with a semblance of order existing prior to, during, and after the offense" ("Chapter 6" 213-4). An analysis of the episode's depiction of the offender's use of restraints follows.

The adherence of portrayals in "Fear and Loathing" to the *CCM-II*'s organized sexual homicide crime scene indicators of the use of restraints is evident in the BAU's dialogue and in

the general unfolding of events on-screen. First, the BAU's discussion of the crime on their way to New York is consistent with the *CCM-II*'s conception of an organized sexual homicide offender's use of restraints. In discussing the crimes committed, Prentiss explains, "Hey, this is weird. Uh, there are traces of GHB found in the first two victims but no sign of sexual assault. So, why would the unsub use a date-rape drug to commit a hate crime?" Reid suggests that the unsub may drug his victims because he may want "to weaken them so they can't fight back." The BAU team suggests that inflicting a state of confusion and delirium on victims is a form of chemical restraint.

Second, the depiction of Ally's succumbing to the drug-laced water given to her by Wakeland is also consistent with the *CCM-II*'s suggestion that an organized sexual homicide offender may utilize restraints. Within minutes of having taken her first sip, Ally begins to feel the effects of the drug. As Wakeland moves closer and closer, all the while complimenting her on her voice, Ally enters a state of delirium. When Wakeland explains that Ally's music "takes hold" and that he likes it, the viewer is confronted with a distorted voice of Wakeland; this distortion is most likely indicative of how Ally and Wakeland's other victims hear him. Besides Ally's hearing, her balance is also disrupted. As Wakeland approaches her, Ally almost falls off of her chair. When Wakeland asks her if she is okay, she replies with, "Uh, yeah. Just…a little dizzy" and a minute later, "I—I don't feel so good." Wakeland slaps Ally, at which point Ally runs into the street. However, she can barely hold herself up; she leans on the wall to guide her, and when she approaches the police officer, her voice is slurred, and she cannot piece a sentence together. Ally pleads with the police officer, "Help me." However, when the police officer asks, "What's the matter?" Ally can only mutter a "Where—where am I?" Thus, the portrayal of Ally succumbing to the drugged drink suggests that the drug has a disillusioning effect. Accordingly,

the BAU's discussion of GHB and the portrayal of the drug's effect on Ally highlight Wakeland's use of a restraint; as such, these portrayals adhere to the *CCM-II's* organized sexual homicide crime scene indicator of the use of restraints.

"Fear and Loathing" again conforms to the *CCM-II*'s guidelines on crime scene indicators as Wakeland takes souvenirs from his victims. In this episode, Wakeland records the voices of his victims on CDs and keeps them as souvenirs; the fact that an organized sexual homicide offender commonly takes souvenirs is depicted as the BAU delivers the unsub's profile to the police department and as Hotch and Morgan discover the CDs upon searching the recording studio. An explanation of what is meant by a souvenir, in a criminal profiling context, is necessary to contextualize the following analysis. According to Douglas et al., "Missing from the crime scene may be trophies or souvenirs, which include pictures, jewelry, clothing, or the victim's driver license" ("Chapter 6" 214). These items hold significance as they "do not necessarily have much extrinsic value, but to the offender they commemorate the successful endeavor,…offer proof of his skill,…[and] serve as a means to fuel the fantasy of the act by serving as a remembrance" (Douglas et al., "Chapter 6" 214). An analysis of the episode's depiction of the offender's use of souvenirs follows.

The adherence of portrayals in "Fear and Loathing" to the *CCM-II*'s organized sexual homicide crime scene indicator of the perpetrator's taking of souvenirs is evident in the BAU's discussion of the coroner's report and in Hotch and Morgan's dialogue when searching the studio. First, as the BAU discusses the findings of the coroner's report, Morgan indicates that as a sexual predator, the unsub most likely takes souvenirs from his victims. Morgan explains that "sexual predators kill for sexual release. And in this case, there's no sign of sexual assault on his

victims. That tells us that he probably fetishizes. Takes some souvenir from his victims that he

uses to get off." Thus, the BAU suggests that the unsub takes souvenirs.

Second, Wakeland's taking of souvenirs is indicated in Morgan and Hotch's dialogue at

the recording studio. As Morgan and Hotch search the studio for Wakeland and Ally, their theory

about the unsub's taking of souvenirs is proven; Morgan finds CDs with the victims' names

written on them. Morgan yells to Hotch, "Hotch, look at this! It's their voices, man. They're

souvenirs!" At this point, Hotch's words from delivering the unsub's profile earlier in the

episode gain significance. Hotch explains that the "key to this unsub's psychology is the

souvenir he takes…once he has it, his victim then becomes disposable and that's when he kills

her." Thus, Hotch and Morgan discover that the unsub takes souvenirs, a finding consistent with

organized sexual homicide offenders.

Accordingly, the previous analysis demonstrates that the crime scene indicators in "Fear

and Loathing," specifically, the existence of multiple crime scenes, the unsub's use of restraints

on the victims, and the unsub's taking of souvenirs, adhere to the conventions defined in the

CCM-II.

<div align="center">*Staging*</div>

Wakeland's painting of swastikas at his crime scenes to divert the investigation is an

example of staging in "Fear and Loathing" that adheres to the guidelines rendered in the *CCM-II*.

The BAU's discussion of the unsub's use of staging adheres to the *CCM-II*'s explanation that

"the subject may stage the crime to…distract or mislead the police" (Douglas et al., "Chapter 6"

214). Douglas et al. further explain that the offender "may stage secondary criminal activity to

cloud the basis for the primary motive of rape-murder, for example, a robbery or kidnapping"

("Chapter 6" 214). In discussing the community-wide racial tension that arose from the murders,

the BAU agents surmise that the use of swastikas is only a diversion. Detective Ware asks, "The swastikas on the bodies. What do they mean?" Hotch responds, "They're a distraction. For us. This killer isn't driven by hate, but he wants us to think so—so we won't guess his real motive, which is serial sexual homicide." Gideon adds, "I'm confident the unsub is from this county. He knew the kind of hysteria that would flare up from these swastikas." Accordingly, in their discussion of the unsub, the agents theorize that the painted swastikas are a distraction; the unsub paints swastikas at his crime scenes to stage racial homicides and divert attention from his sexual homicide acts. Thus, the depiction of staging in "Fear and Loathing" through the BAU's discussion of Wakeland's painted swastikas at the crime scenes adheres to the guidelines rendered in the *CCM-II*.

