Seattle University

ScholarWorks @ SeattleU

2010

Profiling Ridgway: A Retrospective Analysis of Criminal Profiling through the Green River Investigation

Loren T. Atherley
Seattle University

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.seattleu.edu/etds-macj-theses

SEATTLE UNIVERSITY

Criminal Justice Department

APPROVAL OF THE WRITTEN THESIS

Student's Name: Loren T. Atherley

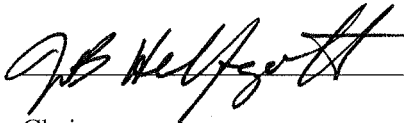Degree: MACJ Investigative Criminology

Date of Defense: 05/27/2010

Anticipated Date of Graduation: 06/13/2010

Thesis Title: Profiling Ridgway: A Retrospective Analysis of Criminal Profiling through the Green River Killer Investigation

The undersigned duly appointed committee has read and examined this manuscript and certifies it is adequate in scope and quality as a thesis for this master's degree. We approve the content of the thesis to be submitted to Seattle University for processing and acceptance.
Approved by:

Chair: Dr. Jacqueline Helfgott

                                                                      Member:

                                                          Dr. Matthew Hickman

Member: Member:

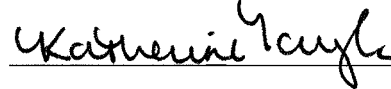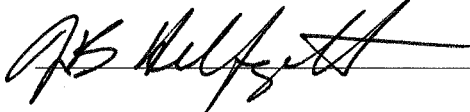   Dr. Katherine Taylor

Member: Member:

                                                          Dr. Jacqueline Helfgott

Chair of Department: Member:

Student Contact Information:

1340 Pingston Creek Rd. , Kettle Falls, WA, 99141

Student's Identification #: 0764591   Student's E-mail Address: atherley@seattleu.edu

The student must submit this signed page and a final bound thesis to the Criminal Justice Department. To graduate in a given quarter, a student must meet the scheduled deadlines provided by the Office of the Registrar at Seattle University

Profiling Ridgway:

A Retrospective Analysis of Criminal Profiling through the Green River Killer Investigation

A thesis submitted to the

Graduate School
of Seattle University

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN CRIMINAL JUSTICE (MA.CJ.)
Investigative Criminology Concentration

In the Criminal Justice Department
of the College of Arts and Sciences

2010

by

Loren T. Atherley

B.A., Seattle University, 2007

Committee Chair: Dr. Jacqueline Helfgott

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

ABSTRACT

Gary L. Ridgway has been called the most prolific serial killer in U.S history. Despite the efforts of the foremost minds in criminal profiling he evaded capture for nearly twenty years. Attempts to profile Ridgway using the methods available failed to identify key behavioral components and misled the investigation. This is a case study and retrospective analysis of criminal profiling with attention to the relationship between crime scene evidence and offender personality, background, and individual characteristics. I hypothesized that modern methods of criminal profiling would have been more effective in identifying personality characteristics of the offender given corrected behavioral models. This study found support of the hypothesis in that the GRK fits known models of behavior based on empirically validated theory; however, further analysis of the series suggests, while modern criminal profiling would have yielded significant investigative leads, the high degree of forensic awareness exhibited by the offender left little forensic evidence. Even with an accurate criminal profile a conviction would not have been possible without the DNA evidence analyzed in 2001 and used to obtain a conviction in 2003.

INTRODUCTION

"Of each particular thing, ask what is it in and of itself, what is its nature, what does it do, and

what needs does it fill by doing it?" – Marcus Aurelius

Every person is capable of murder; for most it is an expressive act committed to serve an

emotional need. For others the act is committed in furtherance of a criminal enterprise, to attain

financial or personal gain. For some murder alone satisfies. For these people killing is a ravenous

effort to satiate an appetite, feed a craving or silence a demon. The perpetrators of these crimes

are capable of an insidious predation, incomprehensible to most. Similarly, it is a career defining

event for most investigators to participate in a serial homicide investigation. The tools, tactics

and standard operating procedures used to catch most killers are not effective in stopping a serial

killer. Over the past fifty years new tools have been developed to reverse engineer the mind of a

killer – we call this criminal profiling. What follows is a case study of the most successful serial

killer in U.S. history, the Green River Killer.

In the summer of 1982, a commercial truck painter from the Seattle suburbs began killing

prostitutes. By the time he was arrested in 2001, Gary Leon Ridgway (a.k.a. The Green River

Killer [GRK])[1] had killed seventy-eight (Prothero & Smith, 2006) and evaded capture for nearly

20 years despite the efforts of criminal profiling. What follows is a retrospective analysis

criminal profiling with three central goals: (1) Establish where criminal profiling failed in

accurately identifying Gary Ridgway as the GRK; (2) Explore whether improved models and

---

[1] From this point forward GRK will serve as moniker and substitute, wherever possible, for Gary Leon Ridgway.

methods of criminal profiling could have identified the offender and (3) suggest strategies for future use of criminal profiling in serial homicide investigations.

Had serial homicide offending been better understood, I posit criminal profiling would have yielded significant investigative leads and strategies for intervention[2]. I hypothesize that criminal profiling, in its modern state, could have more accurately identified the GRK. Furthermore, the GRK is not an aberration in serial homicide offending but represents a commonly understood type of offender already identified in the literature. Finally, study of the GRK, the offenses and the investigation represent a significant learning experience for criminal justice practitioners and theorists and an opportunity to validate models and correct misconceptions about criminal profiling and its practical applications.

Taking into account these goals and assumptions, this study was conducted in two parts. Part one compiled a psychological profile of Gary L. Ridgway from archived interviews conducted by the Green River Taskforce (GRTF) and documents obtained under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), from public resources and published accounts. Part two of this study compared personality characteristics developed in part one to crime scene evidence taken from the King County Prosecutors, *Prosecutor Summary of Evidence*, and declassified case summary documents obtained from the FBI under FOIA request. The purpose was to determine whether personality characteristics of the GRK were present in crime scene evidence and thus, could have been inferred during the original investigation.

Serial Homicide

Ted Bundy, David Berkowitz, Aileen Wuornos and others have been called monstrous, motiveless killers (Fox & Levin, 2005). Serial homicide is a uniquely human behavior. Necessarily motive driven and deliberate, in most cases, serial killers embody the fragile nature

---

[2] Intervention refers to the law enforcement process of interdiction into an ongoing criminal scheme or enterprise.

of the human experience, not simply distant acts of randomized violence. There is evidence to suggest that serial homicide is far more prevalent than we would like to believe. According to recent, adjusted estimates serial killers are responsible for between 150 and 200 deaths every year[3]. While as many as 10 killers per year are apprehended by law enforcement (Fox & Levin, 2005), that these offenders are able to reach the number of kills necessary to meet the statutory definition of serial (discussed further later), represents a failure on the part of law enforcement and society to recognize and respond to these heinous acts.

There is an erroneous belief that serial killers are an emergent phenomenon; in reality the behavior is relatively normative. Compulsive and prolific killers have been represented throughout human history, first in myth but more recently as a cult obsession (Fox & Levin, 2005) serial homicide offenders are expressly representative of the society in which they are found. Offenders span the demographics of the populations they offend in. Despite a more complete understanding in recent years and concerted effort to understand these personalities, society and the Criminal Justice Apparatus (CJA)[4] (Kraska, 2004) has failed to recognize the glaring inaccuracies firmly engrained in myth and view these people as true products of our intrinsically frail human nature.

Myth

Every society has stories of blood-thirsty ghouls who prowl the night in search of human prey. Are these "stories" rooted in fact? For thousands of years people have used stories and myths to pass along histories, important knowledge and lessons. Transylvania, a region in Romania, is the fabled home of the traditional western vampire mythology. There is anecdotal evidence to suggest a historical origin for the mythical Count Dracula. Vlad III, a vicious 15th

---

[3] Exaggerated media reports and improperly used statistics have contributed to higher estimates, previously reported as between 3,000 and 6,000 victims per year. (Fox & Levin, 2005)
[4] The CJA is comprised of police, courts and corrections. (Kraska, 2004)

Century Transylvanian ruler, was rumored to dine amid a garden of impaled peasants, captured soldiers and criminals. A 16th Century Hungarian Countess, Erzsébet Báthory, was similarly renowned for her alleged role in the disappearance of 400 young ladies-in-waiting employed as her attendants. According to rumor, Countess Báthory killed her servants and bathed in their blood which she believed had rejuvenating qualities (Stone, 2009). These factual occurrences are directly responsible for the folklore popularized by 19th century writers such as John Polidori and Bram Stoker. Vlad the Impaler (Vlad III Ţepeş in original Romanian), is the archetype for Bram Stoker's, *Dracula*. The name Dracula is a derivative of Vlad the Impaler's surname "Drăculea", translated as "son of the dragon." Today the name Dracula is synonymous with vampire.

The first published, factual account of a serial killer came in 1888. Jack the Ripper, perhaps the most famous serial killer in world history, killed prostitutes in the Whitechapel neighborhood of London. Eleven women were killed in the same highly sexualized nature, leading the police to believe the murders were committed by the same person. Though police science had not perfected many of the forensic tools employed today, the occurrence of murder in the Whitechapel area was rare and the unique way in which the victims were murdered and mutilated warranted the attention of Scotland Yard investigators. The particular use of sharp force trauma to both effect a kill and mutilate the victim beyond what was necessary to the homicide signature (discussed further in Chapter 2), suggested the same offender was responsible for all eleven cases. A 2005 study (Keppel, Weis, Brown, & Wlech, 2005) was able to link six victims using signature elements and establish a loose *MODUS OPERANDI*[5]. While not as well comprehensive as today's criminal profiling processes, victim, signature and MO analysis and linkage were able to identify the Ripper murders as serial. The administrative

---

[5] From the Latin for mode of operation, commonly abbreviated MO, also discussed in Chapter 2

decision to treat these homicides as a series is the critical first step in serial homicide investigations (Douglas, Ressler, Burgess, & Hartman, 1986).

Beginning in 1851, newly industrialized nations, eager to share their accomplishments with the world, began holding Universal Expositions in cities around the globe. The first was held in London's Hyde Park. In 1893, "Expo" came to Chicago; hundreds of thousands of people, from around the world, poured in to America's mighty industrial core, a veritable entrepreneur's dream, legitimate and criminal alike. One such businessman was Herman Webster Mudgett, a.k.a. H. H. Holmes. Mudgett began purchasing land and eventually owned an entire city block near Expo, a prime location for a hotel. Just two years after the "Ripper murders" Americans experienced their first widely publicized occurrence of serial homicide. Mudgett opened a hotel catering to Expo visitors. Soon, lone travelers began disappearing as Mudgett poisoned them and disposed of the bodies in acid, pocketing anything of value in their possession (Discovery, 2007; Ramsland, 2009). National print media swarmed over news of the disappearances. At the conclusion of Expo, with the stream of foreign visitors gone, Mudgett shifted his offense behavior to theft and insurance fraud, often including murder. Such criminal versatility is common of primary psychopaths.

In 1894, Mudgett killed Benjamin F. Pitezel, took Pitezel's children hostage and held them ransom for a $10,000 insurance settlement, payable to Pitezel's wife. Believing the Pitezel claim was fraudulent, the insurance company (Fidelity Mutual) hired the Pinkerton Detective Agency to track down Mudgett who was finally arrested in Boston while attempting to board a transatlantic, without the Pitezel children. It soon became apparent that Mudgett had led the mother to believe her children were still alive, when in actuality they were long deceased. Mudgett was extradited to Philadelphia where he stood trial for the murder of Benjamin F.

Pitezel and his children. Following his conviction, Mudgett penned his lengthy confession for which the Hurst syndicate paid $10,000. Mudgett was not the only person to become famous from these crimes, the lead detective, Frank Geyer wrote a bestselling book. Additionally, several of the local newspaper articles covering the investigation and trial were picked up by national newspapers. Herman Webster Mudgett was executed by hanging in 1896 after having recanted his confession (Ramsland, 2009).

By the latter half of the 20th century it appeared as though American culture was in the throes of a violent epidemic. Desperate to catch killers such as Zodiac, Son of Sam and Ted Bundy resulted in a public outcry to intervene and protect the public from such maniacs. In 1978 the FBI established a special unit to investigate violent crimes against adults, the Behavioral Analysis Unit - 2 (BAU - 2) at Quantico, Virginia. Initially the BAU – 2 had an academic function and traveled the country interviewing killers already in custody. Before long local law enforcement, investigating complex serial cases such as the Atlanta Child Murders and GRK began to request assistance from this unit. Today, as a routine function, members of the BAU – 2 travel the country lending their expertise to ongoing investigations by profiling the offender (Douglas & Olshaker, 1995).

Criminal Profiling

Criminal profiling is the process of inferring offender characteristics from crime scene evidence, offense elements and victimization (Bartol, 2008; Douglas, Ressler, Burgess, & Hartman, 1986). Serial homicide investigations are not conventional. Absent a clear motive, known association or significant forensic evidence, investigators are often left with few leads to follow. Criminal profiling can answer some critical questions: "What happened at the crime scene? What type of person is most likely to have done this and what personality characteristics

are unique to this individual?" (Egger, 1999, p. 243). "A profile is based on the premise that the proper identification of crime scene evidence can indicate the personality type of the individual(s) who committed the offense" (Jackson & Bekerian, 1997). Where the conventional leads are missing a homicide investigator may consider psychological or criminal profiling a "tool essential to the successful resolution of the case" (Holmes & Holmes, 2009, p. 4).

While the history of psychological profiling[6] in fiction dates to Sir Arthur Conan Doyle and Sherlock Holmes, the tool was first employed by the Office of Special Services (OSS), precursor to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), to profile German Dictator Adolf Hitler during the Second World War (Egger, 1999; Holmes & Holmes, 2009). Between the 1950s and 1970s criminal profiling was still in its infancy. Sporadically, independent experts from the field of psychology and psychiatry were tapped to consult on special cases such as the Mad Bomber (1957) and the Boston Strangler (1964). With a critical involvement in these particularly violent crimes the FBI soon developed a cadre of field agents experienced in violent crime (Egger, 1999). In the late 1970s a special unit was formed to standardize and specialize in the practice of criminal profiling. Since this time advances in our understanding of human behavior have greatly improved the accuracy of psychological/criminal profiling.

Approaches to Profiling

David Canter, a psychologist at the University of Liverpool, has consulted on numerous cases and employs his research on psychological principles that could be used to generate profiles that assist in criminal investigations. Canter identified five "basic aspects of the criminal transaction" between offender and victim as useful in profiling, "interpersonal coherence, significance of time and place, criminal characteristics, criminal behavior and forensic awareness." Canter believes that understanding the interaction between victim and offender

---

[6] Used interchangeably with criminal profiling

allows the investigator to "backtrack the career of the unknown offender and narrow the possibilities" (Egger, 1999, p. 247). This is the essence of criminal profiling, narrowing the possibilities.

Canter writes of a *"criminal shadow"* left in the wake of an offender. This shadow is a series of unconscious clues to the offender's identity. Investigators are left to interpret this shadow as a series of "cryptic signals given in the actions of the offender." They are as follows:

- The personal world the offender inhabits that doesn't make sense
- The degree of care that the offender takes in avoiding capture
- The degree of experience that the offender shows in the crime
- The unusual aspects of the criminal act, which may reflect the type of person who may be recognized
- The habits of the offender, which may carry over into his daily life
  (Egger, 1999, p. 247)

As with the American FBI, a small group of investigators continued to refine the practical application of the psychological principles demonstrated in Canter's work. Currently Canter's graduate programs are sought after worldwide by investigators who want to expand their knowledge of "investigative psychology."

In 1998, Holmes & Holmes published *Profiling Violent Crimes*, now in its 4th edition. Often cited as an authority on the subject, Holmes & Holmes (2009) begin from four basic assumptions about the offender:

- The crime scene reflects the personality of the offender.
- The method of operation (MO) remains similar.
- The signature will remain the same.
- The offender's personality will not change.
(p. 46)

In addition to these basic assumptions intended to guide the process, Holmes & Holmes (2009) identify three goals or expected outcomes of the profile: (1) a criminal profile should provide the CJA with a social and psychological assessment of the offender. "A profile contains information

that alerts the law enforcement professional to the possible psychological traits present in a crime scene. It can predict future possible attacks as well as probable sites of the attacks." (Holmes & Holmes, 2009, p. 9); (2) A criminal profile should provide the CJA with a psychological evaluation of belongings in the offender's possession; and (3) provide "interviewing suggestions and support" (Holmes & Holmes, 2009, p. 11).

Wilson, Lincoln and Kocsis (1997) suggest that all forms of profiling fall into three categories, diagnostic evaluation, investigative psychology and crime scene analysis. Diagnostic evaluations are clinical assessments of personalities made by mental health professionals with little or no practical experience in criminal investigations. This kind of profile is highly individualized and can be quite difficult to apply to other case studies. From these forensic assessments, models are developed to predict behavior. Finally, crime scene analysis makes similar inferences from forensics available in crime scene photos, medico-legal reports, personal interviews and other data. This is the preferred method of the FBI and tends to favor "intuition and experience" over objective reporting and empiricism. This study employs techniques across the discipline to draw from the strengths of each approach (Holmes & Holmes, 2009).

Profiling in Practice: The Green River Killer

In the summer of 1982, when the King County Sheriff's Office (then the King County Police) began recovering the nude bodies of young women deposited in the Green River, few would have imagined the investigation would span three decades. As the count climbed, the investigation appeared likely to span jurisdictions from Kent and unincorporated King County to the City of Seattle. The investigation quickly became difficult to manage. The Green River Taskforce (GRTF) was formed from local and state law enforcement agencies in an attempt to

manage the mounting case load. Following the "Ted Murders"[7] some local investigators such as

Bob Keppel had experience in serial homicide, but near the end of 1983 the taskforce formally

requested the help of the FBI to profile the GRK. In the spring of 1984, John Douglas and two

other members of the FBI BAU-2 traveled to Seattle to assist in the investigation. Their

recommendations suggested that because the rate of recoveries had slackened, the offender must

no longer be in the area. Douglass and his colleagues suggested that the GRK had moved, been

incarcerated in either a penal or mental institution or was dead. There was no option considering

that this offender had slowed his killing behavior, which turned out the be the case and so many

homicides were never attributed to the GRK until after his full confession in the summer and fall

of 2003.

The criminal profiling process currently employed by the FBI utilizes the scientific

method reflected in a six stage, feedback-looped process of observation, hypothesis development

and testing but is founded on largely experiential data (Canter & Wentink, 2004). In this process

developed by Ressler and Douglas, FBI BAU/NCAVC, investigators collect profiling inputs,

develop a set of basic organizational conclusions and analyze the crime before developing a

profile which is then forwarded to the investigating agency with recommendations and strategies

for managing the investigation, media, tips and communications with the offender. The Sixth and

final stage of this process is apprehension of the offender (Muller, 2000). In this early process the

FBI developed a scientific approach to the practice of apprehending a serial killer, however

flawed.

The criminal profiling process begins with the collection of all pertinent information

about the offense. In this first stage, the more information in possession of the profiler, the more

---

[7] In reference to the infamous Theodore Bundy who was responsible for the deaths of several western Washington women in the late 1970's

complete the profile. A complete victim background is essential. Also, all available information about the crime scene: forensics, crime scene photographs, sketches, weather conditions, and political and social environmental factors are essential. The underlying goal of this stage is to develop all potential leads; no information is considered outside the scope of consideration and all elements are viewed from an objective perspective. Items or elements of little consequence in traditional homicide investigation strategies may very well reveal critical elements of the offender's identity.

The second stage is crucial in formulating initial opinions about the offense as well as the offender and focusing further profiling inputs. In this stage, basic organizational inferences are made. There are six model factors to be considered at this stage: what type of offender committed these crimes; what was the intent of these acts; what risk factors define the victim of these acts; what risks does the offender take in committing these acts? Will the offender escalate his or her behavior; and what time and location factors are present in the series? Up to this point, all new crime scene information or investigative developments feedback into stage two and the process is repeated.

The third stage of the criminal profiling process requires the profiler to become intimately familiar with all aspects of the offense so that they may reconstruct the crime; this is referred to as the *crime assessment stage*. It is only from a complete understanding of the act that an accurate profile can be constructed. From this point, the profiler draws on the act itself as evidence of the classification and motive of the offender, as well as logistical consideration of premeditation. Was the victim stalked? Did the offender employ a con or manipulation to gain compliance from the victim? Additionally, every aspect, particularly at this stage, must be given

fresh and open minded consideration. Preconceived notions only serve to obscure the true nature

of "the thing… what does it do, and what needs does it fill by doing it?"

Beginning in stage four, the profiling process serves an administrative function. Once

written, the profile is submitted to the investigating agency along with strategic recommendation

for communicating with the suspect before and after their apprehension. Similarly, if factors such

as victim risk are narrow enough, specific communication strategies can be employed to

proactively engage the suspect or a pool of potential victims (Strangeland, 2005). Stages five and

six pertain to the ongoing investigation and apprehension of the suspect. These stages are fluid

and dynamic and are designed to *feedback* to stage two.

By 1997 this six stage system for generating criminal profiles and evaluating crime scene

evidence had been condensed to a simplified format:

1. Evaluation of the criminal act itself
2. Comprehensive evaluation of specifics of the crime scene or scenes
3. Comprehensive evaluation of the victim or victims
4. Evaluation of preliminary police reports
5. Evaluation of the medical examiner's autopsy protocol
6. Development of a profile with critical offender characteristics
7. Investigative suggestions predicated on the construction of the profile
(Douglas, 1997)

It is important to be mindful of the dynamic and imperfect nature of criminal

investigations. The offenders behavior may change or new evidence may become available at

any time, such as in the GRK case. Such changes necessitate an immediate reassessment of the

profile and investigative strategy.[8] In March of 1987 the BAU/NCAVC issued a summary of the

"GREENMURS, Major Case #771" to the GRTF. In addition to analysis of crime scene evidence

(fibers, trace evidence, fingerprints, medico-legal analysis and serology), victimology, and

---

[8] The entire criminal profiling process is outlined in great detail by Douglas and Ressler (1986) in their paper, *Criminal Profiling from Crime Scene Analysis.*

suspect composites, the FBI included general profile-based recommendations, composite sketches and composite offender demographics. Following the apprehension of the GRK in November of 2001 and the subsequent media storm of coverage, the personality inferences and recommendations offered in this document have been cited as a failure of the criminal profiling process as outlined below. It is important to note that a study published less than five years after the GRK profile suggested that of 192 cases the FBI consulted on only 46% of profiles were beneficial to the investigation. Furthermore, only 17% actually identified the offender (Egger, 1999), profiling during the time of the GRK was in a rudimentary state.

Studies of serial killers with similar offense behavior suggested that the GRK would be highly mobile, marginally employed, and would avoid long term relationships. These general inferences were developed through quasi-scientific study of serial homicide offenders (in custody) interviewed by FBI agents. The three points indicated above are in direct opposition to what is currently known about Gary Ridgway. Not only did Ridgway reside in south central King County for his entire life (with the exception of his military service) but for much of his adult life he was employed full-time by the Kenworth Trucking Company (Guillen, 2007; Prothero & Smith, 2006). Finally, Ridgway was, from all accounts, in a stable, loving relationship with his third wife Judith from 1984, until his arrest and subsequent conviction in 2003. Moreover, while he had two previous, failed marriages, a source of great personal disappointment for Mr. Ridgway, he continually sought committed, appropriate relationships with women.

There are many explanations for the inaccurate profile developed by the FBI. The profilers involved in the GRK case drew their conclusions from experiential data[9] (Canter, Alison, Alison, & Wentink, 2004), and while their conclusions were based on many collective years of experience their theories were underdeveloped and lacked empirical support, a common

---

[9] Data accumulated through experience in the field of law enforcement and investigations.

problem plaguing the discipline. Given the expansive nature of the Green River murders, it was virtually impossible for the FBI to be acquainted with every aspect of the investigation, especially considering the GRTF detectives were struggling to do the same, even pioneering the use of computer databases to sort the many thousands of suspects, interviews and other investigative leads. In 1984, profiling was in its infancy as was our understanding of serial homicide offenders and offense behavior. I choose to view this profile as a learning experience for the academic and law enforcement community. Given the source nature of this document in the GRK profile controversy, I conduct an in-depth analysis in Chapter 4 and have included the complete FOIA release in Appendix D.

There are few more disturbing threats to public order than the seemingly random patterns of victimization which accompany a serial killer. Criminal profiling is an attempt to counter these horrific crimes with a rational and studied approach. There have been a number of public failures of the criminal profiling process[10] but this study focuses on one failure in particular: the Green River murders and the questions about the utility of criminal profiling. Could better behavioral models have predicted and identified personality traits unique to and useful in catching the Green River Killer?

---

[10] Richard Kuklinski (a.k.a. The Ice Man), Dennis Raider (a.k.a. BTK [Bind Torture Kill])

LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review is divided into two parts. Part one, *Defining Serial Murder and the Efficacy of Criminal Profiling*, establishes the *state of the art* in serial homicide and criminal profiling. As a point of common knowledge, part one allows for a discussion of the offender. In part two, *The Killer: Offender, Victim or Addict?* As the literature and phenomenon are broad, I focused this review on points of interest and general knowledge unique to the GRK, his offense behavior, and the Green River murders.

Defining Serial Murder and the Efficacy of Criminal Profiling

This section reviews the historical evolution of criminal profiling, where we are, where we have been, and what is needed to complete the literature. *Defining Serial Murder* details the scope of the problem; *Criminal Typologies,* establishes how criminology defines and goes about categorizing offenders, offenses and crime in general; *Modeling Serial Homicide* establishes how applied theory can produce predictive models of behavior which can be used to understand the actions of an offender and forecast behavior. *Evaluating the Efficacy of Criminal Profiling* explores the efficacy of best practices and identifies where support for criminal profiling is lacking. These subsections coalesce to form the theoretical foundation for categorizing and classifying the various behaviors of the GRK. A retrospective analysis of the GRK requires an

analysis of the history of serial homicide and criminal profiling to understand where the practice

failed and how it has evolved to better understand the offender.

Defining Serial Murder

For more than thirty years researchers, law enforcement, and clinicians have attempted to

define the scope of the serial homicide problem. In August of 2005, the National Center for the

Analysis of Violent Crime (NCAVC) hosted a five-day conference in San Antonio with the

stated goal of rectifying disparities in several issues related to serial homicide; a primary goal

was establishing a common definition. There are many issues to consider with regard to scope

and definition; homicides can be classified along several "themes... such as the number of

murders involved, the type of motivation, and the temporal aspects of the murders." (Morton, et

al., 2008, p. 11). There is a vast disparity in the literature concerning the number of victims

necessary to qualify as a series with variance from as few as two homicides to as many as ten.

Also, there is a "temporal" component to these definitions. Whereas definitions for double, triple

and spree murders exist with similar numbers to many serial homicide definitions, it is the

presence of a temporal component which defines serial homicide. Serial homicides are solitary

acts with "cooling off periods"[11] separating the incidents. Other homicide types are absent a

temporal boundary and are defined as such. What follows is a brief review of the academic

definitions of serial homicide through the last two and a half decades.

The FBI pioneered serial homicide research beginning in the late 1970s. The resultant

Crime Classification Manual attempted to create a functional definition for serial homicide; as

such, serial homicide was originally defined as "...three or more separate events in three or more

separate locations with an emotional cooling-off period between homicides... [and] is

---

[11] Fox & Levine (2005) identify the cooling off period of serial killer as being punctuated by periods of "more or less ordinary life, going to work and spending time with friends and family."

hypothesized to be premeditated involving offense-related fantasy and detailed planning" (Douglass, Burgess, Burgess, & Ressler, 1997). During the 2005 symposium, hosted by the FBI and attended by 135 experts in the field of serial homicide, this definition was updated to the current NCAVC standard. "Serial Murder: The unlawful killing of two or more victims by the same offender(s) in separate events" (Morton, et al., 2008, p. 11). The current FBI definition reflects a trend in serial homicide definitions to simplify or generalize the acts; as if by understanding more about serial homicide, we come to understand just how little we know about the phenomenon.

Brooks et al. (1988) defined serial murder as "...a series of two or more murders, committed as separate events, usually, but not always, by one offender acting alone. The crimes may occur over a time ranging from hours to years. Quite often the motive is psychological, and the offender's behavior and the physical evidence observed at the scene will reflect sadistic, sexual overtones." According to *Practical Homicide Investigation: Tactics, Procedures, and Forensic Techniques, 3rd edition*, there is an observable narrowing of the definition: "Two or more separate murders where an individual, acting alone or with another, commits two or more homicides over a period of time, with time breaks between each murder event" (Gerberth, 1997). Brent Turvey (1999) emphasizes that his definition of serial murder is "...meant to describe the type of *case* as opposed to describing the type of *offender*". His definition states simply that serial murder is "two or more related cases involving homicide behavior. These definitions were established for the practical purpose of conducting investigations. As such, these definitions are narrowly tailored to identify rather than explain the behavior. Other definitions seek to define serial homicide as a behavior rather than an action.

In his study of serial homicide, Eric Hickey (1997) included an individual if "... [that] offender had been charged with killing three or more individuals over a period of days, weeks, months, or years..." and "...the homicides... [were] deliberate, premeditated acts whereby the offender selected his or her own victims and acted under his or her own volition". However, Hickey also included cases where only two victims were killed but the offender was a suspect in other murders or there was evidence of his/her intent to kill others. Giannangelo (1996) defines serial murder as, "Repetitive, cyclical activity, usually associated with a buildup of tension, committing the crime, and a cooling-off period. Actual numbers are unimportant; what is relevant is the compulsion to repetitively commit the crime."

Steven Egger (1998) defines serial homicide as occurring when one or more individuals (usually male) commit(s) a second and/or subsequent murder. Generally, there is no preexisting relationship between victim and attacker, and if a relationship has existed it will be one in which the offender takes a dominate role over the victim. Subsequent murders in the series have no apparent connection to the initial murder and are separated, temporally, from the previous acts; they are usually committed in different locations. Motive is not material but rather is based in power and control alternatively, "...a compulsive act specifically for gratification based on fantasies" as quoted in (Hickey, 1997) centering on the offenders desire to have power or dominance over his victim(s). The victim(s) may have symbolic value for the offender and/or are perceived to be "prestigeless" or subhuman and, in most instances, are extremely vulnerable (e.g. prostitutes, missing children, homosexuals, elderly women, hospital patients, college students, the homeless and migrant workers) (Egger, 1998). Eggers definition is not only unique in its specificity but also represents an attempt to define the behavior of serial homicide and not simply the incidence.

Holmes & Holmes (1994) suggest a serial killer is one who murders three persons across a more than 30 day period and each of these episodes is typically a single murder. Holmes and De Burger (1988) and Holmes and Holmes (2009) further subdivide serial murderers into typologies of: Visionary, Mission, Hedonistic (with subtypes of Lust and Thrill) and Power/Control. Another subtype of the Hedonistic serial killer is the Comfort killer, who kills for monetary gain. Holmes & Holmes definition is unique in that it goes beyond defining the parameters by which an act may be classified. Rather, their definition is a typology, a motivational model of serial homicide behavior. I posit that typing an offender is the first and most critical step in understanding their behavior.

Crime Linkage: Signature, Modus Operandi and Geographic Profiling

Crime linkage is the most basic form of criminal profiling and a behavior that law enforcement practitioners engage in every day, if only subconsciously. Experience tells these officers there are hot spots (geographic profiling) and certain offenders may frequent alleys or shielded door ways to conduct drug transactions (MO). Along the same lines, homicide investigators should recognize similarities in offense behavior unique to a serial sexual homicide such as overkill, post-mortem sexual assault, facial disfiguration, etc.; all are strong indicators of signature, or that which is above and beyond what is necessary to commit the crime. While a comprehensive diagnostic evaluation or review of crime scene elements motivated behavioral indicators, such as the significance of an extreme paraphilia, requires a significant academic knowledge of behavior and psychology, crime linkage is accessible to every investigator. Analyzing similarities in signature and MO using some of today's advanced Geographic Information System (GIS) software often nets an offender.

Signature

Bob Keppel, a renowned serial homicide academic and investigator dating to the Ted murders of the last 1970s has written some of the most extensive literature on signature and MO. "Many serial offenders are not satisfied with just committing the violent crime but feel compelled to go further. Actions beyond those necessary to commit the violent crime demonstrate behavior unique to that particular killer"(Keppel & Birnes, 2009, p. 10). As discussed in the section *The Killer: Offender, Victim or Addict,* serial killers are compelled to commit their crimes in a specific manner as prescribed by their unique psychological cravings. For this reason, evidence of their unique signature, or what Douglass (Douglas & Olshaker, 1995) referred to as their "calling card", is present at every crime scene. In many cases, these characteristic are so pronounced as to be obvious in a single scene without linkage to a series. While MO is variable in homicide offending (discussed further below) signature is a relatively static characteristic and can be used to link individual offenses to a single offender with *signature linkage analysis.*

Hazelwood & Warren (2004) outline a five phase process of linkage analysis which closely mirrors the FBI process of criminal profiling. (1) gather "detailed, varied, and multisource documentation;" (2) review the documents and identify the significant features of each incident; (3) classify those features as MO and/or "ritualistic constructs;" (4) compare MO and ritualistic features of the individual incidents to determine if a signature exists; (5) report your analysis (Hazelwood & Warren, 2004, p. 307). Hazelwood & Warren (2004) suggest that ritual, as the motivating factor in signature, is often difficult to define across a single or limited number of offenses because the offender may be affected by external circumstances such as the time available or mood, therefore certain signature elements may not be present in every

incident. Additionally, because the ritual is so unique to the "internal state of the offender" the resultant signature may not be readily apparent to the crime scene analyst.

The offense behavior of Jerry Brudos, a serial killer from Salem, Oregon, exemplifies ritual and signature. Nicknamed the "The Shoe Fetish Slayer," Brudos developed a partialism[12] for women's feet at a very early age. Brudos began his offense career as a kleptomaniac, compulsively stealing women's shoes. When he was in grade school, Brudos was caught by his teacher, reprimanded, and reported to his mother but the behavior was not corrected. As a serial rapist, Brudos collected the shoes of his victims as souvenirs[13]. Eventually, as approximately 25% of rapists do, Brudos escalated to homicide offending (Hazelwood & Warren, Linkage Analyis: modus operandi, ritual, and signature in serial sexual crimes., 2004) and began abducting and killing his victims, excising their feet, and keeping them as trophies. Trophy taking indicates the presence of partialism and in taking the feet of his victims, Brudos gained a sexual object apart from the act of killing; these elements are unique to and representative of his signature (Newton, 2006). For Brudos, souvenir and later trophy collection are significant signature elements which suggest multiple paraphilias and potentially severe sexual dysfunction. One of Brudos's common offending behaviors was necrophilia[14], the presence of which nearly always indicates the presence of an overbearing maternal figure (Stein, Schlesinger, & and Pinizzotto, Necrophilia and Sexual Homicide, 2010).

---

[12] Partialism – exclusive sexual focus on particular parts of the body (Helfgott, 2008)
[13] Souvenir or trophy collection is common and is done so that the offender can relive the event whenever they view their collection; however, the profiling literature distinguishes between souvenirs and trophies. Souvenirs are mementos taken to relive the event where as trophies have intrinsic value in and of itself (Holmes & Holmes, 2009).
[14] Necrophilia – literally means love of the dead and is generally defined as sexual relations with corpses. (Stein, Schlesinger, & and Pinizzotto, Necrophilia and Sexual Homicide, 2010)

Table 2.0 – Common Crime Characteristics Associated with the Ritualistic Behaviors of Offenders

Posing
Leaving a victim in an open and displayed position
Leaving a victim in a sexually degrading position
Foreign object insertion
Having a prepared script for the victim
Intricate use of binding or bondage factors that are sexually related
Cluster of stab wounds to a certain location of the body
Postmortem marking of the victim's body
Mutilating of body parts
Leaving victim's clothing neatly folded next to the body
Shaving the pubic region of the victim
Overkill – more death-producing blows or stabs than are necessary
Overkill – more than one death-producing weapon used
Postmortem sexual probing
Torture
Cutting of clothing

(Keppel & Birnes, 2009)

As Table 2.0 (above) suggests, there are a myriad signature characteristic which may indicate the presence of fantasy, paraphilia, or ritual in serial sexual homicide offense behaviors. I will discuss signature and the GRK in greater detail in Chapter 4, however, I wish to briefly note some signature elements, as reported in an FBI report dated 10 March, 1987:

> "6. All of the victims of the "Green River Killer" were known or suspected prostitutes...
> 8. All victims are believed to have suffered from either manual or ligature strangulation, the ligature being that of the killer or clothing of the victim...
> 9. All victim remains were located out of doors, most in relatively remote, isolated, wooded or open areas, or wooded suburban residential areas.
> 10. Numerous victim remains, but not all, were located in common "dumpsite" areas, of which there are several, in different relatively remote, isolated areas.
> 11. Most, but not all, victim remains were located with no clothing, jewelry, or belongings present. In some cases, clothing was used as a ligature..."
> 14. Two of the early victims' bodies, HINDS and CHAPMAN, located in the Green River, each had a rock forced into the vagina" (FBI, 1987, pp. 3-5).

In addition to these "facts", it was determined that the offender engaged in sexual intercourse postmortem, a practice known as necrophilia (Baird, Eakes, McDonald, Goodhew, & O'Donnell, 2003).

Modus Operandi

As mentioned above, MO is distinguished from signature as all other things related to the commission of a crime. Helfgott (2008) defines MO as, "method of operation; manner in which offender carries out his or her criminal behavior including all behaviors necessary to commit the crime" (p. 538) Hazelwood and Burgess (2001) suggest that MO has "three primary purposes: to protect identity; to ensure success; to facilitate escape". While I consider it unnecessarily restrictive and potentially shortsighted to refer to a set list of MO characteristics (for the reasons outlined above), Table 2.1 outlines a few common MO characteristics for academic reference only.

Table 2.1 – Common Crime Characteristics Associated with Modus Operandi

Victim's age, gender and race
Offenders' mode of travel
Transporting the victim's body for disposal purposes
Time of day of the offense
Type of building chosen for entry
Day of the week of the offense
Location of the offense
Weapon(s) used
Offenders' multiple and varied approaches to victims
Factors facilitating the commission of the crime
Implements used to bind victims for functional purposes
Wearing a mask

(Keppel & Birnes, 2009)

MO was especially important to the GRK; his success in evading capture is due in large part to a nearly religious adherence to MO. I will discuss MO more thoroughly in Chapter 4,

however, I would like to indicate some MO factors unique to the GRK, again, as reported in an

FBI report dated 10 March, 1987:

> "6. All of the victims of the "Green River Killer" were known or suspected
> prostitutes, who, because of their lifestyle were high risk targets of opportunity.
> The killer, on the other hand, was presented a low risk factor for his crimes due to
> the low visibility of his crimes.
> 7. All victims were contacted by the killer in a calculated manner. They were
> seemingly alone with few or no witnesses present and most probably entered the
> killer's vehicle willingly for the purpose of prostitution.
> 8. All victims are believed to have suffered from either manual or ligature
> strangulation, the ligature being that of the killer or clothing of the victim…
> 9. All victim remains were located out of doors, most in relatively remote,
> isolated, wooded or open areas, or wooded suburban residential areas.
> 10. Numerous victim remains, but not all, were located in common "dumpsite"
> areas, of which there are several, in different relatively remote, isolated areas.
> 11. Most, but not all, victim remains were located with no clothing, jewelry, or
> belongings present. In some cases, clothing was used as a ligature…" (FBI, 1987,
> pp. 3-5).

Note many of the statements in Table 2.0 and 2.1 are the same. The relatively subjective nature

in which these statements of fact may be interpreted is problematic for the crime scene analyst.

For example, as the extended citation of item "6." continues to explain, selection of prostitutes

offers "a low risk factor… due to the low visibility of his crimes." Does the prostitute represent

easy prey or a targeted demographic to satisfy a psychological need? Similarly, were the victims

stripped of their clothing and jewelry as a function of fantasy or ritual, or the practical need to

eliminate trace evidence and potentially profit from the sale or gifting of pilfered items of

jewelry? I provide a complete analysis of signature and MO in Chapter 4.

Geographic Profiling

Contrary to popular belief, serial violence is not random; routine, ritual and habit are

critical features of offense behavior. With this notion in mind, it is possible to understand the

rational by which offenders justify their actions for "the why" as well as the why of homicide

offending; hence, it is only logical to ask if "the how" is similarly predictable. Just as a regular citizen learns the streets in their neighborhood and knows the best route to avoid traffic at rush hour, a serial killer knows where it is safe to offend, potential risks and barriers to mitigate, and the best route to and from the areas they offend in. To date, geographic profiling has proven successful in apprehending offenders and targeting potential victim demographics for emphasis by law enforcement and preventative education (Stangeland, 2005). There are many factors which affect the behavior, or the how, of serial homicide offending. Distance, method of transportation, familiarity with roads and highways, familiarity with potential barriers, and knowledge of alternative routes all form mental maps within the mind of the offender. Evidence of these maps is present in the MO of the offender. By plotting the location of offenses and applying a distance decay algorithm (explained further below), we can define the boundaries of these mental maps and plot the probable location of an offender's residence and their "activity space" (Holmes & Holmes, 2009).

