Serial Crimes in Australia

Investigative Issues and Practice

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Statement of Authentication

The work presented in this thesis is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original except as acknowledged in the text. I hereby declare that I have not submitted this material, either in full or in part, for a degree at this or any other institution.

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Natalie Scerra
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Abstract

Violent serial crimes, in particular those of murder and rape, raise a number of issues for investigators. This research contributes to the body of knowledge regarding the practices of investigating violent serial crime by considering the contribution of a range of techniques and technologies to the investigative outcome. This research also examines how predominant police cultural understandings and knowledge of these crimes and the victims of such crimes that inform such investigations will be considered. Additionally, the roles of various investigative techniques and technologies in achieving positive and acceptable investigative outcomes, in the form of an arrest, are examined. Specifically, this research focuses on the incorporation of intelligence-led policing initiatives such as crime linkage systems into the investigation of serial crimes was also a focus of this current research.

To address these aims and associated issues in the Australian context, two methodologies are employed: case studies and semi-structured interviews. Case studies of serial crimes in Australia are examined in conjunction with interviews of NSW Police detectives and consultants that have investigated these crimes.

Several factors were identified as impacting on the investigation of violent serial crimes. One key factor was the inability of Australian police organisations to effectively incorporate intelligence-led policing initiatives which enable the linkage of related crimes into the investigation of serial crimes, leading to delayed outcomes in the
recognition and linkage of related crimes. The way in which police ‘dictionary knowledge’ can be seen to influence the way in which investigations are constructed was also a significant factor identified by the thematic analysis. Another significant factor that emerged from the research was the role of the media in police investigations.

Based on the research findings, a typology of the investigation of violent serial crimes has been constructed. This typology reflects the ability of investigators to recognise and link related offences, and the influence that such recognition has on the investigative practices employed and on achieving a positive investigative outcome. There are three categories in this typology: the serendipitous investigation; the conspicuous investigation; and the delayed-recognition investigation.

The factors identified by this research are demonstrated to have an impact on the investigation of violent serial crimes. Specifically they contributed to the delay in the recognition of these offences as serial in nature and in achieving a positive investigative outcome. As indicated by the proposed typology and recommendations, these factors can be addressed by police organisations to improve the investigative capabilities of the police investigating these violent crimes.
INTRODUCTION: SERIAL CRIME - AN OVERVIEW

Serial crimes, particularly serial murder, have been the subject of academic research for several decades. Much of this research has focused on the offenders of these crimes. This has been precipitated by the endeavour to understand the aetiology of such crimes. Studies have attempted to explain these crimes by proposing psychological, social and biological models for understanding of offenders’ behaviour (for example, Douglas & Olshaker, 1997; Leyton, 1986; Pinto & Wilson, 1990; Stone, 2001). These aspects however, have minimal impact on the ability of police to investigate these serial crimes. This chapter will discuss some of the common understandings of serial crime as developed in previous research. The contributions and limitations of this knowledge to the investigation of serial crime will be addressed. Preceding this, the incidence of serial crimes in Australia will be presented.

When discussing serial crimes there are some misconceptions about what crimes can be considered as serial. Academic researchers and the general public’s broad familiarity with serial murder and serial rape mean that other crimes which can be considered as serial in nature are often overlooked: for example, serial arson which refers to acts of repetitive fire setting (Mavromatis, 2000), serial talking (Lloyd-Goldstein, 2000), and serial burglary (Schlesinger, 2000a). Forms of non-violent serial crimes include exhibitionism, frotteurism\(^1\), and obscene telephone scatologica\(^2\) (Krueger &

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\(^1\) The sexualised bodily rubbing against another

\(^2\) Obscene phone calls for gratification
Many of these forms of serial crime are not widely acknowledged or brought to the attention of the general public. One reason for this is that the public experience less heightened feelings of fear about these forms of serial crime than serial murder and serial rape (Mavromatis, 2000). Another possible reason for the lack of general knowledge about these crimes is that they rarely receive the heightened media attention that the crimes of serial murder and serial rape would. Additionally, some of these crimes are difficult to identify and detect. Thus recognition of a series of related offences is minimised.

This research focuses on the crimes of serial murder and serial rape because of the strong public responses that these crimes elicit and the widespread media attention they gain. This attention comes despite, and because of, the rarity of these offences, with few incidents of serial murder and serial rape occurring in Australian and abroad in comparison to other crimes (Pinto & Wilson, 1990). Carney (2004) contends that the repetitive nature of crimes such as serial rape can produce an atmosphere of fear that affects a community in a way that is unique compared to the impact of other crimes. This fear can be seen to stem from the popular knowledge of these predatory offenders: these forms of serial crime have been the focus of a number of popular crime genres and the general public has generally gained such knowledge about the characteristics of such crimes in films and literature (Fox, Levin, & Quinet, 2005; Jenkins, 1994; Simpson, 2000). In addition, the reportage of such crimes in the media is often extensive and sensationalist. The general familiarity with these forms of serial crime...
may lead to extra pressure being applied on the investigators by the general public when attempting to apprehend a violent serial offender.

Once a series of these crimes has been identified, the nature of the investigation into those crimes shifts. That is, there is a sharing of resources in the investigation of each related offence whereby information relating to each individual offence is considered in the context of the series of crimes. This is in contrast to traditional investigations into single-incident offences where information gathered is considered in isolation. The relatively unique nature of such investigations is a factor driving the focus of the current research.

This chapter will examine the incidence of serial murder and serial rape that have occurred in Australia and demonstrate that these crimes’ rarity has contributed to a gap in knowledge about how such crimes are investigated as well as how they differ to incidents of single-victim offences. This chapter will provide a context within the research literature that exists to demonstrate that much of the previous research into this field provides an inadequate contribution to our understanding of how violent serial crimes are policed.
What Constitutes Serial Crime?

Currently in Australia there is no criminal offence of serial murder or serial rape. The terms ‘serial murder’ and ‘serial rape’ are not legal definitions and thus do not carry offence categories that can identify serial offenders as such. Instead, offenders are charged with each individual offence committed against each victim. For example, in NSW Ivan Milat was charged and convicted of seven counts of murder and one of attempted murder. Such terms however, are utilised by academics and practitioners in the field, including police and detectives, to describe a certain type of offender or how a number of crimes are related.

The Serial Murderer

The term ‘serial murderer’ or ‘serial killer’ was coined by FBI agent and criminal profiler, Robert Ressler, to describe repeated acts of homicide that occur in a series (Ressler & Schactman, 1992). This was done to differentiate the serial offender from the mass murderer which the former had previously been classified as; this nominal difference also highlighted key differences between the crimes such as the timeline of offences. Mass murders usually occur as a single event whereas serial murder denotes a
number of separate criminal events (Fox, et al., 2005), and thus is repetitive in nature. The repetition, as described by Ressler, “leaves the murderer hanging”, in anticipation, presumably a waiting the next murder in the series (Ressler & Schactman, 1992). In Ressler’s conception the term ‘serial murder’ discounts the need for a minimum number of related offences, provided that they appear repetitive in nature.

There is no one definition of serial murder that has been agreed upon by the majority of researchers in the criminal justice field. This is due to the variety of factors that help define serial murder. The main factors to be considered are: the number of victims, the victim-offender relationship, the time sequence of events, the motivational forces, and the geographical nature of these events. These factors also help to distinguish incidents of serial murder from single-victim crimes. There also appears to be a conflict in defining female serial murderers in contrast to male serial murderers. Currently female serial murderers can only be defined as serial offenders, under the broadest of definitions.

In serial murder definitions, there are a minimum number of victims that must be achieved before such murders can be classified as serial in nature. According to Egger (1998), Goldsworthy (2002), Pinto and Wilson (1990) and Turvey (2002a) a minimum of two similar murders must occur before the murders can be considered as serial murders. This similarity may be in any form, for instance comparable victims or key features of how the actual crimes were committed. However Hagan (1992) states that a minimum of three separate incidents must occur before it can be considered as serial
murder, a definition supported by Holmes and Holmes (1998). Conversely, Fox and Levin (1998) state that four or more murders must have occurred before such a definition is employed. 

Egger (1998) refutes the need for such large numbers, stating that any two similar murders should be at least investigated as serial murder until proven otherwise. A minimum number of two victims also allows for leniency in the investigator’s imprecise knowledge of, and ability to link, similar murders, and the stage of the serial murderer’s career. For example, law enforcement personnel may not be aware of other similar murders particularly if they fall outside their division. The serial murderer may have only begun his or her criminal career and therefore there may be no more than two murders committed at that point in time. Egger (1998) states that by waiting until three or four people have been murdered in similar circumstances, law enforcement personnel are placed at a disadvantage as their investigative capabilities are reduced due to the period of time that has lapsed before they are able to investigate the offences as linked crimes. Information from potential witnesses for example may not be available or be inaccurate if a prolonged period of time has passed since the crime took place. A definition that includes a minimum of two murders also allows for a deficiency in the police recognition of related offences, as previous related offences may not have been identified initially.

Definitions of serial murder can also include prescriptive guidelines regarding the relationship between the victims and the offenders. Mouzos (2000) and Pinto and
Wilson (1990) identify that there is usually little or no prior personal relationship between the victims and the offender. This is consistent with findings from studies by Fox, Levin and Quinet (2005), who state that the typical victims of serial murderers in the United States of America are prostitutes. However, if this were to be accepted as a definition, men and women who murder a number of partners over a period of time would not be classified as serial killers: neither would those in medical professions who murder a number of patients, such as a nurse. Although in many known international cases of serial murder, the victim is chosen randomly and thus is unknown to the offender (Egger, 1998; Kidd, 2000) there are occasions in which a relationship with the serial murderer can make a person the target. This is particularly evident in the case of female serial murderers, as research has shown that they frequently target family members, friends and acquaintances (Hale & Bolin, 1998). However, as many definitions of serial murder such as those proposed by Egger (1998), Fox, Levin and Quinet (2005) and Pinto and Wilson (1990) are derived from studies of male serial murderers, this factor is often ignored.