Forensic Findings

With one exception, the forensic findings depicted in "Fear and Loathing" do not adhere to the guidelines on forensic findings provided in the *CCM-II*. Overall, the episode's depictions do not adhere to the forensic findings provided by Douglas et al. According to Douglas et al., "bite marks and saliva recovery on the body, semen in body orifices or on the body pubic hair, and bruising or cutting of the sex organs," aggressive and sexual acts prior to death, and eroticized killings are all forensic findings typical of organized sexual homicide ("Chapter 6" 214). However, none of these findings are depicted in "Fear and Loathing." One exception to the episode's lack of adherence to the *CCM-II*'s guidelines involves the presence of "evidence of restraint devices" used on the victim (Douglas et al., "Chapter 6" 214). In "Fear and Loathing," Wakeland uses a date-rape drug to restrain his victims. Accordingly, besides this exception, the episode does not depict forensic findings consistent with the *CCM-II*'s suggested forensic findings for organized sexual homicide.

Investigative Considerations

The portrayals of investigative considerations in "Fear and Loathing" are consistent with the *CCM-II*'s organized sexual homicide investigative recommendations. The investigative considerations in "Fear and Loathing" adhere to the *CCM-II* as Wakeland uses a con to gain access to his victims. According to Douglas et al., the organized sexual homicide offender often "uses verbal means (the con) to capture the victim. He may strike up a conversation or a pseudo-relationship as a preclude to the attack" ("Chapter 6" 214). Additionally, "to gain further access to the victim, the subject will typically be dressed neatly in business or casual attire" (Douglas et al., "Chapter 6" 214). This feature manifests itself in "Fear and Loathing" in several ways.

The depiction of Wakeland as a conman adheres to the *CCM-II*'s characterization of an organized sexual homicide offender; Wakeland is depicted as a conman by the BAU as the agents deliver the unsub's profile to the police department and by the witness as she gives her account of Wakeland's attempt to recruit her. First, in delivering the unsub's profile to the police department, the BAU explains that the unsub most likely uses a ruse to trick his victims into trusting him, a technique consistent with the *CCM-II*'s characterization. Gideon explains that the unsub is "a smooth talker. Makes people feel at ease. Gains their confidence." Likewise, Hotch explains that "this guy's a hustler. He may not have a lot of education but he knows how to trick impressionable young girls." Morgan also directly calls the unsub's technique a ruse; he says, "This guy's ruse didn't work on everybody." Thus, the BAU agents who deliver the unsub's profile to the police department provide a characterization that is consistent with the *CCM-II*'s explanation.

Second, the witness's account of Wakeland's attempt to lure her depicts Wakeland in a light consistent with the *CCM-II*'s characterization. The witness explains how Wakeland used a

ruse to try to convince her to pursue a recording career with him. The witness explains, "It was after choir practice at the church. He came up to me outside. This black guy. Told me he was [an] executive at some record company, and he goes to churches in the area to scout talent. He said I had a great voice, and he'd like to record me." When Gideon asks her what she said, the witness responds, "I told him I wasn't interested. He gave me some kind of business card and told me to call him if I changed my mind. It didn't even have a company name on it. Just his name and a phone number. It looked so fake. How could anyone fall for that?" Thus, the witness could sense that Wakeland was not who he claimed to be and that his claim to be an executive was inflated. As such, the witness's account of the unsub is consistent with the *CCM-II*'s conception. Accordingly, the depictions of Wakeland as a conman in the BAU's delivery of the profile and in the witness's account adhere to the guidelines rendered in the *CCM-II*.

Though thorough, the previous analysis is not conclusive; the general adherence of "Fear and Loathing" to crime classification standards is also demonstrated when assessed using a different crime classification method.

Crime Classification by Style, Type, and Number of Victims

When assessed according to the Crime Classification by Style, Type and Number of Victims standards of the *CCM-II*, the crimes committed by Wakeland and the criminal profiling techniques used to apprehend him adhere to the defining characteristics of serial murder.

Serial Murder

Wakeland's crime and the BAU's discussion of it adhere to the defining characteristics of serial murder as provided by Burgess in the *CCM-II*. A number of serial murder characteristics apply to Wakeland's case. Wakeland fits the definition of a serial murderer as he murders at least

three women, murders with cooling-off periods, and targets victims who share similar characteristics.

Wakeland fits the definition of a serial murderer as the number of women he murders is consistent with the *CCM-II*'s definition of serial murder. According to Burgess, "serial murder generally involves three or more victims" ("Chapter 13" 461). In "Fear and Loathing," Wakeland murders the four young women of Keisha Andrews, fifteen, Vickie Williams, seventeen, Sandra Davis, sixteen, and Naomi Dade, sixteen, and one young man, Ken Newcombe. Accordingly, the number of victims murdered by Wakeland is consistent with the *CCM-II*'s definition.

Wakeland also fits the *CCM-II*'s definition of a serial murderer as he operates with cooling-off periods. According to Burgess, "the serial killer is not killing with frequency" ("Chapter 13" 461). Burgess attributes this cooling-off period, in part, to the fact that "the organized type of killer is not generally a risk taker. He wants to be sure that if he decides to commit a crime, he will be in a win-win position" ("Chapter 13" 461). Burgess also attributes this cooling-off period to the fact that the perpetrator "does not have to kill often if he is taking mementos from the victim…so he can relive the crime and extend the fantasy" ("Chapter 13" 461). The Classification by Number analysis preceding this section already examined both of these facets. First, Wakeland operates without cooling-off periods because he is not a risk taker and because he targets low-risk victims. In delivering the unsub's profile to the police department, Morgan and Prentiss discuss the low-risk nature of the victims. Morgan explains that "the victims he's chosen are good girls. They're good students, no behavioral problems. They're what we call 'low-risk.'" Second, Wakeland takes mementos, or souvenirs from his victims which allows him to operate without cooling-off periods. In searching the studio, Morgan finds CDs with the various victims' names written on them that hold recordings of the victims' voices.