Geographic profiling is based on the *routine activity* approach to criminology (Felson, 1994). Just as law abiding citizens (comparatively) develop a familiarity with their surroundings, criminals, particularly those driven by compulsion, establish a criminal familiarity derived mental maps (Table 2.2) from their experiences. Mental maps are "cognitive image[s] of our spatial surroundings that [have] been built up over time by our daily activities and experiences" (Holmes & Holmes, 2009, p. 236). For a career criminal, these maps may include such locations as courthouses, law enforcement agencies and patrol areas, previous crime sites, and areas likely to contain opportunities to offend. This mental map constitutes what is referred to as an *awareness space* within which the offender is comfortable enough operate (Brantingham & Brantingham, 1981).

Table 2.2 – Elements of Spatial Mental Image

Location of residence
Location of friends' homes
Work location
Location of recreational outlets (pool halls, bars, parks)
Paths – routes of travel (streets, railroad tracks, paths)
Nodes – focused centers of activity (intersections, subway stations, plazas)
Landmarks – geographic reference points (mountains, towers, billboards)

(Holmes & Holmes, 2009)

Profilers use these theories to construct geographic zones for the purpose of crime analysis. The goal, similar to psychological profiling, is to guide the investigative process. According to theory, predatory crime will occur where the offender is most familiar, their activity space, which is defined between anchor points in their awareness space and coincides with the places they naturally frequent (e.g. home, work, shopping and entertainment). Another geographic delineation is the buffer zone which the offender constructs around their place of residence; because they live in this area they are more likely to be identified by a witness, so they generally refrain from offending within this zone (Holmes & Holmes, 2009). Today, technology is far more accessible to the layperson. Use of complex computer algorithms is automated and accessible to even the smallest law enforcement agencies.

Most serial homicide offenders are geographically stable. It is extremely rare for a killer to be mobile, however, that rare exception exists; for example, Theodore Bundy was a highly mobile serial killer. One explanation for the precipitous decline in GRK offense behavior, beginning in 1985, was he may have moved out of the Puget Sound area. In fact, this was the likely recommendation of the FBI (1987) in their Letterhead Memorandum (LHM). At the peak of the Green River murders, geographic profiling was in its very theoretical state. In the mid-1980s, the computing power necessary to generate the probabilistic data and translate that information into

a geographic representation of the GRK's offense behavior did not exist. Today, geographic profiling software is available, free of charge, from the US Department of Justice. Additionally, standard computing power is advanced enough not only to run the probabilistic models but also to plot those numbers in a Geographic Information System (GIS) platform such as ArcView or even Google Earth.

Signature, MO and geographic profiling are common practices in modern law enforcement. These essential steps to crime linkage and trend analysis provide command staff with operational intelligence on where crimes occur and where resources are needed. Identifying arson by linking signature and MO is a common step toward catching an arsonist but is also a public information tool to promote awareness which may lead to an investigative lead. All of these tactics are based in theory. Criminal typologies are developed to operationalize these theories to promote best practices and intervention strategy.

Criminal Typologies

"The criminal justice system cannot respond to crime with a 'one size fits all' approach. Sanctions, management strategies, treatment approaches, and public safety policies and practices are highly dependent on differentiation of types of crimes and criminals" (Helfgott, 2008, p. 99). With regard to the GRK, it is necessary to select a typology which is validated and conforms to the academic standard. Typing an offense or offender[15] allows the investigation to focus and categorize investigative leads and offense characteristics in an efficient manner; it is the most basic input of the profiling process. "A typology is an abstract category or class (or set of categories or cases) consisting of characteristics organized around a common principle relevant to a particular analysis." (Helfgott, 2008, p. 117). As humans, we are drawn to categorize and

---

[15] Given the unique relationship between offender and offense motive, offense and offender are used interchangeably.

order the world around us; typologies are "essential component[s] of perception and cognition" (Marshall, Laws, & Barbaree, 1990). Typologies are used across the disciplines. Biologists classify plants and animals based on common traits, psychologists and sociologists classify people similarly. Likewise, criminology employs typologies to classify deviant behavior.

Many criminological typologies are common to the layperson. It is common to hear a nightly news report on the release of a level III sex offender. Similarly the public is familiar with terms such as psychopath or antisocial. Some are even familiar with terms such as copycat killer or black widow with regard to different types of homicide offenders. Typologies serve to help the general public assess the dangerousness of their surroundings. Academics use typologies to classify offenses and offenders so they can be studied systematically and scientifically. Studies help criminologists develop theories and theories are applied to formulate better typologies, "typology is... theory made manageable." (Helfgott, 2008, p. 117)

In the latter half of the 19th century, classical criminologists sought biological theories to explain criminal behavior. Some early theorists believe criminal tendencies were the result of evolution or lack thereof. Others have insisted that body type denoted The Criminal Man. In a book by the same name, positivist theorist Cesare Lombroso posed one of the first criminal typologies. Lombroso believed that a confluence of genetics, physiology and criminal propensity collide to produce "'born criminals,' 'criminaloids,' 'occasional' and 'habitual' offenders" (Lombroso, 2003, pp. 23 - 25). Though Lombroso's theory was found to be lacking support, it represented a crucial step in criminology; a scientific approach to understanding criminality yielded a theory-based typology.

Some of the best known criminal typologies are generated for legalistic reasons. In American society, the FBI maintains the Uniform Crime Report (UCR). The UCR lists crimes in

two parts. Part I crimes are serious violent crimes such as murder, robbery, and arson. Part II offenses are "less serious crimes" such as drug offenses, fraud, and assault. Another commonly known legalistic typology is the felony/misdemeanor bifurcation (Helfgott, 2008); which is, perhaps, the oldest criminal typology as nearly everyone is familiar with the terms. Legalistic typologies serve an administrative function in our justice system. We use numbers generated from the UCR to determine how effective our law enforcement agencies are. Similarly, courts use legalistic typologies to determine whether an offense is serious or not. Felony cases are generally considered more serious and, thus, receive greater consideration and usually carry a longer sentence.

Sociological classifications represent a macro level approach to understanding criminality and date to the 19th century. These offender-centric classifications sought to understand the relationship of the offender to the offense or the victim and draw conclusions based on those theories. Hickey (1997) developed a sociological typology of serial killers; his mobility typology established a distinction between killers who prefer to kill in a specific place, i.e. place-specific and those who are mobile, i.e. traveling killers. Other theorists have sought to understand group dynamics of prison inmates through sociological typologies. Irwin (1980) established three types of coping mechanisms for prisoners: "doing time (avoiding trouble and getting out as soon as possible), jailing (immersion in the prison world), and gleaners (inmates attached to the formal institution rules who tried to improve themselves by using available prison resources)." (Helfgott, 2008, pp. 102-103). Sociological typologies allow academics and practitioners to study and improve their understanding of their target populations.

Psychological typologies allow for a better understanding of the individual criminal. Perhaps the best know example of a psychological typology is the psychopath/non-psychopath

classification. This distinction serves to direct offender management in prison populations. Having identified psychopathic personalities, which are among other things, highly self-interested and manipulative, corrections agencies can segregate or otherwise specifically handle psychopathic personalities apart from non-psychopaths. For example, psychopaths are not particularly responsive to treatment, in fact, psychopaths who participate in group therapy (as is common in many prison facilities) use the responses of other inmates to learn how to simulate emotions and otherwise become better at manipulating others (Hare, 1993; Meloy, 1988).

Often psychological models are closely linked to the motivation of the offender; rape and sexual homicide demonstrate this relationship. There are four common types of rape/sexual homicide offenders in this typology: *power assertive*, *power reassurance*, *anger retaliatory* and *anger excitation*. Developed from an investigator's perspective, these types have their roots in a typology developed by Groth (1979). Over the years this initial typology has been revised by Knight and Prentky (1987, 1990), Keppel and Walters (1999), and eventually Turvey (1999, 2002) to better reflect the current state of understanding in the field of serial sexual homicide and rape. A rape typology, established in theory and linked to psychological characteristics, was found to be applicable to sexual homicide. Not only is this typology employed by academics but it is also accessible to investigators in law enforcement, this typology represents "theory made manageable." (Helfgott, 2008, p. 117)

> What constitutes a good typology?
>
> "A criminal typology is useful only to the extent that it describes homogeneous categories of offending, it is comprehensive/exhaustive with respect to the stated purpose, its categories are mutually exclusive, it is complex enough to have explanatory value, and it is simple enough to be applied in criminal justice policy and practice."
> (Helfgott, 2008, p. 117)

Criminologists have been attempting to group and type offenders and offenses since the classical era of criminal justice research. Theorists such as Lombroso tried to develop a method for identifying those predisposed by biology to be criminal. Similarly positivist theorists in the late 19th and early 20th centuries applied sociology. Merton identified five types of personalities in reaction to his Strain Theory; of late, typologies have moved increasingly from macro theory to the micro level. Today it is common to apply psychology to the study and understanding of criminality.

For serial homicide investigations, typologies represent theory operationalized. Holmes & Holmes (2009) definition (discussed above) is actually a typology. There have been a number of typologies addressing violence and aggression, including serial homicide, which have not met the above discussed criteria for success. These typologies contributed to the failure of criminal profiling to accurately identify the GRK. Given newer typologies such as the Holmes & Holmes (2009) five factor model of serial homicide offending, a more accurate identification of the GRK can be made.

Models of Serial Homicide

The latter half of the 20th century found Americans confronted with the violent reality of serial homicide. Bundy, Dahmer and others forced a public outcry and response from the FBI. In an effort to better understand the offense behavior of these killers the FBI conducted research, developed theories, or models of behavior, behavior, and attempted to classify, or type, serial homicide offense behavior. The result of those early agents attempted to explain serial homicide is the simple (now defunct) organized/disorganized bifurcation (Douglas, Ressler, Burgess, & Hartman, 1986) the failed to properly identify killers such as Andrea Yates[16], Aileen Wuornos

---

[16] Andrea Yates does not fit the definition of a serial killer, however, she is included here for the role of forensic assessment and typologies in her prosecution.

and the GRK. The organized/disorganized typology is based on observations of the crime scene. Oversimplified, this typology establishes that frenzied or disorganized crime scenes are the work of disorganized or psychotic personalities, out of touch with reality. Alternatively, highly organized crime scenes betray a level of planning and premeditation on the part of the offender. This simple classification was taught to homicide investigators for nearly twenty years because it was accessible and employed psychological characteristics to explain the presence or absence of crime scene characteristics; however, it does not meet the requirements of a valid typology as outlined by Helfgott (2008), particularly the requirement for mutual exclusivity and has proven to lack empirical validity (Canter, Alison, Alison, & Wentink, 2004).

There have been a number of typologies, predicated on theory, which have fallen short of successful. The GRK and other exemplify the failings of these typologies (discussed further below). Two such typologies address they offender with regard to motive. The predatory/affective and compulsive/catathymic bifurcations of aggression and violence motivation are comprehensive and well-studied approaches to typing serial sexual violence. The GRK, however, defies both of these structures and the FBI standard organized/disorganized typology.

The majority of homicides are motivated by affective, rather than predatory aggression. According to Meloy (2000), only one percent of homicides are serial and only a fraction of those are purely motived by predation, Helfgott (2008) suggests "it could be argued that no crime is purely predatory" (p. 176). However prevalent, it certainly is true that the majority of serial homicides are motivated by some degree of predatory aggression and violence. To that end it is logical to examine a crime scene or series of scenes for signs of affective versus predatory aggression. For example, the offender's knowledge or understanding of their actions as wrong

may prompt them to engage in a certain degree of forensically aware countermeasures to evade detection, such as wearing gloves. An affectively motivated killer may not be directly aware of the illicit nature of their behavior and thusly may not leave such signs of premeditation.

The predatory/affective typology encounters criticism in cases where there is overlap in the motivational substrate of the offender violating the requirement that a typology by mutually exclusive to a particular category. In the case of Andrea Yates, who drown her five children on June 20th of 2001 in the family bathtub, her actions appear to be motivated by affective aggression brought on under the strain of postpartum depression. Following her arrest and subsequent confession Yates described how she had attempted several months before to kill her children in the same way. Yates had an extensive history of depression and psychosis but deliberately kept her prior attempts from her doctors and family. Park Dietz, forensic psychologist for the prosecution, argued that in hiding her prior attempts there was a deliberate effort to preserve the ability to carry out the murders at a later date and implicate acknowledgement of the nature of the act as wrong, "she kept thoughts about killing her children secret because she feared she would be stopped, indicating she knew what she was doing was wrong" (Helfgott, 2008, p. 176).

The compulsive/catathymic model of aggression (Meloy, 2000) is comprehensive and adequately explains most violence. With regard to killers such as Aileen Wuornos, who killed in the 1980's in Florida, however, the model does not adequately explore the spectrum of motivation. Wuornos lured her victims by posing as a hitchhiker. Once she was inside a vehicle she would indicate she was in need of money for alcohol or marijuana and would offer to perform sexual acts. After some physical contact she would convince her victims to undress. When they were naked she would shout "I knew you would try to rape me!" draw a 0.22 caliber

pistol and kill them (Arrigo & Griffin, 2004, p. 386). This MO indicates both compulsive, in her systematic, premeditated and consistent, predatory MO and catathymic motivation as indicated by her verbalization just prior to the act of murder.

Wuornos suffered a great deal of psychological trauma at the hands of neglectful and abusive family members and acquaintances throughout her life. As a result of these very acute psychological influences she engaged in compulsive or predatory aggression as a means of self-medication (discussed further below) and affective or catathymic aggression in seemingly self-defensive reactions prior to effecting a kill. Obviously, the offense behavior of Aileen Wuornos has been greatly simplified here but her motivation suggests a fault in the mutually exclusive nature of both the affective/predatory and compulsive/catathymic aggression models.

This concept of mutual exclusivity, as proposed by Helfgott (2008) is critical to understanding the offense motivation duality in Aileen Wuornos, Andrea Yates and the GRK. Though a well-developed typology, couched in valid psychological theory, the compulsive/catathymic delineation fails to address the motivation of the GRK (discussed further below). These highlighted inconsistencies would suggest that human aggression cannot be expressed in a simple bifurcated model. In fact, Stone (2009) uses twenty-two separate categories to express the breadth of violent motivation and readily admits his typology does not cover every permutable calculation. What is necessary is a simple yet comprehensive model which satisfactorily meets the criteria for a good typology and can adequately express the complexity of human emotion.

While Stone's (2009) *Scale of Evil* is comprehensive it is perhaps too complex to be operationalized in an investigative format. Holmes & Holmes (2009) alter the very basic organized/disorganized dichotomy to form the core of their five factor model of serial homicide.

With origins in the academic study of serial offending, Holmes & Holmes (2009) break out the psychotic and personality disordered inference into five distinct classifications: (1) mission and (2) vision oriented killers are psychotic while the remaining (3) lust, (4) thrill, and (5) power & control are personality disordered. Holmes & Holmes (2009) adopt a measure of legitimacy and precedent of empirical support by building a foundation for their typology in psychology. Through psychology there is an established terminology and body of empirical analysis which aptly lends itself to the study of serial offenders. Burgess, Douglas and Ressler lacked this fundamental support.

Of the typologies which apply specifically to serial homicide offending, Holmes & Holmes have developed one of the few which has been studied and found to have support, if only limited (Canter & Wentink, 2004). For this reason I select their model and typology for my profile of the GRK; however, in the tradition of critical thought I propose to juxtapose their model with Kernberg's Theory of Borderline Personality Organization (BPO) (Helfgott, 2008). For the purpose of this study, I adopt Kernberg's "psychotic" and "neurotic" in place of the existing DSM IV designations of psychotic and personality disordered. BPO has a history of application in criminology dating to the 1960s and is "particularly helpful in terms of understanding how internal conditions across the continuum of personality produce a tendency toward criminal behavior." (Helfgott, 2008, pp. 62-64). Indeed, J. Reid Meloy (1988) applies this very continuum of personality organization to his study of psychopathic offenders The Psychopathic Mind, a standard in the study of psychopathy, as a prominent component of serial offending personalities.

Understanding personality is central to a thorough understanding of offense motivation, which is the ultimate goal of the criminal profiling process. Whatever ancillary factors coincide

to produce the serial killer, the essential component of their being is the "superego" (Helfgott, 2008; Holmes & Holmes, 2009) or personality. Modern psychodynamic theory is rooted in Freudian personality theory of the id, ego, and superego. Our morality is defined by and manifested in the superego component of the Freudian trifecta regarding what is acceptable behavior (Helfgott, 2008; Holmes & Holmes, 2009) and fantasies or desires. With the power to inhibit, the superego often acts as the conscious element of personality by regulating our actions. The ability to influence the superego to allow a conventionally unacceptable behavior, such as homicide, is the defining facet of the serial killers personality. Kernberg's BPO defines the process by which criminal personalities neutralize the superego and violate conventional norms.

Kernberg's BPO arranges personality along a continuum from psychotic on the left (DSM IV, Axis I) to neurotic on the right (severe antisocial personality disorder, psychopathy) with borderline (Axis II, Cluster B diagnosis) falling between the two (Helfgott, 2008). Kernberg's BPO expresses specifically the mechanisms used to avoid intrapsychic conflict[17]. According to Kernberg's theory, the psychotic is out of touch with reality and will engage in primitive defenses[18] to neutralize the intrapsychic conflict between their conscience and unconscious desires presented by their behavior. Alternatively, neurotic personalities are highly psychopathic, in touch with reality and will utilize higher order defense mechanisms[19] to the same effect. The borderline personalities are a mix of the two extremes along the BPO continuum; while in touch with reality, these personalities engage the primitive defenses to neutralize the superego.

---

[17] Intrapsychic conflict is the inner struggle between facets of personality, id, ego and superego.

[18] Primitive defense behaviors are "lower level mechanisms" such as "*splitting... primitive idealization, projective identification, denial, omnipotence,* and *devaluation." Splitting* for example is "the view of oneself and others as all good or all bad with an inability to reconcile the two identities." (Helfgott, 2008)

[19] Similar to the primitive defense behavior, higher order defenses provide for greater "adaptive effectiveness and flexibility" and reduce the occurrence of intrapsychic conflict (Helfgott, 2008).

Evaluating the efficacy of criminal profiling

As previously discussed in Chapter 1, criminal profiling is the practice of inferring personality characteristics from crime scene evidence. Given the relatively untested nature of the practices, the question among investigators and academics alike: is criminal profiling effective and if unsure, what is the utility of an untested investigative technique when lives are at stake? I undertake these questions in multiple parts. Studies suggest that people trained in criminal profiling are more likely to identify offender characteristics from case evidence (Kocsis, 2003). Additionally, a Finnish study found that there is a distinct relationship between offender motivation and offense behavior, and thus, crime scene evidence (Santtila, Häkkäne, Canter, & Elfgren, 2003).

Kocsis, Middledorp, and Karpin (2008) identify two methodological barriers to assessing criminal profiling in their article *Taking Stock of Accuracy in Criminal Profiling: The Theoretical Quandary for Investigative Psychology*. First, there is no reliable measure of the efficacy of profiling on a case by case basis. There is no standard certification for profilers or form for conducting a profile and thus, no standardized metric by which to evaluate the performance of that profile. Additionally, data gleaned from meta-analysis and case studies is not uniform. As such, quasi-experimental studies of criminal profiling have yielded questionable data. Some studies have, however, been able to isolate limited empirical support.

In a 2003 study by Kocsis, published in the International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, written profiles of a solved homicide case were analyzed. In this study "a content analysis of profiles written by professional profilers, psychics, psychologists, college students, and police officers" were compared. Trained profilers were found to write more lengthy profiles than the other groups. Additionally, these longer profiles contained more

predictions about the offender. While physical characteristics of the offender (age, race, sex, etc.) were similarly predicted by the other groups, profilers developed more specific "nonphysical" characteristics.   The study concluded the breadth of expertise with regard to the research literature on serial homicide allowed the profilers to surpass all of the other groups with the exception of the psychologists. With regard to the performance of the groups in physical characteristics, it was concluded that a general familiarity with a "finite" number of physical characteristics allowed for the unexpected performance. Criminal profiling has been established as an effective means of providing support in serial homicide investigations.

Is there a positive relationship between the criminal profile and crime scene evidence, or is it just a general familiarity with the research literature which enables the profiler to make successful inferences about the offender? In a Finnish study published in 2003, support was found for a relationship between offender motivation and crime scene characteristics. Santtila, Häkkäne, Canter, and Elfgren (2003) conducted multidimensional scaling analysis of twenty-one characteristics related to offense behavior. Though they found it was unlikely to discover a set of clearly defined offense types with distinct criminal behavior, characteristics were found to coincide with clear boundaries in expressive and instrumental motivation using Small Space Analysis (SSA).

Support for criminal profiling through crime scene characteristic analysis is based largely in experiential data. While there have been studies which examined the efficacy of criminal profiling, the only solid support exists in the historical record. Crime scene linkage has established that of the serial homicide offender apprehended to date confirming all have committed their series of homicides with a degree of commonality. Theodore Bundy used a common ploy or ruse to lure vulnerable, collegiate age women into situations where he could

abduct, rape and bludgeon them to death. While he had a few deviations from this model of offense behavior, generally speaking, Bundy killed the same victims in the same manner for the same reasons. Of the known homicide offenders, the presence of common crime scene elements has set their behavior apart from the common motivations for homicide.

Discussed above is how theory and typology can be operationalized to define, type and intervene in a series of arsons, rapes or homicides. These kinds of compulsive, predatory, affective, catathymic aggressive manifestations betray something about the psychology or personality of the offender. What follows is a discussion of theory specific to the phenomenon of sexually motivated serial homicide. This theory, made manageable, is operationalized in the analysis section of this study.

<div align="center">The Killer: Offender, Victim and Addict?</div>

Personality is dynamic; many factors contribute to produce an individual's personality. A principle failing of the organized / disorganized dichotomy is its overly simplified nature and the degree to which the two classifications overlap. Additionally, there is an absence of solid foundation in verifiable science. With grounding in psychology and Freudian psychoanalysis, Holmes & Holmes (2009) established a typology of serial homicide offending which has proven limited empirical validation (Canter & Wentink, An Empirical Test of Holmes and Holmes's Serial Murder Typology, 2004). I have expanded the connection with Freudian personality theory to include Kernberg's BPO for its longstanding relationship to criminological theory. This kind of criminal typology is based on the psychodynamic development of the offender; thus, each type corresponds to a specific set of predispositional and environmental factors likely to be found in the offender's background. Central to paraphilic development and compulsive behavior are three factors: trauma, coping, and addiction. The following section explores these factors.

Pathological Personalities

We process our reality according to our capacity to do so. Some people are resilient, able to sustain substantial emotional damage and recover with little impact while others are less stable with every degree of tolerance in between. Our capacity to deal with stressful or traumatic stimuli has biological origins but is codified through operant conditioning (Khantzian, Suh, Ruffins, Robins, & Albanese, 2008). Prior to any significant personality development, our bodies are reaction machines. In this way the coping skills of an infant are purely nature driven. It is genetics, not environmental factors which define the infant's ability to cope with their surroundings. We develop our fundamental self at this critical stage in our development. Fantasy, on the other hand, is a product of our ability to cope with our environment and the effect that interaction has on our fundamental sense of self.

If fantasy provides the drive, psychopathy is the catalyst by which the offender is able to offend. Dysfunctional cognition defines the psychopathic mind. A term which has replaced the archaic sociopathy, psychopathy is most closely related to the Axis II, Cluster B disorders in the American Psychological Association, DSM-IV and specifically Antisocial Personality Disorder (APD). The psychopath, as a personality type, was originally identified by Hervey Cleckley (1941) in his book The Mask of Sanity. The construct has been contemplated ever since but the preeminent author in the field is Dr. Robert Hare. Beginning the 1980s, Hare developed the PCL-R to evaluate personality along a well-defined continuum in an effort to "identify these individuals in order to minimize the risk they pose to others" (Hare, 1993).

A central feature of psychopathy is often described as a defect in affect (Hare, 1993) and serves to disassociate the offender from the emotional consequences of their actions. It is generally accepted that psychopathy develops very early with some suggesting this window may

exist inside of 36 months old (Blair, Mitchell, & Blair, 2008; Meloy, The Psychopathic Mind: Oirgins, Dynamics and Treatment, 1988). For a myriad of reasons, the psychopathically predisposed individual solidifies their pathology within this window as a result of their interaction with parental and early developmental influences. An excess of hard stimuli or sensations and rejection or abuse can trigger an acute disassociation, or fractured identity, through which the child begins to engage an alternate reality (Meloy, The Psychopathic Mind: Oirgins, Dynamics and Treatment, 1988). Psychopaths have been referred to as complex reflex machines (Cleckley, 1988). To the degree that they are disassociated from emotion, they learn the socially accepted responses and simulate them. The psychopathic personality is conditioned to behave the way they do.

The Psychopath

The PCL-R was developed by Hare to evaluate personalities on twenty separate criteria across three factors, interpersonal, affective and lifestyle. The evaluated items are as follows: (Table 2.3

Table 2.3 – PCL-R 2nd Edition Items

Factor 1
Interpersonal / Affective
1. Glibness / superficial charm
2. Grandiose sense of self-worth
3. Pathological lying
4. Conning / manipulative
5. Lack of remorse or guilt
6. Shallow affect
7. Callous / lack of empathy
8. Failure to accept responsibility for own actions

Social Deviance
9. Need for Stimulation / Proneness to Boredom
10. Parasitic lifestyle
11. Lack of realistic long-term goals
12. Impulsivity
13. Irresponsibility
14. Poor behavioral controls
15. Early behavior problems
16. Juvenile delinquency
17. Revocation of conditional release
18. Criminal versatility

Other
19. Promiscuous sexual behavior
20. Many short-term martial relationships

Factor 2
(Hare, Hare Psychopathy Checklist - Revised (PCL-R): 2nd Edition, 2003)

A primary psychopath or "true psychopath" will have each of these items present in the background and score above 30 on the PCL-R[20]. A secondary psychopath will have a majority of these items present and assess between 20 and 29. Non-psychopathic personalities score 19 or less.

These personalities consistently and pervasively violate the rights of others in pursuit of their own self-interest. This disorder is commonly characterized by a complete lack of empathy. There is information to suggest that this emotional dysfunction has its roots in a biological deficiency of the brain. Blair et al. (2002) conducted a study in which subjects were shown a facial expression as it morphed from one emotional state to the next. The control group was able to identify the correct emotion as "fear" after only 65% of the morph, while psychopathic personalities failed to recognize "fear" until more than 75% of the morph was complete.

[20] The PCL-R assesses two points for the presence of each item, one point for the possible presence of that item and no points if it is omitted or not present. (Bodholdt, Richards, & Gacono, 2000)

Psychopathic personalities fail to recognize and properly process displays of emotion in others. Autistic people suffer from a similar deficiency. Functional MRI studies, which measure brain functionality through blood flow, have shown that mirror neurons are either absent or dysfunctional in people with autism. When shown photographs of facial expressions, autistic people demonstrate difficulty matching the correct emotion and expression (Blair, Mitchell, & Blair, 2008; Meloy, The Psychopathic Mind: Oirgins, Dynamics and Treatment, 1988). Emotional recognition has a mediating effect on the behavior of non-psychopathic personalities, such processes are said to be violence inhibiting. Given the psychopath's lack of affect or empathy, their violent behavior is not interrupted by a painful outcry or otherwise emotional manifestation in the target of their violence.

Psychopathic mechanisms, if only limited, are essential to the behavior of a serial killer. It is important to note that most serial killers are believed to suffer a partial form of psychopathy (Fox & Levin, 2005). Many of history's more prolific killers managed to evade capture because of their overwhelmingly normal appearance. In fact, Gary Ridgway was discounted as the GRK, in large part, due to his history of marriage and stable relationships. Previous experience suggested this kind of emotional attachment would be impossible for a serial killer (Guillen, 2007). Similarly, certain types of serial killers engage in sadistic behavior for the emotional feedback of pain, terror, or fear manifested in the faces of their victims. A psychopath is incapable of recognizing these emotions and thus, unable to reap the emotional harvest.

The PCL-R

Since its development in throughout the 1980's and first published edition in 1991, the PCL-R has undergone extensive independent testing and is now considered to be the industry standard as a predictor of dangerousness in correctional and forensic settings. Initially anchored in Cleckley's 7 point global rating scale of psychopathy, the PCL-R has become the dominant rating tool in correctional settings for success where traditional testing based on DSM-IV structured interviews have failed. Additionally as Psychopathy is not considered to be a diagnosable

disorder but rather a complex of Axis II, Cluster B disorders, the PCL-R is designed to address, specifically the behavior of the psychopath and is therefore grounded in the theoretic literature with regard to criminality rather than mental health. Furthermore, the PCL-R is a valid and reliable psychometric measure of psychopathy. For this reason it has been selected for this study.

Given that the PCL-R was designed to diagnose psychopathy rather than any of the aggregate personality disordered parts (e.g. Antisocial Personality Disorder (ASPD), Borderline Personality Disorder (BPD), Histrionic Personality Disorder (HPD) or Narcissistic Personality Disorder (NPD)), the diagnosis focuses on a global understanding of the behavior. As stated in Bodholdt et al (2000) "identification of ASPD in forensic settings is something like finding ice in your refrigerator;" (p.59). Similarly, given that this study is seeking to understand the role of a specific pathological personality in a forensic context, the PCL-R is a logical choice.

To date no study has successfully challenged the reliability of the PCL-R, "...even when mental disorder, gender and ethnicity are considered. The test holds together well, tapping into little stray area, as judged by measures of internal consistency. Test-Retest data are indicative of affective, behavioral and interpersonal stability of the disorder," (Bodholdt et al, 2000, p. 68). Other psychometric tests exist and some, like the Interpersonal Measure of Psychopathy (IMP), are even geared specifically toward the assessment of psychopathy but none have withstood the empirical rigors of the PCL-R.

We have come to understand a great deal about the psychopath since Hervey Cleckley (1941) proposed its modern iteration. From their relationship to reality and defensive processes to the neurobiological differences which define the brain of a psychopath apart from a healthy personality, psychopaths have been studied extensively over the past seventy years. Psychopaths, who rarely kill unless opposed or threatened, share the biological and many of the environmental influences of a serial killer who may only be partially psychopathic, subsequently, a measure of psychopathy allows us to draw from the body of knowledge on psychopaths and infer

characteristics of the serial killer based on their PCL-R score. This study utilizes the PCL-R for precisely this reason.

Attachment Disorders

Serial killers and psychopaths suffer from an acute attachment disorder referred to as fractured identity (Holmes, Tewksbury, & Holmes, 1999). Infants, with biological factors in support of psychopathy and in the presence of hard socialization, suffer from attachment disorder (Meloy, The Psychopathic Mind: Oirgins, Dynamics and Treatment, 1988). A failure to develop healthy attachment with the primary caregivers in a child's life leads to an inability to form lasting attachments in adulthood (Blair, Mitchell, & Blair, 2008; Bowlby, 1982). The root of this attachment failure lies within the child's inability to cope. It is widely held that the pathology necessary to form a psychopathic mind is cemented as early as age 36 months. Additionally, it is known that this pathology is often formulated in the presence of an excess of "hard" stimuli or experiences. An infant's needs are simple; nourishment and attention are often all that is necessary in their early development. Denied these simple needs, the child learns not to rely on their caregiver to meet their needs as a defensive mechanism. This relationship forms the foundation of their attachment disorder (Holmes, Tewksbury, & Holmes, 1999; Meloy, The Psychopathic Mind: Oirgins, Dynamics and Treatment, 1988).

The implications for this lack of attachment are profound. In early childhood, parental figures provide a sense of self while the child is developing their own Ego. This relationship provides the necessary cues for right and wrong, and how to relate to others on a basic level. Without this archetypical relationship the child's sense of self is lost. Often this child will have a difficult time with the subtle social cues displayed by their peers and suffer rejection as a result. Further rejection leads the child to develop a world in which they are accepted, a fantasy substitute for reality (McClellan, 2007). As the fantasy continues to supplant healthy, prosocial interactions with peers, the child disassociates further from society.

Bullying and rejection are common in the history of many serial killers. The effect is either the child reacts positively in development of what Meloy (2002) has termed a "grandiose self-structure" as a protective, alter ego (Ted Bundy), or they introvert further into themselves and develop elaborate fantasies as indicated by their complex paraphilic behavior (Gary Ridgway). Feelings of helplessness, frustration, and anger compel these people to engage in pathological play. In this behavior, the serial killer will often experiment with power, control, dominance, and death through small animals. Torturing and killing are means of recapturing their marginalized existence by asserting dominance and inflicting pain on a lesser object (McClellan, 2007).

When the serial killer enters puberty their pathological play behavior takes on a sexual component. Unable to associate sexually with their peers in a conventional relationship, the budding serial killer will begin to fanaticize. Anger and rejection are strong components in this sexualized form of pathological play. For this reason, benign sexual fantasy takes on a violent component. During this phase of development, the serial killer will reinforce their fantasy with masturbation and reward through orgasm. As the behavior continues, violence, anger, control, dominance, and sex become inextricably intertwined in a repeating cycle of autoerotic gratification (Purcell & Arrigo, 2006). In many ways the serial killers pathology resembles chronic Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD).

There is strong evidence to suggest that psychopathic personalities are chronically under stimulated. We know that psychopathy is a component of the psychodynamic development of serial killers, and given their propensity for offense escalation, it is reasonable to believe that serial killers may be under stimulated as well. Research has shown that psychopaths have decreased levels of cortical arousal (Blair, Mitchell, & Blair, 2008). Subjected to simple tactile stimulation, the autonomic nervous system has a depressed reaction to touch (Meloy, The Psychopathic Mind: Oirgins, Dynamics and Treatment, 1988). Self-report studies of incarcerated psychopathic personalities have demonstrated a preference for stimulant drug abuse. Amphetamines, cocaine hydrochloride, and the initial, euphoric phase of alcohol intoxication are

common abuse behaviors (Meloy, The Psychopathic Mind: Oirgins, Dynamics and Treatment, 1988). Similarly, psychopathic personalities are often referred to as thrill seekers and will tend to engage in risk-taking behavior (Hare, 1993; Meloy, The Psychopathic Mind: Oirgins, Dynamics and Treatment, 1988).

This condition of chronic under stimulation has a snowballing effect on paraphilic development. Eventually, fantasy and masturbation fail to satisfy their desires. This is when serial killers graduate to their first offense on a human subject. In furtherance of their primary paraphilia, the serial killer will engage in stalking, rape, and eventually homicide. Additionally, it is common for a serial offender to manifest more than one paraphilia. For instance, a necrophiliac may also engage in scoptophilia[21]. Similarly, paraphilias may begin as lesser compulsions classified as fetish behavior and systematically progress. In the under stimulated mind, fetish behavior[22] will lead to partialism[23], all of which are examples of paraphilic behavior; in this way and others, paraphilia and pathological behavior in serial homicide offenders resembles the escalating cycle of addiction in substance abusers.

Addiction and Self Soothing

Each of the personalities mentioned at the beginning of this section crave their own unique brand of narcotic (i.e. exercise, food, sex) and indeed, their dependencies, habitual and chemical alike, are similar to the conventional drug dependent mind. The serial killer serves a similar desire to all of the compulsive behavior types noted above with the difference being the source of their high. A heroin or crack addict can walk to any corner in any seedy neighborhood in any urban center in America and score their fix. In fact, the average person observes these kinds of addicts all around them on a daily basis, but the serial killer is covert within society. While cocaine, methamphetamine, or alcohol provides the catalyst for self-medication in the traditional addict,

---

[21] Scoptophilia is the sexualization of the sensation of looking (Meloy, The Psychopathic Mind: Oirgins, Dynamics and Treatment, 1988).

[22] Fetishism is the sexualization of an object of body part.

[23] Partialism is the intensive sexualization of a particular body part, apart from its attachment to the body. Such behavior in its extreme form fuels the desire to excise that body part as a trophy.

the serial offender craves a specific behavior to fuel their high. Offending, like shooting up, serves to release all the natural drugs these personalities need to attain a condition of normalcy. Understanding chemical dependency and the effects of operant and classical conditioning on the addicted mind are critical elements to unraveling the motivations of these personalities. To understand the serial killer you must understand the compulsive brain, or the addict.

Addiction begins early in life as a means of escaping reality. Recent research suggests that addiction is motivated by a desire to self-medicate and self sooth. In a 2008 article entitled SELF-MEDICATION HYPOTHESIS: Connecting Affective Experience and Drug Choice, E. J. Khantzian et al explain the roll of trauma and coping in the development of an addict in a way that is strikingly similar to the development of fantasy and sexual paraphilia as proposed by Burgess and Hickey (Arrigo & Purcell, 2001). Trauma causes "emotional pain, dysphoria, and anxiety, [and] substance abusers use the drug actions, both psychological and psychological effects, to achieve emotional stability" (Khantzian, Suh, Ruffins, Robins, & Albanese, 2008, p. 519). Correspondingly, fantasies are developed as alternative realities to cope with trauma. The development of fantasy and later paraphilic behavior is related directly in both Hickey's "trauma-control" and 'Burgess's "motivational model(s)" of paraphilia.

Consider the following. A child is born to a single parent home in which the mother is addicted to crack cocaine. As a result, this child is also addicted to cocaine but neglected by the mother is left to self-sooth. Not having the benefit of proper parental archetypes, when this child begins to socialize with other children they are slow to take social cues. As such this child is somewhat alienated. Relegated to a secondary group of similar misfits, and still absent proper parenting and supervision, this child begins to act out. By their early teenage years this child is engaged in status offenses[24]. Finding that alcohol and drugs provide an escape from their alienated existence, lower their inhibitions, and generally sooth their anxiety stemming from poor self-esteem the child becomes an alcoholic. Inadequate child rearing and an early dependence on

---

[24] Drug and alcohol abuse, running away and general incorrigibility

self-soothing leads this child to drug and alcohol addiction in early adolescence and adulthood. Alcohol is discovered as relief from the "emotional pain, dysphoria, and anxiety" they suffer and so becomes a dependency or means of "achieving emotional stability" (Khantzian, Suh, Ruffins, Robins, & Albanese, 2008, p. 518).

Consider another child born in a comparable social situation but with the biological factors associated with psychopathy[25]. This child's identity fractures and disassociates from a painful reality in an effort to protect itself. Disassociated from and lacking adequate parental archetypes, the child disassociates within 36 months of birth. As a result of their inability to empathize, or understand the emotion of others or consequences of their actions, they are social outcasts at a very early age. Suffering from compromised self-esteem, the child develops a fantasy world in which they are empowered, thus elevating their self-esteem. Rejected by their peers, the child is often bullied. Absent the confidence to fight back against their aggressors, the child turns inward and further constructs a reality in which they are able to dominate their attackers. Fantasy becomes a means of soothing a self-image under constant attack. Like alcohol, the alternate reality constructed by the child promotes their self-esteem and improves their self-image. Eventually this personality may adjust to the mainstream of society but will never abandon the safe construction of their fantasy world. As the child enters puberty, their fantasy becomes sexualized; fetishes and paraphilias are developed at this stage (Holmes, Tewksbury, & Holmes, 1999).

Serial sexual and sexual sadist killers are compelled to fulfill a specific need or desire as dictated by fantasy. Several theorists have suggested that the development of fantasy and later sexual fantasy is directly linked to trauma (Arrigo & Purcell, 2001; Holmes & Holmes, Profiling Violent Crimes: An Investigative Tool, 4th Edition, 2009; Holmes, Tewksbury, & Holmes, 1999) and as I have suggested above, self-medication and addiction. These personalities develop fantasy

---

[25] Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder, amygdalic dysfunction, libidinal dysfunction, autonomic arousal deficit, etc (Gacono, 2000; Parick, 2007)

as an escape, a means of coping with an unfavorable reality, or achieving emotional stability. So comprehensive is the development of this fantasy that it pervades their consciousness and their alternate reality becomes the primary mode by which their personalities socialize. Eric Hickey's (1997) trauma-control model of paraphilic development is often cited with regard to the formation of violent paraphilia.