Many researchers identify specific motivations that must exist in order for these crimes to be classified as serial murders. In a review of serial murder in Australia, Goldsworthy (2002) states that the primary motivation of serial murder is usually the emotional or sexual gratification derived from the act. Egger (1998) claims that serial murderers are motivated by a need for power and control over their victims. These crimes are usually considered to be predatory, in that the offender’s behaviour often includes the stalking of victims and features sexual or sadistic acts (Mouzos, 2000).
According to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual IV-TR (American Psychiatric Association, 2000, p. 573) which categorises and defines psychiatric disorders, sexual sadism:

… involves acts (real, not simulated) in which the individual derives sexual excitement from psychological or physical suffering (including humiliation) of the victim.

It is also thought that these crimes are usually considered to have unclear motives (Pinto & Wilson, 1990) or psychological motives (Mouzos, 2000). According to Schleisenger (2000b) the motivation of serial murderers and some other serial offenders, relates to the sexually aggressive fantasies entertained by the offender and is driven by the offender’s compulsion to carry out this fantasy which leads to an act such as murder.

However, according to these definitions, multiple murders which are motivated by financial or revenge factors, cannot be considered as serial murderers. It is generally accepted that the motives for a majority of male serial murderers are usually sexually and/or psychologically motivated: the offender aims to gain sexual pleasure or power over the victim (Holmes, Hickey, & Holmes, 1998). Many studies into the phenomenon of serial murder focus upon sexually motivated crimes (Kocsis & Irwin, 1998; McKenzie, 1995). Kocsis and Irwin (1998) outline six psychological characteristics which they believe define serial murder in the sample studied. These psychological
characteristics are psychopathy, narcissism, sadism, paraphiliac tendencies, and fantasy and compulsiveness.

Female serial murderers are often motivated by what Holmes, Hickey and Holmes (1998) refer to as ‘purchases of comfort’. This includes money, insurance and business motivators. However, according to Holmes et al. (1998) some female serial killers are motivated by sex, relationship issues or by revenge. It is important to note that a study by Hickey (1991 in Holmes et al., 1998) found that one in two female serial murderers worked with a male accomplice. In these cases, their motivation may be one of loyalty to their male accomplice rather than other personal factors.

The time sequence of the murders is one factor that is usually agreed upon by the majority of theorists as a key identifying factor in the definition of serial murder. It is generally accepted that if the crimes occur over a period of time - hours, days, weeks, months or years - then they can be considered serial in nature (Fox, et al., 2005). However problems arise when the murders are committed within hours of each other as this may indicate that a mass or spree murderer is at work (Fox, et al., 2005), although other features of the crime can usually help distinguish between these forms of multiple murder. These features include the victim type, method of approach and if a signature is present. In many cases of serial murder, if more than one murder occurs within hours or days of each other, then it can indicate an escalation in the offender’s behaviour. For a series of murders which occur over hours or days to be considered as serial murder,
there must be a distinguishable break between the offences in which the offender is considered to have performed ‘normal’ duties such as work (Cook & Hinman, 1999b).

Another factor often used to define serial murder is the geographic features of the crimes. Theorists such as Egger (1990b) and Hickey (1997) agree that serial murder occurs over a geographical distance, whether this relates to the place the victim is selected or where the victim’s remains are disposed. Hickey (1997) also outlines how the offender’s mobility may also be used to typify serial murderers. Hickey claims that there are three typologies that are based upon where, geographically, offenders commit their crimes. The first is the “travelling serial killer”, relating to those who commit multiple murders over a wide geographical range, whether this be between cities, regions or states. The second category is the “local serial killer” who may commit his/her crimes within a particular city or town. The final category is the “place-specific serial killer” who commits his/her crimes in a specific place such as their home or place of work.

The geographical features of serial murder have been the subject of wide debate with theorists drawing on various examples from the US and Australia. For example, Egger (1990b) states that serial murderers are usually very mobile and are capable of moving between states. This continuity of movement is also identified by Egger as a feature of most known serial murderers. Egger does however acknowledge that some serial murderers operate in a very small geographical area. An Australian case example of this limited geographical mobility is John Glover who committed his crimes in a
relatively small area on Sydney’s North Shore. Other theorists such as Canter, Missen and Hodge (1996) claim that serial offenders rarely travel long distances and thus usually operate in one particular area.

Leyton (1986) has proposed that with increased urbanisation in developed countries such as the United States and Germany, there appears to be a decrease in the number of travelling serial killers and an increase in the other two geographical types of serial killers. In a study into the distance travelled by serial murderers in Germany, Snook, Cullen, Mokros and Harbort (2005) found that 63 percent of offenders lived within ten kilometres of the location of their crimes. Thus such research supports the notions proposed by Egger (1990b) and Canter et al. (1996) that many serial offenders commit crimes relatively close to their homes. This may be due to the increase in population in urban areas, which allows for serial murderers to remain undetected (Egger, 1990b). They are also less likely to be detected in highly populated areas, as their victims are less likely to be discovered. Although there are several debates regarding the mobility of serial offenders, the inclusion of this factor is not seen as aiding the identification of a series of related crimes as serial although it may contribute to investigators’ inability to link related crimes (Snook, et al., 2005).

With so many factors to be considered in the definition of serial murder, and dispute over the relevance of each amongst academics and police and law enforcement agencies, there is no universal definition of serial murder. According to Mouzos (2000)
Australian police agencies accept the Federal Bureau of Investigation’s (FBI) definition which is identified by Cook and Hinman. This definition states that:

…there are 2 or more separate homicide events which occur over a period of time…. There is a cooling-off period between episodes. These crimes are predatory. The offender frequently talks his victims. The motive is clearly psychological. The offender’s behaviour and the crime scene evidence typically indicate sexual and sadistic features, and may involve torture and mutilation to the victim (Cook & Hinman, 1999b, p. 364).

This definition of a ‘typical’ or ‘classic’ serial murderer was considered as the most applicable to this research as it is the operational definition used by police organisations in Australia as identified by Mouzos (2000). As previously stated Egger (1998) believes that a definition that includes a minimum of two related acts can lead to increased investigative efficiency. Such a definition excludes several seemingly ‘serial’ crimes. An example of such cases would include a domestic dispute where several people were murdered over a short period of time consistent with mass murders or cases regarding professional ‘hit-men’ or military-related murders, where crimes are committed under the guise of a military operation. Although these cases may be labelled in the media as ‘serial murder’, there is a general consensus among academics and law enforcement that these crimes should be excluded, primarily due to the differences in the motivational forces driving the crimes from those of serial murderers (Pinto & Wilson, 1990).
Several factors affect the applicability of this definition to some cases of serial murder. These include the characteristics of the crime and the offender, which are often referred to as typologies. Typologies are often utilised to describe and ultimately understand the offender, thus aiding the investigation through informing by potentially identifying distinguishing behaviours. In the discussion of investigative tools in Chapter 2, the typologies of the serial murderer will be identified and critiqued.

Also excluded from the definition of a serial murderer are mass murderers, when a number of victims are murdered during the one episode (Fox, et al., 2005). Fox et al. (2005) in their discussion of forms of homicide, state that the mass murderer tends to target friends, family, co-workers, students and teachers. These offenders often plan their crimes and are motivated by avenging the injustices that they perceive have been perpetrated against them. These are usually single incident events, or events that occur as part of the one episode with no cooling-off period, with the offender either committing suicide or being detained by police at the conclusion of the offences (Fox, et al., 2005).

One factor that is not identified in definitions of serial murder is the number of offenders. Several cases of serial murder involving two offenders emerged from the literature, including Leonard Lake and Charles Ng in California, and Kenneth Bianchi and Angelo Buono in Washington, and Canadian couple Paul Bernardo and Karla Homolka (Fox, et al., 2005).
Some definitions of serial crime also require a recognisable modus operandi and signature for categorising a series of murders as serial murder (Davies, 1992; Killmier, 1997). The modus operandi (MO) can be defined as the method of killing, whereas the signature is defined as the extraneous actions that were performed during the commission of the murders (Killmier, 1997). For example, a signature of post-mortem mutilation may vary in that the level and intensity of this act may increase but the key identifying feature of the signature will still remain. As stated by Keppel (2000) although a signature may evolve over time, the core feature of the signature will remain the same. The MO, also referred to as the offender’s ‘calling card’ (Keppel, 2000), in contrast may change over time, either as the serial offender evolves or as a response to law enforcement’s investigations (Keppel & Birnes, 2003).

The Female Serial Murderer

The proposed definitions of the serial murderer as previously discussed are limited in that often the female serial murderer is not recognised as such, as the definitions are often gendered in nature. Holmes, Hickey and Holmes (1998) state that this may be due to the resistance to the idea of women as violent offenders, rather than the caring and nurturing stereotype that cultural expectations are accustomed to. The lack of recognition may also be due to the extremely rare nature of this type of criminal. Of 47 cases of serial murder in the United States identified by Holmes and DeBurger (1988, cited in Holmes et al., 1998) only three offenders were female. This lack of recognition
as serial offenders however, may also be due to the way in which they commit their crimes.

This representation however, is in stark contrast to the incidence of serial murder committed by women in Australia. According to Paul Kidd in his discussion on Australian incidents of violent crime, “…of the 33 cases of serial murder in Australia since 1822, Australia has had 10 female serial killers; roughly a 30 per cent average” (Kidd, 2005, p. 135). This indicates that the incidence of serial murder committed by female offenders may be higher than that acknowledged by the research literature.

According to Hale and Bolin (1998) female serial killers differ greatly to their male counterparts. One of the main differences is the methods that women use to commit their crimes. In their study of 184 female serial killers in the United States, Hale and Bolin identify poison as the most common method employed. As Hale and Bolin amongst others (for example Holmes, Hickey, & Holmes, 1998) acknowledge, the victims of the female serial killer are usually family members or acquaintances, thus allowing for greater opportunities to commit such acts using poison as their weapon. In Australia, the incidence of female-perpetrated serial crime is significantly lower than that committed by their male counterparts.