Morgan yells to Hotch, "Hotch, look at this! It's their voices, man. They're souvenirs!"

Accordingly, Wakeland's cooling-off periods, and the reasoning behind them, adhere to the

CCM-II's explanation.

Wakeland again fits the *CCM-II*'s definition of a serial murderer as he targets victims

who share similar characteristics. According to Burgess, "a serial killer usually goes after

strangers, but the victims tend to share similarities such as gender, age, or occupation. Although

he prefers a certain look or background, it does not mean he will not substitute another victims if

he cannot find his intended target" ("Chapter 13" 461). As with the previous paragraph, the

Classification by Number analysis already examined how Wakeland targets specific victims.

This is evident in several scenes of "Fear and Loathing." First, in discussing the coroner's report,

Prentiss and Gideon highlight the unsub's specific selection criteria; Prentiss explains, "He has a

specific physical type and he tries to cover his tracks," to which Gideon responds, "He is a serial

killer." In another scene, as the BAU discusses the findings of the family interviews, Prentiss

explains, "African American girls between the ages of fifteen and seventeen who liked to sing.

That's a pretty specific type." Thus, the BAU describes Wakeland, a serial homicide offender, in

a manner consistent with the *CCM-II*'s definition.

Accordingly, the BAU's discussions and overall depictions of Wakeland as a murderer of

multiple individuals, as a killer who operates with cooling-off periods, and as an offender who

prefers victims of a specific type, are consistent with the definition of a serial murderer provided

in the *CCM-II*.

Additional Profiling Considerations in "Fear and Loathing"

The portrayals of criminal profiling in "Fear and Loathing" can also be examined with

respect to several additional considerations offered in the *CCM-II*. The BAU's attempts to

decipher Wakeland's modus operandi (MO) are consistent with the *CCM-II*'s profiling recommendations; however, the BAU's criminal profiling techniques do not involve any mention of or efforts to decipher the unsub's signature aspect

Modus Operandi (MO)

The BAU investigators of "Fear and Loathing" attempt to decipher the offender's MO, an important element of the profiling process as defined by Douglas and Douglas in the *CCM-II*. In "Fear and Loathing," the BAU attempts to decipher the unsub's MO, as suggested by the *CCM-II*, by conducting crime scene analysis, crime scene evidence analysis, and interviews. The BAU in "Fear and Loathing" conforms to the *CCM-II*'s recommendation to decipher the unsub's MO by analyzing the crime scene at the park where the bodies of Ken and Sandra were found. While there, Hotch, Gideon, and a police officer attempt to decipher the events that occurred on the night of the double homicide. Based on the fact that the two were dressed differently, Hotch suspects that Ken and Sandra were not on a date. The team also examines the positions of the bodies upon discovery. When Gideon observes the location of Ken's body, the police officer explains that Sandra's body was near his "but from the blood stains it was obvious that she was killed way over there, and then dragged here." Gideon deduces, "So the unsub shot Ken first. Sandra started to run and he chased her down," and the police officer adds, "beat her and strangled her." Hotch asks a pivotal question: "If he had a gun, why didn't he shoot her too?" In response, Gideon notes that "the killer took his time and risked her escaping to track her down and strangle her with his bare hands. He was completely focused on her." It is at this point that Gideon realizes, "Sandra didn't have a date with Ken. She had a date with the unsub." From the crime scene analysis, Hotch and Gideon begin to piece together the unsub's MO; the unsub was meeting Sandra for a date, he was focused on her, and he risked getting caught to end her life

with his own hands. Accordingly, the BAU in "Fear and Loathing" attempts to decipher the unsub's MO by means of crime scene analysis, an important part of the profiling process as stressed in the *CCM-II*.

The BAU in "Fear and Loathing" also attempts to decipher the unsub's MO, as suggested by the *CCM-II*, by examining the coroner's report, a valuable piece of crime scene evidence. In examining the coroner's report, the BAU discovers that the unsub dealt post-mortem stab wounds to Sandra. The presence of these wounds assists the BAU in properly classifying and understanding the unsub. As Hotch explains, "Post-mortem stab wounds almost always indicate sexual homicide." Reid notes that Sandra's was a case of "fairly extreme overkill, which is markedly different from the other two girls" and, according to Hotch, "if it was the same killer, the overkill indicates he didn't get what he wanted from Sandra." Morgan explains that the killer would have been after sexual release, but "in this case, there's no sign of sexual assault on his victims. That tells us that he probably fetishizes. Takes some souvenir from his victims that he uses to get off." Detective Ware notices that what the BAU is describing "doesn't sound like the MO of a hate crime." Hotch in turn explains that they are "pretty certain that hate wasn't the primary motive at all." Thus, by examining the coroner's report and understanding the significance of post-mortem stab wounds and the lack of sexual assault, the BAU is able to rule out hate as a primary motive, thus gaining a better understanding of the unsub. Accordingly, by means of crime scene evidence analysis, the BAU attempts to decipher the unsub's MO, an important part of the profiling process as stressed in the *CCM-II*.