Trauma Control and Violent Paraphilia

As discussed previously, typologies are applied theory made manageable. The theories which explain the typology make up a mode in which behavior is explained. Profilers adopt models to support their analysis of crime scene characteristics. Models account for pre- and post-offense behavior as well as specific offense behavior. With regard to sexually motivated homicide, the model is particularly important when it comes to understanding the offense. Hickey's (1997) trauma-control model explains how acute trauma in a susceptible personality translates into violent paraphilia. According to Hickey (1997), it is the presence of "predispositional factors" which define the risk of violent paraphilia. Mental illness, personality disorder and brain functionality are all predispositional factors which affect a personal ability to cope with trauma. If trauma takes place in the "formative years" when a personality is still developing, and without adequate support structures to assist in coping, that personality is at risk of developing a paraphilia; note, not everyone develops a paraphilia as a coping mechanism for trauma.

The most common trauma in childhood is rejection (Arrigo & Purcell, 2001). Trauma affecting paraphilia is not limited to early childhood. Although, Hickey (1997) states that in the presence of certain environmental or social factors, early childhood trauma is more likely to be exacerbated. When trauma occurs during the years of personality development, a child experiences poor self-esteem and has difficulty achieving prosocial interactions with their peer group. Lacking the necessary coping mechanisms, or the ability to develop prosocial relationships, the child retreats into a fantasy world where they can artificially reinforce their

weakened sense of self. As the personality begins to rely increasingly more on this alternative reality, their personality begins to develop within their virtual identity. As the child begins to enter puberty their fantasies take on a sexual element.

As fantasy matures, the personality reinforces their behavior. Facilitators such as alcohol, drugs, and pornography embolden the child to continue their fantasy development. Alcohol lowers inhibitions and facilitates the breakdown of moral barriers to fantasy fulfillment. Pornography serves to embolden or reinforce the sexual components of this virtual reality. The result is a condition called escalation which eventually leads to the offender's first offense as guided by their particular paraphilia (Hickey, 1997).

Sex and aggression become linked in the brain for these personalities, and to attain sexual arousal is to sponsor aggression and vice versa. (Purcell & Arrigo, 2006; Myers, Husted, Safarik, & O'Toole, 2006). Through operant conditioning, these individual components come together as a hardwired system of arousal. Without violence, anger, hatred, or power, sexual gratification cannot be achieved and a need goes unfulfilled. Indeed, biological mechanisms in the brain of the serial killer engage this cross-referencing of arousal. The erotophonophiliac does not possess any capacity to self-regulate and so they give in to their desires and thus, facilitate a connection through homicide between power and aggression, and/or sex and violence.

Arrigo & Purcell (2001) integrate two formative models of paraphilic development to show how fantasy manifests itself in action and evolves to explain serial aggression or homicide in an "integrative conceptual schema" (p. 19). The model proposed by Arrigo & Purcell (2001) suggests an integration of Burgess (1987) motivational model and Hickey's (1997) trauma-control model of paraphilic development. Where Burgess (1987) and Hickey (1997) mirror each other on topic of fantasy development, Hickey (1997) expands upon the theory proposing a "feedback loop" which "generates new and sustaining[s] existing fantasies" (Arrigo & Purcell, 2001, p. 19). This feedback and conditioned reinforcement of existing fantasy deviance promotes the escalation or development of serial homicide offense behavior.

Serial killers suffer from a complex of disorders[26]. From biological deficiencies in brain functionality, to improper socialization and acute disassociation leading to attachment issues, serial killers are a product of their unique biological makeup as it interacts with their environment. Psychopathy is a fundamental component of the makeup of a serial killer. This condition enables the offender to kill without inhibition. Difficulty processing emotion further distances the serial killer from their humanity. An inability to cope with their environment will lead the developing mind of a psychopathic child to retreat inward and engage a fantasy facsimile of reality. This reality will become progressively distorted in the absence of parental archetypes and prosocial interactions with peers. By the time the serial killer enters puberty, exercises in power, control, and dominance become highly sexualized and reinforced by autoerotic behavior, or masturbation. Eventually, fantasy fails to adequately stimulate and arouse the serial killer and they graduate to the offense behavior for which they are made famous. Understanding the interplay of these disorders provides a window through which the way the offender thinks, how they feel and what drives them to kill can be viewed. Intuition and experience are essential to the investigative process as those qualities offer responsiveness necessary to react to crime. However, an accurate understanding of the killer's mind lends context to the madness.

Gary Leon Ridgway[27]

Gary Leon Ridgway was born on February 18, 1949, in Salt Lake City, Utah, to Mary Rita Steinman and Thomas Newton Ridgway. Ridgway's early years were spent moving from Utah to Idaho and eventually to Bremerton where he, his two brothers and mother lived with his maternal grandfather. Eventually the Ridgway family moved to McMicken Heights in the present day town of SeaTac, Washington. Ridgway lived here until joining the Navy following graduation from High School at the age of 20.

---

[26] Refers to multiple personality and even psychotic disorders, comorbid in the pathology of the offender

[27] In preparation for Mr. Ridgway's defense, his legal team developed a comprehensive background to use as mitigation against the death penalty. This information is published, at length, in a book by one of Mr. Ridgway's defense attorneys entitled, *Defending Gary: unraveling the mind of a serial killer.* (Prothero & Smith, 2006) This background information was not elicited from Mr. Ridgway but rather was developed by an independent background investigator through interviews with close and extended family members.

By all accounts Mary Rita Steinman was a strict and overbearing woman. Reports from family members recall Thomas Newton Ridgway as a marginalized and meek husband. One anecdotal account described an altercation in which Mary became so enraged that she broke a ceramic plate over the Thomas's head; Thomas did not react. Mary worked in the men's department at JC Penny throughout Gary Ridgway's upbringing. Mary used to return from work to talk about how the men she sold cloths to would become aroused while she was measuring their inseam and how their genital area smelled.

Gary Ridgway had a lonely and difficult upbringing. Scoring low on standardized and IQ tests, Ridgway had difficulty throughout school. Additionally, accounts suggest that Ridgway was extremely shy and bad with directions, often relying on his older brother Greg to walk him to and from school and often answering for him when confronted by other children or adults. Ridgway suffered from nocturnal enuresis[28] throughout his teen years. Some reports suggest Mary would become enraged and berate Ridgway while he stood naked in a cold shower. Mary would wash his genitalia while wearing an open bathrobe and when Ridgway would become erect she would mock him and continue to wash his genitals.

At the age of 16, Gary Ridgway stabbed a young boy and left him to die in the woods near his school. Ridgway lured the child into the woods and inserted a knife in his abdomen. The child fell to the ground and Ridgway began to walk away. When the child asked why Ridgway had stabbed him, Ridgway laughed and replied, "Because I could!" The child survived and was located by the Green River Taskforce in 2003 when Ridgway was debriefing as per the conditions of his plea agreement. Also uncovered during this process were self-reports of stalking that were never confirmed. Ridgway claimed he would follow girls home from school and if they asked what he was doing he would pretend he lived in the area.

Following high school graduation Gary Ridgway joined the Navy. Before being posted to the Philippines, Ridgway married his first wife, and moved to San Diego. When Ridgway

---

[28] Involuntary urination or bed-wetting at night

returned he found that his wife had fallen in love with another man and wanted to divorce him. Ridgway had also been unfaithful while stationed overseas and would frequent prostitutes that populated the local bars. Ridgway was treated on several occasions for sexually transmitted diseases believe to be contracted from these sex workers.

Following an honorable discharge from the Navy, Ridgway returned to Washington and settled in the area where he grew up. Ridgway got a job at the local Kenworth Truck manufacturing plant as a painter and remained there as an employee until he was arrested in 2001. Ridgway remarried to a woman he met at a single parents support group he belonged to but divorced her in 1982. Shortly after his second divorce several bodies were found naked in the Green River. Within a matter of days a taskforce was formed to investigate these murders and others.

Ridgway had a number of arrests for solicitation of prostitution and was even contacted by Det. Randy Mullinax of the Green River Taskforce. In 1984, Ridgway was questioned as a person of interest in the murders and submitted to a polygraph examination which he passed, however before being released he was asked to suck on a cotton swab. DNA retrieved from the vagina of one of the victims found in the Green River was extracted and compared to the saliva sample given by Ridgway in 1984. In mid-2001, that sample was matched to the DNA contribution found in the Green River victim, Wendy Lee Coffield. On November 30th, 2001, Gary L. Ridgway was arrested while exiting the Kenworth Plant at the end of his shift.

Over the next year several additional victims were linked to Gary Ridgway. In an effort to close a number of open cases, the King County Prosecutors Office offered Ridgway a plea bargain which promised they would not seek the death penalty in exchange for full disclosure of the victims in King County. From mid-June to late November, Ridgway debriefed his twenty year murder career. On December 18, 2003, Gary Ridgway pled guilty to 48 counts of aggravated first degree murder. Judge Richard Jones sentenced Ridgway to 48 life sentences and 480 years for tampering with evidence, 10 years for each count of murder (Prothero & Smith, 2006).

METHOD

Serial killers prey on innocent victims of opportunity and while their behavior is not as common as any wave of moral panic perceives it to be, they do present a unique challenge to law enforcement. Academics and law enforcement professionals have been critical of criminal profiling for its failures to identify some high profile serial killers. BTK, Aileen Wuornos, and the Green River Killer (GRK) were all high profile, highly publicized cases where the standard profile failed to fit the offender. BTK was eventually captured as a result of his own hubris and hunger for notoriety. The GRK was apprehended as a result of advancements in DNA technology and not the FBI profile. In fact, when asked to comment on the authenticity of a letter addressed to the Seattle P.I., an FBI profiler wrote of that letter:

> "It is my opinion that the author of the written communique[sp] has no connection with the Green River Homicides. The communique[sp] reflects a subject who is average in intelligence and one who is making a feeble and amateurish attempt to gain some personal importance by manipulating the investigation... Historically we have had very few serial killers of this type who have communicated with the media or members of the investigative team. When serial killers in fact did communicate, they were very specific in providing details of their crimes in order to establish instant credibility. That is part of their personal need..."
> (Douglas, 1984, p. 2)

Concentrated efforts to counter serial killers are an invention of the latter half of the 20th century and criminal profiling offers insight into the personality which drives an offender to kill compulsively; however, this technique is not perfect.

The GRK investigation and errant criminal profile(s) utilized therein offer a learning opportunity to practitioners and academics. In fact, the letter submitted to John Douglas and cited above, was authored by the GRK. Preconceived, or perhaps ill-conceived, notions of what a serial killer is and what kind of criminal mastermind could have perpetrated the longest series of killings in US history delayed the GRK

investigation. After nearly twenty years without a suspect in custody, some wondered if the GRK was fundamentally "un-profileable," as if perhaps there was something special about the GRK that set him apart from those who killed before him. Not only is the GRK not aberrant or special, I submit this person is inherently human and thus, subject to all modern interpretations of personality and psychodynamic development. In fact, this methodology depends upon it. I contend that a more complete understanding of behavior related to serial homicide would have enabled a more accurate profile of the GRK.

Initially this project intended to study the subject directly. The original protocol was to be administered over a period of a single day and include a polygraph examination as a measure of autonomic arousal and formal interview. Along with an accurate measure of the degree to which psychopathy plays a role in the offense behavior of the GRK, the formal interview was intended to probe environmental and developmental factors indicative of the risk factors discussed in the previous chapter (e.g., psychopathy, coping, and trauma). The protocol for this approach was approved by the Seattle University Institutional Review Board and was in the process of obtaining Washington State Department of Corrections Research Review Board approval when the subject declined to be interviewed. Given time pressure constraints, I elected to forgo any further attempts to interview Mr. Ridgway, nonetheless, I believe the full version of this study, which substitutes the method described briefly here for Phase I of this study, will still be of value. For this reason I have included the full approved protocol as Appendix D. This section is included for reference only. Unfortunately, as the subject declined to participate, what follows is a revised procedure.

This study examined the subject for evidence of psychopathy (as an indicator of coping deficiency), trauma and violent paraphilia and compared those profile characteristics to crime scene data to determine if evidence existed to support those conclusions. First, this project examined audio/video recordings of interviews between the subject and the Green River Taskforce (GRTF). Second, based on subject responses,

corroborated by the Prosecutors Summary of Evidence, a criminal profile was developed,

including a PCL-R scoring as a measure of coping. Finally, this profile was compared to

case evidence entered into the public record and present in documents released by the FBI

under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), to determine if it was supported. Analysis

of these results found partial support for the hypothesis (discussed further below).

Subject

Despite his notoriety, Gary L. Ridgway remains a quiet, purportedly mild-mannered, well

behaved inmate at the Washington State Penitentiary, Intensive Management Unit (IMU) in

Walla Walla, Washington. Much is unknown about Mr. Ridgway due, in part, to his mental status

and relatively low IQ, estimated to be between 82 and 87 (reports vary) (Guillen, 2007; Prothero

& Smith, 2006), reality is distorted by time and his capacity for recall makes an interview

difficult. Moreover, Mr. Ridgway has demonstrated a capacity for deception, and the shocking

and stigmatic nature of his offense behavior makes him reluctant to speak candidly under the best

of circumstances. Rather than boisterously proclaim his place as one of modern history's most

ruthless killers, Mr. Ridgway appears neither proud nor grandiose about his crimes.

In December of 2003, as part of a plea agreement to avoid the death penalty, Mr. Ridgway

was sentenced for the aggravated murder of forty-eight women and remanded to the custody of

the Washington State Department of Corrections. Prior to this time he was held at a, then secret,

location near the King County Airport, Boeing Field, where the GRTF debriefed him. From June

to December of 2003, Ridgway recounted detailed information sufficient to recover several

missing persons suspected to be victims of the GRK. In addition to corroborating what was

already known about the GRK, Mr. Ridgway spoke with a forensic psychologist retained by his

defense and a representative of the FBI BAU-2 to shed light on the development of the GRK.

Attorneys for Mr. Ridgway were present throughout the process and the interviews were

conducted in one to one and a half hour segments. Mr. Ridgway was treated with respect and his

comments do not reflect duress.

Mr. Ridgway is a fairly passive, congenial personality and throughout the sample he remained enthusiastic about his participation. Some background information suggests, anecdotally, that Mr. Ridgway has a diminished capacity for recall. As a child he was often accompanied by his older brother, Greg, because he had difficulty recalling directions to and from familiar locations such as school and his residence (Prothero & Smith, 2006). However, Mr. Ridgway's capacity to recall very specific facts about his victims is astounding. Often he recalls a general description and even specific verbal exchanges that are corroborated by the investigative case file. Occasionally, discrepancies prompted increased pressure from investigators, but these brief periods of conflict often resulted in a more specific account of a given series of events. It is clear that Mr. Ridgway had a considerable desire to be deceptive on certain subjects, particularly those facts he perceives as embarrassing. Mr. Ridgway freely admits he has little control over his propensity for pathological lying; consequently, all facts garnered through interview responses are treated as suspect until corroborated.

Mr. Ridgway is nearly two standard deviations below average in intelligence. Additionally, he is dyslexic and admits to having considerable difficulty in academic settings. Mr. Ridgway had substantial difficulty in early learning environments, and his struggle with learning to read in particular was a subject of near constant conflict with his mother. Additionally, shame among other factors made social interactions difficult at this age and it was not until high school that Mr. Ridgway began to establish prosocial relationships with peers. Still, Ridgway did not graduate high school until he was twenty years old and has no formal education beyond this point.

Mr. Ridgway shares a host of risk factors with psychopaths and other serial killers. In combination with relatively low intelligence, Ridgway shows social and emotional intelligence deficits which suggest some form of emotional impairment leading to dissociative disorders (e.g., psychopathy). Additionally, the subject has developed violent sexual paraphilias and extreme hatred toward prostitutes and sexually provocative female figures. While no acute trauma is evident in Mr. Ridgway's background, it is clear his mother was distant, overbearing, and a

considerable source of consternation and low self-esteem sufficient enough to be a traumatic influence. Mr. Ridgway was fifty-five years old at the time the sample was recorded and was not diagnosed with any mental defect or disorder known to the researcher.

Procedure

Though this profile was developed as a primary case study of Gary L. Ridgway, critique of the original profile and investigation (Phase II) contributed as a juxtapositional dialogue about the pitfalls of criminal profiling and the intrinsically imperfect nature of an evolving science.[29] This study was designed in two phases. Phase I was conducted as a comprehensive case study and analysis of personality, behavior, and developmental factors relevant to Mr. Ridgway's background and the Green River murders. Phase II compared profile conclusions (developed in Phase I) with evidence made public in the Prosecutors Summary of the Evidence in the case of State of Washington vs. Gary Leon Ridgway (No. 01-1-10270-9 SEA) and the FBI Letterhead Memorandum dated 10 March, 1987. Subsequent Phase II analysis assessed the presence of Phase I profile inferences in case evidence available during the investigation. This process is modeled on the standard practices of law enforcement profiling (discussed above).

Phase I

Holmes & Holmes (2009) outline three goals of the profiling process. Phase I seeks to establish general facts about Mr. Ridgway's personality with the first of these three goals in mind. The first goal of the profiling process is to provide the investigation with "a Social and Psychological Assessment of the Offender" (p. 9). The utility of this goal is to narrow the scope of the investigation. These inferences "should include race, age range, employment, religion, marital status, education, etc..." Additionally, this phase of the profiling process should include social and psychological elements of the offender's personality. When the FBI began to study serial killers in the early 1980s, it was decided that the most effective means of understanding

---

[29] All data used during this analysis has been accepted as a part of the public record and / or represents formal work product of the attorneys responsible for Mr. Ridgway's defense and meets the according legal standards thereof.

their behavior was to ask them. As an interview with the subject of this study is not possible, information will have to be developed from alternative sources (Douglas & Olshaker, 1995). Fortunately, uncooperative or unavailable research subjects are not uncommon in the study of criminology, particularly serial homicide. Phase I of this study developed a psychological profile of Mr. Ridgway from two publically available sources: audio/video recordings and transcriptions of interviews with Mr. Ridgway and the Green River Taskforce (State of Washington v. Ridgway [videorecording] : 01-1-10270-9SEA : released by King County of Washington State pursuant to RCW 42.17.260) and the book Defending Gary: Unraveling the Mind of the Green River Killer (Prothero & Smith, 2006).

Sample DVDs for this study were selected from a list of randomly generated numbers and their corresponding catalogue records of the 117 DVDs held in the restricted section of the Lemieux Library at Seattle University. Each disc contained between fifteen minutes and five hours of video divided into one to one and a half hour interview segments. Every sample video was reviewed in sequential order from earliest (June) to latest (December) and notes were taken (electronically, Microsoft OneNote) on general topics of discussion, important admissions, phraseology, and general impressions while viewing the sample. At the end of each day's sample of interview footage, the notes were reviewed and important findings highlighted for future reference. Following this review, the subject was scored on the PCL-R (see Table 2.3) for the items evident in the day's sample. These scores were recorded with the standard 0, 1, 2, or "-"signifying an omitted item. For days where all items were present, a raw score was tallied. On the days where items were omitted, a pro-rated score was generated, and for those days exceeding the pro-rater guide limit of five omitted items, a final score was not generated.

As discussed in Chapter 2, risk factors both for serial killing and its parallel developed disorder, psychopathy, include but are not limited to brain dysfunction, poor coping faculties, and trauma. Phase I of this study primarily measured the manifestation of these causal risk factors. Also, as discussed in Chapter 2,psychopathy is an indication of many of the biological and

environmental factors present in serial homicide offenders, thus, PCL-R scoring enables Phase II analysis to ascertain to what degree these factors may be present in crime scene characteristics or offense behavior. Similarly, presence of early childhood trauma could trigger a fracture in the offender's identity and corresponding virtual reality to escape stressful or traumatizing stimuli (e.g., physical or psychological abuse, sexual abuse, etc...). In addition to fantasies, many sufferers of chronic trauma retreat into substance abuse or compulsive behaviors as a form of self-medication. This phase of the study seeks to identify compulsive behaviors, including sexualized homicide. These indicative behaviors are discussed further below.

PCL-R 2nd Edition Scoring

The procedure for PCL-R scoring was repeated by two comparatively experienced research assistants to provide a validity check and measure of agreement. Each researcher successfully completed credited coursework in psychopathy, criminal profiling, statistics for criminal justice and research methods, and received specific training on the PCL-R. At the conclusion of Phase I, a Kappa test was performed in SPSS (Kappa ranged between moderate to near perfect agreement at .549 to .850; discussed further in limitations) as a measure of interrater reliability. The Kappa test for agreement compares two datasets in a correlation comparison. SPSS performs the Kappa test with whole numbers (pro-rated scores often result in non-whole number scores) to conduct the Kappa test. To accommodate the Kappa test, each rater reviewed the preceding ten days of scoring and the PCL-R rater guidelines to produce a final, whole number score for comparison (see Appendix B). These PCL-R ratings are for research purposes only and are not intended to provide any clinical assessment of the subject.

This study takes an unconventional approach to PCL-R scoring. The PCL-R 2nd Edition Technical Manual (2003) outlines a two-part process for psychometric assessment. First, a review of "file/collateral information" is conducted for corroborative and auxiliary source information, specifically with regard to background. Following this case information review, the administrator facilitates a guided discussion using the PCL-R 2nd Edition Interview Guide as "this sequence

provides the user with a basis for evaluating and challenging responses and statements (e.g. distortions, denial, minimization, lying) made during the interview, and for exploring areas not adequately described in file and collateral sources" (Hare, 2003, p. 18). The technical manual outlines a procedure for PCL-R scoring from file information only. This study augments that file review based on ratings obtained from watching recorded interviews.

Three researchers administer this protocol to control for interrater reliability. Each of these researchers has taken and excelled in course work related to psychopathy as outlined in the PCL-R 2nd Edition, Technical Manual (Hare, Hare Psychopathy Checklist - Revised (PCL-R): 2nd Edition, 2003). As mentioned previously, ten days of interviews were selected by random number assignment[30]. Each researcher conducted an independent review of the interviews and PCL-R scoring for each day in addition to taking detailed notes regarding specific scoring. Due to the secondary nature of many of the source documents pertaining to Mr. Ridgway's background and offense history, the researchers relied, primarily, on their assessment of the offender from the videos. Factors such as distortions, denial, minimization, and lying, among others, were determined from the totality of the interviews, when possible. Not every item was present in each day and on a few occasions; researchers were unable to score a specific item so that item was omitted for that day. On only two occasions did omitted items preclude scoring from the prorated matrix provided in the PCL-R 2nd Edition.

The researchers in this study reviewed ten sample days of interviews with the Green River Taskforce (GRTF) with each day containing between fifteen minutes and five hours of interviews, broken into on to one and a half hour segments. Following review of each of the ten sample days, the researchers compiled scores on the twenty items contained in the PCL-R. The individual scores for each of the twenty items contained in the PCL-R below are accompanied by a brief description of their manifestation in the subject. Following the observation period, each of the

---

[30] Items drawn in order of sequence (e.g. number 3 corresponds with the 3rd disc in catalogue) not necessarily the third day in the interview series as some days are covered by multiple discs.

researchers compiled a final, whole number score to be subjected to a Kappa test for interrater reliability.

Social and Psychological Assessment of the Offender

After reviewing all ten sample days, generating a PCL-R score, and reading Defending Gary, a profile was constructed using demographic, background, and MO information provided during the interviews. Holmes & Holmes (2009) identify a social and psychological assessment of the offender as a component of the first goal of the profiling process. As mentioned in the literature review, the pathology of a serial homicide offender has the potential to be extensive and ranges from indications of psychopathy and violent paraphilia to severe trauma and addiction. Given that Mr. Ridgway is not available for prolonged psychological assessment, this process is made even more difficult; however, there is precedent for assessing pathology of a subject by means of background investigation. In a May 2006 issue of the Journal of Autism and Developmental Disorders, Turkish researchers Nahit, Motavalli, Mukaddes, and Zerrin Topcu published a case study of a 10 year old autistic female who was institutionalized after throwing her six month old sister out the window of their residence, resulting in her death. The severity of the child's autism necessitated a reliance on background information to determine her pathology. The study found, among other medical issues, a "disorganized home environment, existence of physical abuse—neglect and lack of appropriate treatment program leading to violent behavior" (Mukaddes & Topcu, 2006, p. 471) to be risk factors associated with the subject's behavior.

A psychological assessment mirroring the one produced by the FBI and distributed in their LHM dated 10 March, 1987, represents the culmination of Phase I (see Attachment A). This product is discussed in detail in Chapter 4 and provides the core comparative unit of analysis for Phase II of this study. Included in this profile are: race, sex, age, criminal history, custody, occupation, vehicle information, residency information, military record, marital status, first offense behavior, current offense behavior, areas frequented, law enforcement encounters,

mobility, and status of an accomplice. In addition to this demographic profile information, the

Phase I profile includes general investigative strategy based on psychological profile inferences.

Phase II

This study was designed to identify a profile and search for evidence in support of the

model proposed by Holmes & Holmes (2009), Hickey (1997), and others. These typologies

prescribe specific crime scene characteristics which correspond with offender types (Table 3.0).

Table 3.0 – Holmes and Holmes Typology of Serial Murder

Visionary	Mission	Lust	Thrill	Power or Control
Ransacking	Bludgeoned	Multiple crime scenes	Multiple crime scenes	Multiple crime scenes
Belongings scattered	Firearm used	Multiple sex acts	Restraints	Restraints
Clothing scattered	Murder weapon missing	Torture	Torture	Torture
Bludgeoned	Throat cut	Overkill	Gagging	Gagging
Weapon left in victim		Alive during sex acts	Alive during sex acts	Alive during sex acts
Weapon of opportunity		Vaginal rape	Vaginal rape	Vaginal rape
Trail of clothing		Object penetration	Object penetration	Tease cuts
leading to or from		Genital mutilation	Bite marks	Beaten
crime scene		Thoracic mutilation	Manual strangulation	Ligature strangulation
		Abdominal mutilation	Ligature strangulation	Murder weapon missing
		Facial disfigurement	Murder weapon missing	Body covered postmortem
		Beaten	Body covered postmortem	Body parts missing
		Manual strangulation	Body concealed	Tampered with evidence
		Murder weapon missing	Body in isolated spot	Decapitation
		Body covered postmortem	Burns on victim	Body concealed
		Body posed		Body in isolated spot
		Body parts missing		Burns on victim
		Body concealed		
		Body in isolated spot		
		Burns on victim		
		Violence at genitalia		

(Canter & Wentink, 2004)

Having profiled the offender, Phase II examines the case evidence for indications of the expected

and related behavioral evidence provided above. The process of organizing and collating Phase I

profile inferences and crime scene data into a cogent body to be presented in this thesis is Phase

II.

The information available in a case as substantial as the Green River murders is daunting.

When asked to provide discovery, the King County Sheriff's Office, who was running the GRTF,

was forced to digitalize nearly 25 years of case evidence and provide physical access to the

warehouse which contained the evidence that could not be provided in digital form (Prothero &

Smith, 2006). Similarly, when I requested that the FBI release their case file, GREENMURS,

MAJOR CASE #771, I was informed the file contained "approximately 12,700 pages related to your subject" and told that it would require several months, if not years, to review, redact, and release those documents (USDOJ FBI, 2009). This study narrows the focus to publically available, comprehensive documentation of the investigation and crime scene evidence from the Prosecutors Summary of the Evidence and FBI LHM of 10 March 1987.

Prosecutors Summary of Evidence

Due, in large part, to the tremendous level of forensic awareness present in the offense behavior of the GRK, there is very little forensic evidence. Given that the GRK killed his victims in the bed of his pickup truck, under a canopy, in his residence (unknown to the taskforce at the time), or at outdoor scenes and favored remote disposal sites (Green River Taskforce, 2003), the only scenes available to process for evidence were remote disposal sites. The vast majority of these sites contained bodies in advanced stages of decomposition and remarkably (though understandably) little trace evidence. What is known about the GRK is detailed in the Prosecutors Summary of Evidence; included here is a plethora of signature and MO evidence for each of the victims. As discussed in Chapter 2, signature and MO speak directly to the psychological makeup of the offender. This document is relatively comprehensive yet accessible enough to overview the series without inundating the researcher with extraneous details. Moreover, the limited nature of this summary acts as a handicap to counter the 20/20 hindsight nature of this analysis.

Given the nature of the GRK's offense behavior, physical evidence available to the investigators was limited. This study is similarly limited in that only public documents will be used to generate profile characteristics of the offender. Additionally, profile inferences will be generated consistent with Holmes & Holmes (2009) first goal, which is to limit the scope of the investigation. As the offender is already known, the goal of this study is to test current models and the practice of criminal profiling as well as learn from the GRK investigation so that further investigations may be more successful. In linking known personality characteristics to existing crime scene evidence, retrospectively, this study establishes that it was not the fundamental

premise of profiling which failed to accurately identify the GRK but rather models used within that process which were faulty.

Victimology

The Prosecutors Summary of the Evidence is the definitive source for victimology in this study. This document provided a detailed account of where the remains were disposed of, the last know whereabouts of the victims, dates they were last seen alive, and when available, a summary account of Mr. Ridgway's recollection of the events leading to their abduction and murder. Often the victim is overlooked, however, "The victim is usually the only person to witness the crime... the profiler should be as much interested in the activities of the victim as in any element of the submitted package of information accompanying the request for a profile" (Holmes & Holmes, 2009, pp. 125-128). Holmes and Holmes (2009) suggest there are ten critical elements with regard to victimology: physical traits, marital status, personal lifestyle, occupation, education, personal demographics, medical history, psychosexual history, court history, and last activities. These records were reviewed following completion of PCL-R scoring to preserve objectivity of the researcher. Understanding how and why Mr. Ridgway selected his victims is critical to understanding his underlying pathology.

LHM 10 March, 1987, "GREENMURS, MAJOR CASE #771"

Given the sensitive nature of homicide investigation, particularly with regard to methods and sources, FOIA requests to release investigative documents of any kind are intensive processes. This study recognizes the expansive nature of the "GREENMURS" and, in the interest of expediency, accepted a reduced scope of 840 previously released documents. Within these documents were a number of reports which were deemed useless to this study; however, one document appropriately summed up the profile and case overview prepared by the BAU-2. While I had hoped for some detailed correspondence between the GRTF and BAU-2 profilers (which potentially exists somewhere within the undisclosed 12,700 documents), the LHM adequately satisfies this study. Contained in the LHM is a comprehensive description of the investigation

circa 1987. In addition to potential suspect descriptions and profile characteristics, there is a detailing of victim information and recommendations for future investigative strategy, and suggestions on the potential whereabouts of the unknown subject responsible for the Green River murders.

Instruments / Materials

There is a great deal of information about the GRK, however most of what is published is fundamentally unverifiable and much of that is written for the "true crime" audience. For this reason, I have narrowed the scope of this study to verifiable public records and accounts authored by primary sources. The primary focus of this study is a random sample of interviews conducted by the GRTF and the Prosecutors Summary of the Evidence in the case of State of Washington vs. Gary Leon Ridgway (No. 01-1-10270-9 SEA). Additionally, Mr. Ridgway's attorney authored an account of his defense, including a detailed background on the subject. This book and a recently released Letterhead Memorandum (LHM) dated 10 March, 1987, serve as collateral sources for this study.

As mentioned, from June to December of 2003 Mr. Ridgway participated in interviews with the GRTF to determine the validity of his plea and develop new information about additional victims of the GRK. These interviews, both audio/video recorded and transcribed, were attended by two investigators from the GRTF, attorneys from the King County Prosecuting Attorney's Office, and representatives of Mr. Ridgway's legal defense. The interviews took place at the King County Airport, Boeing Field, in a former FAA facility leased by the King County Sheriff's Office as well as on fieldtrips to recovery sites throughout incorporated and unincorporated King County.

After the case of State of Washington vs. Gary Leon Ridgway (No. 01-1-10270-9 SEA) was resolved, videos and transcripts of these interviews were obtained by the Seattle University Criminal Justice Department under a public information request and archived in the Seattle University Lemieux Library. This study utilized ten randomly selected days of audio/video

recorded interviews to define the sample of the study. Ten numbers were selected at random integers between one and 117, these ten number correspond sequentially with the catalogue in the Lemieux Library (a complete listing is included, see Appendix C). These DVDs are held in the restricted collection and permission to remove these discs from the library was obtained via letter from the faculty advisor for this thesis. Each of the ten DVDs, containing between fifteen minutes and five hours of video, were analyzed for this study.

The Prosecutors Summary of the Evidence was produced to be an overview in the case of State of Washington vs. Gary Leon Ridgway (No. 01-1-10270). Contained in this document is the official, comprehensive record of the murders, the investigation, and a concise but detailed description of each of the forty-eight counts of aggravated murder. This document was used, primarily, as corroborative evidence during the first phase of this study, and as a point of reference to determine if evidence existed to support the profile in the second phase. While this document does not detail or adequately convey the breadth of evidence contained in the case file, it is publically accessible and narrowly focused enough to control for what this study terms the "20/20 hindsight factor," (discussed further below). The document is 138 pages long and can be obtained in PDF form by conducting an internet search for: "Prosecutors Summary of the Evidence, Green River Killer."

The remaining two sources were used as auxiliary sources for this project. In 2006, Mark Prothero, with Carlton Smith, produced a nearly 600 page account of Mr. Ridgway's defense. Mr. Prothero, attorney for Mr. Ridgway during his defense, obtained a waiver of attorney-client privilege and published this book with information previously held under that privilege. The source is easily accessible and a good synthesis of the comprehensive and voluminous case files pertaining to Mr. Ridgway's defense. As Mr. Prothero has no motive to embellish, all sales of his book benefit charity, absent a formal report submitted under penalty of perjury, the study considers this document to be factual account and specifically, a useful account of Mr. Ridgway's background. Prior to securing a plea agreement to avoid the death penalty, Mr. Ridgway's

defense team retained a background investigator familiar with forensic psychology. She compiled a complete review of Ridgway's childhood, adolescent, and adult life, including his time in the military from personnel files, academic records, and personal interviews with most of Mr. Ridgway's immediate and extended family. Defending Gary: Unraveling the Mind of the Green River Killer, is a concise account of this report and is publically available at most libraries and booksellers.

The final document, a Letterhead Memorandum produced by the FBI as a summary briefing document for other law enforcement agencies and investigators joining the GRTF, contains a profile of the GRK. Compiled from a review of the case evidence and interviews with the GRTF investigators, this "Law Enforcement Only" publication dated 10 March, 1987, was obtained under a FOIA request submitted to the FBI in July of 2009. The request took eight months to process. Of the more than 840 documents released in late March of 2010, this one thirty-eight page document was the only relevant piece of information; much of the remainder of the release contained abstract references to leads not relevant to Mr. Ridgway. This document can be obtained under a similar request to the FBI Records Management Division. Requests for this document should include the name, "Letterhead Memorandum, 10 March, 1987" and the name of the file "GREENMURS, Major Case #771."

PCL-R 2nd Edition

This study utilizes a psychometric assessment of psychopathy, the Psychopathy Checklist Revised (PCL-R) 2nd Edition. Originally published in 1991, the PCL-R was created by Dr. Robert Hare, Emeritus Professor of Psychology at the University of British Columbia. Dr. Hare has worked for most of his thirty-five year career in the field of psychopathy and developed the PCL-R as an "assessment of dangerousness," to serve as a clinical and research tool for assessing psychopathy in inmates, patients, and research subjects (Hare, 2003). The PCL-R has been described as the "gold standard" (Edens, Skeem, Cruise, & Cauffman, 2001) and "state of the art... both clinically and in research use" (Fulero, 1995, p. 454). The PCL-R represents a measure

of coping by proxy. Psychodynamic theory of psychopathy suggests the pathology forms as a result of impaired coping; thusly, a measure of psychopathy indicates a measure of coping deficiency.

Typically the PCL-R is administered from a review of supporting documents and semi-structured interview. The PCL-R can be administered for clinical and research purposes. Several spin-off versions of the PLC-R such as the Psychopathy Checklist: Youth Version (PCL:YV) and B-SCAN have been developed for assessment of youths and employees in a corporate setting. Prior to administering the clinical version the administrator must have appropriate academic and clinical experience: "possess an advanced degree in the social, medical, or behavioral sciences, such as an M.A., M.Ed., M.S.W., Ph.D., D.Ed., or M.D.;" (Hare, 2003) and have received training on the PCL-R.

The "Assessment Procedure" outlined in the PCL-R 2nd Edition Technical Manual suggests a "Collateral Review" followed by the "Interview." The purpose of the interview is to: (1) obtain certain historical information to facilitate scoring of the PCL-R items; (2) provide a sample of the individual's interpersonal style; (3) allow the user to compare and evaluate the consistency of statements and responses, both within the interview and between the interview and the collateral/file information; and (4) provide the user with an opportunity to probe for more information and to challenge the individual on inconsistencies in his or her statements." (Hare, 2003, p. 18). The PCL-R is a semi-structured process of eliciting responses, testing information and evaluating interpersonal responses for scoring.

Scoring is based on a not present (0), present (2) and maybe present (1) format. At the conclusions of the assessment procedure, the research tallies these scores on a matrix to arrive at a single score. If items are missing, the researcher may omit up to five items and still prorate the score. The final score for prorated values are not whole numbers and reflect the corrected value given the missing items. The finals score falls between zero and forty with three delineated categories, non-psychopathic, secondary psychopath and primary psychopath. Those scores

falling between zero and nineteen on the scale are considered to be non-psychopathic. Scores between twenty and twenty-nine are secondary psychopaths and those scoring thirty and above are primary psychopaths. There has been a significant amount of research on the primary psychopath. Research on secondary psychopathy and serial homicide, for example, is fairly speculative. While primary psychopaths are generally motivated by personal gain, the motivations of a secondary psychopath's antisocial behavior are unclear. As discussed above, some such as Fox & Levine (2005) suggest that most serial killers are secondary psychopaths. They indicate that the secondary psychopathic killers tacit and perhaps misunderstood relationship to emotion may contribute to their sadistic or sexually motivated (emotional) offense behavior.[31]

Several recent studies have explored the potential for PCL-R scoring by unconventional methods. In its early development, the PCL-R was viewed as imperfect. While Hare (2003) cites no specific or "compelling need" to revise the 1st edition, he suggest the 2nd edition of the PCL-R "fine-tunes" the measure to maintain continuity with recent research in the field and keep the instrument relevant in research settings. In a recent study, 444 undergraduate students were asked to gauge deception, from video, in a sample of psychopathic and non-psychopathic prisoners. This study found no ability beyond chance for deception detection but noted a decreased deceptive ability in psychopaths (Klaver, Lee, Spidel, & Hart, 2009). Additionally, indirect measures of psychopathy and psychopathic traits are already being tested. The Washington State Attorney General's Office, as part of their mandate to review sex offenders for potential civil commitment proceedings, employs graduate students from Seattle University to review recorded interviews and institutional files and generate PCL-R scores for those offenders (Lindahl, 2010).

This project takes an unconventional approach to the measure; because the subject declined to participate, this study was forced to sample an indirect measure of psychopathy. To compensate, the project utilizes a broader sample than is required by the PCL-R 2nd Edition, Technical Manual. The Technical Manual outlines a semi-structured interview to take place over

---

[31] See the references section for a more complete list of readings on psychopathy.

approximately two hours; this study, while not able to administer the questions, utilizes approximately thirty hours of response data and observations to evaluate the subject on the twenty point checklist (discussed further below). This technique (outlined above) has not been tested; however, it is based on published studies of psychopathy and deception from indirect measures (Klaver, Lee, Spidel, & Hart, 2009) and interpersonal measures of psychopathy from 5, 10 and 20 second samples of video (Fowler & Lilienfeld, 2009). These studies show it is possible for researcher, with knowledge of psychopathy, to identify PCL-R factor traits, reliably from far smaller samples of video.

Typologies

As discussed in the literature review, typologies are useful in the evaluation of certain types of criminal behavior. Serial crimes lend themselves particularly well to typologies, particularly rape, arson, and homicide. This study employs Holmes & Holmes (2009), five factor model of serial homicide offending to type the GRK. Of the models used to study and categorize serial homicide offenders, this model is one of the few to be supported empirically (Canter & Wentink, 2004). This study applies the five factor model as theory made manageable. In addition to developmental factors, the five factor model indicates specific behaviors which maybe present in the crime scene evidence; these behaviors are evaluated in the analysis section. In typing the GRK I may apply what is known about the type to the profile. A more complete description of the typology and theory is provided above.

Summary

This study outlined above is a retrospective analysis criminal profiling with three central goals: (1) Establish where criminal profiling failed in accurately identifying Gary Ridgway as the GRK.; (2) Explore whether improved models and methods of criminal profiling could have identified the offender and (3) suggest strategies for future use of criminal profiling in serial homicide investigations. Criminal profiling, in its modern state, could have more accurately identified the GRK; the GRK is not an aberration in serial homicide offending but represents a

commonly understood type of offender already identified in the literature. Given better knowledge and refined behavioral theories, criminal profiling today has much more to offer the Green River Killer investigation of the mid-1980s. The GRK's selection of victims of opportunity, combined with his meticulous sense of forensic awareness, left the GRTF overwhelmed with thousands of tips (Rule, 2004) and seventy-eight victims whose remains were spread across two states. While a criminal profile developed with today's knowledge would have been more accurate to Gary L. Ridgway, the overall investigative strategy would have changed little.