This presence of a pre-existing relationship between victim and the female offender would preclude the inclusion of these crimes in the category of ‘serial’ if traditional definitional parameters were followed, such as those designated by the
definition of serial murder utilised in this thesis. As previously stated, it is considered that a defining feature of a serial crime is that there is little or no prior relationship between the victim and the offender (Mouzos, 2000; Pinto & Wilson, 1990). As found by Hale and Bolin (1998) there is a propensity for the female murderer to target family members, therefore traditional beliefs about what constitutes ‘serial’ are questionable. In addition, beliefs about how a serial crime should be defined where women are not recognised as possible serial offenders, may impact on an investigation.

The Serial Rapist

The other violent serial crime of interest to this present research is that of serial rape. A definition of serial rape raises several problems as there have been few, if any, attempts by academics to provide a formal definition, and the term is often treated by researchers as though it is self-explanatory. Further difficulties arise when considering the term ‘rape’ which does not have a legal definition in many states but rather is a socially constructed term. The term ‘rape’ has been defined as:

the penetration of the mouth, vagina or anus by any parts of the attacker’s body or by an object used by the attacker, without the consent of the victim (Easteal, 1992, p. 1).
However, the use of the label ‘serial rapist’ to describe a serial offender who commits such acts, has been overwhelming both in academic literature, both internationally (for example Money, 1990; Turvey, 2002c; J. I. Warren, et al., 1998) and in Australia (for example Kocsis, 2002).

The methodology used in this thesis considers incidences of serial rape that have occurred in New South Wales only. In New South Wales, there is no legal definition for rape. Rather, such offences are referred to as sexual assault, where “any person who has sexual intercourse with another person without the consent of the other person and who knows that the other person does not consent to the sexual intercourse…” (“Crimes Act 1900 (NSW)," Section 61I). The definition for serial rape is however, more difficult to operationalise, although Turvey (2002c) states simply that serial rape refers to two or more related rape or sexual assault offences.

In simple terms, serial rape can be considered as repeated rapes (Turvey, 2002c). Thus for the purposes of this research, the term ‘serial rape’ will refer to all serial offences where sexual penetration is committed. The term ‘serial sexual assault’ will refer to cases where penetration was not known to have occurred. This is in line with the legal definitions of the state of New South Wales, as outlined above, as the case studies of serial rape were limited to this region. In both instances, these crimes have largely been considered in the literature to be committed by offenders with little or no prior relationship to the victim. This is supported by some academic sources who
use the term ‘serial rapists’, to usually refer to predatory rapists who victimise strangers (Deu & Edelmann, 1997; Stevens, 1994).

Thus rapists who repetitively offend against someone known to them—such as a girlfriend—or those who habitually rape numerous sexual partners over a period of time, are rarely considered to be serial rapists. An example of this is evident in a study conducted by Kocsis, Cooksey and Irwin (2002), in which they excluded multiple rape cases where the offender had a prior relationship with a victim or had raped a victim on a number of occasions. As with serial murder, the use of the victim-offender relationship can be considered problematic. In incidences of serial rape, such limitations in recognising repeat offenders as ‘serial’ can be considered to affirm myths of the ideal rape victim. This will be discussed in greater lengths in Chapter 1.

The Incidence of Serial Crime in Australia

Serial Murder

According to the National Homicide Monitoring Program (NHMP), the number of homicide victims in Australia for the period of 2006 to 2007 was 266 (Deardon & Jones, 2008). Of these 266 victims only 6 percent were unacquainted with the offender and thus can be considered as stranger killings. However, as identified in several international studies (Fisher, 1997; Jenkins, 1994), the general public’s fear of
being murdered by a stranger is more intense than of being murdered by family, intimates or acquaintances which occurs far more frequently. These crimes account for ninety percent of deaths in Australia (Deardon & Jones, 2008).

Although the incidence of these crimes at the hands of strangers is rare, the phenomenon of the serial offender is rarer still yet is perhaps the most easily recognised due to the productions of popular culture such as films and books (Caputi, 1990). Fox, Levin and Quinet (2005), in their discussion of research considering the incidence and aetiology of serial murder, note that it is difficult to gauge the extent of this type of crime due to difficulties in linking them, and the time and place disparities between these crimes. These problems arise from one of the key differences between the majority or homicide or murder incidents, whereby a large proportion of homicides are committed by friends or family members of the victims (Davies & Mouzos, 2007).

In Australia since 1900 there have been only 29 recognised incidences of serial murder (Table 1). This number equates to an average of one incident every four years. However, such a figure is still problematic in determining the incidence of serial murder as it only includes cases where convictions were obtained. It does not include cases where it is suspected that a serial murderer is responsible, for example the Claremont murders in Western Australia and the murders and disappearances of several women in the Newcastle region in New South Wales.
Table 1: Incidence of Serial Murder in Australia from 1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>No. of Victims</th>
<th>Offender/s</th>
<th>State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900-06</td>
<td>up to 37</td>
<td>Alice Mitchell</td>
<td>WA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907-09</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Martha Rendell</td>
<td>WA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-35</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Arnold Soderman</td>
<td>VIC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938-39</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Albert Andrew Moss</td>
<td>NSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Edward Leonski</td>
<td>VIC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948-52</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Yvonne Fletcher</td>
<td>NSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946-53</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>John Balaban(^a)</td>
<td>SA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947-53</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Caroline Grills</td>
<td>NSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Leonard Lawson</td>
<td>NSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-62</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>William McDonald</td>
<td>NSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959-65</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Eric Cooke</td>
<td>WA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962-90</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Barry Hadlow</td>
<td>QLD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Archibald McCafferty</td>
<td>NSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-90</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Rodney Cameron</td>
<td>VIC/NSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976-77</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>J.Miller &amp; C.Worrell</td>
<td>SA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Patricia Moore</td>
<td>NSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984-86</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Michael Laurence</td>
<td>NSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>D.Birnie &amp; C.Birnie</td>
<td>WA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Josef Schwab</td>
<td>NT &amp; WA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984-90</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>John Wayne Glover</td>
<td>NSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989-92</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ivan Milat</td>
<td>NSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Paul Charles Denyer</td>
<td>VIC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993-96</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kathleen Folbigg(^b)</td>
<td>NSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mark Valera</td>
<td>NSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Matthew James Harris</td>
<td>NSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Leonard John Fraser(^c)</td>
<td>QLD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993-99</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>“Snowtown”(^d)</td>
<td>SA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-99</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Peter Dupas(^e)</td>
<td>VIC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002-03</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Francis Michael Fahey</td>
<td>QLD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) One murder occurred in Paris prior to the offenders arrival in Australia, three victims were result of a spree
\(^b\) Folbigg was also found guilty of the manslaughter of a fourth child
\(^c\) Fraser was also found guilty of the manslaughter of a third woman
\(^d\) Four men were convicted of the murders of these eleven victims however not all offenders were involved in the murder of all eleven victims
\(^e\) Dupas had been convicted for a series of rapes and sexual assaults prior to his murder convictions

An issue that has been a topic of debate, is the perceived or actual increase of the incidence of serial murder. It has been argued that there is an increase in the number of cases of serial murder each decade since 1900 (Jenkins, 1994). Serial murder is considered a modern phenomenon, although globally incidences have been discovered to have taken place as early as the fifteenth century (Leyton, 1986). This view of serial
murder as a ‘modern’ occurrence can be explained in part as the result of the changes to the approach of law enforcement agencies to this phenomenon. The term ‘serial killer’ was not coined until the early 1980s; Robert Ressler (Ressler & Schactman, 1992) wished to differentiate these crimes from other ‘stranger murders’, as he had recognised that some relevant cases were in fact committed by offenders known to the victims. Cases of serial murder were, up until that period, also grouped under the classification of mass murder (Fox & Levin, 1999).

One estimate by Jenkins (1994) of serial murder in the United States up until the end of 1992 lists 447 names of serial murderers. Of these, 82 were active between 1900 and 1970, with the remaining 365 serial killers active from 1970 to 1992 (Jenkins, 1994). These figures appear to evidence a staggering increase in the incidence of serial murder. Yet it is important to note that these figures represent individual names of serial killers and not separate incidents. For example where two or more people have worked in cohort to commit their crimes (team killers), the incident will reflect the number of killers. Crimes that are considered mass murders, the killing of a number of people in the one episode, are not included as part of this data.

McLaughlin and Muncie (2001) have referred to the United States as the ‘natural habitat’ for serial murderers. This label is largely reflective of the high number of cases in the United States as evidenced by research such as that by Jenkins (1994). However Australia has not been protected from this phenomenon. In Australia, the numbers of recognised cases of serial murder is not as high as those of North American
statistics. Table 1 demonstrates the number of recognised cases of serial murder in Australia from the year 1900 onwards. With the exception of Alice Mitchell, who was not convicted of all the murders that she confessed to, the offenders were convicted of the number of murders specified although there may have been others attributed to these offenders. This table also does not include offenders who were not convicted of two or more crimes as these are not considered to be serial in nature, nor does it include cases that remain unsolved or without a conviction being obtained.

During the 1980s and the 1990s, the phenomenon of serial murder in Australia appeared to be more common, as compared to previous decades (Table 1). In this period alone at least 13 cases of serial murder emerged and challenged investigators (Kidd, 2000; McGarry, 2005; Pinto & Wilson, 1990). The actual incidence of serial crime is considerably lower than other violent crimes (Goldsworthy, 2002); however, serial crimes inherently have high victimisation rates, often of three or more victims per offender, and thus can create heightened levels of fear in the community, particularly when offences are reported in a sensational way by the media.

Serial Rape

The incidence of serial rape in Australia also appears to be an issue of increasing importance. Since 1990 in Australia there have been at least 23 solved cases of serial
rape as outlined in Table 2. From a comparison of the incidence of serial rape and serial murder in Australia over a similar timeframe, it is evident that serial rape poses a greater focus of attention for investigators. This can be seen from a comparison of the number of victims for each offence type as outlined in Table 1 and Table 2, where serial rape has a higher victimisation rate than serial murder.