In "Fear and Loathing," the BAU again attempts to decipher the unsub's MO, as suggested by the *CCM-II*, by conducting interviews. Several interviews conducted by the BAU reveal important information regarding the unsub's MO. First, in interviewing the family of one

of the victims, the BAU discovers that the unsub targets a specific type of victim; the unsub's targeting of a specific type of victim is an aspect definitive of his MO. In discussing the interview results with the rest of the team, Hotch explains, "And we found something else, they both liked to sing. One in church, and one in a band. Their parents said that this was their passion." Morgan notes that Sandra shared this trait. Prentiss makes a connection and shares it with the team: "African American girls between the ages of fifteen and seventeen who liked to sing. That's a pretty specific type. Sounds like the same unsub to me. And the fact that they all sing, that could be part of his MO. Maybe part of a ruse." Thus, by interviewing the families of the victims, the team deduces that the unsub's MO is characterized, in part, by an obsession with and selection of girls that sing.

Second, in interviewing the young female witness who was approached by Wakeland, the BAU discovers how Wakeland first stakes out and approaches his victims, another important part of his MO. The witness explains that she was first approached by Wakeland "after choir practice at the church. He came up to me outside. This black guy. Told me he was [an] executive at some record company, and he goes to churches in the area to scout talent. He said I had a great voice, and he'd like to record me." The witness further explains that Wakeland initiated further contact by giving her a business card. The witness explains, "He gave me some kind of business card and told me to call him if I changed my mind. It didn't even have a company name on it. Just his name and a phone number. It looked so fake." The witness thus provides the BAU with valuable information that allows the BAU to discover how Wakeland initiates contact with his victims and to establish the link that exists between the victims. The witness also provides the BAU with his identity. Thus, from interviewing various witnesses, the BAU learns several important elements of Wakeland's MO.

Accordingly, in "Fear and Loathing," the BAU's crime scene analysis, crime scene evidence analysis, and interviews of witnesses and family members are practices conducive to deciphering the unsub's MO, a consideration highlighted in the *CCM-II*.

Signature Aspect

The portrayals of criminal profiling in "Fear and Loathing" do not adhere to the additional *CCM-II* profiling consideration of signature aspect; in attempting to determine the identity of the unsub and apprehend him, the BAU makes no mention of the unsub's signature aspect. Accordingly, the BAU's attempts to apprehend the unsub do not involve considering the unsub's signature aspect and in turn, therefore do not adhere to the *CCM-II*'s recommended technique of deciphering the unsub's signature.

Although the *CCM-II* provides a variety of frameworks for analysis, including Classification by Number, Classification by Style, Type, and Number of Victims, and Additional Profiling Considerations, it does not provide an adequate discussion of the various mental and personality disorders from which perpetrators may suffer. Therefore, additional sources are necessary for the remainder of this analysis of "Fear and Loathing."

Analysis: Mental Disorder Evaluation

In "Fear and Loathing," the depictions of mental and personality disorders adhere to the descriptions provided in the *DSM-IV* and the "PCL-R." In the episode, through both the BAU's dialogue about him and through his own words, Wakeland is depicted as having personality and mental disorders consistent with those defined in the *DSM-IV* and the "PCL-R." As both guides offer overlapping characteristics, this examination is organized according to disorder traits. Specifically, the BAU's discussions about Wakeland and Wakeland's own words highlight his

manipulative nature and paranoia; the portrayals are consistent with the definitions provided in the *DSM-IV* and the "PCL-R."

Cunning/Manipulative Nature

The BAU's description of Wakeland's manipulative nature in "Fear and Loathing" conforms to the description provided in the "PCL-R." In "Fear and Loathing," the BAU describes Wakeland as manipulative, a personality trait of the "PCL-R" Factor One. An explanation of a manipulative nature, as defined by the "PCL-R," is necessary to contextualize the following analysis. Factor One of the "PCL-R" lists a "cunning/manipulative" demeanor as one of its defining features (Burgess, "DSM"). One who is cunning or manipulative is often referred to as a conman or hustler and "view[s] others as objects or pawns in scams" (Burgess, "DSM"). Such an individual is commonly a psychopath and a "highly skilled player" (Burgess, "DSM"). He "tries to manipulate [you] to make you feel sorry for him or identify with him" (Burgess, "DSM"). With a proper explanation of a cunning/manipulative personality having been presented, an analysis of the episode's treatment of it follows.

The adherence of the BAU's descriptions of a manipulative and cunning demeanor to the "PCL-R" explanation is demonstrated in "Fear and Loathing" as the BAU team delivers the unsub's profile to the police department. The team explicitly states that the unsub is a manipulative man. Gideon explains that the unsub is "a smooth talker. Makes people feel at ease. Gains their confidence. You'd be amazed what these guys can talk people into." Hotch elaborates on this description and explains that "this guy's a hustler. He may not have a lot of education but he knows how to trick impressionable young girls." Morgan also explains that "this guy's ruse didn't work on everybody. Somewhere out there is at least one woman who didn't fall for his game." By calling it a ruse and a game, Morgan highlights the manipulative

nature of the unsub. Accordingly, the descriptions provided by the BAU of the unsub are consistent with the definition supplied in the "PCL-R."

Paranoia

Second, the depiction of Wakeland as a paranoid criminal in "Fear and Loathing" conforms to the definition provided in the *DSM-IV*. An explanation of paranoia, as defined by the *DSM-IV*, is necessary to contextualize the following analysis. According to Burgess, paranoia, a personality type of the *DSM-IV*'s Cluster A, is a "pervasive distrust and suspiciousness of others" ("DSM"). Paranoid behavior includes "interpreting the actions of others as deliberately threatening or demeaning," being "untrusting, unforgiving, and prone to angry or aggressive outbursts," "perceive[ing] others as unfaithful, disloyal, condescending or deceitful," and being "jealous, guarded, secretive, and scheming" (Burgess, "DSM"). With a proper explanation of paranoia having been presented, an analysis of the episode's treatment of it follows.