Design and implementation of this study was complex and required nearly 14 months to reach the final draft phase of this document. The research question sought to explore whether corrected and better developed models of behavior, couched in the literature of multiple disciplines, could have provided a more accurate behavioral picture in the form of a criminal profile on the Green River Killer. To that end, Phase I complied with the goal of developing a psychological profile from interviews and statements provided in the Prosecutors Summary of Evidence. This profile was then used in Phase II as a case study in which analysis of the original investigation was conducted. Publically available information and FOIA released documents from the FBI were compared with the profile developed in Phase I. The finished product is a comprehensive case study of the GRK.

ANALYSIS

With corrected models better equipped to understand the offense behavior of the Green River Killer (GRK), a more accurate profile could have been produced; however, given the very high degree of premeditation, forensic awareness, and remarkable self-control exhibited by the offender, it is doubtful a psychological profile, alone, would have stopped the murders. Improved investigative management techniques and better technology could have aided in the apprehension the GRK as early as November of 1982, with the body count under fifteen. This chapter addresses the investigation and the personality of Gary L. Ridgway, an erotophonophiliac (lust killer) with multiple peripheral paraphilias – an offender, an addict, and a victim. This study observed the role of psychopathy and early trauma as antecedent factors for violent paraphilic development and serial homicide offending as a form of self-medication.

Typically, a profile consists of basic personal information (e.g., age, sex, and race) and personality inferences particular to the offender (e.g., intelligence, psychosexual development, motive, and so on). As part of the report submitted to the investigating authority, these inferences are generally followed by some recommendations for handling and communicating with the offender pre- and post-arrest such as investigative strategy, media, and interrogation (Holmes & Holmes, 2009). As this study addressed a known offender, demographic characteristics are reported, not inferred, as are known elements of personality (e.g., intelligence and education). Inferences presented from Phase I pertain primarily to psychosexual development and all other factors are reported through examination of the record. Additionally, this study finds personality characteristics organized on the level responsible for serial homicide offending, like psychopathy,

to be stable throughout the offense career of the killer. Accordingly, Phase I analysis is presented

in the present tense as the offender is still alive.

General Observable and Characteristics

The GRK is a white male who committed his first offense in his early twenties. This

offender has a history of contact with law enforcement for prostitution-related offenses and an

unprosecuted history of petty theft and public disorder offenses. The GRK is not mentally ill by

DSM-IV, Axis I diagnoses standards, however, he does suffer from a complex of DSM-IV, Axis

II, Cluster B, personality disturbances most closely resembling secondary psychopathy. Mr.

Ridgway is currently held at the Washington State Penitentiary in Walla Walla, Washington.

Prior to incarceration he was employed in a non-professional, "blue collar" occupation.   During

his offense career, Mr. Ridgway was geographically stable , although he demonstrated a capacity

for brief periods of mobility, outside of his activity space, as necessary to avoid detection or

mislead the investigation[32]. He is of below average intelligence with an IQ between 82 and 87

(Prothero & Smith, 2006) and has no formal education beyond high school. The GRK has

military experience (Navy, non-combat) and received an honorable discharge[33]. The GRK has

been married several times and sought long-term relationships with women[34]. Though

incarcerated, the GRK has not ceased his offense career, he was merely interrupted and if released

will continue to offend.

Mental Status, Cognition, and Social Ability

The GRK does not suffer from any diagnosable psychological disorder or mental illness.

In addition to being in touch with reality, this offender demonstrates a concerted effort to violate

---

[32] In the spring (March or April) of 1984, fearing the GRTF was closing in, Mr. Ridgway transported partial remains of several victims to Tigard, Oregon. Ridgway deposited these skeletal remains in a drainage ditch near the offices of Allstate Insurance, partially out of spite over a settlement from a recent vehicle accident. (Green River Taskforce, 2003)

[33] Fearing he would be drafted, Ridgway joined the US Navy in 1969 and was stationed in the Philippines on a supply ship. Mr. Ridgway was never engaged in combat operations; however, he regularly told friends and family about participating in clandestine combat operations and was shot at. (Prothero & Smith, 2006)

[34] Since his incarceration, Mr. Ridgway corresponds regularly with as many as eighteen women, near exclusively. (Prothero M. , 2009)

the law and evade capture and, in so doing, recognizes the illicit nature of his offenses as well as his compulsive nature to pursue that action regardless. Mr. Ridgway is of below average intelligence demonstrating a remarkable, almost savant-like quality in several areas and a near mental handicap in others. While Mr. Ridgway's academic intelligence is far below normal, he became quite adept at hiding his deficiencies. Though the GRK is not diagnosable as personality disordered, this study finds evidence which may indicate a low degree of psychopathy in the offender's personality.

As preparation to mitigate the death penalty, Mr. Ridgway's attorneys subjected him to psychological and neurological examinations. In addition to an intelligence quotient (IQ) which falls between 87 and 82, at nearly two standard deviations below normal (Prothero & Smith, 2006), Mr. Ridgway had difficulty learning, especially in regard to reading. His brothers recall his below average performance in school was rarely a topic of discussion, while Mr. Ridgway recalls that his difficulty in reading presented a source of conflict and frustration between him and his mother. He recalls becoming frustrated and having thoughts of harming his mother to get her to stop badgering him.

Through the course of defending Mr. Ridgway, Mark Prothero developed an intimate understanding of the GRK. Mr. Prothero (p. 125) noted that while not "*obviously* stupid" the Green River Killer certainly "wasn't anywhere near the evil genius" that the media had labeled him to be (p. 125). Through hundreds of hours of interviews and conversations, it became obvious to Mr. Prothero that Mr. Ridgway suffered from some kind of mental deficit but his ability to conceal this from "non-experts" was profound. "He was proficient at making eye contact, he could tell and appreciate jokes, and he knew more about the inner workings of a motor vehicle than I ever did. If you sat down next to him at a tavern or a ball game, you'd never think of him as dumb. He was just like a genial neighbor" (Prothero, 2009; p. 125). Nonetheless, prolonged conversations with him revealed that "he hopped around from topic to topic like a flea on an electric hot plate" (Prothero & Smith, 2006, p. 125). This very high degree of social proficiency

most certainly contributed to his success as a homicide offender. At a time when every prostitute in the Puget Sound area knew a serial killer was targeting them, Gary L. Ridgway managed to convince seventy-eight of them to trust him.

Employment

The GRK was steadily employed at a menial, blue-collar occupation throughout his offense career. In 1969, shortly before enlisting in the Navy, Gary L. Ridgway was hired by the Kenworth Truck Company where he remained employed as a painter until his arrest in 2001. It is likely he would still be employed or retired had he not been arrested and convicted of forty-eight counts of aggravated murder. Through interviews, it is clear that Mr. Ridgway had cordial relationships with his coworkers but did not actively seek social interactions with them. Of the documents referenced in this study there is no evidence to indicate he ever had any significant disciplinary action taken against him.

Education

Due, in large part, to his significant difficulty in a formal learning environment, Mr. Ridgway struggled to graduate from Tyee High School though eventually did at age twenty. His learning deficits prompted discussions among his parents about the possibility of sending Mr. Ridgway to a school for the learning disabled. At the time, he balked at the idea but during interviews with the GRTF suggested that his performance in school represented a source of great personal disappointment and shame, and attending a "special school" may have kept him from becoming a serial killer. It is doubtful that successful performance in an academic setting would have been sufficient to correct the severe self-image deficit which characterizes Mr. Ridgway's pathology. Apart from training related to his job as a painter, Mr. Ridgway never received any formal education beyond high school.

Relational History

The GRK has a long history of marital relationships. Since joining the military in 1969, Mr. Ridgway has been married and divorced three times. His first two relationships ended poorly.

His first wife, Claudia, left him for another man while he was deployed to the Philippines. In the interim between his first and second wife, Marcia, Mr. Ridgway committed his first act of homicide. His second marriage, which produced one male child, ended abruptly when his second wife lost several pounds, became "more attractive," and consequently, more flirtatious with patrons of the taverns they frequented. The end of his second marriage punctuated the period leading up to the first Green River victims in the summer of 1982. Between 1982 and 1985, Mr. Ridgway dated conventionally among a small number of women associated with a single parent support group until he met his third wife, Judith, whom he married until legal considerations necessitated their divorce in 2002. It should be noted that the greatest number of kills occurred during periods of relational instability or stress between his second and third marriage.

Criminal History

The GRK's official criminal history contains a few prostitution-related offenses and forty-eight convicted counts of aggravated murder, however the unofficial criminal career of Gary L. Ridgway is far more extensive. In addition to stalking, vandalism, arson and cruelty to animals, at fifteen Mr. Ridgway assaulted a younger boy with a knife, nearly killing him. As an adult, Mr. Ridgway had a long history of petty theft for which he was never caught. Inarguably, the GRK is most accomplished as a homicide offender, but as predicted by the FBI profilers (FBI, 1987), Mr. Ridgway appeared before a judge on two separate occasions for prostitution-related offenses and was contacted a number of times, without citation, for soliciting.

Like many personality disordered children and adolescents, the GRK exhibited conduct disordered behavior as a child. Though there are no charged or adjudicated offenses related to juvenile delinquency or conduct, Mr. Ridgway admits to an extensive list of antisocial behaviors in this study's sample of interviews. In addition to generalized comments about vandalism and arson, three major offenses are indicated and explained in detail. Cruelty to animals (specifically, the suffocation of a cat in the family's cooler),), the stalking of girls on their way home from school, and the life threatening assault on a young boy when Mr. Ridgway was fifteen years old.

Psychopathy

More than antisocial tendencies, psychopathy represents cognitive rational unique to violent offenders and is a primary measure of this study Gary L. Ridgway is not a primary psychopath. His personality falls toward the low end of the secondary range though psychopathic traits are readily apparent in his interpersonal skills and ability to neutralize the intrapsychic conflict associated with multiple counts of violent, serial, sexual homicide. A prime example of psychopathy manifested in Mr. Ridgway's personality is his attorney's characterization of his dialectic style, like a flea on an electric hotplate. Hare (1993) and others describe the psychopath's interpersonal skills as well versed in multiple topics but suggest that a deeper examination of their familiarity in any given subject reveals a shallow or flawed understanding. Mr. Prothero indicates that Mr. Ridgway could tell and appreciate jokes, and although research on psychopathy suggests these personalities learn to mimic the appropriate response they do not truly understand the nuances of many personal interactions.

On a functional level, Ridgway's behavior most closely resembles a secondary psychopath. The GRK employs many of the cognitive and disassociative attributes of a psychopath to be a more successful killer. Mr. Ridgway does have a PCL-R score that was generated for his defense, however, given the stigmatic nature of this kind of branding, the score was kept private and unavailable for public disclosure.

PCL-R, 2nd Edition Scores

The twenty items contained within the PCL-R scoring criteria are grouped into the two factors of aggressive narcissism and antisocial lifestyle. The aggressive narcissism component of psychopathy is almost completely absent in Mr. Ridgway. He is neither glib nor superficial and demonstrates a quality described by one of the researchers as "pathetic." Below, each of the twenty items is explained in detail along with some paraphrased comments pertaining to each of the items. The scores provided are those of the lead researcher and reflect the total score developed for statistical analysis.

As discussed in the methods section, whole number values were compiled at the completion of the Phase I observation period. At this point each of the researchers reviewed their notes and daily scores to compile a final score. These scores were compiled and tested for interrater reliability. Though all of the researchers arrived at a whole number value of 21 on the PCL-R scale of 40, some discrepancy existed between items. While no two rates disagreed in the presence of a given item, there was some dispute as to whether that item was present or whether it may be present. A more complete discussion of interrater reliability is discussed in the limitations section. Below is an item by items analysis of PCL-R traits. The primary researchers scores are reported here (see Table 4.0 for complete scores from all raters).

Item 1: Glibness / Superficial Charm (0)

"Item 1 describes a glib, voluble, verbally facile individual who exudes an insincere and superficial sort of charm. He is often an amusing and entertaining conversationalist, is always ready with a quick and clever comeback, and is able to tell unlikely but convincing stories that place him in a good light," (Hare, 2003, p. 35). None of these descriptions accurately depict Gary L. Ridgway. While Mr. Ridgway is fairly adept at mimicry in social situations, he is certainly not the center of attention. In sample interviews he was never quick and often labored to understand conventional humor. Furthermore, he never told a story which painted him in a good light. While Ridgway did attempt to be congenial, his behavior could hardly be described as glib, though on occasion he did display a limited affinity for technical jargon as it pertained to killing and law enforcement. In this way the GRK may be glib or superficial but Gary L. Ridgway is not.

Item 2: Grandiose Sense of Self Worth (1)

"Item 2 describes an individual with a grossly inflated view of his abilities and self-worth. He may impress as a braggart. He often appears self-assured, opinionated, and cocky during the interview, perhaps giving the impression that he is performing or giving a press conference," (Hare, 2003, p. 36). In interviews with the GRTF, Ridgway often appears uncertain and embarrassed about his behavior. Not only does he not present as though he is performing, often a

significant amount of coaxing is required to get him to admit to facts in evidence. This study finds a certain personal assessment of grandiosity in his willingness to devalue prostitutes but that behavior is not readily apparent in interviews.

Item 3: Need for Stimulation / Proneness to Boredom (0)

"Item describes an individual who demonstrate a chronic and excessive need for novel and exciting stimulation, and unusual proneness to boredom," (Hare, 2003, pp. 36-37). While there is little doubt the act of killing is a stimulating and exciting behavior, Mr. Ridgway does not readily fit the criteria for Item 3. In fact, it was often remarked by GRTF members that Ridgway was content to sit in his holding cell staring at the wall (Prothero & Smith, 2006). Some of Ridgway's "criminal versatility" behaviors, such as auto prowling, could be viewed as thrill seeking, however, his motives are unclear.

Item 4: Pathological Lying (2)

"Item 4 describes an individual for whom lying and deceit are a characteristic part of his interactions with others. He is capable of fabricating elaborate accounts of his past even though he knows that his story can easily be checked," (Hare, 2003, p. 37). Mr. Ridgway is a pathological liar. For Ridgway, lying is substituted for an admission of poor memory; also, for many years, lying served as misdirection. When Ridgway was caught doing something suspicious, like stalking a girl on her way home from school, he lied. When confronted with the embarrassing truth about his bazaar sexual behavior, Ridgway lied. Lying served as a protective strategy to evade capture and shelter his fracture ego.

Item 5: Conning / Manipulative (2)

"Although similar in some respects to Item 4 (Pathological Lying), Item 5 is more concerned with the use of deceit and deception to cheat, bilk, defraud, or manipulate others. The use of schemes and scams, motivated by a desire for personal gain (money, sex, status, power, etc.) and carried out with no concern for their effects on victims," (Hare, 2003, pp. 37-38). Throughout the interview sample, Mr. Ridgway did not overtly attempt to con or manipulate the

taskforce and as such, it is difficult to gauge his conning or manipulative behavior. However, in explaining how Ridgway convinced seventy-eight victims to trust him, his capacity for conning and manipulation is clear. Knowing his potential victims would be on edge; Ridgway deliberately placed toys on the dashboard of his truck and told his victims the toys belonged to his son. Also, in cases where he asked the victims to accompany him to his residence, Ridgway often showed them his son's bedroom; Ridgway believed the prostitutes would be more at ease with a family man. Many prostitutes have highly developed procedures and rules to protect themselves from robbery or assault by a john. Ridgway offered greater sums of money for a prostitute to violate those personal rules and accompany him to his residence. The GRK played on misconception and greed to lure his victims rather than take them by force. It is unlikely that any of these victims knew he was the Green River Killer until he started to strangle them.

Item 6: Lack of Remorse or Guilt (2)

"Item 6 describes an individual who shows a general lack of concern for the negative consequences that his actions, both criminal and noncriminal, have on others. He is more concerned with the effects that his actions have upon himself than he is about any suffering experienced by his victims or damage done to society," (Hare, 2003, pp. 38-39). When he was told that one of his victims was pregnant, Ridgway expressed regret at having killed her, though could not recall her specifically. Generally Mr. Ridgway has no remorse for his actions. Nevertheless, in keeping with Item 6, he has a significant awareness of the personal consequences, namely the shame and alienation from his family as a direct result of his career as a serial killer.

Item 7: Shallow Affect (2)

"Item 7 describes an individual who appears unable to experience a normal range and depth of emotion. At times he may impress as cold and unemotional. Displays of emotion generally are dramatic, shallow, short-lived; they leave careful observers with the impression that he is playacting and that little of real significance is going on below the surface. He may admit

that he is unemotional or that the shams emotions." (Hare, 2003, p. 39). Ridgway does display emotion. Most of the time his emotional manifestations accompany discussions of his mother and his feelings toward her, when confronted with the reality of his behavior he shows little or no genuine emotion. He does not make any significant attempt at "playacting", however, he does state that he feels bad about killing women; he just doesn't display any emotion to suggest that admission is sincere.

Item 8: Callous / Lack of Empathy (2)

"Item 8 describes an individual whose attitudes and behavior indicate a profound lack of empathy and a callous disregard for the feelings, rights and welfare of others. He is only concerned with 'Number 1,' and views others as objects to be manipulated. He is cynical and selfish. Any appreciation of the pain, anguish, or discomfort of others is merely abstract and intellectual. He has no hesitation in mocking other people, including those who have experienced misfortune or who suffer from a mental and/or physical handicap." (Hare, 2003, pp. 39-40). While Ridgway does not exactly match this descriptor he certainly exhibits callousness when engaging his victims. Often he refers to them as garbage and appears to have little or no empathy for them. Given a higher score, closer to primary, I would expect some of the mocking behavior outlined above; however, Ridgway appear to have an appropriate affect with regard to people he doesn't victimize. It is because of his extensive offense history and callous recall of the events lead to and including their death that he receives a 2 in this category.

Item 9: Parasitic Lifestyle (0)

"Item 9 describes an individual for whom financial dependence on others is an intentional part of his lifestyle. Although able-bodied, he avoids steady, gainful employment; instead, he continually relies on family, relatives, friends or social assistance," (Hare, 2003, p. 40). This factor is not present in Mr. Ridgway's personality; Mr. Ridgway was always self-sufficient and notoriously frugal. Materially, Ridgway required no support though he did seek relationships with moderately dependent women. His second marriage to Marcia only failed when she lost a

considerable amount of weight and became more social. No longer dependent on Ridgway for emotional support and attention, Marcia found attention at the taverns they frequented together, and eventually they separated; shortly thereafter, the Green River murders began. Though Ridgway never fit the description for Item 9 materially, emotionally he depended on relationships with his mother, his brother and later his wives for support. It should be noted that his third marriage marked the beginning of a significant slowdown in the Green River murders.

Item 10: Poor Behavioral Controls (1)

"Item 10 describes an individual with inadequate behavioral controls. He may be described as short-tempered or hot-headed. He tends to respond to frustration, failure, discipline, and criticism with violent behavior or with threats and verbal abuse," (Hare, 2003, pp. 40-41). This behavior is not readily apparent in Ridgway's behavior, as is the role of psychopathy in a lust killer, but those items become more prevalent during offending. The GRK preferred to begin his sexual encounters with fellatio and, upon becoming sufficiently erect, he would progress to vaginal intercourse before killing his victims. Ridgway describes a few encounters which did not result in vaginal sex prior to the homicidal act because he could not achieve an erection. It is the nature of a prostitute to be expedient in servicing their client so they may return to the streets and turn another trick. I submit that failing to achieve an erection prompted the prostitute to taunt Ridgway in a manner similar to his mother's abuse resulting in an explosive homicidal outburst. Ridgway preferred to kill his victims from behind so he would not have to look at their faces as he killed them, however on a few occasions the GRK killed facing the victim, which is a far more personal and difficult method of asphyxiation. I contend these encounters were a result of poor behavioral controls that prompted the GRK to deviate from his preferred MO.

Item 11: Promiscuous Sexual Behavior (2)

"Item 11 describes an individual whose sexual relations with others are impersonal, casual, or trivial. This may be reflected in frequent causal liaisons (e.g., "one-night stands"), indiscriminate selection of sexual partners, maintenance of several sexual relationships at the

same time, frequent infidelities, prostitution, or a willingness to participate in a wide variety of sexual activities," (Hare, 2003, p. 41). In interviews with Dr. O'Toole, Ridgway reports masturbating compulsively as a child. All of Ridgway's marital partners report that he sometimes required sexual intercourse as often as three times a day (Baird, Eakes, McDonald, Goodhew, & O'Donnell, 2003; Prothero & Smith, 2006). Ridgway discovered prostitutes while stationed in the Philippines and continued to utilize their services even in a marital relationship (Prothero & Smith, 2006). To evade the suspicion of his wives and various relational partners, Ridgway hid condoms under the wheel well of his vehicle and in several outdoor locations so he could continue frequenting prostitutes. Sexual promiscuity as described in Item11, is a prevalent factor in Ridgway's life.

Item 12: Early Behavioral Problems (1)

"Item 12 describes an individual who had serious behavioral problems as a child (i.e., age 12 and below). These problems may include persistent lying, cheating, theft, robbery, fire-setting, truancy, disruption of classroom activities, substance because (including alcohol and glue sniffing), vandalism, violence, bullying, running away from home, and precocious sexual activities," (Hare, 2003, pp. 41-42). Ridgway suffered from a series of behavioral problems as a juvenile: cruelty to animals, arson, stalking and vandalism among others (discussed further above).

Item 13: Lack of Realistic Long-Term Goals (0)

"Item 13 describes an individual who demonstrates an inability or unwillingness to formulate and carry out realistic, long-term plans and goals. He tends to live day to today and to change his plans frequently. He does not give serious though to the future nor does he worry about it very much," (Hare, 2003, p. 42). This item is not present in Mr. Ridgway's behavior.

Item 14: Impulsivity (1)

"Item 14 describes an individual whose behavior is generally impulsive, unpremeditated, and lacking in reflection or forethought. He usually does things on the "spur of the moment"

because he "feels like it" or because an opportunity presents itself. He is unlikely to spend much time weighing the pros and cons of a course of action, or in considering the possible consequence of his actions to himself or others," (Hare, 2003, p. 43). Ridgway displays a remarkable ability to restrain himself. Despite an overwhelming desire to offend, the GRK planned his attacks ahead of time, hunted for an ideal victim, and abided by rules designed to evade detection by potential witnesses and law enforcement. This is a rare quality in a serial killer and is most certainly responsible for his success as an offender.

Item 15: Irresponsibility (0)

"Item 15 describes an individual who habitually fails to fulfill or honor obligations and commitments to others. He has little or no sense of duty or loyalty to family, friends, employers, society, ideas, or causes," (Hare, 2003, pp. 43-44). This item is not particularly applicable to Mr. Ridgway's personality. Financially, Ridgway is responsible and has an appropriate sense of responsibility to his relational partners evidenced by his payment of child support and successful purchase of real property. Following his divorce from Marcia, his second wife, Ridgway was unable to manage payments for his house on Military Road. To make those payments, Ridgway constructed an apartment in his garage where he lived and rented the remainder of the house to a family. While Mr. Ridgway is not particularly idealistic or involved in his community, he has been affiliated with a union since joining Kenworth in 1969. Irresponsibility is not a strong component of the GRK's personality.

Item 16: Failure to Accept Responsibility for Own Actions (1)

"Item 16 describes an individual who is unable or unwilling to accept personal responsibility for his own actions (both criminal and noncriminal) or for the consequences of his actions. He usually has some excuse for his behavior, including rationalizing and placing the blame on others (society, his family, accomplices, victims, the system, etc.)," .)," (Hare, 2003, p. 44). This item may be present in the GRK's personality. Though he acknowledges his role in the disappearance and aggravated murder of seventy eight victims, he never truly accepts the gravity

of his behavior. Splitting is a standard primitive defense used by Ridgway; instead of admitting his role in the death of many people, he refers to them as garbage and implies they are undeserving of life in a society where hard working people live (paraphrasing from GRTF Interview, 12 December, 2003). Ridgway may recognize his role in the Green River murders but never his responsibility as the perpetrator and all associated feelings therein.

Item 17: Many Short-Term Marital Relationships (1)

"Item 16 describes an individual who has had many marital relationships. We define a marital relationship as live-in relationship that involves some degree of commitment from one or both partners. Such relationships include formal and common-law marriages, and both heterosexual and homosexual partnerships," (Hare, 2003, p. 44). See Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 – Many Short-Term Marital Relationships (scoring matrix)

Score	Number of Relationships: Under age 30	Number of Relationships: Age 30 and over
2	3 or more	4 or more
1	2	3
0	1, or has never had a relationship	2 or fewer

(Hare, Hare Psychopathy Checklist - Revised (PCL-R): 2nd Edition, 2003)

Mr. Ridgway was married three times. At the time of the interviews in the sample, he was in the age range 30 and over and thus, scores a 1 for Item 17.

Item 18: Juvenile Delinquency (1)

"Item 18 describes an individual who has a history of serious antisocial behavior as an adolescent, aged 17 and below. This includes both charges and convictions for criminal and statutory offenses," (Hare, 2003, p. 45). Though Mr. Ridgway was never convicted or even detected as the perpetrator of stalking and the serious, life threatening assault of a younger boy, the behavior still constitutes serious antisocial behavior. For this reason, Item 18 receives a score of 1 Had Ridgway been detected in either of these activities he most certainly would have been charged.

Item 19: Revocation of Conditional Release (0)

"Item 19 describes an individual who, as an adult (aged 18 or older), has violated a conditional release or escaped from an institution. Escapes from institutions include jail-breaking and violations of temporary absence... This item is omitted for individuals who have had no formal contact with the criminal justice system as an adult prior to the current offense," (Hare, 2003, p. 45). This item, while not applicable, is none the less problematic. Ridgway has had multiple interactions pertaining to charges of prostitution with the criminal justice system and so cannot be omitted, however, prior to the current convictions he has not been in custody and was never granted conditional release. Additionally, prior convictions for prostitution are generally followed by a judicial sanction of some kind but those records are outside the scope of this study. It is almost certain that if granted conditional release from sanction (i.e., probation) under the condition that he not engage in solicitation, Mr. Ridgway would, and probably has, violated those conditions; therefore, he receives a score of 1. Did you want to say anything about lack of attempted escapes?

Item 20: Criminal Versatility (2)

"Item 20 describes an individual whose adult criminal record involves charges or convictions for many different types of offenses," (Hare, 2003, p. 50). Apart from his career as a serial killer, Mr. Ridgway has a long history of petty theft offenses. During sample interviews, Ridgway describes car clouting and other incident of petty theft as commonplace. Once, while trolling the Red Lion Hotel parking lot for dates, Mr. Ridgway broke into a where he found a small caliber handgun and stole it. Not wanting to get caught with the weapon but expressing a concern that a "child might find it," Ridgway hid the gun under some bushes and contacted hotel management to report the find. Hotel management promptly contacted the police who responded and retrieved the weapon. Mr. Ridgway describes a series of analogous petty offenses in addition to theft, assault, murder, kidnapping, obstruction of justice, fraud, and aggravated murder. The GRK undeniably has a long history of criminal versatility.

Table 4.0 – Complete Raters Scores

Items	LRATER Total	JRATER Total	MRATER Total
Glibness and / or superficial charm	0	1	1
Grandiose Sense of Self-Worth	1	1	1
Pathological Lying	2	2	2
Conning or Manipulation	2	1	1
Lack of Remorse or Guilt	2	2	2
Shallow Affect	2	2	1
Callousness, Lack of Empathy	2	2	2
Failure to accept responsibility for one's own actions	1	0	0
Parasitic Lifestyle	0	0	0
Poor Behavioral Controls	1	1	1
Lack of Realistic Long-Term Goals	0	0	0
Impulsivity	1	1	1
Irresponsibility	0	0	0
Juvenile Delinquency	1	2	2
Early Behavioral Problems	1	1	2
Need for Stimulation, Boredom	0	0	0
Revocation of Conditional Release	0	0	0
Sexual Promiscuity	2	2	2
Criminal Versatility	2	2	2
A History of Many Short-Term Marital Relationships	1	1	1
Final Score	21	21	21

*LRATER, JRATER, MRATER are coded rater identifiers.

Psychopathy Discussed

With a score of 21, Ridgway ranks in the forty-third percentile of psychopathic male offenders in North America. As mentioned previously, secondary psychopaths fit Holmes & Holmes (2009) five factor model as lust murderers for their dependence of emotion as a motivating factor. Given that serial killers, especially lust killers those exhibiting some degree of sadism, feed on the emotional reactions of their victims, a rating of secondary psychopathy is not surprising. I would not expect an offender to engage in catathymia (discussed further below) as a

primary psychopath. The primary psychopath does not possess the emotional awareness or processing ability to recognize, or be motivated by, any emotion other than greed. Hervey Cleckley (1988) proposed in the primary psychopath "we are dealing here not with a complete man at all but with something that suggests a subtly contracted reflex machine which can mimic the human personality perfectly" (p. 369). Since Cleckley, we have discovered a careful observer can readily spot the artifice of a psychopath; secondary psychopaths, on the other hand, have a dimensionally limited capacity for emotional processing and therefore, a presumably enhanced capacity for mimicry at points along that scale.

This human personality to which Cleckley (1988) refers is most readily present in how we relate to others. Factor 1 items, or "interpersonal factors," render an extremely narcissistic and aggressive personality in the primary psychopath. As a secondary psychopath, Ridgway employs these affective characteristics to use people around him for emotional gain. All of Mr. Ridgway's marital relationships have been characterized by some dependency or another. His first wife was naive when they married but being forced to live on a military budget with her husband overseas, she became more independent and eventually left Ridgway for another man. Similarly, his second wife was overweight when they met. Ridgway claims as she lost weight and began to consider herself more attractive, she withdrew from her dependent relationship and began flirting in the taverns and bars they frequented on social occasions. Eventually, this manifested as a source of conflict between them, leading to the inevitable separation. His final marital relationship, beginning in 1985, which happened to coincide with a dramatic reduction in offense behavior, has been described in personal communications with the researcher as dependent[35] and even needy. Ridgway lacks a grandiosity and self-importance which are hallmarks of the primary psychopath. As a result, his marital relationships failed until he met a dependent personality he was capable of dominating. Mr. Ridgway scores in the eighty-second percentile on Factor 1 traits in North

---

[35] The source of these personal communications will not be published here but can be produced upon request of the researcher.

American male offenders (Hare, Hare Psychopathy Checklist - Revised (PCL-R): 2nd Edition, 2003).

With regard to Factor 2, social deviance items, Ridgway ranks in only the sixteenth percentile of male offenders in North America. Apart from a penchant for petty theft, Mr. Ridgway confined his deviant lifestyle behaviors to serial homicide. Primary psychopaths are known to offend, reoffend, and continue doing so until they are caught. In correctional settings, these offenders are more likely to be refused conditional release and may attempt to escape. Furthermore, they generally lack the cognitive ability to accept the reality of the causal relationship between their confinement and their actions, preferring instead to blame their predicament on someone or something else (Hare, 2003; Hare, 1993). Apart from a few interactions with law enforcement and the courts for prostitution, Ridgway has no criminal history of serious offense. This relatively low score, given the seriousness and heinous nature of his crimes, highlights the fundamentally secondary nature of psychopathy in the GRK's personality.

As an example of how psychopathy is used as a mechanism to offend, Ridgway considered his victims to be subhuman and less deserving of life. Mr. Ridgway even goes so far as to label his victims accordingly, with prostitutes who were deemed acceptable, potential victims referred to in casual speech as "ladies." To paraphrase, a lady is a whore and slut who uses her body to get what she wants. "Women," identified apart from ladies, are working class, honest people who go to work and provide for their family. Ridgway was very clear that his selection process included casual conversation to control for an accidental kill of a woman since a woman may engage in sex for money but is not a suitable victim.

There is a significant body of work on these defensive processes. As mentioned in the literature review, psychopaths neutralize the inhibitive mechanisms linked to the intrapsychic conflict by engaging in primitive defensive mechanisms. Similar to Kernberg's Borderline Personality Organization, theories on the defensive processes of psychopaths indicated specifically the practice of *splitting*. This act of labeling the target of aggression as bad or a whore

or in some way deserving of their fate, indicates an Unconscious Defensive Process (UDP) in the mind of a killer (Helfgott, 2004). In referring to his victims as ladies Ridgway labeled them deserving of the violence he inflicted on them thereby effectively neutralizing any modulating effect.

Trauma

In addition to the biological and environmental factors indicated by a score demonstrating psychopathy, the presence of trauma was discussed previously as a risk factor for serial homicide offending. For a personality with a demonstrated coping deficit, as indicated by the formation of psychopathy, the presence of environmental stressors such as physical, sexual, or psychological abuse encourage complex fantasy development and in some cases, violent paraphilia as a means of escaping an untenable reality and artificially elevating self-image. As discussed above, the degree to which trauma can promote this pathology is proportionate to the individual's ability to cope with stressful or traumatic stimuli. Those with a greater capacity to cope can endure more stressful conditions, while personalities with depressed coping abilities have a diminished capacity for enduring trauma. In a psychopathic child, a distant or self-involved parent who is not readily attentive to the child's needs can be enough to promote disassociation.

Coping is a comprehensive and complex term used to describe various brain functions and cognitive dysfunctional elements (discussed in detail above). The degree to which a person could be psychopathic is directly related to their coping faculties, and several things can be inferred from Ridgway's PCL-R score. As discussed previously, when presented with an excess of hard stimuli, psychopaths disassociate at an early age. This dissociative state can be linked to paternal influences in early childhood; therefore, a paternal figure in Mr. Ridgway's life presented him with an excess of hard stimuli sufficient to induce psychopathic behavior.

A review of Mr. Ridgway's background, as presented in the book *Defending Gary: Unraveling the Mind of the Green River Killer* (Prothero & Smith, 2006), reveals three potentially traumatic influences. First, the primary risk influence in Mr. Ridgway's psychodynamic

development is thought to be Mary Rita Ridgway. Additionally, prior to settling south of Seattle, the Ridgway family lived with their maternal grandparents above a store in Bremerton, Washington; Ridgway's maternal grandfather was described as "a hard man" (Prothero & Smith, 2006). Finally, Mr. Ridgway struggled in school, academically and socially, until he entered high school. Children apply a constant pressure on their socially awkward or developmentally disabled peers, and certainly this consistent level of stress contributed to a fractured identity and violent paraphilia in Ridgway.

Mary Rita Ridgway, previously Steinman, was a constant controlling presence in her son's life. In fact, it has been speculated that were it not for her death just prior to Mr. Ridgway's arrest, he may never have admitted to his participation in the Green River murders (Prothero M. , 2009). Mary Rita's influence in her son's life is discussed in greater detail below; however, it is necessary to indicate the degree to which a maternal figure can sway a child's development in the first several years of life. A devout Roman Catholic, Mary insisted that her children be raised Catholic despite her husband being barred from entering the church. Mary presented a confusing sexual object to Ridgway where she not only dressed like a prostitute, according to Mr. Ridgway's second wife Marcia, but acted provocatively and sunbathed partially nude in the backyard of the family home. In addition to being a relatively passive psychological force in her need to control everyday life, Mary Rita regularly frustrated and humiliated Ridgway, applying direct psychological trauma throughout his life. It should be noted; however, Mr. Ridgway had mixed emotions about his mother with a very deep level of affection for her, or at least what she represents on a functional level, conflicting with his inability to forget the deep emotional scarring from his childhood. Despite this conflict, Ridgway visited his mother multiple times a week, every week until her death in 2001.

It appears from anecdotal descriptions of the deceased Steinman Patriarch; Mary Rita's behavior was, in part, learned. "He was a hard man... that's what I got from my mom when she talked about him. He kind of favored my brother [Greg] over me. He cared more for his store

though," Gary said of his maternal grandfather, Edward Steinman (Prothero & Smith, 2006, p. 64). Though no specific influence was identified through the course of this study, Ridgway's relationship with his grandfather clearly left a lasting impression. The influence of Ridgway's peers on his early childhood and subsequent fantasy development are also difficult to qualify. As a child Ridgway was withdrawn and awkward, often relying on his older brother Greg to speak for him in social situations. Moreover, he suffered from asthma and allergies which made his eyes watery, giving him the appearance of crying and prompting other kids to make fun of him (Prothero & Smith, 2006).

Mary Rita Ridgway was the only significant, qualifiable, traumatic influence in Gary Ridgway's life. Analysis presented in further sections of this study suggests ample traumatic antecedence to violent paraphilia in the face of coping deficiencies, indicated by the presence of psychopathy.. Augmented by peer and familial authoritarian influences, as presented by his maternal grandfather, Ridgway's serial killing behavior is a direct result of self-medication and self-soothing. What follows is an analysis of the sequential development of said behavior as supported by observed characteristics from the GRTF interviews, the *Prosecutors Summary of the Evidence,* and FBI LHM of 10 March, 1987.

Psychodynamic Analysis

The GRK is a hedonistic serial killer, lust subtype, on Holmes & Holmes's (2004) five factor model of serial homicide offending. This type of offender "realizes sexual gratification through the homicide, making it an eroticized experience" (Holmes & Holmes, 2009, p. 121). This type of offender is process oriented, consequently, offense behavior is prolonged and may take "some time to complete" in order for the paraphilic processes, evidenced by the presence of necrophilia at body recovery sites, to be realized (discussed further in Phase II analysis). This portion of the analysis draws on the theories outlined in the literature review pertaining to psychopathy, trauma and fantasy, self-medication/self-soothing, and serial homicide offense behavior. Observed factors and characteristics are presented in support of these frameworks. In

this and subsequent sections, information collected in Phases I and II is synthesized into a profile similar to, but more comprehensive than, any available profile during the original investigation.

General

This offender, though incarcerated, is geographically stable with a demonstrated capacity for brief periods of mobility outside of his activity space when necessary to avoid detection. Mr. Ridgway is of below average intelligence with no formal education beyond high school who went on to serve in the military and, upon receiving an honorable discharge, retained steady employment in a basic, physical occupation. The GRK has been married several times and generally seeks stable, long-term relationships with women. Offense behavior is spurred by periods of relational instability, stress, or conflict, and during periods of stress, the GRK kills for the psychosexual gratification achieved by dominating a surrogate maternal figure.

Fantasy

As discussed previously, personality, paraphilia and compulsive behaviors are formed between birth and puberty, and are reinforced in adolescence through pornography, autoeroticism, and substance abuse. Gary L. Ridgway exhibits deficiencies in cognitive and emotional processing consistent with the biological precursors discussed as risk factors for personality disturbances such as psychopathy and antisocial personality disorder. Background investigations conducted by Mr. Ridgway's defense reveal significant environmental disturbances during these formative years of personality development. Mary Rita Ridgway is often described as a positive (in the classical conditioning sense) influence on Mr. Ridgway's psychosexual development. The interaction between biological predeterminate factors, which undercut coping and environmental challenges to healthy development pave the way for violent paraphilia (Arrigo & Purcell, 2001).

Children predisposed to psychopathy who receive an abundance of hard stimuli (Meloy, 1988) in early childhood are at risk for poor social development under the best of conditions. Acute trauma can negatively influence a healthy child; in cases of children with poor coping skills (as demonstrated by psychopathy), relatively benign trauma such as neglect can cause a fracture

in identity perception and reality. Mary Rita Ridgway is described as an unrelenting force, domineering, and a potentially inappropriate sexual role model. When Marcia, Mr. Ridgway's second wife, met Mary Rita for the first time in 1973, she noted that "she did not believe that she was Ridgway's mother because she was wearing a lot of makeup, tight cloths, and to her, looked like a prostitute" (Prothero & Smith, 2006, p. 64). The claims and evidence presented in Prothero's book was mirrored in Ridgway's responses.

Maternal influences are critical to early childhood development. At an early age, we depend upon these figures for nutritional and psychological support. As we develop, Oedipus suggests the mother represents an ideal form both as a mother and a woman. In a personality which fails to form lasting attachment in infancy, an inappropriate maternal archetype can, and often does, become a confusing sexual object in puberty. In addition to dressing provocatively, Mary Rita Ridgway was an overbearing and often belligerent force in Mr. Ridgway's life. When Gary struggled in learning to read she called him stupid and when he wet the bed she paraded him naked, in front of his brothers, causing further humiliation (Prothero & Smith, 2006). Compounding the sexual confusion stemming from improper attachment and puberty (Meloy, 2000), Mary Rita would often clean Gary's genitalia wearing only an open bathrobe after he wet the bed and when Gary became erect, Mary Rita mocked and shamed him. As a result, Gary Ridgway learned to hate the promiscuous sexual object presented in the form of his mother. Not able to fight back against her frustrating and humiliating behavior, Ridgway fantasized about reasserting dominance, which artificially reinforced his self-esteem.