### Table 2: Convicted Serial Rapists in Australia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>No. Victims</th>
<th>Offender</th>
<th>State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1956-59</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>David Joseph Scanlon</td>
<td>NSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Raymond Edmunds&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>NSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-90</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Gary Frederick Sutton</td>
<td>SA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982-86</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>George Gerrard Kaufman</td>
<td>VIC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989-90</td>
<td></td>
<td>Terry John Williamson</td>
<td>NSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-92</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Paul Keating</td>
<td>SA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984-94</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Brett Anthony Major</td>
<td>SA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978-88</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Robert John Fardon</td>
<td>QLD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Troy Allen Burley</td>
<td>QLD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988-96</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>George Allan Pryor</td>
<td>QLD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988-96</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Quoc Vinh To</td>
<td>NSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995-96</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Graham James Kay</td>
<td>NSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992-97</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Lyall Grant Meizer</td>
<td>QLD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995-97</td>
<td>8&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>David Glen Johnson</td>
<td>NSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996-97</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bruno Presta</td>
<td>NSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994-98</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Donald Wayne Garlett</td>
<td>VIC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995-98</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Shane Francis Gray</td>
<td>VIC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990-99</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Carlos Delgado-Guerra</td>
<td>QLD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990-2001</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Shane Ronald Farmer</td>
<td>TAS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-1998</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Gilbert Atwell</td>
<td>QLD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998-2000</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Anthony James Daley</td>
<td>NSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-2000</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Jason Charles Buckley</td>
<td>QLD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Skaf &amp; co.&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>NSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998-2002</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Thomas John Armfield</td>
<td>SA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Abraham Hzaife</td>
<td>VIC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995-2004</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Wayne Anthony Trindall</td>
<td>NSW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004-05</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Afsheen &amp; Azhar Hussein</td>
<td>QLD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> aka “Mr Stinky”. Was also convicted of the double murder of two teenagers

<sup>b</sup> Johnson was believed to have committed crimes against 29 women, was convicted of crimes against 18, of which convictions for sexual assault of 8 victims are included

<sup>c</sup> Offenders Bilal Skaf, Mohammed Skaf were convicted of charges relating to all four victims, Mahmoud Sansoussi, Mohammed Sansoussi for charges relating to 3 victims and Tayyab Sheikh for charges relating to one victim.

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<sup>3</sup> This is not a comprehensive list of all incidents of solved serial rape cases in Australia, but one where convictions for more than one sexual assault incident on more than occasion could be validated through media reports or court documents.
Despite this higher demonstrated incidence, serial rape receives less attention than serial murder in both the academic research arena and in the general community as evidenced by the disparity in the reportage of these cases through the media and other literary avenues such as documentaries and biographical accounts. One reason for this is that there appears to be less media reportage of such crimes. Another reason may be that the legal processes are designed to protect the rights of the offender by not permitting previous convictions for rape and sexual assault to be brought into any current prosecution for sexual offences.

**Rarity and the Investigation: Implications**

As demonstrated the occurrence of serial murder and serial rape in Australia is relatively rare. The incidence is even rarer when considering the occurrence at a local or state level. Incidents of serial crimes are investigated by the police of the state in which they occur. Table 1 and Table 2 indicate that cases of serial crime have predominately taken place in New South Wales in the past decade, while other Australian states have had fewer, partly due to smaller populations in those states. It is believed that the infrequent occurrence of serial murder and serial rape contributes to inexperience of police in investigating such crimes. It is proposed that few of the detectives investigating the serial crime incidents in Australia would have had previous experience in serial crime investigation due to the rarity of these offences.
What Makes A Serial Killer?

A number of academic theorists have attempted to explain the aetiology of the violent serial of fender (see for eg. Egger, 1984, 1998; Leyton, 1986). These explanations emerge from various fields of enquiry and include the social and environmental factors, psychological dynamics and biological causes. Although there are a number of relevant theories proposing to provide at least a partial explanation for such offenders only some of these will be discussed in detail as it is beyond the scope or intent of this thesis to provide a comprehensive representation of these theories. Many of these theories have been formulated in response to cases of serial murder with little or no acknowledgment of the crimes of serial rape. Other theories however, do assign special status to serial crimes of a sexual nature.

Egger (1998) proposes a theory that stems from the belief that criminal behaviour is a function of the socialisation process. The offender’s past may explain his or her aggressive behaviour. This is often a favoured explanation of serial murderers’ motivations, as many serial murderers have reported being the victims of childhood abuse (Egger, 1998).

The psychopathology of the offender is another factor often considered in the attempt to explain the occurrence of serial murder (Pinto & Wilson, 1990). Public perception is that all murderers, particularly serial murderers, suffer from some form of mental illness (Caputi, 1999). However, the evidence does not support this. A study by
Mouzos (1999) on the incidence of mental illness in the homicide offender population in Australia, found that only “4.4 percent (147) of homicide offenders were recorded as suffering from a mental disorder at the time of the homicide incident” over the nine year period reviewed by the study (Mouzos, 1999, p. 4). Mouzos also found that a mentally disordered offender was more likely to murder a family member, which is in contrast to the serial offender whereby most serial murderers usually target persons unknown to themselves (Mouzos, 1999). There is currently no Australian research that identifies an overwhelming presence of mental illness among serial offenders.

According to Egger (1998) the term psychopath is redundant, with the accepted name for the condition being ‘antisocial personality’. In his attempt to develop a theory of the origin and development of the serial offender, Giannangelo (1996) however, contests that ‘antisocial’ and ‘psychopathic’ are not interchangeable terms. Giannangelo proposes that psychopathic serial killers tend to be predatory and exhibit aggressive narcissistic characteristics in addition to antisocial behaviour. Regardless of the actual definition and differences between these conditions, people with either disorder are not considered able to experience emotions such as love and empathy (Egger, 1998). However, as Egger states, people suffering from these personality disorders are not insane or mentally ill.

Because of the ways in which serial murder differs from other forms of murder, particularly in regard to motivation and the progression of the offending career, it is not possible to ascertain if any or all of the above factors contribute to serial murder. Due to
the often sexual nature of this crime, it is hard to generalise, as there has not been enough research in this area. In their discussion of serial murder in Australia, Pinto and Wilson (1990) warn that “serial killers cannot be neatly categorised into a particular behavioural type” and that “documentation should occur within a framework which recognises that serial killing is not committed by specific psychological or sociological types” (Pinto & Wilson, 1990, p. 3).

Other explanations for the behaviour of the serial offender consider that biological precursors can explain behaviour. One biological theory proffered by Fox et al. (2005) identifies head trauma as being linked with violent behaviour. This is particularly relevant as many serial murderers have suffered from some form of childhood abuse, therefore many may have sustained head traumas (Fox, et al., 2005).

As demonstrated, there have been many attempts to identify the causes of serial offending, specifically serial murder. There is a clear gap in knowledge in relation to the literature surrounding serial rape. Explanations are often sought within the existing literature addressing sexual assault in general whilst serial rape can also be considered as a precursor to the serial murderer (Schlesinger, 2000b). These explanations however, do not directly contribute to the knowledge of the investigation of serial crimes directly. The aetiology only becomes pertinent post-conviction once thorough psychological and psychiatric testing of the offender can be carried out. The theories of serial criminal offending can be seen to form the basis of some investigative tools such as criminal profiling. The knowledge that is drawn upon to construct a
criminal profile of the serial offender, often reflects some of the theories of offending. Terms such as ‘psychopath’ are sometimes used in criminal profiling therefore a level of knowledge and understanding of these concepts is expected to some extent of investigators.

During an investigation, however, other more salient factors are considered to be able to inform the investigative process. These perspectives of serial crimes, being the way in which these crimes are investigated, have received little in the way of academic attention. As will be identified, much of the existing research focuses on particular aspects of the investigation, such as the use of criminal profiling as an investigative tool. This research will consider a range of investigative techniques and technologies employed during the investigation which contribute to the investigative process as a whole, and which have little dependence on the causes of these crimes.

**Why is this research into the investigation of serial murder and serial rape important?**

From the review of existing literature addressing the violent serial crimes of murder and rape, it is evident that there has been little focus on the investigation of these crimes. While the theories of offending can inform about the general background of the offender, they cannot have a direct impact on the investigation. Factors that have a direct affect are the type of investigative tools and techniques that are utilised in the investigation of serial murder and serial rape. The demonstrated rarity
of these fences, and the way they differ from a majority of homicide or rape offences, mean that there may not be a developed understanding by police about how these crimes should be investigated.

The evidence concerning the incidence of serial murder and serial rape also substantiates the need for a consideration of the investigative processes of these crimes. The apparent increase in the incidence of serial crime in recent years, coupled with a greater understanding of the offender’s motives, brought about by theories of serial offending, have led to more marked attention on the way these crimes are investigated. These investigations take place within an organisational context which is influenced by the organisational culture which will be discussed in the following section. It is proposed that this organisational culture— in this case, police culture— informs the way in which the crimes of serial murder and serial rape are investigated.

**Research Aims and Questions**

This research asks why many incidences of serial murder and serial rape go undetected by police organisations for long periods of time. This thesis proposes to determine which factors impact on the investigation of serial murder and serial rape. In order to ascertain what these factors are, several issues need to be addressed: the use of investigatory techniques, in particular the use of offender profiling as an investigative tool; the use of forensic techniques; the availability of investigators to link crimes; and
finally the issues that impact on the ability of investigators to solve serial crimes. Thus, to simplify these issues we can state that this thesis aims at:

- determine how serial crimes are recognised and what impact this has on the investigation
- identify if recognition of serial crimes can be improved to reduce further victimisation or the period of criminal offending
- establish whether police practices, in relation to allocation of resources, impact the investigative outcome
- examine how important the characteristics of the chosen victims are to the investigative processes and outcome
- identify which investigative techniques are used in serial murder and serial rape cases and to what extent forensic technologies contribute to these investigations

In order to address these research aims of the thesis, case study research of incidents of serial murder and serial rape that have occurred in Australia and interviews with former and current members of NSW Police and consultants were employed. These methodologies have enabled this researcher to gain a specific understanding of the techniques and technologies employed in the investigation of the serial crimes being studied. The level or degree of impact that these issues had on investigations can be further ascertained through the analysis of the interviews. The research data has been analysed within a framework informed by police cultural understandings.
The information obtained for each case study was analysed in order to determine if certain characteristics are present in relation to the offender and the crime, and the references to investigative practices, issues and practice. Questions, the researcher aims to be address through the analysis of the case studies, include:

- how investigators linked related cases: whether there was an intelligence-led system in place to achieve this; whether a modus operandi or signature were apparent in this case; and how linking related cases contributed to the investigation of these crimes.