The adherence of the episode's depictions of paranoia to the *DSM-IV* definition is demonstrated as Wakeland prepares to attack Ally. After Ally drinks from the drugged water, Wakeland compliments and flatters Ally; for example, he says, "Oh, yeah. And that look—that face you got. I mean, you got this real smoky kind of tone. Like something you hear in a thirties Harlem supper club." However, Wakeland quickly switches moods; he continues, "I mean, do you have any idea what your music does to me?...It takes hold. I like that. Like, you get a song stuck in your head. But for me, it gets stuck right here. You know, and once it's there, there's just no letting it go." Wakeland's inability to let go highlights his paranoid personality. He continues, "It just, eats away at me, like a poison, you know. You all right?" Wakeland's rant is interrupted by Ally as she is so dizzy from the drug that she nearly falls over. Ally tells him that

she's "Just…a little dizzy," and Wakeland continues his spiel. He says, "What I'm saying is that it's so beautiful." However, this is not a good thing, as Wakeland is so paranoid that anything beautiful reminds him of how inferior he is. He continues, "Ally, I—I just can't—let it live. You ever feel that way? Like there's something so beautiful—so beautiful you just can't let it live to show you—to remind you of how ugly you are?" When Ally interrupts him to tell him that she does not feel good, Wakeland replies with a backhand and the words, "Stuck-up little bitch! You think I'm ugly! Don't you?" Accordingly, this scene depicts Wakeland as having a paranoid nature that conforms to the definition provided in the *DSM-IV*.

Thus, overall in "Fear and Loathing," the depictions of Wakeland's manipulative nature and paranoia adhere to the defining characteristics of narcissism as provided in the *DSM-IV* and "PCL-R."

Concluding Thoughts

The preceding analysis suggests that the portrayals of criminal profiling in "Fear and Loathing" adhere to legitimate real life criminal profiling considerations and practices, with several exceptions. When examined according to Douglas et al.'s *CCM-II*, the criminal profiling representations of "Fear and Loathing," for the most part, adhere to real life classification standards, including Classification by Number, Classification by Style, Type, and Number of Victims, and a variety of Additional Profiling Considerations.

Despite one exception, the crimes committed by Wakeland and the criminal profiling techniques used to identify and stop him adhere to the Classification by Number category standards of organized sexual homicide. These portrayals conform to the *CCM-II*'s organized sexual homicide definition and defining characteristics of victimology, crime scene indicators, staging, and investigative considerations; the adherence of forensic findings is the exception. The

episode's depictions of victimology adhere to the *CCM-II*'s victimology standards of organized sexual homicide; specifically, Wakeland targets intraracial females who meet his specific criteria and pose a low risk. The presentations of crime scene indicators in "Fear and Loathing" also follow the conventions defined in the *CCM-II*, as Wakeland commits crimes in multiple crime scenes, uses restraints on his victims, and takes souvenirs prior to killing them. The *CCM-II*'s standards for the defining characteristic of staging also manifest in "Fear and Loathing" as Wakeland paints swastikas at his crime scenes to divert attention from himself. Additionally, the portrayals of investigative considerations in "Fear and Loathing" are consistent with the *CCM-II*'s guidelines as the show's BAU considers the unsub to be a manipulative and scheming conman. Despite the aforementioned consistencies, it is important to note that the defining characteristic of forensic findings does not manifest in "Fear and Loathing" as defined in the *CCM-II*. The evidence left by Wakeland in "Fear and Loathing" does not indicate eroticized murder but it does signify the use of a chemical restraint. Thus, despite one exception, the episode's portrayals adhere to the defining characteristics of organized sexual homicide as explained in the *CCM-II*.

When assessed according to the Classification by Style, Type and Number of Victims standards of the *CCM-II*, the crimes committed by Wakeland and the criminal profiling techniques used adhere to the defining characteristics of serial murder. Wakeland fits Burgess's definition of a serial murderer as he murders at least three women, kills his victims with cooling-off periods, and targets victims who share similar characteristics.

With respect to the Additional Profiling Considerations, the portrayals of criminal profiling in "Fear and Loathing" both adhere to and deviate from the *CCM-II*'s conceptions. In attempting to decipher the offender's MO, the episode's BAU investigators abide by a major

principle suggested in the *CCM-II*; the BAU attempts to decipher the unsub's MO by conducting crime scene analysis, crime scene evidence analysis, and interviews. However, the BAU, in its efforts to identify and apprehend the unsub, deviates from the *CCM-II*'s guidelines by failing to consider the unsub's signature aspect. Thus, the episode's BAU adheres to and deviates from the Additional Profiling Considerations provided in the *CCM-II*.

When examined according to the explanations provided in the *DSM-IV* and the "PCL-R," the depictions of personality disorders in "Fear and Loathing" appear to be realistic portrayals. In the episode, through both the BAU's dialogue about him and through his own words, Wakeland is depicted as having personality and mental disorders consistent with those defined in the *DSM-IV* and the "PCL-R." Specifically, the BAU's discussions about Wakeland and Wakeland's own words highlight his manipulative nature and paranoia, generating presentations that are consistent with the definitions provided in the *DSM-IV* and the "PCL-R."

Accordingly, despite several minor deviations, "Fear and Loathing" presents depictions of criminal profiling techniques and standards that are consistent with established real life guidelines and practices.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

Overall Findings

The preceding examination explored the ways in which two episodes of the hit drama *Criminal Minds* do and do not adhere to established criminal profiling conventions. Using information provided in Douglas et al.'s *Crime Classification Manual: A Standard System for Investigating and Classifying Violent Crimes, Second Edition (Crime Classification Manual II or CCM-II)*, the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fourth Edition (DSM-IV)*, and the "Hare Psychopathy Checklist Revised (PCL-R)" as analytical frameworks, the two preceding analyses demonstrate that the portrayals of criminal profiling in "L.D.S.K." and "Fear and Loathing," despite a few exceptions, adhere to legitimate real life criminal profiling considerations and practices. This conclusion carries with it several implications worth noting.

Implications

Though determining the exact effect that viewing this program has on viewer perception is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is possible to speculate potential implications this program may have. Several potential implications exist, and these potential implications are dependent on viewer perception of whether the depictions they view are realistic or fictional drama.