As Mr. Ridgway entered his teenage years his personality disturbance deepened. During the interviews with GRTF, Mr. Ridgway indicated that his mother would often sunbath in a two piece swim suit in their backyard. Upon viewing his mother this way, Gary would masturbate while fantasizing about his mother, fully aware those feelings are not conventional or appropriate for a mother/son relationship. The confusing mix of sexual arousal and humiliation formed a unique set of compulsive needs. As Gary entered high school he became more comfortable in

social situations and even dated girls who attended his high school. Unfortunately, the impact of Mary Rita Ridgway's repeated assaults on Gary's self-esteem and sexuality left a lasting impression on his personality and, ultimately, the development of violent paraphilia (Hickey, 1997). No longer content to act out his fantasies in his mind, Ridgway engaged in pathological play (discussed further below), or simulated surrogate dominance of his mother.

By Mr. Ridgway's mid teenage years his fantasy had developed into an obsessive need to dominate the object of his personal humiliation. Pathological play behavior in killing small animals, committing petty vandalism, and assaulting a younger boy served as a proving ground for his first offense. It is not uncommon for marginal personalities who have been subjected to sexual humiliation to be impotent in conventional sexual encounters. This, combined with the depressed autonomic nervous system of a psychopath, resulted in Gary L. Ridgway developing a sexual need for totally submissive sexual partners, later manifested as necrophilia (Stein, Schlesinger, & and Pinizzotto, 2010). Presented with an object symbolic of his mother's domineering and promiscuous nature, Ridgway seeks to completely dominate and control that object. Though Mr. Ridgway is capable of achieving orgasm conventionally, total psychosexual satisfaction does not come without the act of killing, for which Ridgway receives a second orgasm-like experience and postmortem sexual intercourse. In addition to this primary fantasy, which constitutes the primary motivation for the Green River murders, Ridgway had secondary fantasies. Throughout his interviews, Ridgway discusses these fantasies, including one in which he mounts and displays a female corpse by inserting a fencepost into her vagina. It is unclear whether Mr. Ridgway attempted to manifest this fantasy in reality.

Pathological Play

Domination of small animals is not uncommon for budding serial homicide offenders. As discussed above, much of the antisocial behavior exhibited by offenders is an attempt to artificially inflate their self-image. In dominating a smaller animal, a child may be acting out sadistic fantasies or in the GRK's case, fantasies of domination in the face of his mother's

unrelenting psychological abuse (discussed further below) and the ensuing inadequacy and frustration felt by Mr. Ridgway. While discussing his childhood with FBI psychologist, Mary Ellen O'Toole, Mr. Ridgway describes general animal cruelty (killing birds and shooting dogs with a bb gun), however the most telling offense, detailed in this phase of the interviews, is his use of an "ice chest" to suffocate a cat. This very passive aggressive act of violence against a cat is indicative of his offense behavior later in life in form and symbol. Not only is he causing death by asphyxiation, his preferred method of death with human victims, but he is doing so in a way that removes him from the process. This would seem to indicate that his intention was domination of another living thing rather than sadistic pleasure; otherwise he would have watched the cat asphyxiate.

In the same interview, 18 July, 2003, Ridgway indicates that he occasionally followed girls as they walked home from school. This stalking behavior is remarkably similar to the voyeuristic and extremely passive behavior exhibited by another sexually motivated offender, the *Power Reassurance* type rapist (Holmes & Holmes, 2009). These personalities have great difficulty relating to women even though they believe their sexual acts are in some way desired by their victims; I do not believe Mr. Ridgway operated under this delusion. In the mind of the power reassurance offender, their victim is the focus of a prolonged and intense fixation, however, I believe Mr. Ridgway was attempting to establish a normal sexual relationship but for reasons discussed later, was unfamiliar with the prosocial interactions most conventional relationships are predicated on. Nonetheless, Mr. Ridgway describes following girls on their way home from school and though he was never caught, he planned for the eventuality by devising an excuse that would seem plausible enough to relieve him of suspicion if caught; again, indication that he understood his behavior to be aberrant but proceeded anyway.

Most disturbing of the GRK's juvenile delinquent behavior was a serious assault which occurred when he was fourteen or fifteen years old. In discussing his childhood with Dr. O'Toole, Mr. Ridgway indicates casually, alongside comments about breaking windows with rocks and

setting fires, that he stabbed a boy on the playground at school. Previously he vehemently denied having ever used a knife with any of his victims, stating that he disliked blood. Mr. Ridgway recounted the event as follows: "Uh, it was down by… where I used to go to school, and a boy was playin'. I stabbed him in the side and… uh, didn't kill him… that's what I took my ag— gression [out] on. I couldn't take it out on my mom. I had to take it out on my animals and… and the kids…" (Prothero & Smith, 2006, p. 411). Following this casual admission, detectives from the GRTF tracked Mr. Ridgway's stabbing victim, now an adult living in Southern California, with a clear memory of the events surrounding his assault. The victim confirmed Mr. Ridgway's story adding only that after stabbing him, Mr. Ridgway said to the boy, "You're gonna die," laughed, and added "I always wanted to feel what it would be like to kill somebody" (Prothero & Smith, 2006, p. 469). Thus, pathological play is the experimental behavior by which a serial killer tests the limits of what they can get away with and cautiously approaches the threshold to their first kill.

First Offense Behavior

Gary L. Ridgway did not begin his offense behavior in a way that would be recognizable as the GRK. In fact, Mr. Ridgway committed his first homicide perhaps as many as ten years prior to the beginning of the Green River series. Sometime in 1972, Mr. Ridgway recalls picking up a hitchhiker between the Kenworth Plant on East Marginal Way, Seattle and his residence in Maple Valley, WA. He believes he may have picked up this woman following a union meeting and had sex with her in the front seat of his truck. He recalls strangling her either before or after intercourse and transporting the body, still in the front seat, to a location along "Empire Way," where he disposed of her by pushing her body out of the vehicle and driving off. Mr. Ridgway recalls being panicked and wishing to leave as quickly as possible (Green River Taskforce, 2003).

As is typical of first offense behavior in serial homicide offenders, the full signature and MO of the recognizable series can be absent to a certain degree. Jeffery Dahmer committed his first homicide at the age of 17, nearly a decade before his series began (Benecke, 2005). As

referenced in Chapter 2 of this study, serial killers often experience a period closely following

puberty, referred to as pathological play, which often culminates with a first offense. This offense

is primarily experimental and the product of thousands of hours spent fantasizing; as a result, the

full paraphilic nature of the homicide may not be readily apparent. The scope of this study has not

yielded any corroborative evidence to support Mr. Ridgway's claims, however, the information

was unsolicited and not material to the plea agreement which spared his life. Therefore, Mr.

Ridgway had no reason to embellish, though he admits it would not be unusual for him to do so

without reason.

Offense Behavior

MO: Case Evidence Analysis

MODUS OPERANDI of the GRK is separated into pre-, peri-, and post-offense

behaviors. As mentioned previously, the behavior of a serial killer is consistent with the need to

compulsively fulfill a specific psychosexual desire. While MO can be dictated by a need to evade

detection and is generally fluid, some factors remain static. Following Mr. Ridgway's first offense

in 1972, he studied serial killers in books, newspapers, and magazines to learn from their

mistakes. Over the course of nine years, Gary L. Ridgway, a man with an IQ in the mid to low

80s, developed a sophisticated set of rules and procedures designed to evade detection and

prolong his offense career. This MO remained fairly static, with very few exceptions, for seventy-

eight victims.

The GRK cycled rapidly from post-offense satisfaction to the need to reoffend. Living less

than a mile from the target rich environment of Pacific Highway South, Gary L. Ridgway

sometimes killed as often as twice a week for nearly three years. Like many serial killers, Mr.

Ridgway was a creature of habit and began his pre-offense ritual by hunting for a victim. Age,

race and appearance were ancillary to the availability of a target which could be solicited without

witnesses. Rule number one of the GRK was to never pick up a victim if a witness could on-view

the abduction. Before becoming the GRK, Ridgway was an accomplished patron of prostitutes.

Stemming from his experiences in the military, prostitutes were willing subjects he could use for sex, the GRK frequented areas he was familiar with in his "dating"[36] behavior. Either before work or immediately following work, the GRK would troll these areas for potential victims and upon selecting a victim, the GRK would approach the prostitute and solicit her in a date. The terms of the transaction would be set and, barring the presence of witnesses, the victim would enter his vehicle.

With a willing victim in his vehicle, the GRK would ask a series of probing questions to assess the viability of the prostitute as a suitable victim. The second rule of the GRK was he would only kill prostitutes while "working women" were not suitable victims because he viewed them as honest people. He often identified his mother as a working woman, which presents an interesting dichotomy given his mother is also the source of his sexual desire to dominate and kill prostitutes for her provocative qualities. Ridgway and his victim would travel to a previously agreed upon outdoor location, or in some instances his residence off Military Road, near I-5.

Upon arriving at the agreed upon location for the date, Ridgway would request the victims to disrobe. If the weather was nice, he would take a blanket he kept in his truck and laid it on the ground where the sex act would begin. Mr. Ridgway preferred fellatio to achieve an erection prior to engaging in vaginal intercourse in the missionary position. Depending on the situation, Mr. Ridgway would be in varying stages of dress. Sometimes he kept his shirt on, unbuttoned, but would generally remove his pants as they inhibited movement during the kill, which he learned from a failed attempt in October of 1982. After engaging in vaginal intercourse in the missionary position for a period of time, Mr. Ridgway would request vaginal intercourse in the "doggy style" position.

As Mr. Ridgway approached climax, if outdoors, he would often indicate to his victim that someone was approaching and they were in danger of being discovered. As the victim would raise her head to look, he would apply the carotid restraint or a ligature to her neck. Usually a brief

---

[36] Date is a term used in reference to the transaction between a prostitute (trick) and a John.

struggle ensued, during which Mr. Ridgway used his legs to stabilize the torso while applying continuous pressure to achieve asphyxiation; at this point, Ridgway's behavior is rewarded as he achieves a secondary orgasm or similar psychosexual release. Once the victim lost consciousness, Mr. Ridgway employed a variety of techniques to continue starving the brain of oxygen until death was complete: he continued to hold manual pressure, or apply a ligature, and in some cases, actually stood on the neck of his victims.

Once the victim was deceased, the GRK carried out disposal of the body with a high degree of forensic awareness. Following the first murder in 1972, Mr. Ridgway went to considerable effort to engage in an independent study of serial killers, their flaws, and successes. Following the homicidal act, Ridgway stripped the bodies of all clothing and jewelry and clipped their fingernails to control for trace and DNA[37] evidence. The GRK was aware that stripped of potential sources of evidence, and absent a witness to their abduction, there was little evidence to tie him to the nameless victims discarded in the woods.

In the act of discarding his victims, Ridgway placed them in *clusters* so he could more easily recall their location for future visits. After transporting the body to a selected disposal site, immediately accessible by major highways, Ridgway would pull over to the side of the road, unload the body, and place it just off the shoulder of the road. He then moved his vehicle several hundred feet away, to misdirect any attention from passersby or law enforcement investigating an abandoned vehicle, and returned to drag the body into the woods. Ridgway discovered bodies moved more easily on their back, feet first so he could use their ankles, just above the foot, for secure holds. Once placed in an acceptable location, the GRK would go about camouflaging the body. Tracker Joel Harden made the observation that the GRK is "calm" and does not rush in his examination of movements around the Star Lake Cluster (Baird, Eakes, McDonald, Goodhew, & O'Donnell, 2003).

---

[37] Though in its infancy during the mid-1980's, Ridgway was aware of the potential evidence lodged under a victims fingernails and mentions DNA specifically. It is unclear whether this awareness was present at the time of offense or if he became aware of it after being presented with the evidence against him.

Up to this point, the discussed behavior of the GRK has been driven by a desire to evade detection. These elements are MO characteristics and can change from victim to victim. In some cases, not all, Ridgway preferred to dig a shallow grave to disguise his victims, while in others they were left in illegal trash dump sites and disguised by sheets of plastic or plywood. Additionally, the GRK's choice of location varied with regard to the level of risk associated with using the same location. In cases where he felt one site was getting more use than another, he may have changed his MO to a different disposal site to evade detection; nonetheless, the fact that these bodies were clustered, by his own admission, so he could remember where he placed them suggests elements of signature. What need did Mr. Ridgway serve in revisiting the bodies?

Crime Scene Deviations

Most serial killers maintain a consistent MO, which only deviates in when an offender has a need to mitigate a particular risk of detection. In reviewing the *Prosecutors Summary of the Evidence* it is clear that several victims do not fit the MO of the GRK. Two stand out as examples of the mix of predators and affective aggression in the GRK's profile. The deaths of Carol Christiansen and Patricia Yellowrobe were departures from the norm for Ridgway. The manner in which these bodies were treated, post mortem, is wholly inconsistent with the GRK and suggests ulterior motives.

The first five victims of the GRK were disposed of in the city of Kent, Washington, in or on the banks of the Green River. Bodies were discovered weighted down by heavy rocks near the banks accessible from adjacent roads. In August of 1982 the GRK shifted his offense behavior and began disposing of bodies in heavily wooded areas referred to as "cluster sites." As mentioned before, Gary Ridgway had a remarkable sense of forensic awareness and took extreme measure to remove potential sources of trace evidence. Also mentioned was his reliance on true crime novels and media accounts of serial killers and how they were caught. Ridgway's shift in post offense, disposal MO is a direct result of monitoring the investigation and mitigating potential risk of detection.

Gary Ridgway likely got the idea to dispose of his victims in a river from the Atlanta Child Murder, Wayne Williams. Ridgway believed that disposing of his victims in water would wash away trace evidence that could be linked to him (Baird, Eakes, McDonald, Goodhew, & O'Donnell, 2003). Ironically disposing of the bodies in cool water preserved DNA evidence which was later used to convict him. While Ridgway was not necessarily aware of the trace evidence preserved by the water he was aware that the FBI staked out Wayne Williams and apprehended him following an attempt to dispose of a victim (Douglas & Olshaker, 1995). Ridgeway was likely alerted to the presence of a surveillance team on and around the Green River by the local CBS affiliate news channel KOMO 4 which televised the efforts of law enforcement to catch the GRK disposing of a victim at the Green River (Guillen, 2007). Sensing an increased risk of detection, Ridgway opted to dispose of victims in wooded, remote outdoor scenes. During interviews with the taskforce Ridgway suggested he would have killed many more had he been able to dispose of the bodies more effectively (Baird, Eakes, McDonald, Goodhew, & O'Donnell, 2003).

Carol Christiansen was last seen leaving her place of work, the Barn Door Tavern, around 2:30 AM on the 3rd of May, 1983, she was the twenty-second victim of the GRK. Several inconsistencies are present in this case. First, Christiansen was not a prostitute, she worked as a waitress, she was a "woman" rather than a "lady." While Ridgway was known to victimize some hitchhikers, he knew Christiansen, personally from the Barn Door. Second, most of the GRK victims were found many months after they were carefully hidden in heavily wooded cluster sites. As such there was little evidence of posing or post mortem behavior, beyond necrophilia, present. Christiansen was found just five days after her disappearance, fully clothed and deliberately posed. She was laying on her back with an empty bottle of wine across her stomach, ground sausage on her hands and two trout laid across her upper torso. A ligature had been used to strangle her and it was still around her neck.

Ridgway admitted to killing Christiansen and posing her body to throw off the investigation, which it did. There was speculation following the recovery of Christiansen that she was even a Green River victim. Some speculated that she may be the product of a religious zealot's ritual murder or that the GRK may himself be religiously motivated (Rule, 2004). The GRTF detectives pushed Ridgway to remember more about his encounter with her but he only stated that it was an effort to mislead the investigation. A review of this murder, in context, would suggest that she represented a catathymic release for Ridgway. He abducted her as she walked home from work and took her to his house on Military Road. Ridgway killer her at the house and transported the body to a wooded are in Maple Valley. After posing the body he left her relatively unmolested. In interviews Ridgway admitted to intimate knowledge of Christiansen, not only was he familiar with her at her place of work but he also knew where she lived and could, twenty years after the fact, recall the color of the trailer she lived in. A DNA sample was recovered and was matched to Ridgway. The deviation present in the Christiansen MO suggests an attempt to serve an ulterior motivation rather than the need to mitigate a risk.

Sometimes necessity prompts a shift in MO, in the early afternoon of August 6th, 1998, Patricia Yellowrobe's body was discovered in the middle of the road behind All City Wrecking, in Southpark, a suburb in south Seattle. Her body was fully clothed and there was no apparent sign of fatal injury. Additionally, there was no sign of vaginal or anal intercourse and only a small amount of spermatozoa were recovered, not enough to produce a viable profile. Yellowrobe had an extensive history of drug and alcohol abuse and was not considered to be a victim of the GRK until Ridgway admitted to her killing in interviews with the GRTF.

Yellowrobe represents a departure from the GRK's MO, Ridgway states this anomaly is due to the being "rusty" because he hadn't killed in an extended period of time. The killing of Patricia Yellowrobe was motivated by a mix of predatory and affective aggression. It is apparent from toxicology reports that Yellowrobe was intoxicated and was probably on the verge of losing consciousness during her encounter with the GRK. Ridgway stated that "I just didn't wanna pay

for somebody just layin' around." (Green River Taskforce, 2003), he became enraged and strangled her. Initially Ridgway states he intended to kill Yellowrobe in the manner he had killed forty-seven other victims but later contradicts himself with the statement indicated above. Whether Ridgway intended to kill Yellowrobe when he picked her up to "date" is suspect; however, Ridgway did admit, several times, to becoming enraged when hurried or otherwise unsatisfied with the service provided by his prostitute and that rage prompting a kill. The crime scene evidence (e.g. departure from the MO: finding the body clothed, discarded in plain sight on a busy road) indicates this murder was catathymic killing while the disposal may have simply been an anomaly of convenience.

Ridgway's behavior suggests he feels no personal attachment for his victims other than a sense of possession or personal property. While the victims themselves represent nothing more than "garbage" and in interviews Ridgway suggests he was doing King County a favor by taking prostitutes off the street. The wholly detached attitude toward his victims as objects rather than people is perhaps why he did not engage in any post mortem mutilation or experimentation with trophy taking as indicated by Holmes & Holmes (2009) as standard with the lust killer type. For a brief time, just as Ridgway is engaged in the struggle to asphyxiate, prior to loss of consciousness, his victims represent his mother, past this point they are just objects to be discarded.

Through the course of examining all forty-eight of the charged counts, five victims were not originally included in the charging documents. It was only after Ridgway admitted, in detail to participating their disappearance and subsequent murder that those cases were linked. The reason these victims were not immediately attributed to Ridgway is a direct result of the profiling failures of this case. Initial FBI profiles suggested the dramatic decrease in victim recoveries, beginning in late 1983, early 1984, was due to the offender moving from the area, being incarcerated or deceased. Where the disappearances, post 1984, to have occurred prior to this proclamation they would have been matched based on MO. Ridgway meets the model suggested

by Holmes & Holmes in that his offense behavior is spurred by periods of stress. If profilers had taken into account the role of stress in a killer's life they would have been able to match a spike in homicides to coincide with Ridgway's second divorce and immediate decrease as his relationships status became more stable after marrying his third wife. A retrospective analysis shows a marked increase within the primary offending period (1982 to 1985), in the spring of 1983, a period which coincides with a labor strike at the Kenworth plant, affecting the offender, Gary Ridgway.

Victimology

First principles suggest there are many donative and connotative idols embodied by the prostitute. Prostitutes are people who engage in sexual intercourse for money, drugs, or services. Moreover, the literal meaning of prostitute is "up front" or "to expose," (Helfgott, 2008, p. 541). For the GRK, prostitutes and prostitution represent promiscuity in feminine form. Mr. Ridgway's considerable effort to target and destroy the physical and representational form represented by the prostitute is indicative of a deeper psychosexual meaning; the GRK selects female prostitutes as surrogate maternal figures. In reality, Mr. Ridgway killed seventy-eight strangers, but in his mind, he was repeatedly destroying the frustration, anger, insecurity, and impotence held captive by the memory of his unresolved oedipal complex. In addition to being an accessible, transient population of people who society considers less important, Gary L. Ridgway considered prostitutes unworthy of life, representative of a deeper psychological pain and the resultant coping fantasy. This primitive defensive behavior known as *splitting* is important to understanding the GRK's offense behavior. Also, given the aggressive nature of the attack (discussed further in MO), it may be inferred that prostitutes represent a deeper psychological issue. In killing what these women represent, the GRK is able to service the psychosexual need they represent in his personality.

Signature

As mentioned in the section on psychosexual development, it is not uncommon for a marginalized personality to be functionally or psychologically impotent in conventional sexual encounters. Therefore, these personalities often resort to necrophilia as post offense behavior. Necrophilia is a signature behavior, in other words, while not necessary to effect a kill, necrophilia is significant for its psychosexual value, which is unique to the offender (Stein, Schlesinger, & Pinizzotto, 2010).

Necrophilia is a strong element of fantasy and paraphilic motivator for the GRK. Several lesser signature elements appear to support the need for postmortem sexual intercourse. Some of the victims were found with triangular rocks lodged in their vaginas. When asked to explain the significance of these rocks, Ridgway states they were place holders, deliberately inserted to keep other people from engaging in necrophilia with *his* victims (Green River Taskforce, 2003). Furthermore, the need to cluster the bodies, and the use of place markers such as fallen trees, mileposts, or guardrails to remember where those bodies were located, were all done so the GRK could revisit the bodies for postmortem coitus (Green River Taskforce, 2003).   However, necrophilia stands as *the* significant signature element of the Green River murders.

The GRK's offense behavior betrays this complexity of motive with relation to ritual and signature. Whereas the FBI interpreted the GRK's choice of prostitutes as victims of opportunity, there is a potentially obscured but equally possible alternative. Meloy (2000) refers to a phenomenon known as *catathymia* whereby the offender transfers feeling of rage for a familiar figure to a stranger and acts upon those feelings, most typically in a manner referred to as *displaced matricide.* While it may be a Freudian cliché to suggest that the GRK's offense behavior was motivated by a desire to injure his mother interviews conducted with Mr. Ridgway suggest that his choice of victim was a deliberate attempt to strike back at an overbearing and provocative maternal figure suggesting the MO disguised his signature.

In this way the GRK similarly embodies the problematic and perhaps overly simplistic nature of bifurcated typologies, particularly the compulsive/catathymic model. Just as Wuornos and Yates seem to have dual or overlapping motivations, Gary Ridgway killed prostitutes for reasons of convenience and with a desire to destroy the tormenting figure of his promiscuous mother. This conclusion would seem to suggest either a fundamental flaw in the bifurcated typology or an unreasonable expectation of exclusivity for all offense types. Perhaps a motive can serve a dual purpose and it is necessary to acknowledge that reality when profiling a series.

Summary

Though able to coldly and brutally murder seventy-eight women, Gary L. Ridgway, like so many serial killers, led a double life as a seemingly normal guy. He dated women, engaged in appropriate marital relationships, had a steady job, and integrated into society with little outward display of discomfort. Mr. Ridgway is not an aggressive narcissist as characterized by the disorder. Rather, psychopathy is a tool by which he was able to carry out his violent paraphilic desires. Splitting, or identifying prostitutes as garbage, allowed the GRK to kill with relatively little intrapsychic conflict, even as they plead for their lives.

Phase II Analysis (point by point comparison)

Phase I profile inferences were made under ideal conditions and while it is useful for academia to understand the individual offender, the usefulness of profiling is often gauged in its practical application to counter active serial homicide offenders. Having acknowledged this, it is important to note profile characteristics useful in interrupting the Green River murders could have been developed had investigators understood the significance of the evidence before them. Parts of the profile presented by the FBI in their LHM of 10 March, 1987 are accurate; nevertheless, two major recommendations were wrong and may have cost the investigation necessary traction to pursue Gary L. Ridgway as a suspect. What follows is a truncated version of the profile outlined at the beginning of this chapter, as derived from crime scene evidence in the LHM and

Prosecutors Summary of the Evidence.

MO

This offender selects his victims from street level prostitutes and abducts them without force, likely under the guise of a legitimate "Date." There are no witnesses to the abductions; therefore, the GRK is patient in his selection and familiar with the culture as well as the geography associated with street level prostitution. Case evidence contains inconsistent reports of the offender and the vehicle suggesting he blends well and is making a concerted effort to evade potential witnesses. The GRK uses a vehicle, probably an older model truck, meticulously cared for, with a canopy. Once deceased, the bodies of the victims are transported to the disposal site. .The sizeable dimension of a corpse and desire to evade detection from a police traffic stop or breakdown suggest the vehicle has storage external to the passenger compartment and is well maintained; the *Prosecutors Summary of the Evidence* and interviews with the offender support this inference. Once inside his vehicle, the offender keeps up the charade of a conventional date (there are no reports of "rolling disturbances," defined as disturbances between johns and prostitutes to indicate they are being transported against their will). Open air areas such as athletic fields, parks, cemeteries, and undeveloped lots in residential neighborhoods serve as the locations for the sex acts and subsequent homicides to occur (Baird, Eakes, McDonald, Goodhew, & O'Donnell, 2003).

The GRK has intercourse, likely consensual, before killing his victims with a combination of manual and ligature strangulation. Near climax or immediately following, the offender distracts the victim and kills them as evidenced by autopsy reports and ligatures found in place around the victims' necks when they were recovered. Once deceased, the GRK strips the victims of their clothing and jewelry (a tactic to mitigate forensic evidence) and disposes of their bodies in areas immediately accessible to the crime or familiar "clusters" known to the offender. Throughout the transportation and disposal process, to include several days after, the offender returns to engage in postmortem coital relations with the body and is not deterred by advanced decomposition or rigor.

Many of the remains are found with disarticulated hips spread to an unnatural degree indicating they were placed that way by the offender. This offender is highly motivated to commit necrophilia, as indicated by evidence suggesting the behavior and the advanced states of decomposition of the bodies. Given the rapidly accelerating pattern of disappearances, it is conceivable for this offender to cycle once or even twice a day, though there is no evidence to suggest he has killed twice in the same day (FBI, 1987; Baird, Eakes, McDonald, Goodhew, & O'Donnell, 2003; Prothero & Smith, 2006).

Signature

Necrophilia is the only significant signature element of this homicide series. The insertion of rocks into the vaginal cavities of early victims suggests a preoccupation with returning to the body and having the orifice preserved. Absent indications of torture suggests sadism is not a motivating factor in the fantasy of the GRK, but rather, these victims are viewed as sexual objects to be used and discarded (Stein, Schlesinger, & and Pinizzotto, 2010). The evidence of necrophilia in a number of recovered bodies is indicative of this offender's motive and desire to achieve symbolic dominance over an overbearing maternal figure. The literature suggests people who engage in necrophilia are often impotent with live sexual partners though this offender appears to be capable of conventional arousal, as evidenced by DNA samples recovered from some of the victims. However, a secondary form of psychosexual release manifests itself at the time of death, coinciding with dominance achieved over the victim; this offender needs to dominate and use a totally submissive, non-judgmental, sexual figure to be satisfied. The GRK will kill during periods of relational stress that bring forward deep seated feelings of inadequacy.

Mental Status, Cognition and Social Ability

This offender is in touch with reality, possesses the critical thinking skills necessary to evade detection, and appears relatively comfortable in social situations. The GRK does not suffer from any Axis I psychotic disorders which may compromise his reality testing abilities. He is aware his behavior is illegal and utilizes critical thinking skills to counter possible modes of

detection, deliberate or accidental. This offender employs personality characteristics similar to the psychopath, in their ability to neutralize intrapsychic conflict and offend violently. The GRK is not motivated by pecuniary gain, suggesting he is not a primary psychopathy but rather falls in the range of secondary psychopathy or below. In social settings unrelated to the crime of murder, the GRK appears average; he; he is neither odd enough to arouse suspicion nor grandiose enough be memorable (Fox & Levin, 2005; Baird, Eakes, McDonald, Goodhew, & O'Donnell, 2003).

Criminal History

The GRK has an extensive history of contacts with the criminal justice system for prostitution- related offenses. Apart from these vice offenses, contact with law enforcement will be confined to non-violent violations.

First Offense Behavior

MO and signature characteristics are too far developed indicating a process of maturation occurred during the Green River murders. This offender likely began killing within the decade preceding the first victim and may have tried multiple MO types. Consequently, linkage analysis will be difficult. Nonetheless, homicides involving prostitutes and manual asphyxiation should be examined for potential leads.

General

The GRK is a male in his late twenties or early thirties at the time of the first Green River murders.

Analysis

The psychological makeup of the GRK is present in the case evidence. MO suggests an offender who is in touch with reality, careful, premeditated, and fully aware that what he is doing is considered a crime and could result in his capture and incarceration. Manner of death indicates a highly personal attack on his victims, victimology provides an accurate profile of the targets of his rage and violence, and signature elements indicate fantasy as a motivating factor for these

offenses. Several critical aspects of the Green River murders are directly attributable to the psychological makeup of the offender.

The MO of the GRK suggests a subject in touch with reality and informed on the state of the art in serial killing. There is no evidence of any psychotic disorder in the case evidence. He is careful in his selection of vulnerable targets, and adept at contacting and abducting these women without being seen. The varying descriptions of vehicle and people indicate he was only identified a handful of times and rarely positively enough to present law enforcement with probable cause to investigate him further. The seemingly random selection of victims (e.g., multiple body types, multiple races, multiple ages) and selection of disposal sites, which are difficult if not impossible, to process contributed to an overwhelming lack of forensics. Some trace, fiber, and DNA evidence was left but the bodies were usually stripped of clothing and jewelry and left naked in a remote location. All of these factors indicate the GRK had a working knowledge of investigative techniques and potentially fatal flaws in the MO of serial killers who were caught before him. In addition to being fully aware of the illicit nature of his behavior, the GRK had sufficient self-control to discard souvenir items after a relatively short period of time. Clothing was generally discarded en route to Mr. Ridgway's residence from the disposal site, and jewelry (and rarely Polaroid photographs)was stashed for a short period of time before being purged.

It requires ten minutes or more of constant pressure on the carotid arteries of the neck to achieve death by asphyxia (Spitz, 2006). Strangulation, as manner of death, is indicative of extreme motivation on the part of the offender as there are easier ways to kill. Combined with an analysis of victimology, it can be readily inferred the GRK has targeted personal rage toward promiscuous female forms. Use of models pertaining to the development of serial killer pathology indicates these murders are an attempt to dominate and destroy a surrogate for the overbearing maternal force at the heart of this personality's violent paraphilia (Hickey, 1997; Holmes & Holmes, 2009).

As telling as the manner of death and victimology can be, signature indicates far more specifically, the extent of the offender's sexual dysfunction. Those motivated to commit necrophilia feel inadequate in a conventional sexual exchange. Often this phenomenon is a result of humiliation and degradation at the hands of a dominant maternal figure. Therefore, necrophilia is a strong indicator of the degree to which an offender is affected by an overbearing maternal figure. The GRK was strongly motivated by his sexual desires. Though Ridgway admits to aggravated murder with little indication of anxiety or resistance, when discussing sex, even in its conventional forms, he becomes embarrassed. When confronted with the presence of necrophilia by the GRTF, considerable effort was expended to ensure Mr. Ridgway understood the taskforce members were not judging him, did not think any less of him for engaging in this behavior, and that it was not all unusual. The presence of necrophilia in the GRK's offense behavior is a strong indicator of sexual dysfunction and the attendant developmental factors indicated thereof.

The above profile represents the limited but accurate inferences available based on the type and signature unique to the GRK. All of the inferences described in the preceding section were readily available to the investigation. However, while this analysis finds partial support for the hypothesis, it should be noted that, given the high degree of forensic awareness demonstrated by the offender and an MO which precluded reliable witnesses, investigative leads generated from this profile are, at best, marginally useful. Today a great deal of technology is available to assist in managing tips and collecting evidence. Given knowledge of the GRK's affinity for revisiting body disposal sites, "critter cams" could have been installed to collect photographic evidence. Similarly, given the proximity of many disposal locations to major highways, an emphasis of those areas and record of suspicious, or potentially abandoned, vehicles could have been made. Finally, spatial analysis of journey to crime, or geographic profiling, could have narrowed the field of potential suspects and lent perspective to the investigation. The extremely limited information presented in the above section suggests the types of inferences about this particular offender would have been far too broad to be useful despite achievability.

Modern profiling techniques, grounded in theory, lend insight to the GRK as a known offender type. Gary Ridgway appeared far too normal to be the GRK. From what was previously believed about serial killers, it was not conceivable that someone who offended to successfully could simultaneously hold down steady employment, much less a relationship, Gary Ridgway had both. Dennis Raider had a similarly normal appearance, the Kansas killer know by the moniker Bind Torture Kill (BTK) was a respected member and leader in the Lutheran Church and a former city official (Fox & Levin, 2005). He secretly engaged in a dual life much the same way Gary Ridgway did. The principle achievement of modern profile techniques, as highlighted in this study, is recognizing the relatively normal capacities of extreme, pathological personalities.

CONCLUSION

The Green River Killer (GRK) represents a tremendous opportunity to learn from a tragic sequence and convergence of events. This project has demonstrated indicators of personality are manifested in crime scene characteristics, even in the case of the GRK. Additionally, through more than thirty hours of video and nearly seven-hundred pages of background information, this study has score the subject on the PCL-R and produced a comprehensive psychological profile of the GRK. Furthermore, analysis of background and offense behavior shows a direct correlation between coping capacity, trauma, and fantasy development, and erotophonophiliac or serial sexual homicide, as proposed in the literature review.

Summary of Findings

Psychopathy, trauma, and fantasy are critical developmental factors in the formation of a serial homicide offender. As discussed in the literature review of this paper, these forces converge to produce the unique and violent paraphilia which motivates the offender to kill compulsively. This study finds the GRK's behavior is consistent with Holmes & Holmes (2009) five factor model of serial murder and that there was adequate evidence to identify that type during the original investigation.

Hervey Cleckley first proposed the existence of a predatory criminal type in 1941. Since that time, his ideas have been expanded, tested, and developed to define a clustering of Axis II, Cluster B disorders commonly referred to as psychopathy. Characterized by a pervasive pattern of antisocial behavior and persistent violation of the rights of others, psychopathy can be measured by an instrument called the Psychopathy Checklist – Revised (PCL-R), currently in its second

edition. This study rated the subject, Gary L. Ridgway, on the twenty items contained in the PCL-R and found him to be a secondary psychopath. While not entirely psychopathic, Ridgway utilizes some of the defensive and interpersonal devices associated with psychopathic personalities to kill without the burden of conscience. This measure is indicative of an underlying dysfunction in the GRK's brain. Often referred to as a "defect in affect," psychopaths are disassociated or divorced from their emotions and the emotions of others, allowing them to commit unspeakable acts of violence without inhibition. Mr. Ridgway's score of 21.3 on a scale of 40 is a direct indication of the nature of such dysfunction, which has been identified as similar, and often comorbid, in the pathology of a serial murderer and suggests, above all, an inability to cope with traumatic or stressful stimuli.

Burgess and Hickey (1997) both suggest fantasy is developed in response to an inability to cope (Hickey, 1997; Purcell & Arrigo, 2006). Trauma prompts the coping dysfunctional individual to withdraw from reality and live in an artificial or virtual reality. Over time, without prosocial interactions, personality atrophies and the fantasy which made life bearable becomes the primary mode of experiencing and relating to the world (Holmes, Tewksbury, & Holmes, 1999). Periodically, Ridgway describes becoming so enraged at his mother that he would fantasize about hurting her, just to alleviate the frustration, and humiliation. A domineering woman, Mary Rita Ridgway provided ample stressful and traumatic stimuli to promote a fractured identity; she represented a confusing mix of nurturing and sexual objectification, which caused Ridgway to manifest extreme hatred for the promiscuous identity and a devoted loyalty to the ideal her motherhood represented. Where fantasy was initially a way of feeling powerful, however artificial, it became the primary mode of compensating and soothing a scared and festering personality; such self-medication is common among sufferers of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and as evidenced here, serial homicide offenders (Khantzian, Suh, Ruffins, Robins, & Albanese, 2008).

Gary Ridgway continued to self-sooth and self-medicate well beyond childhood. Confronted with the stress and rejection associated with two failed marriages, Ridgway began killing compulsively. He committed his first homicide in 1972 following a humiliating divorce from his first wife in which she left him for another man. Scared by the possibility of getting caught, Ridgway devoted considerable effort to overcome his aversion to academic study and became an expert in serial homicide. He read true crime novels and newspaper articles on serial killers, which helped him define the "do's" and the "don'ts" of killing, and evading detection and capture. When he was faced with a second failed marriage, Mr. Ridgway began his offense career as the Green River Killer. Over the next twenty years, Gary Leon Ridgway killed seventy-eight prostitutes in an effort to conquer a cripplingly dominant mother, traumatized personality, fractured identity, and violent paraphilia which dictated an insatiable need "kill as many as he could" (Green River Taskforce, 2003). Gary Ridgway's killing behavior overlaps some criminal typologies. Specifically, the compulsive/catathymic (Meloy, 2000) model suggests an exclusivity. Ridgway was not exclusive to either type and killed for both reasons as exhibited in some of the cases where a kill preceded a sex act and was motivated by the victim's actions such as taunting or "hurrying" Mr. Ridgway.

As a serial killer, Gary L. Ridgway was tremendously successful; a combination of forensic awareness and selective self-control enabled the GRK to evade detection and kill unimpeded for nearly two decades with the sole intention of killing as many as he could. Mr. Ridgway was constantly in search of another victim; on his way home from work, before work, and on the weekends he would cruise the prostitution neighborhoods in search of his next kill. Once he located a lady ("women" was a term reserved for hard-working, honest people), he lured them with the promise of money and strangled them until they died. Following the act, Ridgway would discard their bodies in clusters so he could remember where they were located and revisit the fresh corps to engage in necrophilic sex. Once the body was too far decomposed for sex, the GRK moved on to select a new victim and the cycle repeated.

Psychopathy

The role of psychopathy in serial homicide offending is not well understood. There are some killers who are clearly motivated by their desire for pecuniary gain, these types of killers more closely fit the model for primary psychopathy. Lust killers more readily meet the standard for secondary psychopathy for their rudimentary understanding of emotion and use of psychopathy as a mechanism to effect a kill.

Within Holmes & Holmes (2009) five factor model of serial homicide offending, some inferences can be made with regard to psychopathy. There is a low instance of comorbidity of Axis I and Axis II, Cluster B, DSM disorders, therefore mission and vision oriented killers can be omitted. Lust, power and control and comfort killers range the spectrum from secondary to primary psychopathic development. Comfort killers are primarily motivated by a desire for money or personal gain. Power and control killer tend to be more sadistic and employ some degree of torture in their offense behavior. They are motivated by some understanding (or misunderstanding) of emotion and thus fall toward the lower end of primary. Lust killers such as the GRK are secondary psychopaths, as validated by this study.

Gary Ridgway killed for a combination of compulsive or predatory reasons and catathymia. For this type of offender, emotion is central to the motivation structure of the kill. Psychopathy is used as a means of neutralizing the conflict which would inhibit a normally affected personality. In this way, psychopathy is less a motivational factor and more a means by which the offender can effect the kill.

The Investigation

The odds were not in favor of the Green River Killer investigation. Faced with thousands of potential suspects and an abundant victim pool, spread across multiple jurisdictions in a time when communication and technology were not conducive to information sharing, the GRTF paved the way for future serial killer taskforces to be more successful. They pioneered the use of

computer databases for records management and broke through jurisdictional barriers to facilitate true information sharing.

In the fall of 1982, the GRK let a victim slip through his fingers with a positive identification in hand. Over his twenty year killing career, the GRK failed to kill two of his victims, however, Rebecca Garde Guay is the only one of the two who reported her near death experience to the police. She stated that on a late October night in 1982, a man picked her up for a date along Pacific Highway South. They traveled to an outdoor location near 204th and Pacific Highway South, and after some small talk commenced with the sex act. Failing to become erect during fellatio, the man she was dating began to strangle her. She pleaded for her life and was eventually able to slip from his grasp and run to a nearby residence. Initially, the man pursued her, but soon gave up, returned to his truck, and left the area.

In the weeks following this attack, Rebecca struggled with the decision to approach the police. She was a prostitute, engaging in sex for money when she was accosted and, like many sex workers, mistrusted police. Eventually, Rebecca's conscience got the better of her and she reported the attack. She was able to give a description and pick out the photo of a man name Gary L. Ridgway from a collection of booking photos. Additionally, the man had shown her pictures of his family and his ID card which indicated he worked at Kenworth. Combined with her description of the truck, police felt they had enough information to bring Mr. Ridgway in for questioning. Ridgway admitted to the confrontation but stated the prostitute had been biting his penis and he choked her out of reflex. In reality, the GRK became enraged when Rebecca made comments about his flaccid penis and he began to choke her, as he intended all along, out of frustration. Not having removed his shorts all the way, the GRK was unable to wrap his legs around his victim and stabilize her torso; Rebecca lived because he was unable to control her body movement and he was killing from the disadvantaged face-to-face position.