- which investigative technologies and techniques were employed in the investigation of the identified cases. Whether these techniques or technologies were viewed as contributing to the investigative outcome; that is, the identification of the serial murderer/serial rapist. Which issues surrounding the use of these technologies were apparent.

There are several questions and issues that the analysis of interviews will aim to address. Some of these will be aimed at providing a comparison to the material gained from the case study research, whilst some will be aimed at filling the gaps present in such research. Thus generally some of the questions and issues to be addressed are:
how a series of related crimes is identified as serial murder or serial rape. How such a n i dentification impacts on a n i nvestigation. W hether c hanges t o t he processes or the ways crimes are investigated have taken place

which investigative techniques and technologies are used in the investigation of serial cr imes. Whether any i ssues i n t he a vailability or pr ocessing of s uch evidence exist. W hether t hese t echnologies c ontributed t o t he out come of t he investigation.

which pol ice pr actices he lped or hi ndered t he i nvestigation. H ow t he investigation changed over time, particularly between related crimes? Whether there was a reduction in resources during long periods of offender i nactivity, and if so, whether this impacted on the investigation in any way.

This thesis aims to examine the processes of investigations into serial crime, and to determine if police cultural practices – positive or negative – influence the construction of an investigation, particularly into serial crimes. The police cultural practices discussed in this chapter will be used as an analytical framework for this research.

**Chapter Overviews**

This chapter has presented an overview and discussion of previous research in the area of serial m urder and s erial r ape, t o c ontextualise t he c urrent s tudy w ithin w ha
represents a large proportion of the existing literature addressing these crimes. There is a large body of research in existence on the topic of serial crime, and more specifically serial murder, however much of this has inadequately addressed the investigation of these crimes. This chapter has also presented an introduction to the topic through a discussion of the incidences of serial murder and serial rape in Australia, demonstrating the need for further research to be conducted in this country.

Chapter 2 will propose that an organisational culture of policing as proposed by Janet Chan (1996, 1999b) in her taxonomy of police cultural knowledge comprising four components, informs and influences the progress of serial murder and serial rape investigations. Further, an analysis of the literature surrounding aspects of police culture that can be considered to influence the investigation of violent serial crimes will be presented.

Additionally, this chapter will also raise the issue of how victims are perceived and how the understandings of particular groups in society, and subsequently within the organisational context, increase one’s vulnerability to serial offenders. This factor has also been argued to affect the way in which investigations are conducted, whereby the victimology may result in some delay in recognising certain people as ‘victims,’ or influence the way in which some of these victims are perceived by police.

Chapter 2 will identify the range of investigative tools and techniques that are commonly associated with the investigation of violent serial crimes of murder and rape.
The issues surrounding the definition and identification of the serial crimes of murder and rape will also be discussed including a critical overview of the factors considered when attempting to identify the occurrence of serial murder and serial rape is provided. As a method of investigation, the role of intelligence-led policing practices in the investigation of serial crimes will be identified. The discussion of the utilisation of intelligence-led policing practices within the context of police cultural understandings will show that cultural knowledge informs the investigation of serial crimes.

Chapter 3 outlines the methodological approach employed by this qualitative research. As previously identified, this is a qualitative study employing case studies of serial crime and semi-structured interviews with members of NSW Police, both former and current. A discussion of some of the methodological problems encountered in conducting the research is identified and discussed, in particular the issues experienced in researching a police organisation.

The following chapter presents a profile and ‘victimological’ timeline of events for each case study. A summary of key events relating to both the crimes and the investigation were identified in order to later demonstrate some of the research findings in relation to problems arising from the timeline of events.

Chapter 5 sets out the dominant themes that emerged from the thematic analysis of the case studies and the semi-structured interviews. It sets these themes up within the context within which they will be discussed. These themes are grouped into three broad
categories which will be discussed in subsequent chapters: the methods employed to investigate serial crimes; the cultural constructions of the investigation; and the reflections on the use of intelligence-led policing practices in the investigation of serial crime.

Chapter 6 discusses the themes relating to the methods employed during the investigation of serial rape and serial murder offences as identified from the case studies and semi-structured interviews. The construction of an investigative team and the allocation of required resources are discussed in this chapter. Additionally, the investigative techniques and technologies found to be commonly used in serial crime investigations are identified and the themes emerging relating to the impact of such tools are presented. A theme that emerged in relation to the construction and conduct of serial crime investigations was the attribution of blame to investigators. This blame was often associated with a perceived flaw in the investigation and this issue will be discussed.

Chapter 7 presents the themes that emerged from the case studies and the semi-structured interviews in relation to the cultural knowledge of police. There were two dominant themes that will be presented. The first is the competing subcultures which are evident within the police investigation. The second theme is that of the reflection of dictionary knowledge on the investigation of serial crimes. This discussion will focus on the application and influence of cultural knowledge in the form of stereotypes.
The final analysis chapter presents the dominating elements of the difficulties police experience in identifying and linking a series of crimes, both in relation to murder and sexual assault. In Chapter 8 the timeframes of serial crime recognition will be presented and discussed as will the issues arising from the use of the Violent Crime Linkage Analysis System. Additionally, the use of criminal profiling as an investigative tool in the investigation of serial crimes will be discussed, particularly in relation to its contribution to the investigative processes and outcomes.

Finally, Chapter 8 proposes a typology describing and categorising serial murder and serial rape investigations. This typology has evolved from the data analysis from the themes relating to the linkage of related crimes and subsequent recognition of the crimes as serial in nature.

The recommendations arising from this research will be presented in Chapter 9. These recommendations are two-fold. The first are recommendations relating to the investigation of serial crimes in Australian police organisations. Secondly, following questions raised in this thesis, areas for further research are identified. Finally, the concluding arguments will be presented. The conclusion will assess the thematic outcomes of this research within the theoretical framework of police culture with considerations of the role of intelligence-led policing practices on the investigation of the crimes of serial rape and serial murder.
CHAPTER 1: CULTURAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF POLICING

It is proposed that an important aspect of the investigation of serial crimes is the organisational ‘sense making’ framework within which an investigation is constructed. This sense making framework developed by Sackmann (1992) in the context of police organisations, has been referred to as ‘police culture’ (Chan, 1996). Cultural practices within a police organisation can affect the outcome of investigations into particular crimes as it is used to inform the investigative role and the actions employed by investigators (Innes, 2002).

There have been significant studies into the cultural milieu of the New South Wales Police Force. Most notable are the studies by Janet Chan (1999b, 2003a, 2003b) and David Dixon (1999b). The cultural idiosyncrasies of the police as an organisation have been studied by many including Chan (2003a), Dixon (1999c), Innes (2003) and Van Maanen (1978b). Australian researchers Chan’s (2003a) and Dixon’s (1999c) research focus is on police culture in the NSW Police. Janet Chan’s focus included the socialisation of NSW Police recruits in a longitudinal study of the attitudes of recruits to policing. Chan’s (1997) other research includes studies into the policing of minority groups and the cultural construction of knowledge that shapes and influences discriminatory attitudes towards these groups. Chan’s research considers police reforms.
According to Chan (2003a) police culture is the term that is applied to describe the ‘cultural knowledge’ of police organisations, specifically the norms, values and attitudes of members of the organisation. Previous research into police culture and its influence on the investigative process has been quite limited. The traditional research into police culture has not addressed the impact of this culture on serial crime investigations.

Policing the Serial: Cultural Influences on the Investigation

The literature in relation to police culture can be considered as fairly broad, addressing a range of issues from the training of cadets, corruption within senior police ranks and the recruitment of police to work with specific community groups from diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds (Chan, 1996, 1997, 1999a, 1999b, 2003b; Dixon, 1999b, 1999c). The discussion of the work and culture of detectives however

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4 The Wood Royal Commission investigated allegations in relation to, and the extent of, corruption in the NSW Police Service; the impartiality in the investigation and prosecution of a range of criminal activities; and issues relating to the internal promotion systems, and internal commands. See Wood (1997) for full report.
has often been restricted to the sphere of corruption and the findings extending from the
Wood Royal Commission in NSW (see Dixon, 1999c). In Australia there has been little
research into police cultural practices in other states, although a report by Chan et al.
(2001) analysed the impact of police culture on the integration of information
technologies in the context of Queensland police. There are some general themes
however that emerge from the general literature on police culture that have some
specific relevance to the investigative processes of detectives, particularly stemming

Police culture is the term used to describe the organisational culture within
organisations of policing. According to Schein, the culture of a group or an organisation
refers to:

A pattern of shared basic assumptions that the group learned as it solved its
problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well
enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as
the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems
(Schein, 1992, p. 12).

The term ‘police culture’ has no universal definition as such and is used to refer
to various aspects of the police or organisation. In general terms, police culture can be
considered to refer to the mechanisms employed by police to deal with the pressures
that they face working in a job that can be considered as dangerous and unpredictable
(Chan, 1999b). In his discussion of the influence of process structures on the
investigation of homicide or murder in the United Kingdom, Innes (2002) describes how the police organisation provides members with pragmatic, experience based knowledge and values which “can be employed in ‘doing’ police work” (Innes, 2002, p. 679). Van Maanen (1978b) in his discussion of police socialisation in an American police department, describes the separation of police from the mainstream culture as leading to a new collective group. Van Maanen states that:

when the policeman dons his uniform, he enters a distinct subculture governed by norms and values designed to manage the strain created by an outsider role in the community (1978b, p. 292).