Viewers may perceive the program's depictions to be entirely realistic and reflective of real world criminal profiling. If viewers fail to consider that the show is a form of entertainment, and that certain aspects may be dramatized for effect, then they may wrongly believe that criminal profiling is a fool-proof, 100% effective crime-solving technique and accordingly may grow disillusioned as to how the real Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Behavioral Analysis Unit (BAU) functions. Five depictions of the program highlight this contrast between reality and

fiction. First, in the show, the BAU is composed of one group of seven individuals who investigate all types of heinous crimes. In reality, however, the FBI BAU is comprised of specialized divisions, including "Crimes Against Children, Crimes Against Adults, Communicated Threats, Corruption, and Bombing and Arson Investigations" ("Investigative: CIRG – Mission"). Second, in the show, the BAU has their own personal jet; however, in reality, the notion of the BAU having a personal jet is more likely "purse fantasy" (Burgess, "Re: Thesis"). Third, in the show, the entire BAU team often delivers their criminal profiles to local police departments; each member has a chance to speak and finish each other's sentences. In reality, it is difficult to believe that team members naturally know what to say and when to say it in such a staged manner. Fourth, in the show, the BAU's efforts most often result in a happy ending where the offender is apprehended and prevented from harming anyone else. In reality, however, it is unlikely that criminal profiling works every time. As well, in the show, profiling considerations are depicted as being clear-cut; cases are neatly and quickly classified with little room for interpretation. However, in reality, there is room for interpretation. As Douglas et al. explain to describe the *CCM-II*, "a decision was made to base the classification on the primary intent of the criminal" (Douglas et al., "Preface" X). However, it is possible that an offender may have more than one intent and may not be as neatly and easily classified. Accordingly, as these five points of contrast demonstrate, not all of the on-screen depictions are realistic. As a result, it is possible that viewers may develop unrealistic expectations of real-world criminal profiling if they believe that what they seeing is reflective of the FBI's practices.

Viewers also may perceive the program *Criminal Minds* to be just another in a long succession of fictional crime dramas that blurs the line between reality and fiction for entertainment's sake. This misperception may carry with it three implications. First, if viewers

perceive the depictions they witness to be pure fiction, they may question the legitimacy of criminal profiling as an investigative tool in the real world. They may incorrectly dismiss the efficacy of criminal profiling as an effective crime solving tool. Second, people may naively believe that the criminal acts depicted on *Criminal Minds* do not actually occur; they may believe that the atrocities they see on this television program are only hyped representations for dramatic effect. Third, viewers may fail to understand that FBI representatives actually offer their input and advice to the program's producers; the program's producers do not obtain their knowledge of criminal profiling merely from Wikipedia search results (Martin, Wilder, and Clemente). Accordingly, if viewers fail to acknowledge that many of the criminal profiling depictions of *Criminal Minds* are accurate and realistic portrayals, then it is possible that they will dismiss the show as just another meritless fictional drama.

Accordingly several major potential implications exist and are dependent on the viewer's perception of whether the depictions they view are realistic or fictional drama. Though an important overarching conclusion to note, it is important to acknowledge that this analysis is but one approach to take for analysis.

Suggested Areas for Communication Scholarship

This examination does not exhaust all research possibilities relevant to dramatic criminal profiling-based shows. One area open to communication scholarship could include an approach like that taken by Eschholz, Mallard, and Flynn (2003) and Soulliere (2003), whereby dramatic portrayals of *Criminal Minds* or criminal-profiling based shows in general, could be compared with actual FBI reported statistics. Researchers could also approach the subject through a qualitative lens. Researchers could conduct textual analyses by comparing various portrayals with profiler biographical accounts of their experiences with profiling. A second qualitative

approach could entail textual analysis by examining how purposively selected episodes compare with existing American crime case studies. A third qualitative approach could involve the analysis of social and political messages communicated in the program. For example, depictions in "Fear and Loathing" seem to communicate messages about racial injustice; further research could examine such messages more closely. Additionally, scholars could analyze how crime-based programs compare with *Criminal Minds*, and if such a comparison indicates any trends specific to fictional criminal profiling programs. Still further, a similar approach as taken in this thesis could be adopted to the analysis of a greater number of episodes to determine whether the trends noted are consistent throughout the series. Lastly, scholars could strive to measure audience reactions to and attitudes towards the program *Criminal Minds* to determine whether audiences accurately understand the nature of criminal profiling. These are just a few possibilities for expanded research.

Closing Note

While all research opportunities have not been exhausted, this examination has nonetheless gained significance through its exploration of two *Criminal Minds* episodes' adherence to criminal profiling conventions and of the potential implications such adherence may hold for viewers. It is important to note that though *Criminal Minds* is a fictional program, its criminal profiling depictions generally do adhere to guidelines provided by the *CCM-II*, the *DSM-IV*, and the "PCL-R." Determining the exact implications that the program *Criminal Minds* actually holds for viewers is beyond the scope of this thesis and is open for debate. Now, however, it can be suggested that the *Criminal Minds* episodes "L.D.S.K." and "Fear and Loathing" provide fairly accurate presentations of criminal profiling and have the potential to influence audience perception of this investigative tool.

WORKS CITED

"About *Criminal Minds." CBS.com*. CBS Corporation, 2010. Web. 09 Feb. 2010.

    <http://www.cbs.com/primetime/criminal_minds/about/>.

"Awards for *Criminal Minds." The Internet Movie Database (IMDb)*. IMDb.com, Inc. Web. 10

    Feb. 2010. <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0452046/awards>.

"Behavioral Science." *FBI.gov*. Federal Bureau of Investigation. Web. 29 Jan. 2010.

    <http://www.fbi.gov/hq/td/academy/bsu/bsu.htm>

"Biography for Aaron Hotchner (Character) from *Criminal Minds." The Internet Movie*

    Database (IMDb). IMDb.com, Inc., Oct. 2009. Web. 09 Feb. 2010.

    <http://www.imdb.com/character/ch0024264/bio>.

"Biography for Derek Morgan (Character) from *Criminal Minds." The Internet Movie Database*

    (IMDb). IMDb.com, Inc., Oct. 2009. Web. 10 Feb. 2010.