By the time the FBI entered the investigation in the spring of 1984, thirty-eight victims had fallen to the Green River Killer. While their profile matched the demographics of Gary

Ridgway, it also matched thousands of other residents in King County. When asked to evaluate a typed letter addressed to a reporter at the Seattle PI, FBI profilers concluded it was the work of a fraud and not the true Green River Killer. Finally, when the recoveries dwindled and missing person reports subsided, the FBI suggested the GRK was either in a mental institution or prison, had died, or relocated out of the area. In actuality, Gary L. Ridgway had gotten married to his third wife, Judith, and with the stress of loneliness and rejection absent, his killing trickled to only a few over the next fifteen years.

In 1987, Detective (Det.) Randy Mullinax did what computers at the time could not and identified Gary Ridgway as a potential suspect. Being familiar with the evidence and having interviewed Ridgway on a prior occasion, his name was becoming a little too common when he investigated the disappearance of Keli McGinness. Ridgway submitted to a polygraph examination in addition to the search warrant served on his residence and vehicle but to no avail. As a final measure, Det. Mullinax swabbed Mr. Ridgway's mouth and entered the swab as evidence that would later lead to forty-eight counts of aggravated murder and the conclusion of the Green River Killer investigation.

Poor information sharing, inadequate MO analysis, and data management techniques ill equipped to handle the sheer volume of information associated with the Green River murders allowed the GRK to slip past the GRTF. It was not until 1985 that detectives from the GRTF were able to follow up on the lead provided by Rebecca Guay, at which time, the body of evidence pointing to MO was solid enough to make a case linkage between the Green River murders and the attempted murder of Ms. Guay. However, given the cold nature of the tip, and the relatively credible nature of Mr. Ridgway's statement, it was not until 1987, when he was connected with the disappearance of other victims, that a warrant was served on his residence. Had MO and signature analysis been part of the investigation from the beginning, and had that information been communicated to all appropriate parties involved in the investigation, Rebecca Guay's escape may have been the defining moment in catching the Green River Killer.

Many experts have made anecdotal reference to politics and priorities which contributed to the reign of the Green River Killer. I cannot speak to these factors, though to a degree, it is not unreasonable to believe they were involved in the protracted manhunt for the GRK. No doubt there existed some systemic failings, as indicated above, which prolonged the Green River Murders but I do not believe there was a single member of the taskforce not fully committed to catching the GRK. Regrettably, the inability to fully understand his behavior and the lack of adequate information adequate information sharing in a timely fashion were significant factors in this investigation. Today, as a result of the lessons learned from the Green River Killer investigation and other multiagency responses to similar crimes, technology and police practice have evolved to match the multijurisdictional and voluminous nature of serial and other major crime investigations.

Limitations of the Study

This study would have been approached differently by a forensic psychologist or someone with clinical experience in a similar field. For that reason, the psychological assessments made in this study are more general than I preferred, although given the imprecise nature of the measures associated with this project, broad and general assessments provided in context with other factors may be more appropriate. The PCL-R was administered in this case as a research tool and has no clinical value. Furthermore, given the decision of the research subject not to participate in this study, there is little opportunity for the increased specificity necessary in a more direct study.

This study takes a novel approach to psychometric assessment of psychopathy. Understanding of psychopathy is evolving as studies develop a deeper understanding of components and their manifestations across the demographic. Evidence from this study would suggest that three researchers of similar backgrounds appropriate to research analysis utilizing the PCL-R can arrive at consistent findings. Unfortunately, as the only known PCL-R score for Mr. Ridgway is kept confidential doctor/patient privilege, there can be no independent verification. The PCL-R is formatted to collect responses which indicate a present, may be present or not

present/omitted rating for each of the twenty factors. It is important to note that the PCL-R was administered as a research tool, were this measure to be conducted by an appropriately credentialed clinician with coursework and experience in forensic psychology the results may have been different. Interrater reliability for this method ranged from moderate at 50% to nearly perfect at 80%, however, all three raters identified the same score of 21 in their total score developed for SPSS statistical analysis. Computing dummy variables that combine maybe present and present responses would have developed a perfect rating of agreement across each of the three raters in this study. Correspondingly, while all validated research applications of the PCL-R included a review of the subject's institutional file, this study adopts the general form of Fowler & Lilienfield (2009) which expands upon this measure to include nearly seven hundred pages of collateral documentation and thirty hours of video data.

This study also acknowledges the non-standard role of collateral information in scoring Ridgway on the PCL-R. The technical manual prescribes the use of an institutional file containing a complete criminal history and forensic assessment as collateral information. This data is used to score some of the factor two items (lifestyle) and refute or verify claims made during the interview. This study employed a published account from the subject's lawyer and legal documents prepared for prosecution as collateral evidence. Additionally, lifestyle information provided by the subject during the sample interviews were taken into account when verified by a collateral source. In fact this study required indication in multiple sources before considering a piece of collateral information for PCL-R scoring. Still this is an unusual approach.

The nature of psychometric testing is itself a limitation, not only is there a great deal of ethical concern in labeling someone a psychopath but the nature of the testing is problematic. The reason Mr. Ridgway's PCL-R scores are not available is due to the stigmatic nature of this confidential information. Being labeled a psychopath can have consequences for custody as well as further prosecution. Additionally, as is standard practice for psychometric assessment, unlike a formal clinical diagnosis which may take several months or years of observation in a therapeutic

setting, the PCL-R, its variations and other actuarial predictors of dangerousness are based on a snapshot of behavior. It occurs to me that an offender's response could be greatly influenced from day to day, however, the PCL-R has impeccable test-retest reliability (Bodholdt et al, 2000), another reason it was selected for this study. It is the nature of psychopathy, in general, to be a static trait as indicated by nearly twenty years of PCL-R testing in clinical and research settings.

Finally, Phase II and the final analysis of this study were conducted in retrospect. Consequently, there were a large number of known variables which were unknown or couldn't have been known during the investigation. The 20/20 hindsight nature of this study is an obvious flaw, , regardless, I endeavored to keep my Phase II profile inferences general and grounded in the physical evidence, as indicated by the considerably truncated nature of the profile presented there. Still, as an obvious stumbling block, it is incumbent upon me as the researcher to acknowledge this flaw. Perspective, experience, scope, and innovation are critical elements to the design of any study. Given the chance to conduct this project in a different manner, I would have to decline; the personal experience gained under this heading has been invaluable, however this study represents an excellent platform from which to launch a doctoral dissertation.

Future Research

Every comprehensive research project generates a list of topics, areas, and roads not taken that would contribute to the literature, and this one is not an exception. I believe the literature would be much improved by a more comprehensive study of serial homicide offenders, trauma, and PTSD. Similarly, this study chose a broad sample of data to evaluate the subject's level of psychopathy, while its published counterparts utilized far smaller samples. Thus, an expanded study of the ideal sample of data could greatly improve future research. Finally, a comprehensive form for case study analysis is essential for continued practical grounding of theoretical constructs of serial murder and psychopathy.

There is an overwhelming reluctance to view a serial killer as any form of potential victim as it would seem this implication is disrespectful to the memory of their victims. However, as this

study indicates, trauma and victimization play a central role in the formulation of violent paraphilia and serial homicide offending. The reality is, a cycle of violence exists with regard to serial killing, and while one serial killer does not necessarily beget another, an abusive developmental environment can lead to the formation of a killer and the victimization of innocent people. A comprehensive examination of PTSD and its manifestation in pathology and offense behavior (e.g., compulsive behaviors, self-medication) is necessary to complete our understanding of the role trauma plays in the development of pathological personalities.

Two published studies suggest PCL-R ratings can be reliably developed from audio/video recordings of an offender ((Fowler & Lilienfeld, 2009; Klaver, Lee, Spidel, & Hart, 2009). The first study utilized a sample of undergraduate students to evaluate deception in a dataset of known psychopathic offenders. Results showed these students were able to identify deceptive traits and psychopathic behavior in these videos (Klaver, Lee, Spidel, & Hart, 2009). Another study indicated factor 1 and 2 psychopathy traits can be inferred from 5, 10, and 20 second clips of video (Fowler & Lilienfeld, 2009). This study utilized approximately thirty hours of video to arrive at the same conclusion. Further examination of standards pertaining to dataset minimums could yield significant influence over future research and expand use of the PCL-R to indirect case study analysis.

A significant impediment to the design of this study was the case study format. Criminal justice as a discipline is relatively new, hence, it is easy to understand the need for quantitative analysis to establish empirical support for theories and models used to explain behavior. Nonetheless, those theories and models have reached a level of validity requiring a need for evaluation on a micro-level basis, such as in this study. Currently, no standard format exists. In fact, even the APA Publication Manual provides only an abstract for the formatting of qualitative research, with much of the explanation devoted to quantitative analysis. At any rate, there are ample applications for this level and type of analysis in criminal justice.

It is the first assumption of criminal profiling that crime scene or offense behavior is a reflection of the personality of the offender. Given that Ridgway scores relatively low on psychometric assessments, how is it he is capable of such extreme behavior and does this finding suggest a flaw in the assumptions of profiling? Gary L. Ridgway led a seemingly normal life. He was married, had a child, a steady job and visited his parents every week until their death of natural causes. This is the reality of many other serial killers, Dennis Raider and Richard Kuklinski all had seemingly "normal" lives outside their extracurricular activities.

The implication for profiling her is in acknowledgement of the limitations of the practice. The GRK investigation proved that profiling cannot replace diligent police work, communication and case management. These killers hide their deviant lifestyle behind a veil of domesticity. The role of profiling in these cases is to augment the investigation by providing suggestions for victim and potential victim outreach and education, communication strategies, MO and signature analysis and interview strategies for securing a conviction from an offender already in custody. Perhaps society should reevaluate our standard for normalcy, certainly criminal profiling must.

This study finds criminal profiling, along with advanced methods of investigative management could have curtailed the offense career of the Green River Killer. From 1982 to 2001, the GRK abducted and murdered seventy-eight women from Seattle, Seatac, Tukwila, Auburn and Tacoma. This killer selected and killed his victims for sexual reasons in a compulsive and logical manner but sometime killed for catathymic, emotional reasons. When consulted by the GRTF, the FBI partially identified some general characteristics but failed to give adequate enough direction to stop the killings. Ultimately, it was the diligent work of the detectives on the GRTF that brought the GRK, Gary Leon Ridgway, to justice. I wish to acknowledge the truly unprecedented nature of this series of murders, and the tremendous effort on the part of the King County Sheriff's Office and adjoining agencies. Mr. Ridgway will remain a resident of the Washington State Penitentiary for the remainder of his life and will most likely die of natural causes while in custody. This reality is hardly a fitting tribute to the memory of the victims of the

Green River Killer; however, while Ridgway remains in custody, the Green River Killer cannot take another victim. The unfortunate reality is, behind the Green River Killer there are 100 more preying on the most vulnerable members of our society.

REFERENCES

Arrigo, B. A., & Purcell, C. E. (2001). Explaining Paraphilias and Lust Murder: Toward and Integrated Model. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology.*

Arrigo, B. A., & Griffin, A (2004). Serial Murder and the Case of Aileen Wuronos: Attachment Theory, Psychopathy and Predatory Aggression. *Behavioral Sciences and the Law* (pp. 375 - 393). Published online on Wiley InterScience. (http://www.interscience.wiley.com)

Bachman, R., & Paternoster, R. (2004). *Statistics for Criminology and Criminal Justice, 2nd Edition.* New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Baird, J. B., Eakes, P. A., McDonald, B. M., Goodhew, I. M., & O'Donnell, S. P. (2003). *Prosecutors Summary of Evidence.* Seattle, WA: King County Prosecuting Attorney.

Bartol, C. R. (2008). *Criminal Behavior: A Psychosocial Approach.* Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall.

Benecke, M. (2005). *Murderous Methods: Using Forensic Science to Solve Lethal Crimes.* New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Blair, J., Mitchell, D., & Blair, K. (2008). *The Psychopath: Emotion and the Brain.* Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Bodholdt, R., Richards, H., & Gacono, C. (2000). Assessing Psychopathy in Adults: The Psychopathy Checklist - Revised and Screening Version. In C. Gacono, *The Clinical and Forensic Assessment of Psychopathy* (pp. 55 - 86). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Bowlby, J. (1982). Attachment and Loss: Retrospect and Prospect. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 664 - 678.

Brantingham, P. J., & Brantingham, P. L. (1981). *Environmental criminology.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Brooks, P. R., Devine, M. J., Green, T. J., Hart, B. L., & Moore, M. D. (1988). *Multi-agency investigation team manual.* Washington, DC: Police Executive Research Forum.

Canter, D., & Wentink, N. (2004). An Empirical Test of Holmes and Holmes's Serial Murder Typology. *Criminal Justice and Behavior. Vol 31, No. 4*, 489 - 515.

Canter, D., Alison, L., Alison, E., & Wentink, N. (2004). The Organized / Disorganized Typology of Serial Murder: Myth or Model? *Psychology, Public Policy and Law*, 293 - 320.

Cleckley, H. (1988). *The Mask of Sanity, Fifth Edition.*

Discovery, I. (Director). (2007). *Most Evil, Season 2, Episode 8, "Masterminds"* [Motion Picture].

Douglas, J. (1984, August 24). Personal Communication. *Letter to Detective Bruce Kalin.*

Douglas, J., & Olshaker, M. (1995). *Mind Hunter: Inside The FBI's Elite Serial Crime Unit.* New York, NY: Pocket Books, Simon & Schuster.

Douglas, J., Ressler, R., Burgess, A., & Hartman, C. (1986). Criminal Profiling from Crime Scene Analysis. *Behavioral Science & the Law, Vol. 4, No. 4*, 401 - 421.

Douglass, J. E., Burgess, A. W., Burgess, A. G., & Ressler, R. K. (1997). *Crime Classification Manual: A Standard System for Investigating and Classifying Violent Crimes.* Jossey-Bass.

Edens, J. F., Skeem, J. L., Cruise, K. R., & Cauffman, E. (2001). Assessment of "Juvenile psychopathy" and its association with violence: A critical review. . *Behavioral Science and the Law*, 53 - 80.

Egger, S. (1999). Psychological Profiling: Past, Present and Future. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 242.

Egger, S. A. (1998). *The killers among us: An examination of serial murder and its investigation, 2nd Edition.* Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

FBI, U. (1987). *Letterhead Memorandum: GREENMURS, MAJOR CASE #77, KIDNAPING.* Washington, DC: Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Felson, M. (1994). *Crime and everyday life.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press (Sage).

Fowler, K. A., & Lilienfeld, S. O. (2009). Detecting Psychopathy from Thin Slices of Behavior. *Psychological Assessment*, 68 - 78.

Fox, J. A., & Levin, J. (2005). *Extreme Killing: Understanding Serial and Mass Murder.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.

Fulero, S. M. (1995). Review of the Hare Psychopathy Checklist-Revised. In J. Conoley, & J. C. Impara, *Twelfth Mental Measurements Yearbook* (pp. 453 - 454). Lincoln, NE: Buros Institute.

Gacono, C. B. (2000). *The Clinical and Forensic Assessment of Psychopathy.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishing.

Gerberth, V. J. (1997). *Practical Homicide Investiation: Tactics, proceedures, and forensic techniques, 3rd Edition.* Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press.

Giannangelo, S. J. (1996). *The psychopathology of serial murder: A theory in violence.* Westport, CT: Praeger.

Green River Taskforce, P. (Director). (2003). *State of Washington V. Gary L. Ridgway 01-1-10270-9 SEA: GRTF Interviews* [Motion Picture].

Groth, A. N. (1979). *Men who rape: The psychology of the offender.* . New York, NY: Plenum.

Guillen, T. (2007). *Serial Killers: Issues Explored Through the Green River Murders.* Pearson Prentice Hall.

Hare, R. D. (1993). *Without Conscience: The Distrubing World of the Psychopaths Among us.* New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Hare, R. D. (2003). *Hare Psychopathy Checklist - Revised (PCL-R): 2nd Edition.* Tonawanda, New York, United States of America: Multi-Health Systems Inc.

Hazelwood, R. R., & Burgess, A. W. (2001). *Practical Aspects of Rape Investigation.* Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press.

Hazelwood, R. R., & Warren, J. I. (2004). Linkage Analyis: modus operandi, ritual, and signature in serial sexual crimes. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 307 - 318.

Helfgott, J. (2004). Primative Defenses in the Language of the Psychopath: Considerations for

Forensic Practice . *Journal of Forensic Psychology Practice Vol. 4(3) 2004.*

Helfgott, J. (2008). *Criminal Behavior: Theories, Typologies, and Criminal Justice.* Thousand

Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.

Hickey, E. W. (1997). *Serial murderers and their victims, 2nd Edition.* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Holmes, R. M., & Burger, j. D. (1988). *Serial murder: Studies in crime, law and justice, Vol. 2. .*

Newbury Park, CA: Sage .

Holmes, R. M., & Holmes, S. T. (1994). *Murder in America.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Holmes, R. M., & Holmes, S. T. (2009). *Profiling Violent Crimes: An Investigative Tool, 4th*

Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Holmes, R. M., & Holmes, S. T. (2009). *Profiling Violent Crimes: An Investigative Tool, 4th*

Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Holmes, S., Tewksbury, R., & Holmes, R. (1999). Fractured Identity Syndrom: A New Theory of

Serial Murder. *Journal of Contemporary Crimina Justice* , 262 - 271.

Irwin, J. (1980). *Prisons in termoil.* Boston, MA: Little Brown.

Jackson, J., & Bekerian, D. (1997). *Offender profiling: Theory, research and practice.* Chicester,

UK: John Wiley & Sons.

Keppel, R. D., & Birnes, W. J. (2009). *Serial Violence: Analysis of Modus Operandi and*

Signature Characteristics of Killers. Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press.

Keppel, R., Weis, J., Brown, K., & Wlech, K. (2005). The Jack the Ripper Murders: A Modus

Operandi and Signature Analysis of the 1888 - 1891 Whitechapel Murders. *Journal of*

Investigative Psychology and Offender Profiling, 1 - 21.

Khantzian, E. J., Suh, J. J., Ruffins, S., Robins, C. E., & Albanese, M. J. (2008). SELF-

MEDICATION HYPOTHESIS: Conneting Affective Experience and Drug Choice.

Psychoanalytic Psychology , 518 - 532.

Klaver, J. R., Lee, Z., Spidel, A., & Hart, S. D. (2009). Psychopathy and deception detection using indirect measures. *Legal and Criminal Psychology*, 171-182.

Kocsis, R. N. (2003). An Empirical Assessment of Content in Criminal Psychological Profiles. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*.

Kocsis, R. N., Middledorp, J., & Karpin, A. (2008). Taking Stock of Accuracy in Criminal Profiling: The Theoretical Quandary for Investigative Psychology. *Journal of Forensic Psychology Practice*, 244 - 261.

Kraska, P. (2004). *Theorizing Criminal Justice: Eight Theoretical Perspectives.* Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press.

Lindahl, S. A. (2010, April 13). Personal Communication. (L. T. Atherley, Interviewer)

Lombroso, C. (2003). The criminal man. In F.T. Cullen & R. Agnew (Eds.), *Criminological Thory: Essential Readings* (pp. 23 - 25). Los Angeles: CA: Roxbury.

Marshall, W. L., Laws, D. R., & Barbaree, H. E. (1990). Classifying sexual offenders: The development and corroboration of taxonomic models. In R. A. Knight, & R. A. Prentky, *Handbook of sexual assalt; Issues, theories, and treatment of the offender* (pp. 23 - 52). New York: Plenum.

McClellan, J. (2007). Animal Cruelty and Violent Behavior: is there a Connection. *Journal of Security Education*, 29 - 45.

Meloy, J. R. (1988). *The Psychopathi Mind: Oirgins, Dynamics and Treatment.* Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Meloy, J. R. (2000). The Nature and Dynamics of Sexual Homicide: an Integrative View. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 1 - 22.

Morton, R. J., Hilts, M. A., Johns, L. G., O'Toole, M. E., Keel, T. G., Resch, D. T., et al. (2008). *Serial Murder: Multi-Disciplinary Perspectives for Investigators.* Quantico, VA: US Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigations, Behavioral Analysis Unit, National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime.

Mukaddes, N. M., & Topcu, Z. (2006). Case Report: Homicide by a 10-Year-Old Girl with

   Autistic Disorder. *Journal of Autism and Developmental Disorders, Vol. 36, No. 4.*

Muller, D. (2000). Criminal Profiling: Real Science or Just Wishful Thinking? *Homicide Studies,*

   234 - 264.

Myers, W., Husted, D., Safarik, M., & O'Toole, M. (2006). THe Motivation Behind Serial Sexula

   Homicide: Is It Sex, Power, and Control or Anger? *Journal of Forensic Science, July*

   2006, Vol. 51, No. 4, 900 - 907.

Newton, M. (2006). *The Encycolpedia of Serial Killers, Second Edition.* New York, NY:

   Checkmark Books.

Parick, C. J. (2007). *Handbook of Psychopathy.* New York, NY: The Guilford Press.

Prothero, M. (2009, March). Attorney at Law. (L. T. Atherley, Interviewer)

Prothero, M., & Smith, C. (2006). *Defending Gary: Unraveling the Mind of the Green River*

   Killer. Sanfrancisco, CA: Jossy-Bass.

Purcell, C., & Arrigo, B. (2006). *The Psychology of Lust Murder: Paraphilia, Sexual Killing, and*

   Serial Homicide. New York: Elsevier.

Ramsland, K. (2009). *The Devil's Dozen.* New York, NY: The Berkley Publishing Group.

Ressler, R., & Shachtman, T. (1992). *Whoever fights monsters.* New York, NY: Pocket Books.

Ressler, R., Burgess, A., & Douglas, J. (1988). *Sexual homicide: Patterns and motives.*

   Lexington, MA: Lexington.

Rule, A. (2004). *Green River Running Red.* New York, NY: Pocket Books.

Santtila, P., Häkkäne, H., Canter, D., & Elfgren, T. (2003). Classifying homicide offenders and

   predicting their characteristics from crime scene behavior. *Scandinavian Journal of*

   Psychology, 107–118.

Santtila, P., Pakkanen, T., Zappala, A., Bosco, D., Valkama, M., & Mokros, A. (2007).

   Behavioural crime linking in serial homicide. *Psychology, Crime & Law,* 245 - 265.

Spitz, W. U. (2006). Asphyxia. In W. U. Spitz, & D. J. Spitz, *Medicolegal Investigation of Death: Guidelines for the Application of Pathology ot Crime Investigation, 4th Edition* (pp. 783 - 845). Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas Publisher, LTD.

Stangeland, P. (2005). Catching a Serial Rapist: Hits and Misses in Criminal Profiling. *Police Practice and Research*, 453 - 469.

Stein, M. L., Schlesinger, L. B., & and Pinizzotto, A. J. (2010). Necrophilia and Sexual Homicide. *Journal of Forensic Sciences*.

Stein, M. L., Schlesinger, L. B., & Pinizzotto, J. A. (2010). Necrophilia and Sexual Homicide. *Journal of Forensic Sciences*.

Stone, M. H. (2009). *The Anatomy of Evil.* Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books.

Strangeland, P. (2005). Catching a Serial Rapist: Hits and Misses in Criminal Profiling. *Police Practice and Research*, 453-469.

Turvey, B. (1999). *Criminal profiling: An introduction to behavioral evidence analysis.* San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

USDOJ FBI, R. D. (2009, August 18). Personal Communication, Subject: "GREENMURS (MAJOR CASE #771)". (L. T. Atherley, Interviewer)

Wilson, P., Lincoln, R., & Kocsis, R. (1997). Validity, utility and ethics of profiling for serial violent an sexual predators. *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law*, 1 - 11.

Appendix A

LHM March 10, 1987

What follows is a Letterhead Memorandum dated March 10, 1987. This was document was produced by the FBI and disseminated to law enforcement agencies involved in the Green River investigation and other "need to know" agencies. It was obtained under a Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request to the FBI Records Management Division. The process took nearly eight months to complete. The full disclosure is still in progress and should be complete within two years. The final produce will be more than 12,000 pages of declassified, law enforcement sensitive documents pertaining to profiling.

U.S. Department of Justice

Metro

Federal Bureau of Investigation

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 7-987

Seattle, Washington

March 10, 1987

GREENMURS,
MAJOR CASE #77,
KIDNAPING

DISSEMINATION

This document is for the exclusive use of the
Green River Task Force (GRTF), its members, and their
agencies; the Federal Bureau of Investigation, King County
Police Department, Seattle Police Department, Port of
Seattle Police Department, and Washington State Patrol.
It is to be disseminated within these agencies on a need
to know basis, and is not to be disseminated outside
of these agencies.

BACKGROUND

Between the approximate dates of July, 1982,
and March, 1984, a series of 36 murders occurred wherein
females of various races between the ages of 15 and 35
years, who were known or suspected to be prostitutes.
Ten others are reported missing and are suspected victims
of the same serial killer. Many, but not all, of the
victims' bodies were recovered from "dumpsites" of three
or more bodies in relatively remote, isolated areas.
These areas were either wooded or open outdoor areas
including wooded suburban residential areas.

* *

Bicentennial of the United States Constitution (1787-1987)

R 2152630

GREENMURS,
MAJOR CASE #77;

The skeletal remains of two victims, DENISE
BUSH and SHIRLEY MARIE SHERRILL, last observed in Seattle,
were recovered in Portland, Oregon, thus establishing
FBI jurisdiction under the Federal Kidnaping Statute.
Other victims in Oregon are suspected to be linked to
the same killer. Inasmuch as the first five victims
recovered were found in a dumpsite in the Green River,
the Task Force is termed the Green River Task Force,
and the subject killer is referred to as the Green River
Killer. The cause of death of the known victims was
asphyxiation by either manual or ligature strangulation
or presumed strangulation because of limited skeletal
remains in most cases. Most, but not all, victim remains
were found without clothing or jewelry, and some victims'
clothing was used as ligature.

These facts, plus the low visibility of the
crimes, have resulted in a literal dearth of physical
evidence actually linked to the killer and witness testimony.

PURPOSE

The purpose of this Letterhead Memorandum (LHM)
is to set forth a summary of the best information of
a positive nature concerning this investigation. This
information was gleaned from original documents of the
GRTF and its member agencies, and therefore accurately
and fairly represents the investigation. It is intended
to serve as a resource document or quick reference guide
for investigative purposes only. It will assist investigators
in establishing logical parameters to:

1. Limit or better direct priority avenues
of investigation;

2. Develop and eliminate suspects;

3. Prioritize suspects and leads;

4. Identify the killer more readily.

This LHM is not to be utilized as a source
document in legal proceedings. It is not a comprehensive

2

GREENMURS,
MAJOR CASE #77;

Six of the missing women are white, three are
black, one is Hispanic, and one is Asian.

5.   Evidence suggests that all of the victims
of this matter were killed by one singular killer acting
alone.

6.   All victims of the "Green River Killer"
were known or suspected prostitutes, who, because of
their lifestyle were high risk targets of opportunity.
The killer, on the other hand, was presented a low risk
factor for his crimes due to the low visibility of his
crimes.

7.   All victims were contacted by the killer
in a calculated manner. They were seemingly alone with
few or no witnesses present and most probably entered
the killer's vehicle willingly for the purpose of prostitution.
This method of operation appears to be consistent in
victim disappearances and is, therefore, a logical parameter
to discount witness sightings of possible suspects where
one or several witnesses are easily in view. Utilizing
this parameter, the witness sightings of the last person
observed with missing person MARIE MALVAR and victim
CYNTHIA HINDS can be discounted as being the killer in
all probability. In both of these instances, the person
last observed with the victims clearly knew that the
pimp of each victim had observed him. Therefore, it
is unlikely that either of these persons last observed
with these victims was the killer, and descriptions of
the sightings are not included with other witness sightings
in this document.

8.   All victims are believed to have suffered
from either manual or ligature strangulation, the ligature
being that of the killer or clothing of the victim. One
possible victim who survived her attack, ANNA GULIN,
from Oregon, was also stabbed with a knife in combination
with being strangled.

9.   All victim remains were located out of
doors, most in relatively remote, isolated, wooded or
open areas, or wooded suburban residential areas.

10.   Numerous victim remains, but not all, were
located in common "dumpsite" areas, of which there are
several, in different relatively remote, isolated areas.

GREENMURS,
MAJOR CASE #77;

Commonalities of dumpsites of two or more victims linked
34 victims into ten groups:

Green River	COFFIELD, BONNER, CHAPMAN, HINDS, MILLS
Hwy 18 & I-90	AGISHEFF, THOMPSON, FEENEY
South Airport	LOVVORN, MEEHAN, NAON, WARE
Star Lake	MILLIGAN, SMITH, WILLIAMS, MATHEWS, GABBERT, ROIS
North Airport	SUMMERS, WIMS, BONES #10
Tigard, Oregon	BUSH, SHERRILL
Pierce County	BROCKMAN
Mountain View	PITSOR, BONES #16, BONES #17
Hwy 18	CHRISTENSEN, ANTOSH
Hwy 410	AUTHORLEE, ABERNATHY, BELLO
I-90, Exit 38	PLAGER, NELSON, YATES
Seward Park	WEST

11. Most, but not all, victim remains were
located with no clothing, jewelry, or belongings present.
In some cases, clothing was used as a ligature.

The remains of Victim MARY BELLO were found
at Highway 410 near Milepost 34. Several articles of
women's clothing, numerous shoes, and pantyhose were
found hidden in the woods in plastic visqueen near Milepost 31.
The grandparents of BELLO advised a floral print dress
and a pair of shoes found among these items could be
the clothing BELLO was wearing when last observed.

The clothing of Victim HINDS was found on the
riverbank near the dumpsite in the Green River and was
positively identified as hers.

GREENMURS,
MAJOR CASE #77;

12. The remains of victim SANDRA GABBERT were
found in the woods laying head to head with the remains
of a dog.

13. The remains of victims MARCIA CHAPMAN and
HINDS were found to have been carried or dragged down
a steep embankment and placed in approximately three
feet of water in the Green River, which had a current
of approximately four knots per hour. A boulder of approximately
60 pounds was placed on top of one body as were other
smaller boulders on both bodies. This indicates a relatively
strong upper body of the killer in order that he could
simultaneously hold the body in the river and place the
heavy boulder on it.

14. Two of the early victims' bodies, HINDS
and CHAPMAN, located in the Green River, each had a rock
forced into the vagina.

15. Victim TINA THOMPSON's remains were covered
with three pieces of pliable plastic:

One piece black plastic (visqueen) 10' X 6'
Two pieces clear plastic 3' X 2'

16. Victim MARY MEEHAN is the only victim who
was noticeably pregnant at the time of her murder. Victims
WEST and DELORES WILLIAMS were pregnant, but Victim MEEHAN
was almost full term. Her body was in the immediate
vicinity of a known dumpsite of two other victims, and
is the only one to have been buried under dirt by the
killer. A shovel was recovered during the crime scene
search of the immediate area. Victim CONSTANCE NAON
had some dirt placed on her along with some branches,
but she was not truly buried like Victim MEEHAN.

b7C

17. Oregon License Plate [   ] was recovered
approximately 100 feet from the dumpsite of victim MEEHAN.
It was registered to [   ]
both of Oregon. Investigation is being conducted to
determine the possible link between the license plate,
the dumpsite of victim MEEHAN, and the killer.

18. Missing and suspected Victim MALVAR was
last observed on April 30, 1983. MALVAR's identification
(driver's license) was located on a chair at GATE B-4

GREENMURS,
MAJOR CASE #77;

in the SEA-TAC AIRPORT Terminal on May 27, 1983, by ⬚ ⬚ an employee of American Building Maintenance (ABM), while he was vacuuming the floor on a routine basis.

    b7C

    19. Victim DEBORA ABERNATHY was last observed on September 5, 1983. Her remains were discovered on March 31, 1984, 11.5 miles east of Enumclaw on Highway 410. Victim ABERNATHY's identification (driver's license) was located in the vicinity of the intersection of Highway 18 and Highway 167 by ⬚ who was walking the shoulder. He found ABERNATHY's Texas Driver's License about 10 feet off the shoulder of the road. On December 29, 1983, King County Police did a search of the shoulders of Highway 18 and Highway 167, looking for anything else that might belong to ABERNATHY. A birth certificate was found for ABERNATHY's son in the same area.

    b7C

    20. The Green River Killer has demonstrated his mobility by operating in two states, Washington and Oregon, along the Interstate 5 corridor. Victim SHERRILL was last observed in Chinatown, Seattle, between the dates of October 15, 1982 and November 5, 1982. Her remains were discovered near Tigard, Oregon, on June 12, 1985. Victim BUSH was last observed in Seattle and her remains found near Tigard, Oregon, on June 14, 1985. Another possible Green River victim, ANNA GULIN, who survived her attack, was abducted from Portland, Oregon, and driven to the Old Highway along the Columbia Gorge where she was left by her attacker who thought she was dead.

    21. The Green River Killer does not want to be caught. The Killer attempts to leave no evidence of his crimes for law enforcement authorities. He is not known to have communicated with law enforcement authorities or the press in the form of offering hints, information, or motive. He is not known to have challenged law enforcement or the press, and is not known to be a publicity seeker. He also is not known to taunt law enforcement authorities.

    The only possible contact of the killer known to law enforcement is a telephone call to the Green River Task Force inquiring about victim GULIN referred to above. The caller inquired if the GRTF had the suspect's blood type, a particular shoe pattern, and he asked about an

GREENMURS,
MAJOR CASE #77;

Air Force-type jumpsuit. This information coincides with
that of the GULIN case.

22.   LATENT FINGERPRINTS

There are no latent fingerprints or palm prints
of value or suitable for identification purposes in this
case that are known to be the Green River Killer's.

23.   BLOOD GROUP

A. Victim OPAL MILLS is the only victim from
whose remains were found a blood group different than
her own Blood Group A. Swabs containing semen and other
fluid found in the vagina of victim MILLS were found
to have Blood Group A and Blood Group O. (Note: May
or may not be that of the Green River Killer.)

B. Crime scene investigation concerning the
recovery of Victim SHAWNDA SUMMERS' remains located a
used prophylactic rubber condom in the vicinity of the
dumpsite. Although this area is utilized by prostitutes
for "car dates" which could account for its presence,
it is unknown if semen fluid is present either within
or on the prophylactic rubber condom, and if so, what
blood group the semen fluid may possess. It is noted
that an empty cardboard container for prophylactic rubber
condoms was located at another victim dumpsite.

24.   TAPE

The possible Green River Victim ANNA GULIN,
who survived an attack similar in method of operation
to the Green River Killer, has advised that her attacker
used a two-inch wide beige masking tape to tie her up.

25.   KNIFE

Possible surviving Victim of the Green River
Killer, ANNA GULIN, was stabbed by her attacker with
a knife reported by her to be a French butcher block
type of kitchen knife with a straight wooden handle and
a straight edge. The knife blade is approximately eight
inches long and of a triangular shape which is wide near
the handle.

GREENMURS,
MAJOR CASE #77;

Another possible surviving victim of the Green
River Killer, NICOLE ROBERTS, was assaulted by her attacker
with a French butcher block type of kitchen knife with
a wooden handle having finger grooves. The blade appeared
quite large, approximately six inches in length and was
triangular in shape, and was about 2½ to 3 inches wide
near the handle.

26. Commonalities of physical evidence between
two or more victims link 14 victims into two groups as
set forth below, followed by descriptions of the specific
commonalities:

GROUP A   GROUP B

P██████   THOMPSON   CHAPMAN
ANTOSH   PLAGER   COFFIELD
AUTHORLEE   SMITH   MEEHAN
BELLO   SUMMERS
BROCKMAN
MATHEWS

HAIRS

Blue Animal Hairs   Victims: SMITH
                                            PLAGER

TEXTILE FIBERS

Blue Acrylic Fibers   Victims: P██████
                                            AUTHORLEE

Green Acrylic Fibers   Victims: P██████
                                            WILLIAMS

Red Acrylic Fibers   Victims: P██████
                                            ANTOSH

Black Polyester   Victims: WILLIAMS
                                            BELLO

Green Carpet-like Fibers   Victims: BROCKMAN
                                            BELLO
                                            MATHEWS

9

R 2152638

GREENMURS,
MAJOR CASE #77;

PAINT PARTICLES

Red Enamel	Victims:	SUMMERS ▋▋▋▋▋
Medium Brown Enamel	Victims:	SMITH WILLIAMS THOMPSON

Medium Blue Metallic
     Nitrocellulose Lacquer
     Fragmentary Light Gray Primer
	Victim :	MEEHAN

Medium Blue Metallic Paint (Color only compared)	Victims:	CHAPMAN COFFIELD

     None of the above-described paint particles
is typical of, or consistent with, any type of original
motor vehicle finish system. A particular source or
origin of these particles cannot be determined.

27.   OTHER HAIRS

     Laboratory Reports, worksheet notes, and other
documents reflect that there are hairs on 18 victims
which are foreign to the victims. There currently is
no physical description of these hairs or report of any
existing commonalities between them suitable for investigative
purposes. Set forth below are the identities of those
victims with foreign hairs present and those victims
with no foreign hair present:

Victims with Foreign Hairs		Victims with No Foreign Hairs	
▋▋▋▋	NAON	ABERNATHY	LOVVORN
ANTOSH	ROIS	BONNER	MILLS
AUTHORLEE	SMITH	BROCKMAN	PITSOR
BELLO	THOMPSON	BUSH	PLAGER
COFFIELD	WILLIAMS	CHAPMAN	SUMMERS
▋▋▋▋	WIMS	CHRISTENSEN	WARE
MATHEWS	YATES	FEENEY	WEST
MEEHAN	BONES #10	GABBERT	BONES #17
MILLIGAN	BONES #16	HINDS	

          UNKNOWN

SHERRILL

(NOTE: Victim ▋▋▋▋ is not a confirmed victim of the
       Green River Killer)

R 2152639

GREENMURS,
MAJOR CASE #77;

SUMMARY OF WITNESS SIGHTINGS

     The summary of witness sightings of vehicles
and suspects set forth below include only those which
could logically be sightings of the Green River Killer
based upon facts known about the method of operation
of the Killer. The sightings selected were vehicles
and suspects last observed with known victims, or, of
suspicious activity at possible intended dumpsites of
the killer. For convenience, descriptions of vehicles
are placed together for comparison purposes as are descriptions
of suspects, followed by narratives of the sightings.
In addition, the sightings of ANNA GULIN and NICOLE ROBERTS,
a possible (and probable) surviving victims of the Green
River Killer, are provided for investigative consideration.

     A synopsis of suspect vehicle sighting dates
follows:

Vehicle	Date's	Witness	Victim	
Pickup	Summer, 1982		----------	
Pickup	3/3/83		SMITH	b7C
Pickup	3/14-6/20/83		----------	
Pickup	4/10/83		MATHEWS	
Pickup	4/17/83		PITSOR	
Green Station-wagon (possible taxi)	7/20-24/82		----------	b7C
Blue Station-wagon (possible taxi)	9/6/85	GULIN	GULIN	
Blue Stationwagon	9/6/85		ROBERTS ROBERTS	

R 2152640

GREENMURS,
MAJOR CASE #77;

The first pickup sighting of witness [   ]   b7C
is not of a person/vehicle last observed with a known
victim. For this, and other reasons not set forth, this
sighting date is not necessary to include in date parameters
for investigation of registered owners of, or persons
utilizing pickups. Should the Green River Killer have
been the registered owner of, and/or have utilized any
vehicles similar to the suspect vehicles, the date parameters
for all investigation of these vehicles can be, and should
be, narrowed to the date parameters which follow. These
are the only sighting dates of suspect vehicles on which
investigation of suspect vehicles is based. Therefore,
investigation of vehicles registered to or utilized by
suspects or other persons on dates outside of these parameters
will be non-pertinent. Many vehicles can thus be eliminated
as suspect vehicles by strict adherence to these date
parameters:

<u>DATE PARAMETERS FOR SUSPECT VEHICLES</u>

Vehicles	Dates
Pickups	3/3/83 - 4/17/83
Green Stationwagon (Possible FARWEST TAXI)	7/20-24/82
Blue Stationwagon (Possible old taxi)	9/6/85

b7C

<u>SUSPECT VEHICLES</u>

Witness:
Sighting Date: [   ]
                    Summer, 1982, two days
                    before a victim's body
                    was found in the Green River
                    (7/15, 8/12, 8/15, 1982)

Vehicle Description:

1960 - 1964 Ford, Chevrolet, or Dodge, full-size
pickup truck, light colored, possibly white, side mirrors,
spare tire mounted on front end, primer paint on left

12

R 2152641

GREENMURS,
MAJOR CASE #77;

side lower bed, no tailgate on truck, red/chrome insignia
on fender just forward of cab, white liner with dots
in cab, chrome gas cap near driver's door, canopy 1-2
feet higher than cab, no back door on canopy, clear rectangular
side windows on canopy. Possible plate numbers: ▮▮▮ .
▮▮▮ .