The rules or characteristics of this occupational culture are not easily recognisable as they are unwritten and informal (Chan, 1999b). As outlined by O’Loughlin and Billing (2000) in their study into the positive aspects of police culture in relation to violence and corruption, the term usually conjures up negative images of sinister practices and cover ups. Indeed police cultural practices have been used to provide explanations of police deviance and violence (I. Warren & James, 2000). Paoline III however suggests that:

Viewing police culture as an occupational phenomena suggests that officers collectively confront situations that arise in the environments of policing, and subsequent attitudes, values, and norms that result are in response to those environments. (2003, p.200).
In the context of murder investigations, Innes (2002) proposes that such knowledge relates to how and why such crimes occur and subsequently what investigative methods detectives should employ that are most effective in solving these cases. Due to the rarity of serial murder and serial rape, the investigation of serial crime poses different problems for police investigators. The knowledge that informs the investigation into common incidents of single-victim murder or rape cases is not necessarily appropriate for the investigation of serial crime. Thus the police organisation can be seen to encapsulate the ethos of investigating murder cases and the associated problems that may arise and the organisationally appropriate response to these (Innes, 2002).

This is consistent to some extent with Chan’s (1999b) explanations of police culture, which can be considered as a means of sharing organisational knowledge or cultural knowledge. From the perspective of detectives, the combination of formalised training and guidelines coupled with the informal values and knowledge about how police work is done, are maintained by this occupational culture (Innes, 2002). Cultural knowledge as acknowledged by Chan, can be considered as a set of assumptions consisting of four dimensions as adapted from Sackmann (1992). The four dimensions identified by Sackmann are:

- dictionary knowledge,
- directory knowledge,
- recipe knowledge, and
- axiomatic knowledge.
Sackmann investigated how these forms of knowledge were shared by the members of an organisation in the United States. These forms of knowledge were utilised by Chan to elicit an understanding of police cultural knowledge within NSW Police.

*Dictionary Knowledge*

Sackmann (1992) describes dictionary knowledge as being descriptions that are common to a particular organisation. Chan states that dictionary knowledge “provides definitions and labels for persons, things, and events that police encounter in the course of their work” (2003a, p. 31). This knowledge is used by police to develop a routine for assessing people and situations to enable the timely judgement of a situation. This dictionary knowledge is similar to the type of knowledge Van Maanen (1978b) describes as being passed on from ‘war stories’ during the socialisation process. This experience based knowledge is a set of perspectives of people and situations that police will be in contact with that Van Maanen considers to be collectively held. As outlined by Chan (2003a), such knowledge and subsequent judgements can be based on class or race. The Australian Law Reform Commission (1992) produced a report into the impact of the laws and the legal system on those from ethnically diverse communities and from various cultural backgrounds. Amongst its findings, this report concluded that police organisations were engaging in ethnic stereotyping, particularly of Aboriginal people and their involvement in criminal activity, which is apparent in the knowledge of police (Chan, 1999b, 2003a).
Chan’s discussion of dictionary knowledge however, refers only to the way in which police use this knowledge to make decisions on the criminality of a person or group. It is suggested that these similar judgements can be made in regards to the victims of crime. Such understandings of the use of collective understandings or dictionary knowledge, have been limited to its application to street level police. Neither explanation however was discussed by Chan in relation to the use of this knowledge in the investigation of crimes by detectives. Whilst such labels may be used to inform the understandings of street level police, there has been no published research examining whether they exist or how such labels are used at the level of detectives. The impact of such judgements will be of consideration to this research, as consideration will be given to how such knowledge impacted on the ability of police to investigate serial crimes.

**Directory Knowledge**

Dictionary knowledge as outlined above influences to some extent, directory knowledge, which provides descriptive understandings about the appropriate responses to the situations identified through the use of dictionary knowledge (Sackmann, 1992). Therefore in the context of a police organisation, directory knowledge refers to the way in which “operational work is routinely carried out” or how things are to be done (Chan, 2003a, p. 32). For police, the judgements formed from their dictionary knowledge provide them with a guide that enables them to make snap decisions and follow up with quick action based on these labels. For example youths congregating in
shopping centre areas are targeted with proactive policing measures (Chan, 2003a). The use of both dictionary and directory knowledge are described by Schein as necessary to ensure the safety and protection of officers and reduce anxiety inherent in this risky and dangerous occupation (Schein, 1985, 1992).

Recipe Knowledge

Recipe knowledge is a framework of “recommendations and strategies for coping with police work” (Chan, 2003a, p. 33). This form of knowledge is described by Sackmann (1992) as providing recommended actions or recipes for achieving successful resolutions. Examples provided by Chan (2003a) describe the learnt behaviour of police to do the minimum amount of work required of them, where more active officers are looked down on. Because there is a lack of reward for working hard, particularly in a job considered risky and unpleasant, police are encouraged to do the minimum required of them.

Devery (2003) identified a pervading culture amongst police trainees where they observed incidents where reports were not being followed through because it was not deemed necessary, thus reducing the paperwork required. The trainees then internalised this knowledge, assuming this strategy in their own policing practices. This recipe knowledge also extends to the “code of silence” amongst police when faced with accusations of misconduct. As discussed by Han (1999b, 2003a) the fear of not...
receiving support or having someone ‘watch your back’ in a dangerous situation is a deterrent to informing on fellow officers.

**Axiomatic Knowledge**

Finally, the explanations for why events occur are referred to as ‘axiomatic knowledge’ (Sackmann, 1992). In the context of police organisations, axiomatic knowledge is considered as a set of underlying assumptions about the role of the police in society (Chan, 1999a, 2003a). The traditional role of police is one of crime fighting and protecting life and property, a perception which is encouraged by police themselves. This leads to greater public demand for dramatic police action thus contributing to the distinction between ‘real’ police work and routine duties (Chan, 1999b, 2003a).

**Habitus of Policing Work**

According to Chan (2003a) these four dimensions of cultural knowledge occur and inform the *habitus* of policing, a concept developed by Bourdieu (1990). Bourdieu describes *habitus* as a ‘product of history’ in that it is a system of characteristics which are formed through the integration of previous experiences. This *habitus* is a set of structures which may be adapted to the outcomes without the need for conscious consideration of the processes involved in achieving the desired outcome. This is because the desired end has already been determined by prior experience. Thus
Bourdieu considers that, as it is a product of past experiences, habitus ensures that correct practices are consistent over time, and are considered to be more reliable in achieving the desired outcomes than other formal rules and norms (Bourdieu, 1990).

As a product of history however, *habitus* would be limited by the scope of such history. This research argues that the *habitus* would be limited in relation to serial crimes due to their rarity. Therefore there would be insufficient previous experiences upon which to develop this knowledge. This limitation was recognised by Bourdieu (1990) when he states that *habitus* is limited by the social and historical contexts from which it was developed.

Bourdieu theorises that the *habitus* provides the cultural sense making framework within the field; that is, the structural conditions within which one operates. When a professional enters a new field he or she still retains the previous *habitus* produced by the field they existed in previously. Therefore for new police recruits Chan states that they need to constantly evaluate their actions until they adjust to the new *habitus* of the field in which they are situated (Chan, 2003a).

A key concept of the field is capital, which may be economic, social, informational or cultural. Chan (2003a) explains that in policing, the field is a reflection of the social, legal and political capital. The ‘currency’ of such capital includes a number of resources both derived from the individual and from the organisation itself.
Individual resources include rank and experience, while organisational resources include the opportunity for promotion and budgetary considerations.

These concepts however are not independent of the players within the organisation. Chan (2003a) states that the police officers themselves have an active role in the development and transmission of cultural knowledge. As such, they can respond to and incorporate any changes to the field within which they operate. The development and transmission of police culture can be seen to be a learning process. As outlined in Chan (1999b) this often occurs through the telling of ‘war stories’ by senior, more experienced officers. As described by Van Maanen (1978a) such anecdotes relate to mistakes made by other officers and lead to the recognition that although mistakes occur one needs to protect others to ensure that they are protected from the consequences of such mistakes.

There are a number of different influences or aspects that contribute to the nexus that is police culture. More specifically, some of these cultural aspects can be seen to influence the way in which an investigation is conducted or how investigative techniques or technologies are used. This research aims to consider the way in which cultural knowledge can be seen to inform investigation of serial crimes by detectives. As has been identified, the dictionary knowledge which informs investigative practice is often informed by what Van Maanen (1978a) described as war stories. It is proposed however, that since serial crimes in Australia are considered to be extremely rare, that such knowledge would not be available. Therefore it is expected
that the dictionary knowledge that is employed will be reflective of the ‘war stories’ of street level policing not of serial crime detection and investigation.

**One Part of the Whole - Police Subcultures**

Contrary to some traditional perceptions of police culture, Janet Chan (2003a) proposes that police culture is not a uniform concept but one which is diverse and that can be influenced by a range of factors, including the socialisation process (p. 20). In an earlier study, Chan comments that different extant cultures are identifiable by the position of officer in the organisational hierarchy (1996). Thus consistent with Bourdieu’s concepts of field and habitus, this culture can be considered as a reflection of the types of capital one has, or the response to the challenges that the field poses to them as an individual or group (Chan, 2003a). O’Loughlin and Billing’s (2000) research into police cultural expectations among new recruits at the Victorian Police Academy, showed that while these subcultures may be identifiable based on an officer’s rank, these subcultures can be overlapping and naturally discernable. Subcultures can be based on other aspects of the police organisation and one’s place in it such as the nature of one’s role in police service (investigative or general duty), the geographic location or gender. For the purposes of the current research, the existence of police subcultures is considered primarily in relation to detectives.

Ericson (1993), in an observational study of Canadian detectives in their general investigative duties, commented that detectives can be seen to work within an ideology.
This ideology shapes their decision making by providing explanations for their actions, consistent with recipe knowledge. As acknowledged in an exploratory study into the investigative processes of homicide investigations in England, the detective is seen by the general community as the “hard-working, hard-drinking, fornicating, and swearing crime-fighter” (Innes, 2003, p. 15). This picture however, has been seen to evolve and soften over time, although, as identified by Innes (2003), the extent of this perceptual change in perception is debatable.

Consistent with the transfer of police culture in general, detective culture is developed through experience and the socialisation process involved in becoming a detective. Innes (2003) discusses how new detectives experience continual mentoring by other more experienced detectives. These detectives can be seen to share both the directory and recipe knowledge required at that level to conduct the work required.