    <http://www.imdb.com/character/ch0024263/bio>.

"Biography for Dr. Spencer Reid (Character) from *Criminal Minds." The Internet Movie*

    Database (IMDb). IMDb.com, Inc., 5 Feb. 2010. Web. 09 Feb. 2010.

    <http://www.imdb.com/character/ch0024261/bio>.

"Biography for Elle Greenaway (Character) from *Criminal Minds." The Internet Movie*

    Database (IMDb). IMDb.com, Inc., Feb. 2009. Web. 09 Feb. 2010.

    <http://www.imdb.com/character/ch0024265/bio>.

"Biography for Emily Prentiss (Character) from *Criminal Minds." The Internet Movie Database*

    (IMDb). IMDb.com, Inc., Oct. 2009. Web. 18 Apr. 2010.

    <http://www.imdb.com/character/ch0024260/bio>

"Biography for Jason Gideon (Character) from *Criminal Minds*." *The Internet Movie Database (IMDb)*. IMDb.com, Inc., Jan. 2010. Web. 09 Feb. 2010. <http://www.imdb.com/character/ch0024258/bio>.

"Biography for Jennifer 'J.J.' Jareau (Character) from *Criminal Minds*." *The Internet Movie Database (IMDb)*. IMDb.com, Inc., Jan. 2010. Web. 10 Feb. 2010. <http://www.imdb.com/character/ch0024259/bio>.

"Biography for Penelope Garcia (Character) from *Criminal Minds*." *The Internet Movie Database (IMDb)*. IMDb.com, Inc., Oct. 2009. Web. 09 Feb. 2010. <http://www.imdb.com/character/ch0024267/bio>.

Burgess, Ann W. "Chapter 13: Methods of Killing." *Crime Classification Manual: A Standard System for Investigating and Classifying Violent Crimes*. Ed. John E. Douglas, Ann W. Burgess, Allen G. Burgess, and Robert K. Ressler. Second ed. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2006. 437-69. Print.

Burgess, Ann W. "DSM IV TR Psychiatric Classifications." Boston College. Chestnut Hill, MA. 27 Jan. 2010. Lecture.

Burgess, Ann W. "Forensic Mental Health: Legal Concepts." Boston College. Chestnut Hill, MA. 20 Jan. 2010. Lecture.

Burgess, Ann W. Personal interview. 1 Dec. 2009.

Burgess, Ann W. "Re: Thesis Question." Message to the author. 22 Apr. 2010. E-mail.

Cavender, Gray, and Sarah Deutsch. "*CSI* and Moral Authority: The Police and Science." *Crime Media Culture* 3.1 (2007): 67-81.

"Chapter 6: Homicide." *Crime Classification Manual: A Standard System for Investigating and Classifying Violent Crimes*. Ed. John E. Douglas, Ann W. Burgess, Allen G. Burgess, and

Robert K. Ressler. Second ed. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2006. 93-260. Print.

"*Criminal Minds*: 'Fear and Loathing' Episode Recap." *TV.com*. CBS Interactive Inc. Web. 18

Apr. 2010. <http://www.tv.com/criminal-minds/fear-and-

loathing/episode/927198/recap.html?tag=episode_recap;recap>

"*Criminal Minds*: 'L.D.S.K.' Episode Recap." *TV.com*. CBS Interactive Inc. Web. 13 Feb. 2010.

<http://www.tv.com/criminal-

minds/l.d.s.k./episode/469943/recap.html?tag=episode_recap;recap>.

Cuklanz, Lisa M. and Sujata Moorti. "Television's 'New' Feminism: Prime-Time

Representations of Women and Victimization." *Critical Studies in Media Communication*

23.4 (2006): 302-21.

Deutsch, Sarah and Gray Cavender. "*CSI* and Forensic Realism." *Journal of Criminal Justice*

and Popular Culture 15.1 (2008): 34-53.

Douglas, John E. and Lauren K. Douglas. "Chapter 1: Modus Operandi and the Signature

Aspects of Violent Crime." *Crime Classification Manual: A Standard System for*

Investigating and Classifying Violent Crimes. Ed. John E. Douglas, Ann W. Burgess,

Allen G. Burgess, and Robert K. Ressler. Second ed. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2006.

19-30. Print.

Douglas, John E. and Lauren K. Douglas. "Chapter 2: The Detection of Staging, Undoing, and

Personation at the Crime Scene." *Crime Classification Manual: A Standard System for*

Investigating and Classifying Violent Crimes. Ed. John E. Douglas, Ann W. Burgess,

Allen G. Burgess, and Robert K. Ressler. Second ed. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2006.

31-43. Print.

Dowler, Ken, Thomas Fleming, and Stephen L. Muzzatti. "Constructing Crime: Media, Crime,

    and Popular Culture." *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice* 48.6

    (2006): 837-50.

Durham, Alexis III, H. Preston Elrod, and Patrick T. Kinkade. "Images of Crime and Justice:

    Murder and the 'True Crime' Genre." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 23.2 (1995): 143-52.

Eschholz, Sarah, Matthew Mallard, and Stacey Flynn. "Images of Prime-Time Justice: A Content

    Analysis of *NYPD Blue* and *Law & Order*." *Journal of Criminal Justice and Popular*

    Culture 10.3 (2003): 161-80.

"Fear and Loathing." *Criminal Minds: The Second Season*. Writ. Aaron Zelman. Dir. Rob Spera.

    Paramount Pictures, 2007. DVD.

Grabe, Maria and Dan Drew. "Crime Cultivation: Comparisons across Media Genres and

    Channels." *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 51.1 (2007): 147-71.

"Hare Psychopathy Checklist." *Encyclopedia of Mental Disorders*. Advameg, Inc. Web. 13 Mar.

    2010. <http://www.minddisorders.com/Flu-Inv/Hare-Psychopathy-Checklist.html>.

Herndon, James S. "The Image of Profiling: Media Treatment and General Impressions."