       Witness:
       Victim: ALMA ANN SMITH
       Sighting Date: 3/3/83

b7C

       Vehicle Description:

       1970 - 1977 pickup truck, possibly Ford (only
a guess as to make), dull finished, two-toned, possibly
white over blue color, straight body, long bed, square
rather than round in design, possibly large mirrors,
white canopy.

       Witness:
       Sighting Date: Late-Spring or Early-Summer, 1983

b7C

       Vehicle Description:

       Older 1960's vintage GMC or Chevrolet pickup,
faded out, oxidized, turquoise-green color, canopy of
aluminum construction about the same age as the truck,
grill painted yellow-cream color, front bumper painted
yellow-cream color, single round headlights on each side
of grill, front turn signals oblong shape with amber
colored lenses with possible chrome interior trim piece,
narrow and about one-foot long chrome hood ornament,
possible chrome lettering on hood, small dents on front
fender and front quarter panel, black rubber gasket around
windshield, rusty bolts on large 5" X 10" side mirrors
attached to aluminum colored brackets, backside of mirrors
were dark in color or had dark trim around the outside
of the mirrors, driver's door handle was chrome with
pushbutton lock, AM radio antenna mounted somewhere by
the rearview mirror on the passenger side. Possible
plate numbers: 35. Front license plate bolted to middle
of front bumper and bent to the shape of the bumper as
if the driver had been pushing other vehicles with the
truck. No bracket around license plate, which is white
in color with a red tag in the upper right corner of
the license plate. Standard blackwall tires, hubcaps

52630

GREENMURS,
MAJOR CASE #77;

painted the same color as the grill (yellow-cream) and
just large enough to cover the lugnuts.

Canopy extended six-inches to ten-inches above
the level of the cab, construction of canopy was unpainted
aluminum that was oxidized. Canopy was boxy or square-looking
with aluminum exterior which was creased vertically approximately
every six-inches. Canopy protrudes past the bed of the
truck about two-inches on the sides. Side windows approximately
one foot high which extended about 1/3 the length of
the canopy. Side windows consisted of two separate panes
of glass with a narrow aluminum strip separating the
panes. The windows had metal framed shutters (louvers)
on the outside that crank open and closed, and possibly
had screens covering the openings.

Pickup had no tailgate, but had a full-length
rear canopy with door(s). No running board or fenders
that stick out (straight body). No skirts on wheel
wells. Pickup was not a 4-wheel drive, was not jacked-up
high, and did not have differentials on front wheels.

Witness:
Victim: GAIL LYNN MATHEWS   b7C
Sighting Date: 4/10/83

Vehicle Description:

1970's vintage pickup, most likely a Ford after
witness viewed photographs, pastel green or blue/green
(turquoise) in color, numerous 6" X 8" gray primer spots
on driver's and/or passenger's side, tailgate still on
pickup, canopy, which is about the same height as the
cab or slightly higher with a horizontal rear door.
                                                          b7C
Witness:
Victim: KIMI KAI PITSOR
Sighting Date: April 17, 1983

Vehicle Description (First interview via telephone):

1974 - 1976 Ford pickup, olive-drab or dark
green color similar to school district or city parks
department trucks, rust colored primer spots, canopy
of a military army green camouflage type.

14

R 2152643

GREENMURS,
MAJOR CASE #77;

Vehicle Description (Second interview):

1976 Ford full-size pickup truck, possible Washington License ▊▊▊▊ "dingy" silver colored bumpers, blackwall tires with no hubcaps on the wheels, wheels and tires were very dirty, 4,000 gross sticker near the bottom rear tire, rust colored primer spots on right side front fender and on right side (passenger) door and rust colored primer spot near the right rear taillight, dented grill of chrome or aluminum color, antenna on passenger's side front fender with a tiny round ball on top and a black washer near the base. The antenna was only 1 to 1½ feet in height, which seemed shorter than normal, black steering wheel with two spokes, green benchseat, possible chains or something like chains on each side of the tailgate area, tailgate was present and closed. Canopy on truckbed was white colored and of aluminum construction with four inch wide aluminum strip bearing diamond shapes on the side, canopy had a rising "spoiler" on the back and appeared to have no door on the back of the canopy as it was open. The canopy appeared very dirty.

b7C

Witness:
Sighting Date: 7/20-24/82

Vehicle Description:

Plymouth Fury III type stationwagon, four-doors, pea-green or off-color green, gray plastic taxi beacon on the top, possibly had "FARWEST" written down the side in orange color with black trim. One rear tire was probably a blackwall with a hubcap in the center with a black rim or black wheel. The tailgate was down.

Witness: ANNA DENISE GULIN
Victim: ANNA DENISE GULIN (Not a
                          confirmed victim of the
                          Green River Killer)
Sighting Date: 9/6/85

Vehicle Description:

American made mid to full-size stationwagon taxicab, dark in color, probably blue with dark blue dashboard and vinyl interior, no headliner present, bench type of seats, headrests on back of front seats, overhead

GREENMURS,
MAJOR CASE #77;

taxi light, which was a white light with the word "Taxi"
on it, old type of taxi meter was present on dashboard
which was yellow in color with white flag in a rectangular
shape on the left side of the meter. The meter was approximately
one-inch above the dashboard. The passenger door had
some kind of taxi door markings in a semi-circle shape
consisting of lettering and numbering in white letters
on black background. The interior door latch was of
a rectangular type, the armrest had a little handle on
it and also had an ashtray in it. A radio was playing
light rock-style music. A taxicab type of radio could
be heard, but was not observed.

Witness:	**NICOLE ANN ROBERTS**
Victim (Assault):	NICOLE ANN ROBERTS (Not a confirmed victim of the Green River Killer)
Sighting Date:	9/6/85

Vehicle Description:

    1969 or 1970, light blue (robin's egg blue),
mid-size stationwagon, white or beige interior, benchseat,
Oregon license plates (number not recalled).

SUSPECT DESCRIPTIONS

Witness:	
Sighting Date:	Summer, 1982
Suspect Description:	

b7C

Race	White
Sex	Male
Age	30 - 35 years (as of 1982)
Height	6'0" - 6'3"
Weight	180 - 200 pounds
Build	Thin
Hair	Medium dark, shoulder-length, combed back
Facial hair	Uncertain
Facial characteristics	Large nose
Complexion	Light, white
Composite furnished by witness:	Yes

16

R 2152645

GREENMURS,
MAJOR CASE #77;

b7C

Witness:
Victim: ALMA A. SMITH
Sighting Date: 3/3/83
Suspect Description:

    Race   White
    Sex   Male
    Age   27 - 32 years (as of 3/3/83)
    Height   5'9" - 6'2"
    Weight   130 - 160 pounds
    Build   Slender - skinny
    Hair   Thin, dark brown, shoulder-length,
                                dirty, greasy, parted
                                in the middle, hanging
                                down on each side
    Eyes   Between light blue and
                                light gray, watery or
                                foggy
    Facial hair   Possibly a thin moustache
    Other characteris-
       tics
    Clothing   Thin fingers
                                Blue jeans, jean jacket,
                                (dirty work clothes)
    Composite furnished
      by witness: Yes

b7C

Witness:
Sighting Date: Late-Spring or Early-Summer, 1982
Suspect Description:

    Race   White
    Sex   Male
    Age   Early-40's
    Height   5'10" - 6'
    Weight   185 - 200 pounds
    Build   Husky
    Hair   Light brown or dirty blonde,
                                curly, neatly trimmed
                                with ears exposed, blondish
                                hair on chest
    Eyes   Blue
    Complexion   Tan, brown
    Facial hair   Moustache to corners on
                                mouth, no sideburns or beard
    Facial characteris-
       tics   Prominent jaw, wide-face,
                                prominent cheekbones

R 2152646

GREENMURS,
MAJOR CASE #87;

Clothing	Casually dressed, grayish jacket with sewn in collar of pleated stretch-type material, zipper with two buttons near the bottom which was open except for being buttoned at the bottom. Multi-colored brown plaid shirt with approximately one-inch squares, open at the collar. Blue jeans

b7C

Witness:
Victim: GAIL LYNN MATHEWS
Sighting Date: 4/10/83
Suspect Description:

Race	White
Sex	Male
Age	Late 20's to Early 30's
Hair	Curly, light brown or dishwater blonde, possibly thinning on front and on top
Facial hair	Possibly cleanshaven
Clothing	Possibly flannel type shirt
General appearance	Appeared as "outdoors" type of person
Composite furnished by witness:	Yes

Witness: b7C
Victim: KIMI KAI PITSOR
Sighting Date: 4/17/83
Suspect Description:

Race	White, American Indian appearance
Sex	Male
Age	Mid 20's, approximately 26 years (as of 4/17/83)
Height	5'10"
Weight	Average
Build	Good build, but not big
Hair	Dark brown, not black, greasy, dirty, straight, hanging over the ears,

R 2152647

GREENMURS,
MAJOR CASE #77;

Facial characteris- tics	Narrow face, very strong, prominent cheekbones, very strong jaws, pimples covering most of the face
Complexion	Medium tan color, not light colored, numerous pimples
General appearance	Slight American Indian appearance, but not much, rugged look
Tattoo	Two-inch diameter tattoo on right bicep, probably of a coiled snake
Eyes	Brown, slanted a little bit with possible Indian look, but not Oriental or Japanese
Scars	Scar on right side between chin and cheek
Overall appearance	"Crazy" look
Composite furnished by witness	Yes

Witness: [   ]   b7C
Sighting Date: 7/20-24/82
Suspect Description:

Race	White
Sex	Male
Height	5'9" – 6'0"
Weight	165 – 185 pounds
Age	35 – 40 years (as of October – November, 1983)
Hair	Dark or darkish brown, down to collar, maybe shorter, straight with perhaps a little wave
Build	Medium, wider at the shoulders
Facial hair	Uncertain
Clothing	Long-sleeved shirt, checkered or plaid, having red squares with black and green breaking them into checks, blue jeans, cowboy-type of belt which was reddish/tan in color and leather looking

19

R 2152648

GREENMURS,
MAJOR CASE #77;

Witness:
Victim:

ANNA DENISE GULIN
ANNA DENISE GULIN (Not a
confirmed victim of Green
River Killer)
9/6/85

Sighting Date:
Suspect Description:

Race
Sex
Age
Height
Build
Hair

White
Male
25 - 30 years (as of 9/6/85)
6'0" - 6'3"
Medium
Sandy light-brown, wavy,
brushed back off of forehead,
collar length

Eyes
Complexion
Facial hair

Blue
Ruddy, medium color
Sparse moustache, light
in color with a gap in
the center, corners of
moustache down to corners
of mouth

Facial characteris-
tics

Small mole on right cheek
near mouth

Name utilized
Tattoo

Mike
Two-inch diameter tattoo
on right bicep of coiled
snake or possibly of skull

Other characteris-
tics

Circumcised penis;
Suspect smelled like mechanics'
type gelatin handcleaner;
Smoked cigarettes

Clothing:

Blue jeans, plaid shirt
consisting of overall
green color, but with
dark red, blues, and tans;
blue coat with short elastic
knit-type of cuffs and
collar, quilted inside
with snaps down the front
and a type of nylon material
outside. Dark navy blue
colored jumpsuit made
of a slick material which

20

R 2152649

GREENMURS,
MAJOR CASE #77;

made a noise when moved.
Jumpsuit had elastic cuffs
covering hidden storm
sleeves. The left chest
area of the jumpsuit had
two downward slanting
zippers about three-inches
apart. It also had a
zipped-down zipper which
zipped all the way up
the collar. Brown, work-type
boots with lace-up front.
Cowboy type belt buckle,
elongated oval shape of
silver or bronze color
depicting cowboy on a
horse roping a calf.
It may also depict one
other cowboy on a horse.
A gold ring with "S" shape
design which was worn
on suspect's right ring
finger. Watch made of
gold case and band bearing
black Roman Numerals and
black hands on a white
or cream-colored watch
face. The gold watch
was probably a "Timex"
brand and was worn on
the right wrist. Suspect
had a bandana and wore
a dark blue baseball cap.
Suspect also had a purplish-blue
rag in his vehicle that
he utilized to wipe blood
off his knuckles.

Weapon

French butcher block type of
kitchen knife with wooden
handle, 8-inch blade,
and straight edge. This
knife was of a triangular
shape which was wider
near the handle.

Composite furnished
   by witness:

Yes

21

R 2152650

GREENMURS,
MAJOR CASE #77;

Witness:
Victim (Assault):

NICOLE ANN ROBERTS
NICOLE ANN ROBERTS (Not
confirmed victim of Green
River Killer)

Sighting Date:

9/6/85 (Same date as ANNA GULIN,
approximately two hours
prior to GULIN's attack)

Suspect Description:

Race	White
Sex	Male
Age	Approximately 28 - 29 years
Height	6'0"
Build	Medium, appeared to be in good shape
Eyes	"Crazy look"
Hair	Sandy blonde or brownish color, wavy, about shoulder-length, combed back
Facial hair	Moustache
Clothing	Rugby shirt with horizontal stripes; windbreaker, jeans
Weapon	Knife, approximate 6" blade, French butcher block type of kitchen knife with brown wooden handle having finger grooves, blade quite large and triangular shaped about 2½" to 3" wide near the handle

NARRATIVE OF WITNESS SIGHTINGS

b7C

Witness:
Sighting Date:

Summer, 1982, two days
before a victim's body
was found in Green River
(7/15, 8/12, 8/15, 1982)

Narrative:

A suspect pickup was parked northbound on the
east side of Frager Road, south of the Meeker Street
Bridge, at approximately 1:00 a.m. - 2:00 a.m. A male
emerged from a hillside adjacent to the truck, who ran
around the front of the truck and quickly got inside

GREENMURS,
MAJOR CASE #77;

and thereafter immediately turned off the parking lots.
The witness could not clearly observe the license plate,
but due to the suspicious activity, turned around and
returned to get the plate number, but the truck was gone.
The witness passed a polygraph concerning this sighting.

b7C

Witness:
Victim: ALMA ANN SMITH
Sighting Date: 3/3/83

Narrative:

b7C

[   ]observed SMITH talk to a regular "trick"
across the street from where they were "hooking" at a
bus stop in front of the Red Lion Inn at 188th Street
and Pacific Highway South, Seattle, in the airport "strip"
area where prostitutes congregated. SMITH returned stating
she had a date with the regular "trick" in 40 minutes.
[   ]was soon picked up by a date and returned about
40 minutes later, noticing that SMITH was gone at that
time. [   ]walked to a pickup truck which was backed
into a corner parking space of the Red Lion Inn Parking
Lot and looked to see if SMITH was inside the truck. A
male asked [   ]what she was looking for, and she
responded, "Not you." A few minutes later, the male
contacted[   ]at the bus stop and reportedly asked
if she had seen a blonde girl to which she responded,
"No, I am waiting for my friend. Leave me alone." The
male then departed. In a subsequent interview,[   ]
advised that the male asked her if she was dating. The
regular "trick" of SMITH from across the street then
contacted[   ]and asked, "Where is ANN?" [   ]
replied, "I don't know. I thought she was with you."
The "trick" stated, "Well, I seen her get into a truck."
The "trick" then described a pickup truck, which[   ]
believed was the same one she observed in the Red Lion
Inn Parking Lot.

b7C

b7C

Witness: [   ]
Sighting Date: Late-Spring or Early-Summer, 1982

Narrative:

[   ]is a frequent jogger. During late-Spring
or early-Summer, 1982, between 5:00 a.m. and 7:00 a.m.,
he was running on Star Lake Road to South 277th Street

b7C

R 2152652

GREENMURS,
MAJOR CASE #77;

when he observed a suspect vehicle (pickup) parked on
the north side of the road in a turnout. As he passed
the vehicle from the front toward the back on the driver's
side, he ran into a suspect male who was walking from
the back of the truck to the driver's side. The suspect
male was very startled and jerked back, but neither of
them spoke. [   ] continued running and did not look   b7C
back. [   ] produced a log, which he keeps for his
jogging, which reflected the following dates as dates
which he ran the ten mile Star Lake Route: 3/14/83,
4/20/83, 4/27/83, 5/11/83, 5/12/83, 5/21/83, 5/22/83,
5/24/83, 6/14/83, 6/20/83.

                                                                     b7C
       Witness: [   ]
       Victim: GAIL LYNN MATHEWS
       Sighting Date: 4/10/83

       Narrative:

       [   ] and MATHEWS [   ] and
thus knew each other well. [   ] last observed MATHEWS
at the VIP Tavern at South 208th Street and Pacific Highway   b7C
South, Seattle. He walked to South 216th Street and
Pacific Highway South to catch a bus. About ten minutes
later [   ] observed MATHEWS in the suspect pickup,
which was stopped in the left turn lane on Pacific Highway
South, waiting to turn eastbound on South 216th Street.
[   ] waved at MATHEWS, but she failed to acknowledge
his presence. [   ] described her as looking "bizarre"
like she was "dazed" or in a "trance". He further described
her as "lifeless" and "staring straight ahead". It appeared
to [   ] that MATHEWS did not see him even though she
was looking directly at him. The truck turned onto South
216th Street and [   ] never saw MATHEWS, the pickup,
or the driver again. [   ] who was concerned with   b7C
MATHEWS' appearance, searched the neighborhood east of
Pacific Highway South, thinking that MATHEWS may have
directed the driver to this area for a quick car "date",
with negative results. There was possibly a mid-sized
light colored dog in the cab of the truck, but [   ]
was not certain. [   ] passed a polygraph concerning
his sighting. He also assisted an artist in preparing
a composite sketch of the driver of the pickup.

24

R 2152653

GREENMURS,
MAJOR CASE #77

Witness: [redacted]   b7C
Victim: KIMI KAI PITSOR
Sighting Date: April 17, 1983

Narrative:

Witness [redacted] PITSOR,
who observed victim PITSOR at the intersection of Fifth   b7C
and Virginia, Seattle. She ran toward a pickup truck
waving and smiling at the driver as if she knew him. [redacted]
did not actually see PITSOR enter the truck, but is certain
that she did. He waited for her to return for approximately
seven hours with negative results.

Witness: [redacted]
Sighting Date: 7/20-24/82
                                                           b7C

Narrative:

At approximately 7:15 p.m., [redacted] his wife,
and two children were driving on Frager Road on the west
side of the Green River on a Saturday and observed the
driver of a (possible) FARWEST Taxi remove what appeared
as a dead body from the back of the taxi, which was parked
about 50 yards away on Little River Road on the east
side of the Green River in a clearing of woods. [redacted]
stopped due to the strange activity. The driver leaned   b7C
over the back of the vehicle with the tailgate down and
got in the vehicle. He picked up, and removed, a large
garbage-like bag of black plastic visqueen about 4½ to
5 feet long or, at least something wrapped in this plastic.
It was heavy for the driver. His knees were bent and
he held the bag gently. [redacted] then observed an arm
flop out of the bag, or out of the plastic, with a hand
attached to the arm. The driver appeared nervous and
was hurrying. [redacted] wife became quite scared and
so they departed the area. [redacted] was interviewed followed
by hypnotic interview. It is the opinion of the doctor   b7C
conducting the interview and the hypnotic interview that
[redacted] is a good witness with a good memory. [redacted]
observed the taxi for about 2-2½ minutes. The taxi is
a green colored, full-sized stationwagon which appeared
to [redacted] to be a FARWEST Taxi.

25

GREENMURS,
MAJOR CASE #77;

Witness:	**ANNA DENISE GULIN**
Victim:	ANNA DENISE GULIN (Not a confirmed victim of the Green River Killer)
Sighting Date:	9/6/85

Narrative:

GULIN was abducted from Portland, driven to
a remote area along the roadway near the Columbia River
Gorge where she was assaulted, strangled, stabbed, raped,
and left by the attacker, who believed she was dead. GULIN
advised that her attacker cut his knuckles when he hit
her in the mouth and was bleeding. He wrapped his hand
in a purple-colored cloth. In addition, the attacker
put on a jumpsuit, which was dark blue in color and was
made of a slick material, which made noise when it moved.
Of particular interest in the GULIN case was a telephone
call made from an unknown location into the Green River
Task Force, which investigates the Green River Killer
matters and not necessarily assault or murder cases in
the Oregon area. The male who called inquired if the
Green River Task Force had the blood type of the suspect,
a particular shoe pattern, and asked about an Air Force-type
jumpsuit. This information coincides with that of the
GULIN case. It is possible that this caller was the
Killer inquiring of the Green River Task Force as to
what evidence the Task Force located concerning the GULIN
assault inasmuch as she survived to become a witness.

Witness:	**NICOLE ANN ROBERTS**
Victim (Assault):	NICOLE ANN ROBERTS (Not confirmed victim of Green River Killer)
Sighting Date:	9/6/85

Narrative:

ROBERTS was at the corner of Burnside and Northeast
Ninth, Portland, Oregon, when she was contacted by a
white male in a blue stationwagon at about 3:30 a.m.
shortly after two other females departed the immediate
area. She got in the vehicle for the purpose of prostitution
and they drove to a side street several blocks away.
The suspect pulled out a large kitchen type of knife
and held it to her neck saying she was going to do everything
he said, no questions asked. ROBERTS told him that the

GREENMURS,
MAJOR CASE #77;

cab driver near where he picked her up had recorded the
license plate number of his car and will report to police
if she is not back in five minutes. The suspect became
verbally abusive and told her to shut up. She then escaped.

OTHER FACTS

The Behavioral Science Unit of the FBI Academy
has conducted reviews of numerous cases involving serial
killings and has interviewed numerous serial killers.
As a result of compiling facts of those cases, it was
determined that certain criminal behavior of serial killers
is consistent.

1. Serial killers are consistent in their method
of operation.

2. Serial killers live in the immediate vicinity
area of their first killings and/or dumpsites.

3. Serial killers will continue to kill until
they are apprehended or are otherwise prevented from
killing.

These facts combined with the facts known about
the Green River Murders (the murders started in downtown
Seattle in early-1982 and ended in the Seattle-King County
area in early-1984) highlight the probability that the
Green River Killer lived in the immediate area of the
first killings (downtown Seattle) in early-1982. Furthermore,
because the murders ended in the Seattle-King County
area in early-1984, it is logical that the murders stopped
for one of the following reasons:

1. The Green River Killer died, or,

2. The Green River Killer was arrested and
incarcerated, or,

3. The Green River Killer was committed to
a mental institution, or,

4. The Green River Killer moved away (outside
of Washington State).

Additionally, as set forth above, there is a
strong possibility that ANNA GULIN survived an attempted murder

27

R 2152656

GREENMURS,
MAJOR CASE #77;

of the Green River Killer in Oregon on September 6, 1985.
The strongest probability, then, for the reason the Green
River murders ended in the Seattle-King County area in
early-1984 is that the Killer moved away from Washington
State.

    Therefore, as dictated by known facts of the
Green River Murders and other serial murder cases, the
highest priority suspects of the Green River Murders
are those suspects who resided in Seattle in 1982 and
moved out-of-state in 1984 unless truly outstanding and
overwhelming evidence exists and indicates to the contrary.
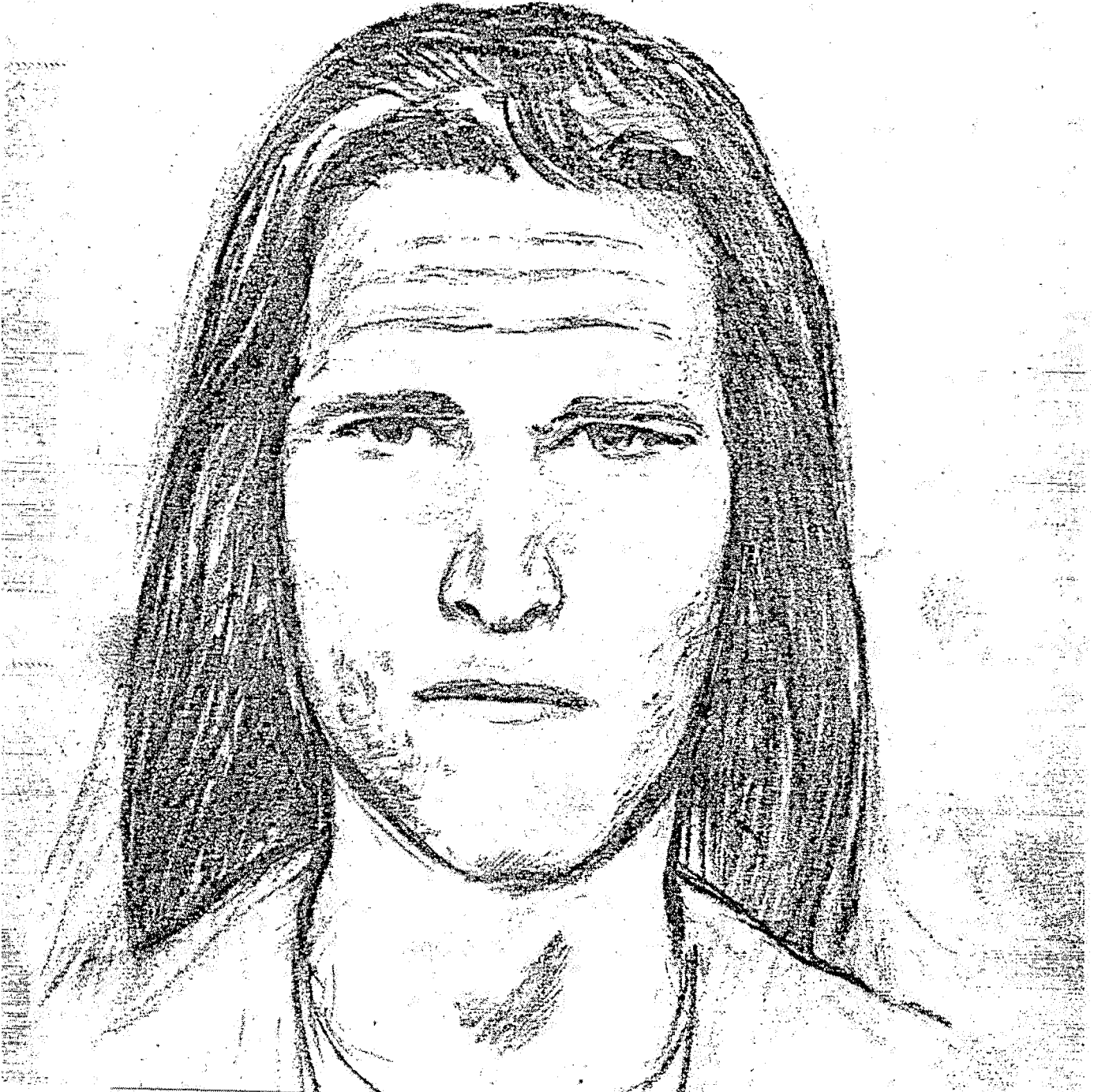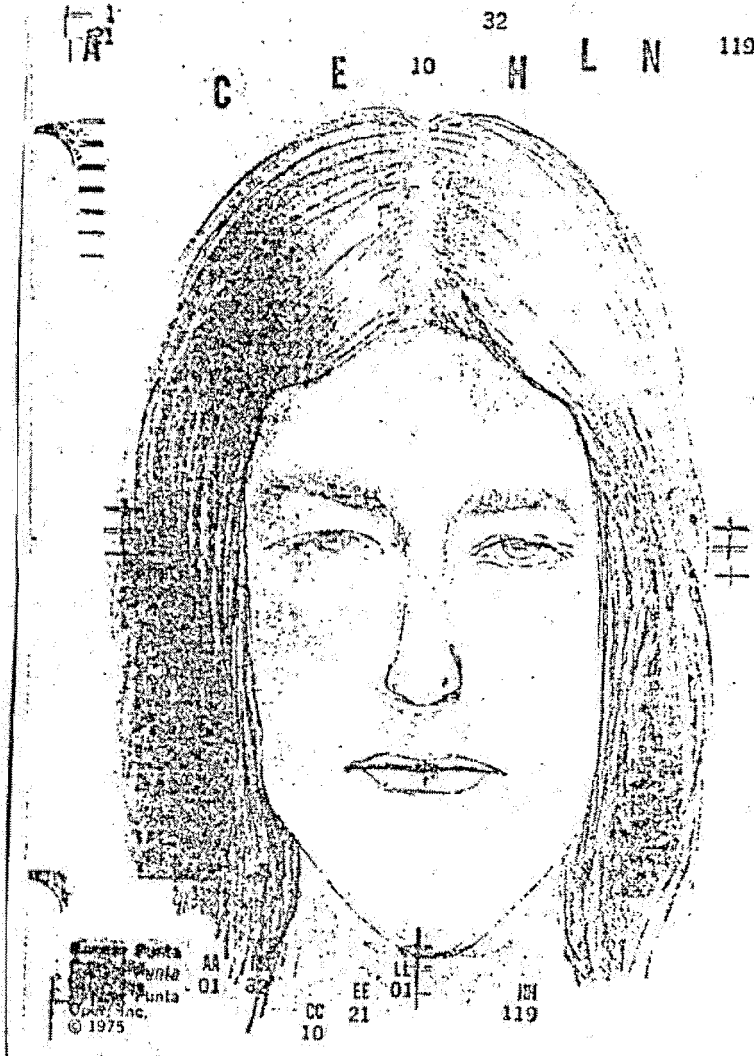
R 2152657

Witness:

b7C

29

R 2152658

b7C

Witness: [ ]
Victim: ALMA A. SMITH

30

52630

Witness:
Victim: GAIL LYNN MATHEWS   b7C

31   R 2152660

Witness: ANNA GULIN
Victim: ANNA GULIN

33

R 2152661

Memorandum

To :   SAC, SEATTLE (7-987)(P)   Date 1/23/87

From :   SA [   ]   b7C

Subject :   GREENMURS;
              MAJOR CASE #77;
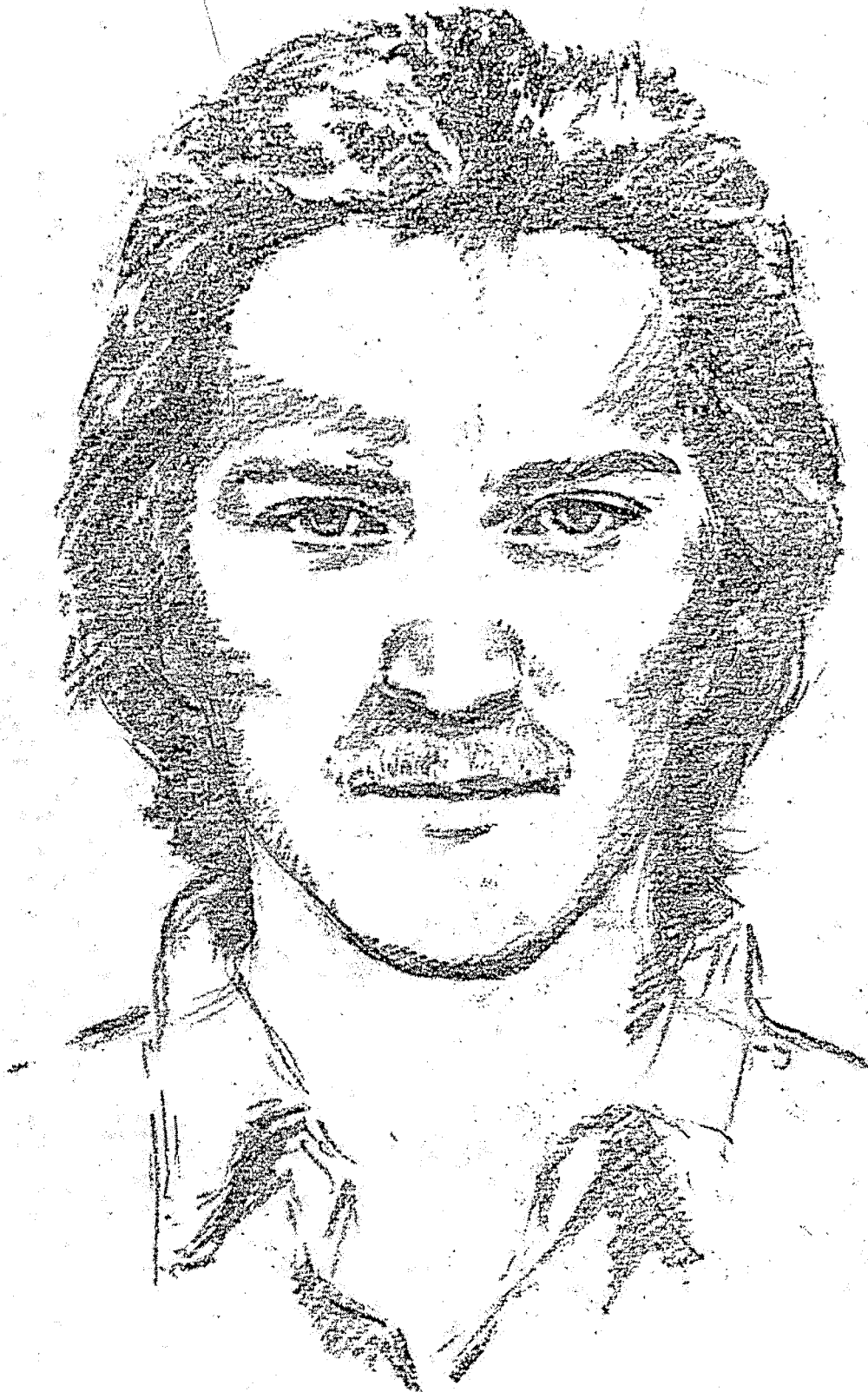   KIDNAPPING;
              OO: SEATTLE

On January 12, 1987, a meeting was held by the Green River Task Force staff for all investigators. As a result of this meeting, SA [   ] was asked to interview all detectives in order to establish a quantitative b7C suspect data sheet. This would be used in part to extract a list of priority suspects for investigation from the numerous lists of computer data available to the task force.

METHODOLOGY:

b7C

During January 16 and 20, 1987, 20 of 21 detectives were interviewed [   ] from Washington State Patrol was not available). Each was asked to give a definitive response to the 21 prepared questions (see attachment 1) based on their investigative/police experience and knowledge of the task force cases. The consensus responses for the questions are set forth in attachment two.

The expressed responses represent either a strong majority opinion relative to the question or a more general opinion where a diversed opinion was expressed.

Additionally, each investigator was asked to provide additional data that should be obtained in addition to that already available to the task force. This list is set forth in attachment number threee.

RECOMMENDATION:

1. That the computer list of registered owners of all full-sized pick up trucks years 1960 through 1979 registered in King and Pierce Counties in 1982 and 1983, be used as a key

ARMED AND DANGEROUS   **R 2152743**

4 - Seattle
   (1 - 7-987, Sub G)
   (2 - GRTF)
RTA:mag
(4)

JAN 2 8 1987

SE 7-987

list serving as a general suspect name list. The assumption
here is that the GRTF suspect is someone shown on the
truck registration records for this time frame.

2.   That the consensus responses for the 21 prepared
questions be considered in setting priorities for the data
lists and setting limits for the selection of names off the
various lists. For example, based on detective responses,
field interrogation reports (FIRS), traffic citations, "John
Patrol lists," and custody records for King and Pierce
Counties and Seattle and Tacoma should be considered high
priority lists for comparison purposes.

3.   That each computer data list or source documents
available to the task force be assessed, rated in order of
importance and if not already done, be computerized accordingly.

4.   The list of registered truck owners developed from
item number one should be the base list or key list to compare
with all other available computer data. Resulting list should
be considered our list of priority suspects for investigation.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS

2*

R 2152744

Attachment number one   TWENTY-ONE (21) QUESTIONS USED
                         IN DETECTIVE SURVEY

1. Race/Sex:

2. Age (in 1982-1983):

3. Criminal history (type offense):

4. Mental illness history:

5. Custody:

6. Occupation:

7. Did suspect own suspect vehicle:

8. Where was suspect vehicle registered:

9. Type suspect vehicle:

10. Where suspect originally from:

11. Residence (where/type 1982 and 1983):

12. Military record:

13. Marital status (1982-1983):

14. When suspect started killing:

15. Has suspect left the area:

16. Has the suspect stopped killing:

17. Areas frequented (1982-1983):

18. Law enforcement contact (1982-1983):

19. Oregon connection (nature):

20. Mobility:

21. Did suspect act alone:

R 2152745

Attachment number two   SUMMARY OF 21 QUESTION
                         SURVEY RESPONSES CONDUCTED
                         1/16/87 and 1/20/87

    1.   Race/Sex: White male

    2.   Age (in 1982-1983): Year of birth 1963 (age 24-
1942 (age 45).

    3.   Criminal history (type offense): Yes-misdemeanor
offenses to include DWI, traffic, theft, simple assaults, sex
offense and domestic. Juvenile record.

    4.   Mental illness history: No (no public documented
history of mental illness).

    5.   Custody: Yes-County jail for minor offenses.

    6.   Occupation: Nonprofessional blue collar worker.

    7.   Did suspect own suspect vehicle: Yes.

    8.   Where was suspect vehicle registered: Western
Washington State, probably King or Pierce Counties.

    9.   Type suspect vehicle: Full-size pickup truck, 1960
to 1979.

    10.   Where suspect originally from: Washington State.

    11.   Residence (where/type 1982 and 1983): King or
Pierce Counties, Washington.

    12.   Military record: Yes-prior military record not
active in 1982 and 1983.

    13.   Marital status (1982-1983): Divorced or separated
during 1982-1983.

    14.   When suspect started killings: Prior to GRTF cases.

    15.   Has suspect left the area: Has left the greater
Seattle area.

    16.   Has the suspect stopped killing: No.

Attachment number two continued:

17. Areas frequented (1982-1983): King and Pierce
Counties, greater Portland area on I-5 corridor Seattle to
Portland.

18. Law enforcement contact (1982-19830: Yes-
traffic violations, FIR'S and minor offense arrests.

19. Oregon connection (nature): Yes-family/employment/
friends.

20. Mobility: Yes-Northwestern U.S., primarily I-5
corridor from Portland to Vancouver, B.C.

21. Did suspect act alone: Yes

R 2152747

Appendix B

PCL-R Scores

Items	LRATER Total	JRATER Total	MRATER Total
Glibness and / or superficial charm	0	1	1
Grandiose Sense of Self-Worth	1	1	1
Pathological Lying	2	2	2
Conning or Manipulation	2	1	1
Lack of Remorse or Guilt	2	2	2
Shallow Affect	2	2	1
Callousness, Lack of Empathy	2	2	2
Failure to accept responsibility for one's own actions	1	0	0
Parasitic Lifestyle	0	0	0
Poor Behavioral Controls	1	1	1
Lack of Realistic Long-Term Goals	0	0	0
Impulsivity	1	1	1
Irresponsibility	0	0	0
Juvenile Delinquency	1	2	2
Early Behavioral Problems	1	1	2
Need for Stimulation, Boredom	0	0	0
Revocation of Conditional Release	0	0	0
Sexual Promiscuity	2	2	2
Criminal Versatility	2	2	2
A History of Many Short-Term Marital Relationships	1	1	1
Final Score	21	21	21

Appendix C

Random Sample

Overview

This study consists of ten randomly chosen samples from the original 117 discs containing the recorded interviews between Mr. Ridgway and the Green River Taskforce (GRTF).). To obtain such a sample, I utilized the computer software Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Within this program I created a record for each of the 117 discs (numbered 1-117) and ran a randomized sampling of 10 of these records. The following records were extracted, at random, and correspond with the disc, of the same number, in the record.

9
12
20
29
32
70
72
79
97
116

Appendix D

Original Protocol

What follows is the original, full scope interview protocol as approved by the Seattle University Institutional Review Board (IRB) in November of 2009. It is included here for reference purposes.

INVESTIGATOR'S CHECKLIST

Please submit this checklist to ensure that your protocol meets IRB requirements.