Although detectives may be considered to be a subculture within the organisation as a whole, it is an expectation of this research that subdivisions may exist relating to a detective’s position within specialised investigation units or local area commands. This would be consistent with O’Laughlin and Billing’s (2000) contention that such subdivisions exist. These divisions are present across policing institutions internationally, as Ericson (1993) provides an example where friction existed between two ‘teams’ of detectives, where there was a lack of information sharing. Ericson also found that there was friction evident between detectives from specialised units and
what he termed ‘general investigation detectives’, suggesting that subdivisions within
detective teams may be reflective of different knowledge capital.

A long-term field study of two New York City police precincts led to a different perspective on police subcultures (Reuss-Ianni & Ianni, 1983). This study identified two cultures: that of street cops and management cops. While both these cultures share organisational aims of combating crime and maintaining community safety, Reuss-Ianni and Ianni believe that street cops and management cops have different ideas on what this means and how this can be achieved. From this perspective, the street cop is the ‘professional’ cop who has the experience, the ability and the gut instinct to identify unwelcome and deviant people and situations. Decisions are made based on local knowledge at the local level, rather than using organisational goals and associated procedures. Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (1983) contend that in contrast, the management cop relies on an operational culture in public administration and organisational management. The problems faced by street cops are considered on the broader, city wide scale. Management cops must prioritise resources based on this broader problem and consider other factors such as the political, economic and social limitations evident (Reuss-Ianni & Ianni, 1983).

*What’s Mine is Mine - Ownership of Information*

Another influence stemming from police cultural knowledge is the concept of information ownership, which is reflective of Bourdieu’s proposition of capital. This
issue was raised in Ericson’s (1993) study of detectives in which general detectives reported that detectives from specialised units were seeking to take credit for cases that fell within their jurisdiction. The homicide squad was singled out as the one most likely to try to claim underserved credit by other detectives. In his study of Canadian police, Ericson however also described how this concern over ownership of a case also occurred amongst general detectives but to a far lesser extent than evident with detectives from specialised squads. One incident outlined by Ericson describes how a detective became involved in the questioning of another detective’s suspect, an act considered to be poor form. This ill-feeling in such cases may stem from the measures of accountability in place, with one detective observed in the study expressing concern that he had not reached the required target because a number of cases had been allocated to his partner (Ericson, 1993).

This problem with case ownership was not always evident. Ericson (1993) records several situations where other detectives were asked for assistance or willingly forwarded on cases deemed to relate to other investigations that were underway. Innes (2003) also describes the social construction of murder squads or task forces where a number of detectives and support staff are brought together as one team in order to accomplish an efficient and effective investigation. In such a scenario ownership of information or ownership of the case as such, could be considered as collective as there is a shared investigative responsibility. As this research considers cases that have been investigated by both general detectives and those from specialised units, the issue of ownership will be explored.
In his consideration of detective practice and the way in which detective skills are utilised in the investigation of crime, Reppetto (1978) states that there is the perception:

…of the detective as an artist, the individual of brilliant insights, a master of interrogation and other skills, who engages in an intuitive exercise which ultimately leads to the solution of a crime (p. 8).

In their discussion of the ways in which detectives carry out police work, Tong and Bowling (2006) contend that:

The ‘art’ of detective work concerns intuition, instinctive feelings and hunches towards problem solving in an investigative capacity (p.324).

This art is gained through experience and cannot be taught or developed by the police service itself, allowing detectives to practice the craft of policing. The experience gained allows detectives to read not only criminal behaviour but also that of other actors involved, such as witnesses (Innes, 2003; Stephen Tong & Ben Bowling, 2006). Those who have attained the ability to practice the art of detective work are considered to have an elevated cultural status (Stephen Tong & Ben Bowling, 2006). According to Tong and Bowling the recognition of this status and quality of the art is
not subject to external scrutiny but rather internalised and acknowledged by other detectives.

The art of detective work is evident in how an investigation progresses. One strategy employed in an investigation is the use of a ‘case theory’ which directs the line of inquiry during an investigation (Dixon, 1999b). Referred to by Innes (2003) as ‘playing a hunch’, a case theory can be seen as a decision making process formed from knowledge of a case and linked to the perceived ability of a detective to ‘read’ the criminal element and the motivations of suspects.

Although such a practice may be originally informed by traditional sources of information such as witness accounts, Dixon (1999b) and Innes (2003) both acknowledge that dogmatic dependence on a case theory can have a negative impact on an investigation. Dixon states that other lines of inquiry that are supported by other evidence may be overlooked or not investigated further. Both authors recognise that evidence that is inconsistent with the case theory may be minimised or ignored. Innes (2002) discussed the way in which murder investigations are constructed in the context of the law, the police service, and the crime under investigation in the United Kingdom. Innes concedes that the existence of an incorrect case theory and the following of false leads are an important aspect in the development of major crime investigations such as murder investigations. However, according to Innes, “such difficulties end to be ‘down-played’ in any police accounts of the investigation” (Innes, 2002, p. 682).
The negative impact of an incorrect case theory is evident in the Australian context of the investigation of serial crime, with the case of Harry Blackburn. Dixon identifies a case of suspected serial rape in NSW, where an incorrect case theory saw evidence inconsistent with the theory distorted or suppressed (Dixon, 1999b). This case involved the investigation of a police officer for two separate series of sexual assaults. The case theory that the police officer, Harry Blackburn, was responsible for the series of assaults stemmed from another officer’s belief that Blackburn fitted the description provided by some of the victims. As indicated by Dixon (1999b), the Royal Commission Inquiry into the case found that evidence was falsified to support the case theory and that evidence supporting Blackburn’s innocence was suppressed by investigators (Lee, 1990).

Dixon goes on to state that the ability of case theories to lead investigators astray in cases such as Blackburn’s, are “extremes on a continuum which runs back to everyday, often reliable hunches felt and assumptions made by officers in the course of their investigations” (Dixon, 1999b, p. 48). Incorrect case theories can lead to an inability to identify those responsible for the crimes committed. In the Blackburn case, the measures taken to ensure that the case theory was supported, including tampering with evidence, led to the inability of others to use this evidence in any new criminal investigation. Thus, the two series of rapes that were under investigation remain unsolved (Lee, 1990).
Innes (2003) acknowledges that a lack of checks and balances in the investigative process means that an incorrect case theory or an investigator with “tunnel vision” is not readily identified. Dixon (1999b) identifies several reports into police investigations which have acknowledged this problem and identified the need to have greater supervision of criminal investigations and greater scrutiny of the case theories.

In discussing the reasoning behind police decision making and the case theory that they employ in the United Kingdom, Keppens and Schafer (2004) state that the use of case theories is inevitable and the problem lies not with their use of case theories but with the way in which they restrict the scope of the investigation. This problem is considered to be reinforced by the police culture of police organisations as:

…Work is done properly, and a case solved, if a suspect gets convicted. This orientation towards positive results favours an “inductive” ethos, where those pieces of evidence that points towards the guilt of the main suspects are seen as more valuable than those that would “falsify” the leading hypothesis (Keppens & Schafer, 2004, p. 110).

This is supported by Chatterton (1995) who states that detectives would use the information that they received to achieve the case outcomes that they considered to be appropriate. In a serial murder or serial rape investigation, such actions could influence the use of various techniques and technologies. In relation to the Blackburn serial rape case, this was detrimental to the achievement of the arrest of the serial offender in this
case as no further investigation could be carried out due to the incorrect handling of the evidence.

Investigating Stereotypes

As previously referred to, the application and use of stereotypes in police work, a form of dictionary knowledge, can be considered an inherent measure of dealing with police work. According to a study by Sanders and Young (2002) conducted in the United Kingdom, police culture contains components which are sexist and racist, which affects the way in which police view society when coupled with the stereotypes held of people and groups. The act of attributing a label to a group based on their race and the subsequent use of this label as a standard in police decision making is referred to as racial profiling (Engel, Calnon, & Bernard, 2002).

In a discussion of the use of profiling in policing, Cameron (1999) claims that such profiling is the result of police experience, where they develop a ‘sixth sense’ about different groups of people, which is thought to have “kept many of them alive” (p. 4). In order to “protect society from the sinister elements” police need some recognisable signs as to where criminal behaviour may materialise (Cameron, 1999).

People who fall within marginalised groups in society are often categorised as ‘worthless’ or vulnerable (Egger, 1998; Fattah, 1997). This labelling of certain groups
as worthless by society can also be internalised, as demonstrated by the police’s attention or lack of attention to the victimisation of these groups. According to Innes (2003) many of these victims were previously involved in criminality or had lifestyles considered as deviant. This leads to conflict in the cultural understandings of the victims’ place or worth. As a member of a marginalised group they would ordinarily be considered with disdain, however as a victim they are given greater priority (Innes, 2003).

This problem was recognised as early as 1978 when a conference into police practices and civil rights was held in Washington DC. Jean O’Leary (1978) of the National Gay Task Force describes how serial rapes and assaults on gay men and lesbians were not investigated or followed up by police. This was found to be due to police discretionary powers that did not identify the serial attacks on lesbians as warranting an investigation. To add to this, only one of the six rapes and eight assaults was entered into the police’s central computer: this information, if entered, would have meant a sudden increase in crime would have been detected. The decisions not to report correctly were made by the local police officers.

A similar attitude towards homosexuality was historically evident in the NSW Police Force during the 1960s as acknowledged by Finnane (1999, pp.11-12) quoting the Commissioner’s comments at the time that offences related to “homosexuality and other forms of perversion” had the potential to provide a serious threat to the youth in the community.
These stereotypes inform the dictionary knowledge that police use to decide how to respond to situations they encounter and thus how to ‘do police work’. In the investigation of serial murder and serial rape, these stereotypes are reflected in the police response to the victims of these crimes. As will be examined later in this chapter, the victimology of serial crimes and the social stereotypes that pertain to some victim groups can be seen to be internalised in the police cultural knowledge. The outcome of this use of knowledge is considered to impact on the delay in the identification of crimes as serial in nature.

A Language of Their Own

From a study into police socialisation practices of NSW Police, Devery (2003) found that there were incidents where police used the specialised terminology or language of operational police. This specialised language can be seen to reflect common stereotypes through the use of derogatory terms to refer to groups of people such as derelicts and those who resided in Housing Commission properties, for example. This specialised language is a form of dictionary knowledge as previously discussed.