    Criminal Profiling International Theory, Research, and Practice. Ed. Richard N. Kocsis.

    New York: Humana, 2007. 303-23. Print.

Huggo. "Plot Summary for *Criminal Minds*." *The Internet Movie Database (IMDb)*. IMDb.com,

    Inc. Web. 09 Feb. 2010. <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0452046/plotsummary>.

Huggo. "Plot Summary for *Criminal Minds*: 'Fear and Loathing.'" *The Internet Movie Database*

    (IMDb). IMDb.com, Inc. Web. 18 Apr. 2010.

    <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0916096/plotsummary>

"Introduction." *Crime Classification Manual: A Standard System for Investigating and*

Classifying Violent Crimes. Ed. John E. Douglas, Ann W. Burgess, Allen G. Burgess, and Robert K. Ressler. Second ed. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2006. 1-16. Print.

"Investigative Programs: Critical Incident Response Group." *FBI.gov*. Federal Bureau of Investigation. Web. 29 Jan. 2010. <http://www.fbi.gov/hq/isd/cirg/ncavc.htm>

"Investigative Programs: Critical Incident Response Group – Mission Statement." *FBI.gov*. Federal Bureau of Investigation. Web. 29 Jan. 2010. <http://www.fbi.gov/hq/isd/cirg/mission.htm>.

Jermyn, Deborah. "Women with a Mission: Lynda La Plante, DCI Jane Tennison and the Reconfiguration of Crime Drama." *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 6.1 (2003): 46-63.

"L.D.S.K." *Criminal Minds: The First Season*. Writ. Andrew Wilder. Dir. Ernest R. Dickerson. Paramount Pictures, 2005. DVD.

Lee, Susanna. "'These are Our Stories': Trauma, Form, and the Screen Phenomenon of *Law and Order*." *Discourse* 25.1-2 (2002): 81-98.

Lowry, Dennis T., Tarn Ching Josephine Nio, and Dennis W. Leitner. "Setting the Public Fear Agenda: A Longitudinal Analysis of Network TV Crime Reporting, Public Perceptions of Crime and FBI Crime Statistics." *Journal of Communication* 53.1 (2003): 61-73.

Martin, Kelly A., Andrew Wilder, and James T. Clemente. "Fact vs. Fiction: The Inside View on Forensics in the Media." *Connell School of Nursing (CSON) Symposium: "Forensics in the Media."* Boston College, Chestnut Hill, MA. 25 Mar. 2009. Symposium.

Pettey, Gary, and Cheryl Bracken. "Priming Science Attitudes in Fictional Presentations: The CSI Effect." *Conference Papers - International Communication Association* (2006 Annual Meeting): 1-20.

"Preface to the Second Edition." *Crime Classification Manual: A Standard System for Investigating and Classifying Violent Crimes*. Ed. John E. Douglas, Ann W. Burgess, Allen G. Burgess, and Robert K. Ressler. Second ed. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2006. IX-XII. Print.

"Psychiatric Disorders: Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM IV)." *The Virtual Psychology Classroom*. AllPsych Online, 15 May 2004. Web. 13 Mar. 2010. <http://allpsych.com/disorders/dsm.html>.

Romer, Daniel, Kathleen Hall Jamieson, and Sean Aday. "Television News and the Cultivation of Fear of Crime." *Journal of Communication* 53.1 (2003): 88-104.

Seidman, Robert. "*Criminal Minds* is Wednesday's Top Program in Viewers, Adults 18-49 and Adults 25-54." *TVbytheNumbers.com*. 22 Oct. 2009. Web. 8 Nov. 2009. <http://tvbythenumbers.com/2009/10/22/criminal-minds-is-wednesdays-top-program-in-viewers-adults-18-49-and-adults-25-54/31214>.

Seidman, Robert. "TV Ratings: *2009 World Series* Dominates with Viewers and Adults 18-49, CBS Reruns Shine." *TVbytheNumbers.com*. 3 Nov. 2009. Web. 8 Nov. 2009. <http://tvbythenumbers.com/2009/11/03/tv-ratings-2009-world-series-dominates-with-viewers-and-adults-18-49-cbs-reruns-shine/32438#more-32438>.

Seidman, Robert. "TV Ratings: *NFL* and *Grey's*, *TBBT* Win Week with Adults 18- 49; *NCIS*, *DWTS* and *NCIS: Los Angeles* Lead with Total Viewers." *TVbytheNumbers.com*. 27 Oct. 2009. Web. 8 Nov. 2009. <http://tvbythenumbers.com/2009/10/27/tv-ratings-nfl-and-the-big-bang-theory-win-week-with-adults-18-49-ncis-dancing-with-the-stars-and-ncis-los-angeleslead-with-total-viewers/31727>.

Seidman, Robert. "TV Ratings: *Super Bowl XLIV*, *Post Game* and *Undercover Boss* Dominate

    Weekly Viewing." *TvbytheNumbers.com*. 09 Feb. 2010. Web. 09 Feb. 2010.

    <http://tvbythenumbers.com/2010/02/09/tv-ratings-super-bowl-xliv-post-game-and-

    undercover-boss-dominate-weekly-viewing/41481>.

Soulliere, Danielle. "Prime-Time Murder: Presentations of Murder on Popular Television Justice

    Programs." *Journal of Criminal Justice and Popular Culture* 10.1 (2003): 12-38.

Vissers, K. G. F. "Plot Summary for *Criminal Minds*." *The Internet Movie Database (IMDb)*.

    IMDb.com, Inc. Web. 09 Feb. 2010.

    <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0452046/plotsummary>

Witzig, Eric E. "Chapter 5: VICAP: The Violent Criminal Apprehension Program Unit." *Crime

    Classification Manual: A Standard System for Investigating and Classifying Violent

    Crimes*. Ed. John E. Douglas, Ann W. Burgess, Allen G. Burgess, and Robert K. Ressler.

    2nd ed. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2006. 73-89. Print.