A. SUBMISSION FORM

I. COVER SHEET
Completed, typed and signed

II. SPEC IFIC REVIEW REQUEST
Check applicable criteria indicating your request for Exemption, Expedited or Full Review.

Check One:
2 packets for Exempt studies
3 packets for Expedited reviews
12 packets for Full Board reviews

III. PROTOCOL TEMPLATE
Abstract
Introduction and brief background
What is your Research question(s) or hypotheses?

a. METHODS AND SUBJECTS
Which methods will this study include?
Describe where subjects are to be chosen
Are subjects chosen from records?
Describe why this specific population is chosen.
How will subjects be recruited?
Will you give subjects gifts, payments, compensation, reimbursement, services without charge or extra credit?
How many subjects do you plan to enroll in your study?
How many subjects will you need to screen to achieve your enrollment?
Describe the tasks that the subjects will be asked to perform.
If the study involves an intervention, how does this differ from the current professional standard or intervention strategies?
How many months do you anticipate this research study will last from the time final approval is granted?

b. PROTECTION OF HUMAN SUBJECTS (Risks and Benefits)
Does the research involve any of these possible risks or harms to subjects?
Describe specifically the nature and degree of risk or harm as checked above and include the steps that will be taken to minimize risks of harms to protect subjects.

c. PRIVACY AND CONFIDENTIALITY
Will you record any direct identifiers of your subjects? If yes, please explain why it is necessary to record these identifiers.
Where, how long, and in what format will data be kept?
Describe what security provisions will be taken to protect these data. List all persons who will have access to these codes or files.

d. CONFLICT OF INTEREST
Will you benefit financially from this study? Describe any financial interest you have in the study findings.

e. SIGNATURES
        Investigator
        Faculty advisor (if applicable):
        IRB Reviewer

B. ATTACHMENTS

Copy of any announcements or instructions relating to subject solicitation. (Submission Instructions, #2)

Copy of all research instruments. (Submission Instructions, #3)

Copy of all consent forms and assent forms. (Submission Instructions, #4). *Sample Informed Consent Form Template can be found at* http://www.seattleu.edu/academics/irb/Sample_consent_form.doc

Procedural Details:
        on appropriate institution letterhead
        spaces for approval date in upper right corner
        title (consent form title and project title)
        pages numbered
        list all investigators, addresses, and telephone numbers
        blank for subjects; initials in lower right corner
        signature line for subject, witness, parent, corroborator

Separate Consent Forms for:
        adults in treatment group
        control group
        children
        parent or guardian
        other

Content of Consent Form(s):
        Description of study
        Risks/benefits
        Alternative treatments, if applicable
        Costs and payments, if applicable
        Confidentiality
        Child abuse language, if applicable
        Dean's phone number
        Right to refuse or end participation
        No compensation for injury, if applicable
        Voluntary consent
        Acknowledgment of parent, if applicable
        Investigator's certification

Letters of support for each institution, as applicable. (Submission Instructions, #5)

Copy of NIH training certificate. (Submission Instructions, #6)

SUBMIT COMPLETED SUBMISSION FORM AND ATTACHMENTS TO SPONSORED RESEARCH OFFICE, BANNAN 112.

INCOMPLETE SUBMISSIONS WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED FOR REVIEW.

SEATTLE UNIVERSITY INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

PROTOCOL FOR PROTECTION OF HUMAN SUBJECTS IN RESEARCH SUBMISSION FORM

I. COVER SHEET

Title of Study: Profiling Ridgway: A Critical Analysis of Criminal Profiling through the Green River Killer Investigation

Starting Date   **09/01/09**   Anticipated Termination Date   **06/01/10**

                 (mm/dd/yy)   **(mm/dd/yy)**

Name of Investigator: Loren T. Atherley

School/Department: Seattle University, Criminal Justice

Address of Investigator: 2415 2nd Ave #636, Seattle, WA 98121
                          (Address to which correspondence should be mailed)

Phone: (509) 680-0198   E-mail: atherley@seattleu.edu

Names of Co-Investigators: **NA**

Name of Faculty Advisor: (if applicable):   Dr. Helfgott

Phone: (206) 296-5477   E-mail: jhelfgot@seattleu.edu

Intended sponsor/funding agency: _____

Date of submission: 7/22/2009

If you have submitted this protocol to another IRB, give the following information:

      Name of institution: Washington State Department of Corrections, Institutional Review Board
      Date Submitted: **TBD - contingent upon Seattle University IRB approval[1]**

---

[1] **Washington State DOC, IRB will not accept protocols for review without approval from those institutions IRB.**

Approval status: (Check one)

       Approved (attach copy of letter)

       Pending (date of expected review)

       Disapproved (attach copy of letter) _____

Will subjects receive money, course credit or gifts in exchange for their participation?

       yes (specify)

       no   _____

Category of Review Requested: (Check one.)

       Exempt

       Expedited

       Full (studies that do not meet criteria for Exempt or Expedited must be reviewed by the full IRB at one of the regularly scheduled meetings)

II. SPECIFIC REVIEW REQUEST

If seeking an **Exempt** review complete this section by checking all that apply.

Research conducted in established or commonly accepted educational settings outside of Seattle University (see 2.a., p.1), involving **normal educational practices,** such as (i) research on regular and special educational instructional strategies, or (ii) research on the effectiveness of or the comparison among instructional techniques, curricula, or classroom management methods.

Research involving the **use of educational tests** (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior, **unless:** (i) information obtained is **recorded** in such a manner that human subjects can be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; and (ii) any **disclosure** of the human subjects' responses outside the research could **reasonably** place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures, or observation of public behavior that is **not exempt** under paragraph (b) (2) of this section, if: (i) the human subjects are elected or appointed public officials or candidates for public office; or (ii) federal statute(s) require(s) without exception that the confidentiality of the personally identifiable information will be maintained throughout the research and thereafter.

Research involving the collection or study of **existing data**, documents, records, pathological specimens, or diagnostic specimens, if these sources are **publicly available** or if the information is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that subjects **cannot** be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects.

2

Research and demonstration projects which are conducted by or subject to the approval of Department or Agency heads, and which are designed to study, evaluate, or otherwise examine: (i) public benefit or service programs; (ii) procedures for obtaining benefits or services under those programs; (iii) possible changes in or alternatives to those programs or procedures; or (iv) possible changes in methods or levels of payment for benefits or services under those programs.

Taste and food quality evaluation and consumer acceptance studies, (i) if wholesome foods without additives are consumed, or (ii) if food is consumed that contains a food ingredient at or below the level and for a use found to be safe, or agricultural chemical or environmental contaminant at or below the level found to be safe, by the Food and Drug Administration or approved by the Environmental Protection Agency or the Food Safety and Inspection Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

If seeking an **Expedited** review complete this section by checking the number of all that apply.

Clinical studies of drugs and medical devices only when the drugs or devices have been approved for marketing and are used as prescribed.

Collection of blood samples by finger stick or venipuncture from non-pregnant healthy adults in amounts less than 550 ml in an eight-week period and no more than twice per week.

Prospective collection of biological specimens by **non-invasive means** (e.g., hair and nail clippings, extracted teeth, excreta and external secretions, uncannulated saliva, placenta removed at delivery, amniotic fluid obtained at rupture of membrane prior to or during delivery, dental plaque and calculus, mucosal and skin cells collected by swab and sputum collected after saline mist nebulization).

Collection of data through **non-invasive procedures** routinely employed in clinical settings, excluding x-rays or microwaves (e.g., physical sensors that do not shock or invade the subject's privacy, weighing or testing sensory acuity, magnetic resonance imaging, EEG, EKG, moderate exercise or strength testing with healthy non-pregnant subjects).

Research involving data, documents, records or specimens collected for non-research purposes, such as medical records.

Collection of data from audio or visual recordings.

Research on individual or group characteristics when considering the subject's own behavior (including perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, socio-cultural beliefs, practices or behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group or program evaluation measures for purposes of research.

If seeking a **Full** review, check the categories that apply to your subjects or methods.

Subjects **under** the age of 18

Pregnant women subjects

Frail elderly subjects

Incarcerated subjects or persons under a correctional sentence (parolees)

Mentally impaired subjects

False or misleading information to subjects

Withholding information such that subjects' consent is in question

Procedures for debriefing subjects (specify):

Biomedical procedures (If checked, answer the following)

    (a)   Are provisions for medical care necessary?

        yes (give details):

        no

    (b)   Has a qualified MD participated in planning the study?

        yes (attach letter)

        no

(c) Will the study involve drugs, chemical agents, recombinant DNA, genetic research, ionizing radiation, non-ionizing radiation, microwaves, lasers, high-intensity sound, stem cells?

        yes (specify and describe):

        no

Procedures that are **novel or not accepted practice** (if this category applies, explain in the abstract and consent forms how provisions are made to correct, treat or manage unexpected adverse effects)

Risky procedures or harmful effects, including discomfort, risk of injury, invasive procedures, vulnerability to harassment, invasion of privacy, controversial information, or information creating legal vulnerability (if this category applies, explain in the abstract and consent forms how harmful effects will be addressed and how benefits outweigh risks)

III. PROTOCOL TEMPLATE   *(Please respond to all sections)*

1. Abstract: *This paragraph is intended to be an overall summary of what you intend to do in 300 words. Use lay language, describe the Relevant Background information, Purpose, Research Question(s), hypotheses and significance of the proposed study*

Abstract

Gary L. Ridgway, the most prolific serial killer in U.S. History, evaded capture for nearly 20 years. Despite the efforts of the foremost minds in criminal profiling, attempts to profile Ridgway failed to identify key behavioral components and misled the investigation. The proposed research is a retrospective profile, an analysis of the characteristics, development and psychodynamics unique to the Green River Killer. In this study I will profile Gary Ridgway from background information, polygraph analysis of autonomic arousal, and formal interview; profile characteristics will be compared with physical evidence available during the investigation. This study will explore whether criminal profiling is a valid and reliable component of serial homicide investigation. Furthermore, this study will determine whether specific failures of the profiling process, with regard to the Green River Killer, were due to the relative adolescence of the practice in addition to systemic and structural barriers presented by a criminal justice apparatus ill-equipped to process such an extensive criminal undertaking.

2. Introduction and brief background. *Include a brief background reviewing the current scientific information on this topic, what research has currently found, why this is an important topic to study. Include references as an attachment.*

Murder takes many forms, from the banal to the bizarre. Most killers select their motive from a short list of the usual suspects. "I needed money." "She stole my husband." "He is sleeping with my wife." For these people, murder is instrumental; it is an act committed in furtherance of another goal, greed, jealousy, revenge, etc… In recent years another flavor of murder has risen in sharp contrast to these simpler motivations. These humans are capable of an insidious predation, incomprehensible to most of the population. These killers do more than take the lives of others; they abandon their own humanity to possess and devour their victims. They thrive on the compassion of strangers, revel in the innocent and dine in the presence of true human emotion. For these individuals, killing is a ravenous effort to satiate an appetite, feed a craving or silence a demon. We call them serial killers.

Ted Bundy, David Berkowitz, Aileen Wuornos and others are often referred to as monstrous, motiveless killers. In labeling these people, we may distinguish them from ourselves rather than confront the uncomfortable reality. Serial homicide could not be more human or motive driven, nor is the phenomenon isolated to random, distant acts of violence. Some evidence suggests that serial homicide is far more prevalent than we would like to believe. According to recent, adjusted estimates, serial killers are responsible for between 150 and 200

deaths per year[2]. While every year as many as 10 killers are apprehended by law enforcement (Fox & Levin, 2005), that these[3] offenders are able to reach the number of kills necessary to meet the statutory definition of serial , represents a failure on the part of law enforcement and society.

Criminal profiling is a relatively young field; originally developed from the behavioral and psychological disciplines, profiling entered the mainstream in the late 1970's. Since that time there have been many highly publicized failures. Despite these failures, profiling offers a significant, proactive advantage over conventional investigative methods. Rather than follow the evidentiary detritus left in the wake of a serial killer, profiling is a proactive strategy to develop an understanding of the mind of a killer as evidence against them. Still, many of the most prolific serial killers have evaded capture, despite competent attempts to profile them. In the past, profilers have relied on years of personal experience and largely untested assumptions to model a killer. Recently, our understanding of serial offending has increased by volumes. The body of academic knowledge surrounding serial homicide is now far more complete and better equipped to catch a killer.

History

There is a false belief that serial killers are an emergent phenomenon in human history. Compulsive and prolific killers have always been represented in society, first in myth but more recently as a cult obsession. Law enforcement has taken the place of farmers with pitchforks and torches, and today mass media has taken place of mythology. Despite a more complete understanding, society and the criminal justice apparatus have failed to recognize the glaring inaccuracies firmly engrained in myth and view these people as products of our intrinsically fragile human nature, rather than monsters.

Following Zodiac, Son of Sam and later Bundy, it appeared as though American culture was in the throes of a violent epidemic. Desperate to interrupt these killers, a group of experienced FBI agents formed the Behavioral Analysis Unit - 2 (BAU - 2) at Quantico, Virginia. Initially the BAU - 2 had an academic function and traveled the country interviewing killers, already in custody. Before long, local law enforcement, investigating complex serial cases such as the Atlanta Child Murders and Green River Killer case began to request assistance from the federal government. Today, as a routine function, members of the BAU - 2, now the National Center for the Analysis of Violent Crime (NCAVC) travel the country lending their expertise to ongoing investigations by profiling the offender.

Profiling and Serial Homicide Investigations

Criminal profiling is a process of inferring offender characteristics from crime scene and offense elements and victimization (Bartol, 2008; Douglas, Ressler, Burgess, & Hartman, 1986). Criminal profiling is the scientific method reflected in a six stage, feedback-looped process of observation, hypothesis development and testing. In the process developed by Ressler and Douglass and currently employed by the FBI / NCAVC, investigators collect profiling inputs, develop a set of basic organizational conclusions and analyze the crime before developing a profile. Once the profile has been established a report is submitted to the investigating agency. The sixth stage is apprehension of the suspect (Muller, 2000). In criminal profiling, law enforcement has adopted a scientific approach to the rational understanding the serial killer.

---

[2] Exaggerated media reports and improperly used statistics have contributed to higher estimates, previously reported as between 3,000 and 6,000 victims per year. (Fox & Levin, 2005)

[3] "The term 'serial killings' means a series of three or more killings, not less than one of which was committed within the United States, having common characteristics such as to suggest the reasonable possibility that the crimes were committed by the same actor or actors. (28 U.S. C., PART II, CHAPTER 33, § 540B)

The latter half of the 20th century saw explosive growth in the fields of criminal justice, criminology and law enforcement. Once viewed as little more than a skilled trade, today, few law enforcement officers are without some form of higher education. Additionally, as a condition of advancement, many within federal investigations and local felony investigations are encouraged to pursue advanced degrees and specialized training. For this reason, many traditional universities offer undergraduate degrees in criminal justice or police science and a few have begun to offer graduate degrees in similar fields. As a result, the body of academic knowledge in criminology has grown across the board. Specifically, serial homicide has received considerable attention from the community. In the previous twenty years, many theories, including the principle tenants of criminal profiling, have come to be accepted and are currently undergoing empirical testing.

The models used to profile Gary Ridgway were inaccurate and failed to take into account the limitations of profiling. Based on untested, anecdotal premises, the profilers involved in the Green River Killer case were operating on untested, experiential based data. Study of previous serial killers, with similar crime scene and offense characteristics, suggested that the Green River Killer would be highly mobile, marginally employed and would avoid long term relationships. Three points diametrically opposed what is known of Gary Ridgway's background. Ridgway had significant difficulty with directions. When he was growing up, his older brother Greg was instructed to keep an eye on him and make sure he made it to and from school (Guillen, 2007; Prothero & Smith, 2006). Secondly, Ridgway was employed by the Kenworth Truck Company throughout the murders and up until his arrest in late 2001. Finally, Ridgway was in a stabile, from all accounts, loving relationship with his third wife Judith from 1984, until his arrest and subsequent conviction.

Bartol, C. R. (2008). *Criminal Behavior: A Psychosocial Approach.* Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall.

Blair, J., Mitchell, D., & Blair, K. (2008). *The Psychopath: Emotion and the Brain.* Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Bowlby, J. (1982). Attachment and Loss: Retrospect and Prospect. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* , 664 - 678.

Canter, D., & Wentink, N. (2004). An Empirical Test of Holmes and Holmes's Serial Murder Typology. *Criminal Justice and Behavior. Vol 31, No. 4* , 489 - 515.

Discovery, I. (Director). (2007). *Most Evil, Season 2, Episode 8, "Masterminds"* [Motion Picture].

Douglas, J., Ressler, R., Burgess, A., & Hartman, C. (1986). Criminal Profiling from Crime Scene Analysis. *Behavioral Science & the Law, Vol. 4, No. 4* , 401 - 421.

Fox, J. A., & Levin, J. (2005). *Extreme Killing: Understanding Serial and Mass Murder.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.

Gacono, C., & Meloy, J. R. (1988). The Relationship between Cognitive Style and Defensive Process in the Psychopath. *Criminal Justice and Behavior* .

Guillen, T. (2007). *Serial Killers: Issues Explored Through the Green River Murders.* Pearson Prentice Hall.

Hare, R. (1993). *Without Conscience: The Distrubing World of the Psychopaths Among us.* New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Hare, R., & Neumann, C. (2006). The PCL-R Assessment of Psychopathy: Development, Structural Properties, and New Directions. In C. J. Patrick, *Handbook of Psychopathy* (pp. 58 - 88). New York, NY: The Guilford Press.

Helfgott, J. (2008). *Criminal Behavior: Theories, Typologies, and Criminal Justice.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.

Helfgott, J. (2004). Primative Defenses in the Language of the Psychopath: Considerations for Forensic Practice . *Journal of Forensic Psychology Practice Vol. 4(3) 2004* .

Holmes, R., & Holmes, S. (1996). *Profiling Violent Crimes: An investigative tool (2nd edition).* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Holmes, S., Tewksbury, R., & Holmes, R. (1999). Fractured Identity Syndrom: A New Theory of Serial Murder. *Journal of Contemporary Crimina Justice* , 262 - 271.

Keppel, R., Weis, J., Brown, K., & Wlech, K. (2005). The Jack the Ripper Murders: A Modus Operandi and Signature Analysis of the 1888 - 1891 Whitechapel Murders. *Journal of Investigative Psychology and Offender Profiling* , 1 - 21.

McClellan, J. (2007). Animal Cruelty and Violent Behavior: is there a Connection. *Journal of Security Education* , 29 - 45.

Meijer, E., Verschuere, B., Merckelbach, H., & Crombez, G. (2008). Sex Offender Management using the Polygraph: A Critical Review. *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry* , 423 - 429.

Meloy, R. J. (2002). *The Psychopathi Mind: Oirgins, Dynamics and Treatment.* Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Metropolitan Police Act, 10 Geo. 4, C. 44 (Parliament of the United Kingdom 1829).

Muller, D. (2000). Criminal Profiling: Real Science or Just Wishful Thinking? *Homicide Studies* , 234 - 264.

Myers, W., Husted, D., Safarik, M., & O'Toole, M. (2006). THe Motivation Behind Serial Sexula Homicide: Is It Sex, Power, and Control or Anger? *Journal of Forensic Science, July 2006, Vol. 51, No. 4* , 900 - 907.

Newton, M. (2006). *The Encycolpedia of Serial Killers, Second Edition.* New York, NY: Checkmark Books.

Protection of Children from Sexual Predator Act, Title 18, United States Code, Chapter 51, and Section 1111 (U.S. Congress 1998).

Prothero, M., & Smith, C. (2006). *Defending Gary: Unraveling the Mind of the Green River Killer.* Sanfrancisco, CA: Jossy-Bass.

Purcell, C., & Arrigo, B. (2006). *The Psychology of Lust Murder: Paraphilia, Sexual Killing, and Serial Homicide.* New York: Elsevier.

Ramsland, K. (2009). *The Devil's Dozen.* New York, NY: The Berkley Publishing Group.

Ressler, R., & Shachtman, T. (1992). *Whoever fights monsters.* New York, NY: Pocket Books.

Ressler, R., Burgess, A., & Douglas, J. (1988). *Sexual homicide: Patterns and motives.* Lexington, MA: Lexington.

Rule, A. (2004). *Green River Running Red.* New York, NY: Pocket Books.

Strangeland, P. (2005). Catching a Serial Rapist: Hits and Misses in Criminal Profiling. *Police Practice and Research* , 453-469.

3. What is your Research question(s) or hypotheses? Please state your specific aims for the study.

There have been public failures of the criminal profiling process; this study focuses on one of the most notorious failures, the Green River Killer profile. In conducting background research in preparation for this thesis, some basic questions stand out which define my research question. First, why did profiling fail to identify Gary Ridgway as the killer? Secondly, if corrected, would predictive models have been successful in intervening in the Ridgway case? Is there an aspect of Ridgway's personality that makes him fundamentally un-profileable? I contend that criminal profiling is a legitimate strategy to counter serial homicide but only when the logic is sound - that is, if the conclusions logically follow the premise. I suggest this is the essential failure of the Ridgway profile. I propose to explore my hypothesis through the following in two parts; first, to profile Ridgway from information available post capture and in the second part, compare profile characteristics with available crime scene evidence.

The models used to profile Gary Ridgway were inaccurate and failed to take into account the limitations of profiling. Based on untested, anecdotal premises, the profilers involved in the Green River Killer case were operating on untested, experiential based data. Study of previous serial killers, with similar crime scene and offense characteristics, suggested that the Green River Killer would be highly mobile, marginally employed and would avoid long term relationships, three points diametrically opposed what is known of Gary Ridgway's background.

The second and third questions are not as easy to answer. To satisfy these questions, I will conduct a primary analysis of Gary Ridgway's personality and how it developed throughout his life course. This study seeks to undertake questions in two parts. The first is a four phase study to profile Gary Ridgway. The study will involve four phases: Background investigation, polygraph analysis of autonomic reactions to questions about his early childhood development and fantasy set, elite interview and body language analysis to analyze deception throughout the interview process, and assessment/analysis. The polygraph and interview will be conducted at the Washington State Penitentiary, Walla Walla, and will be video and audio recorded for later review, consultation and secondary analysis. The second section of this study will compared the profile developed in the first section with crime scene evidence to confirm elements of the profile.

METHODS AND SUBJECTS

4. Which methods will this study include? (check all that apply)

Non-experimental	Ethnographic
Descriptive, surveys	
Ex Post Facto	
Experimental/Control Design	Phenomenological
Quasi-experimental	Other Qualitative: specify
Evaluation Research	Case studies
Field studies	Secondary analysis
Other, Describe:	Meta-analysis

5. Describe where subjects are to be chosen: *Describe the location of the subjects during the research activity or the location of records to be accessed for the research activity).*

The subject of this study is the convicted "Green River Killer", Gary L. Ridgway. Mr. Ridgway is currently held in the Washington State Correctional Facility, Intensive Management Unit at Walla Walla, Washington. Specific location of the study is to be determined upon Washington State IRB approval.

6. Are subjects chosen from records?   Yes   No
If yes, provide the protocol, consent forms, letters of support from the agency that gives consent for securing access to the subjects' records. Written documentation for the cooperation / permission from the holder of the records should be attached.

7. Describe why this specific population is chosen: *Describe the inclusion and exclusion criteria that you are using for the selection of subjects; if you are using a convenience sample with no particular exclusion or inclusion criteria, please state rationale.*

The "Green River Killer" case is often cited as a public and significant failure of the criminal profiling process. For this reason, an analysis of the offender responsible for this failing is critical to understanding how to improve the process.

8. How will subjects be recruited? Describe the recruitment process to be used: *Include* **advertisements, flyers, bulletin board notices, e-mails, letters, etc. If subjects are patients in a facility, describe who will make the initial contact with the patient? What will be done to protect the subjects' privacy in this process?** *(Initial contact of the subjects identified through records search must be made by the official holder of the record, i.e., primary physician, therapist, public school official, hospital, etc.)*

I am currently in correspondence with Mr. Ridgway through his attorney. **I understand that these correspondences are outside of the study and therefore cannot be included in my thesis.** The contents of these communications are restricted to information on the study and responses to questions that Mr. Ridgway may have about the study. At present I have only sent one letter to Mr. Ridgway. This letter is included as an attachment to this protocol.

9. Will you give subjects gifts, payments, compensation, reimbursement, services without charge or extra credit?   Yes   No
   If yes, please explain:

10. How many subjects do you plan to enroll in your study?

    1 subject

11. How many subjects will you need to screen to achieve your enrollment?

NA

12. Describe the tasks that the subjects will be asked to perform. *Attach surveys, instruments, interview questions, focus group questions, etc. Describe the frequency and duration of the procedures, psychological test, educational test, and experiments; including screening, intervention, follow-up etc) if you intend to pilot a process before recruiting for the main study please explain*

    This study is to be conducted in three parts. The first part is a collection and profiling phase under which background information is collected on the subject, his offense behavior, early childhood development, socialization, home life, etc... as well as that of his victims. With the relevant background information a polygraph and interview will be conducted and post assessment completed to formulate a criminal profile. The second part of this study includes the reconciliation of these profile characteristics against existing crime scene and signature elements. Phase I is the collection and background phase. Phase II is the pre-interview phase. Phase III is bifurcated into two Sub phases, (a), a polygraph examination for independent assessment of deception and use in directing the following sub phase and (b) two 1.5 hour segments interview parts. Throughout sub phase (a) and (b), video and audio recording will take place for future analysis. Phase IV is the post assessment phase in which segments of phase three, sub phase (a) and (b) are submitted to three independent sources with experience in interrogation and deception analysis and committee members are consulted to develop a profile of Gary L. Ridgway. Phases I, II and IV do not directly engage the subject of this research but are described to provide context for the subject participation phase, Phase III.

Phase I

    The first phase of this study is a comprehensive background investigation with goal of collecting all available information on Ridgway's family history, natal, prenatal and early childhood development, adolescence, puberty and adulthood. This phase requires no participation from the subject. In addition to these specific areas of Ridgway's history, it is necessary to develop background information on his victims. The goal of this phase is to develop useful leads in formulating interview questions and analyzing study results. This collection phases also is used to contact people surrounding the investigation. Those individuals will be asked to sign an informed consent waiver. The end result of Phase I is a comprehensive understanding of the offender, the victims and the series of events which lead to the development, offense behavior and apprehension of the Green River Killer.

Phase II

    Phase II is conducted in preparation for the interview sub phases of this study. Where the goal of Phase I was to collect all relevant information, Phase II collates that information into an

interview protocol. This phase requires no participation from the subject. These questions and procedures are to be prepared in consultation with professionals in the relevant field of criminology, victimology, polygraph, forensic psychology, investigations and forensic anthropology. The goal of this phase is to develop a pool of no more than fifty questions from which a final protocol of 20 polygraph examination questions[4] will be selected. Once complete this interview protocol will be subjected to review and revision.

Little is known about the early development of Ridgway's personality and specific paraphilia(s). Questions prepared under Phase II address several key areas of interest in chronological order from latest to earliest in the following four sections: family history, adolescence, puberty and adulthood. Some pertinent areas span these critical delineations, pathological play and fantasy from childhood to adulthood and first offense behavior bridge these delineations outlined above. Additionally, Ridgway has always been vague on the details of his first offense in part due to his age and claims that specific memory recall has always been difficult. Understanding the significance and details of his first homicide are critical to understanding his pathology but this study recognizes that serial killing is an escalating offense type and offense behavior leading up to the initial homicide may have probative value as well. The other goal of Phase II is to develop test and control questions for the polygraph examination (phase three, sub phase [a]). These questions will be designed with specific regard to his background in an effort to evoke an autonomic response from arousal or shame (both are probative). Control questions will be used to demonstrate a baseline reading for the purpose of comparison. **The formal interview segment of this study will be conducted within the framework provided by the PCL-R.**

In addition to descriptive analysis, this study is interested in how the questions are answered and assumes that Mr. Ridgway will engage in a certain level of deception. I recognize that Mr. Ridgway only confessed to his offense behavior after being confronted with a preponderance of damning evidence and having developed a level of trust with his lawyer several months in the making. I will not have the luxury of this trust in any direct form; however, Ridgway's lawyer will be present as part of the protective constraints of this study. It is my hope that a certain degree of familiarity will accompany the presence of his lawyer. This being said, it should be noted that Ridgway continued to deceive the task force for nearly six months despite the continued presence of this trust relationship. For this reason I will operate from the assumption that all information developed during the interview phase is suspect. With this in mind, the research questions and protocol will be develop in consultation with committee members to elicit a maximum conscious and *unconscious defensive process-conscious cognitive style* reactions (Helfgott, Primative Defenses in the Language of the Psychopath: Considerations for Forensic Practice , 2004; Gacono & Meloy, 1988) for later analysis in Phase IV.

Phase III

Phase III will be conducted over one eight hour day at the Washington State Penitentiary, Walla Walla, Washington and requires participation of the subject. The polygraph (sub phase (a) will be conducted in the morning. This phase of the interview will be administered by a polygraphist to be determined. The polygraph is designed to measure autonomic reactions to stress, increased sweat gland activity, pulse and respiration rates. Ridgway has an extensive, self admitted and demonstrated, propensity to lie but this phase is not used for the purpose of determining deception. The polygraph is employed in this study to provide secondary data to corroborate repudiate or otherwise augment this study. Furthermore, polygraph has been

---

[4] ~~Addressed further under phase three,~~ sub phase (a)

demonstrated to be effective in managing sex offenders in supervised release situations (Meijer, Verschuere, Merckelbach, & Crombez, 2008). The polygraph will not address criminal activities outside his current conviction nor will the results be shared with or in any way affect his status with the Washington State Department of Corrections. Its immediate purpose will be to serve as an assessment to guide interview tactics in sub phase (b).

Sub phase (b) of phase three will be a formal interview of Ridgway. The Psychopathy Check List - Revised (PCL-R) will be used as a framework for the interview. The PCL-R is a well established actuarial tool for the prediction of dangerousness in correctional settings and measures antisocial behavior. I have taken coursework and received training in the administration of this protocol. This protocol will only be used for research purposes and is not valid as a clinical measure. Additionally, specific results from this screening will not be made available to Department of Corrections staff or administration and will have no impact on the subject's status as an inmate. A common tactic in interviewing psychopathic serial killers is to be highly assertive and not allow the interviewee to control the conversation. Review of previous Ridgway interviews, conducted by the Green River Task Force, will be used to establish predicted behavior. Ridgway is adept in discerning and playing into people's needs. He has a history of being highly manipulative as part of his success as a serial killer. For this reason the interviewer, in this instance I will be careful not to lead the interviewee. The purpose of this phase, primarily, will be to provide response behavior for the study and answer questions as a secondary goal. As Ridgway is known to be highly deceptive, any answers are highly suspect without evidence to support them.

Phase IV

Phase four is the assessment and analysis phase. The polygraph and interview conducted under phase three will be audio and video recorded in their entirety. The reason for this is twofold. First, individual segments of the interview will be cut into single answer segments and submitted to three police detectives with experience in body language assessment of deception. Their reports will be included in the analysis portion. The second reason for audio and video recording is for review purposes. In his book, Mark Prothero, defense attorney to Gary Ridgway, outlines several phrases used when Ridgway is fabricating a lie. The recordings are reviewed for this indication of deception as well. Finally, following assessment of deception in body language and semantics, Ridgway's answers will be collated, analyzed and reported in further sections of this study.

Finally, this study is mindful of the potential liability for the research institution and the subject of this study. For this reason **an attorney for Gary Ridgway will review all questions before they are submitted in interview and will be present for the duration of the interview process. Furthermore, this study is designed, specifically, to address developmental factors essential to the development of Ridgway's personality and paraphilia and does not address criminal events, acts or offenses outside the scope of his current conviction.** In keeping with the rules governing human subject studies, Gary Ridgway's involvement will be completely voluntary and under the conditions of full disclosure. No pretense or artifice will be used to coerce or otherwise manipulate Mr. Ridgway beyond the scope of this study; however, Mr. Ridgway will be under the understanding that the polygraph portion of the study is designed to demonstrate truth or deception when its true purpose is to determine an autonomic arousal. This reaction cannot be elicited without this relationship.

13. If the study involves an intervention, how does this differ from the current professional standard or intervention strategies?

NA

14. How many months do you anticipate this research study will last from the time final approval is granted? *Provide a flow chart if applicable.*

This study will be conducted over three months: Month 1
- Phase I background investigation.
Month 2 - Phase II pre interview preparation and Phase III Interview of Mr. Ridgway (end of period). Month 3 - Phase IV analysis of study results.

PROTECTION OF HUMAN SUBJECTS (Risks and Benefits)

15. Does the research involve any of these possible risks or harms to subjects? *Check all that apply.*

Use of deceptive technique   Use of private records (educational or medical)
    Probing for personal or sensitive information
    Presentation of materials which subjects might consider sensitive, threatening or degrading
    Possible invasion of privacy of subject or family
Social or economic risk   Administration of physical stimuli
Laboratory testing, blood draw   Exercise of stress testing procedures
Diagnostic or treatment procedures   Major change in exercise habits
Major changes in diet or sleep   Other procedures, specify:

Describe specifically the nature and degree of risk or harm as checked above and include the steps that will be taken to minimize risks of harms to protect subjects.
Specifically address what precautions that will be taken to minimize the risk to subjects, and what you intend to do if there is an injury, or health problem resulting from your research. Justify the risks in terms of the potential scientific yield, or anticipated benefits to the subjects. Identify anticipated benefits, if none, state none.

However inhumane they may seem, my duty as a researcher is to the welfare of my research subject(s). The National Institutes of Health (NIH) mandates as system of independent checks and balances in cases of human subjects studies, especially when the subject(s) of that study are incarcerated. To protect their rights and insure no harm will come from the research activity to be conducted, all researchers must pass the human subjects certification and submit their research proposal to an Institutional Review Board. In addition to these steps, I have taken further steps on behalf of the subject. Given that the full extent of my subjects' offense behavior has yet to be ascertained and the potential legal ramifications of newly revealed acts, it is prudent to have an attorney for the subject present. Given Mr. Ridgway's long standing and trusting relationship with his present attorney, it has been agreed that he will be present for the interview phase of the study and have full review of interview questions prior to that time.

As the identity of the subject of this study cannot be obscured, as in larger studies, certain private information outside the scope of this study but necessary to a full understanding of Mr. Ridgway's pathology will be withheld from publication. Health records and information deemed intimate or expressly withheld by the subject will be held under secure storage; furthermore, all records, research notes, drafts and other digital information pertaining to this study will be held under 212 bit encryption, accessible only to the researcher. Security is not only necessary to protect the privacy of the research subject but the sensitive nature of the offense behavior being studied. With forty-eight allocated offenses and many more outside the plea bargain, the potential for further harm to the victims of the Green River Killer, vis-a-vis their relatives and acquaintances, is significant. This is an objective study of the offense behavior, motivation and psychodynamics of the Green River Killer, given the highly sensitive nature of the subject matter. I am careful to confine my research to these narrow topics and ethically bound to mitigate further injury to the subjects of my study, perpetrator and victims.

PRIVACY AND CONFIDENTIALITY

16. Will you record any direct identifiers (names, social security numbers, addresses, telephone numbers) of your subjects?   Yes   No

If yes, please explain why it is necessary to record these identifiers. Describe how you will safeguard those identifiers or explain the coding system you will use to protect against disclosure of these identifiers:

This is an intensive study of the subject Gary L. Ridgway; therefore, it is impossible to separate the subject of the study from the publication. Furthermore, Mr. Ridgway's conviction is a matter of public record.

a. Where, how long, and in what format (paper, digital or electronic media, video, audio, or photographic) will data be kept?

Working copies of data (e.g. digital copies of documents, notes, audio and video recordings) will be kept on the researchers computer for the duration of the study. Further, hardcopy documents will be retained for that period as well. All documents not essential or no longer relevant will be destroyed in Seattle University confidential documents receptacles.

b. Describe what security provisions will be taken to protect these data (password protection, encryption, etc). List all persons who will have access to these codes or files?

Data (e.g. digital copies of documents, notes, audio and video recordings) will be kept on the researchers' computer under 212 bit encryption and biometric password protection. Any

hardcopy documents will be secured in the researchers private work space under fire safe protection.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

17. Will you benefit financially from this study?   Yes   No
   Describe any financial interest you have in the study findings.

The researcher will not benefit financially from this study. (see box marked above)

Any conflicts of interest should be disclosed on the informed consent form as a separate section entitled, "Researcher Conflict of Interest

SIGNATURES

Investigator:

__Loren T. Atherley_____
Typed or Printed Name

_____ Date: _____
Signature

Faculty advisor (if applicable):

__Dr. J Helfgott_____
Typed or Printed Name

___ _____ Date: _____
Signature

IRB Reviewer(s):

_____
Typed or Printed Name

_____ Date: _____
Signature

_____
Typed or Printed Name

_____ Date: _____
Signature

Complete this form, obtain signatures and include all attachments prior to sending to the
Sponsored Research Office, Bannan 112

Seattle University

901 12th Ave, Seattle, WA 98122

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

TITLE:

A Critical Analysis of Criminal Profiling through the Green River Killer Investigation.

INVESTIGATOR:

Loren T. Atherley, 901 12th Ave, Seattle, WA 98122

ADVISOR: (if applicable)

Dr. J. Helfgott
Seattle University, Criminal Justice
(206) 296-5477

SOURCE OF SUPPORT:

This study is being performed as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Masters degree in Criminal Justice (Investigative Criminology) at Seattle University.

PURPOSE:

You are being asked to participate in a research project that seeks to investigate criminal profiling through retrospective analysis of your case. If you take part in this study you may help us to better understand the nature and developmental process of serial homicide and how the profiling process can be improved.

RISKS:

Some of the question included in this study you may find uncomfortable and /or highly personal. You do not have to answer any questions you don't want to answer. This study is not intended to affect further prosecution or custody status; however, the researchers make no guarantee of confidentiality (see "CONFIDENTIALITY").

BENEFITS:

As an individual participant, this study offers no benefit to you.

COMPENSATION:

You will receive no compensation for participating in this study, nor are there any explicit or implied benefits (financial or legal) for participating.

_____
Initials/Date

Seattle University

901 12th Ave, Seattle, WA 98122

CONFIDENTIALITY:
Your institutional files and attorney work product will be available to Loren T. Atherley, the researcher and members of his thesis committee as necessary but will be held confidential otherwise. Your responses may be directly quoted in publications subsequent to this study. You are being asked to take a polygraph examination; however, any information you provide will not be made available to Washington State DOC personnel and will have no impact on your custody or status. All materials will be kept for a minimum of three (3) years then will be destroyed.

RIGHT TO WITHDRAW:
You are under no obligation to participate in this study. You are free to withdraw your consent to participate at any time without penalty. Your withdrawal will not influence any other services to which you may be otherwise entitled. If you choose to withdraw, all information that you have provided will not be used in this research and will be immediately destroyed.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS:
A summary of the results of this research will be supplied to you, at no cost, upon request, following completion.

VOLUNTARY CONSENT:
I have read the above statements and understand what is being asked of me. I also understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw my consent at any time, for any reason, without penalty. On these terms, I certify that I am willing to participate in this research project.

I understand that should I have any concerns about my participation in this study, I may call the investigator who is asking me to participate (Loren Atherley) at (206) 296-2139. If I have any concerns that my rights are being violated, I may contact Bruce Koch, chair of the Seattle University Institutional Review Board (206) 296-5815.

_____

Participant's Signature

_____

Date

_____

Investigator's Signature

_____

Date

Seattle University

901 12th Ave, Seattle, WA 98122
Sample Interview Framework:
Green River Killer Retro-Profile

I, Gary L. Ridgway, waive my right to privilege in authorizing Loren T. Atherley to obtain, for the purpose of research, my institutional files from the Washington State Department of Corrections.

Initials _____

I further authorize my attorney, Mark Prothero to release background reports prepared for my defense.

Initials _____

I understand that these documents will be held by Mr. Atherley and used to further his research. I further understand that actuarial scores and opinions presented in these files may be referenced in a published academic paper. Mr. Atherley will hold these documents under secure storage for a period of time no longer than is three (3) years as required by the National Institutes of Health (NIH).

Initials _____ Initials _____

_____   Date:_____

Gary L. Ridgway, Subject

_____   Date:_____

Loren T. Atherley, Researcher

_____   Date:_____

Mark Prothero, Attorney for Mr. Ridgway

Seattle University

901 12th Ave, Seattle, WA 98122

CONFIDENTIALITY:

Your responses may be directly quoted in publications subsequent to this study. There is no expectation of confidentiality.

RIGHT TO WITHDRAW:

You are under no obligation to participate in this study. You are free to withdraw your consent to participate at any time without penalty. If you choose to withdraw, all information that you have provided will not be used in this research and will be immediately destroyed.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS:

A summary of the results of this research will be supplied to you, at no cost, upon request, following completion.

VOLUNTARY CONSENT:

I have read the above statements and understand what is being asked of me. I also understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw my consent at any time, for any reason, without penalty. On these terms, I certify that I am willing to participate in this research project.

I understand that should I have any concerns about my participation in this study, I may call the investigator who is asking me to participate (Loren Atherley) at (206) 296-2139. If I have any concerns that my rights are being violated, I may contact Bruce Koch, chair of the Seattle University Institutional Review Board (206) 296-5815.

_____   _____

Participant's Signature   **Date**

_____   _____

Investigator's Signature   **Date**