The use of this form of dictionary knowledge is not reserved for offenders or undesirable types of victims. Devery (2003) also outlined an incident where an older woman who raised concerns about unusual noises in her complex was dismissed as just another ‘old lady’ who ‘heard noises’. The operational police who attended that call
placated the woman and left without adequately searching the area, later explaining that it was “not uncommon for ‘old ladies’ to complain about this sort of thing because they were afraid.” (Devery, 2003, p.120). Shortly after it was found that her neighbour had been the victim of a home invasion. This labelling of the reporter as an ‘old lady’ and the subsequent justification for inaction by police took place in the presence of a Student Police Officer, demonstrating the ability of such stereotypes to be transmitted through the sharing of cultural knowledge. These stereotypes of different groups has been shown to impede the initiation of investigation into particular crimes (Innes, 2003).

According to Innes (2003) the use of formal and informal language is a means of dealing with the complex and sometimes ambiguous nature of policing. In relation to the crime of murder, Innes identifies seven types of murder as constructed by the operational language of police. These seven types as described by Innes (2003) are: domestic homicides, argument motivated or confrontational homicides, child murders, criminal cause murders, sexual murders, stranger murders and serial murders. These categories are closely aligned with classifications derived from academic research and are loosely based on the motivational factors influencing the offending behaviour, the victim-offender relationship, the ‘type’ of victim and the

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5 Act stems from an argument between people in a relationship, for example husband and wife
6 Death was an outcome of an argument between two people, such as young men in public settings using violence
7 Recognised as being difficult cases emotionally for police
8 Death occurs when either the victim or offender is taking part in criminal activity
9 Homicides considered to be sexually motivated
10 Victim is unknown to attacker. This can often coincide with other categories
offence itself. As discussed by Innes, this classification forms a set of shared understandings by police, which is used to inform the use of investigative strategies.

**Who Could Be Bothered? Results of Accountability in Practice**

In NSW the Luster Inquiry of the early 1980s and the Royal Commission inquiries of the 1990s identified problems in a number of areas of policing including management, training and, most significantly to police practice, corrupt policing practices (Chan, 2003a). The recognition of corrupt policing practices in NSW and other police organisations led to changes in the measures used to scrutinise police practice. In conjunction with this came the increasing need for performance based accountability measures.

According to Chan (2003a), in order to achieve these forms of accountability these measures needed to be internalised in the dictionary and directory knowledge of police. One method of achieving this was through an increase in the compulsory completion of forms which detailed police work carried out. This measure of increasing paperwork to support accountable practices can be considered to have been counter productive where this need for accountability can be seen to influence the actions of police.

The constraints of policing also created problems for the measures of accountability in place. As outlined by Ericson (1993) detectives were often confronted
with of fences where there was inadequate information or evidence with which to proceed, however the detectives took the time to contact and interview the victim. This was referred to as a public relations exercise by the detectives interviewed in Ericson’s study. The concept of consolatory police action as a ‘public relations exercise’ was not reflected as such in the paperwork submitted by detectives. Ericson comments that the paperwork produced by detectives was shaped by the organisational guidelines to make it appear as though real investigative work had been carried out. The occurrence of these public relations exercises appeared to be limited to relatively minor of fences however, and not crimes such as murder therefore it is not expected that such practices are relevant in serial crime investigations.

Although there are many formal modes of accountability for police organisations, the police can also be subject to informal modes of accountability from external sources. One of the most significant of these sources of informal accountability as identified by Dixon (1999a) is the media. Ericson (1993) illustrates the influence that such a mode of informal accountability can have on a murder investigation, where resources are allocated based on the predicted public response to a crime.

**Discretionary powers**

An integral part of being a police officer is the practice of using the discretionary powers that are inherent in the job. These discretionary powers relate to the application
of the laws and regulations and are often shaped by time restrictions, limitations in the availability of resources and an officer’s knowledge of such laws and regulations (Corsianos, 2003). As issues of time and resources are of concern here, police discretion may be considered as the enacting of recipe knowledge as identified by Chan (2003a). Police officers have the power to act in a given situation, but also the power to choose inaction (Ericson, 1993).

As outlined by Corsianos (2003), the ability to use discretionary powers is not reserved for high-ranking officers but occurs at all levels of the police organisation, from street cop to detective. The accountability of such discretionary decision making however varies at the different levels in the police organisation. According to Ericson (1993) the nature of detective work occurring away from the usual supervisory controls experienced by street cops means that a low-visibility autonomy exists for what Ericson terms as ‘specialized’ police.

Corsianos (2003) suggests that the use of police discretion can lead to unequal treatment of people or groups in comparable situations. This suggests that police dictionary knowledge and subsequently directory knowledge can be used to guide the exertion of this discretionary power, an idea which is supported by Ericson’s judgment that discretion is a component of the organisation and not individualistic (Ericson, 1993). As such, the stereotypes subscribed to by police may also influence the use of this power when situations occur as one group of people may be seen as more deserving of police attention than another.
(Over) Accountability

The use of discretionary powers as a means of avoiding the processes of accountability can also be seen in police cultural practices. The avoidance of paperwork is an issue raised by Devery (2003), who cites incidents not being followed through as they were not deemed necessary and it reduced the amount of paperwork they had to do. These incidents occurred in the presence of trainees, thus reinforcing and continuing this culture.

As outlined in Chan (2003b) the high levels of bureaucratic and accountability measures were seen to be negatively received by police recruits. The need to be accountable was considered to generate a heavy workload and extra pressure on the recruits. Similar attitudes were expressed in a number of studies including, but not limited to, those by Ericson (1993) and Innes (2003). The measures of accountability are blamed by police for distracting them from real police work (Chan, 2003b). One detective from Ericson’s (1993) study expressed the view that they were no longer evaluated based on case closure rates but on the amount of paperwork that was submitted.
Victims of Violent Serial Crime

The consideration of the role of the victim in the criminal justice process has become a central focus for academic research (Zedner, 2002). According to Zedner (2002) the amount of research into the impact crime has on victims and their associated needs, and the wide use of victims surveys have moved the topic of the ‘victim’ into both criminological and political arenas, making the victim a key player in the criminal justice system.

Zedner (2002) claims that although the focus on the victim is a relatively recent phenomenon, the acknowledgement of the study of victimology can be traced back to 1949 when psychiatrist Frederick Wertham referred to such a study as a ‘science’ (Wertham, 1949 cited in Zedner, 2002). The term ‘victimology’ has been described as referring to “the study of victims” (Turvey, 2002d, p.137). In general terms this can refer to victims of natural disasters or accidents (Turvey, 2002d) or victims of crime. There are many aspects that are considered to inform the study of victims. These include the offence that was committed against the victim, the victim’s response, the characteristics of the victim and why the victim was targeted (McLaughlin & Muncie, 2001; Turvey, 2002d). A randomly chosen victim can tell investigators much about the type of offender that they are seeking (Turvey, 2002d).

Egger (1998) raises another reason that investigators should consider the victimology of serial crimes. Egger argues that often physical evidence from the crime
scene of an incident such as serial murder may be lacking or non-existent. Thus, the only information that investigators may have to go upon is that pertaining to the victim. Egger (1990b) claims that the consideration of victim information is essential in a serial crime investigation. One of the most common features of victims of serial crime is that they are unknown to the serial offender (Egger, 1990b), thus this poses problems for investigators as there may appear to be no common link between victims until some considerable time has elapsed. In an investigation, information about the victim can also yield an insight into how, where and sometimes why the offender has selected particular victims. Additionally, police knowledge of some groups of victims can also pose a problem for the investigation of serial crime as recognition of the victim and their place in a series may not readily occur.

A Reflection of the Offender

As a bovementioned, the consideration of the victims of serial crime can be used to draw inferences about the unknown offender (Turvey, 2002d). It has also been suggested that some victims may initiate contact with the offender in what is described as victim precipitation (Egger, 1990b). For example, when a hitchhiker asks a stranger for a lift or the victim asks someone for directions. Victim precipitation has been the focus of studies in relation to the violent crimes including rape and sexual assault (Marciniak, 1998; Polk, 1997; Thornton, Robbins, & Johnson, 1981). Egger (1990b) states that victim precipitation is considered to be a contributing factor to many homicides. However, the extent to which this act of precipitation could play in serial
crimes is unknown. Victims may also be targeted because of what they represent to the offender (Egger, 1990b). This may be their physical appearance or because they evoke symbolic similarities with something or someone that the serial offender considers significant (Fox, et al., 2005).

Serial murderers often deliberately choose victim-disposal methods that will make discovery of the crime difficult. Serial murderers are likely to use extreme forms of victim disposal, such as burying bodies in isolated places where their discovery is unlikely (Levin & Fox, 1999). This is unlike many other crimes such as spousal murder, where in most cases there is no attempt to conceal the victim, who is usually discovered relatively soon after death (Fox & Levin, 1999). The method employed by a serial offender to dispose of the victim’s body can also reveal the organisational and planning methods used by the offender (Fox, et al., 2005). As previously outlined, the categorising of an offender as organised aids in the development of an offender profile (Ressler, Burgess, & Douglas, 1988).

**Rape Myths**

In cases of serial rape the issue of identification of crimes as serial is still difficult even though it is the victims that report these crimes, enabling the police to gain information about the offences when reported. However, it is still acknowledged that the rate of reportage is relatively low in comparison to other offences (Lievore, 2002). A lower rate of reporting can mean that the number of cases investigators are able to link may
not represent the total number of incidents; this may also lead to a failure to link related crimes. One of the greatest difficulties investigators face in relation to the victimology of serial rape crimes is identifying victims who have not previously contacted police.

An issue that may impact on the investigation of serial crimes is the way in which these crimes are defined, specifically in regard to the relationship or lack thereof between victim and offender. Therefore if offenders who do not conform to these definition of serial rape, it may be deduced that both the offender and the victims are viewed differently by the legal system. If these offences had escalated to murder then the offender would have been considered a serial murderer and allocated the required resources to investigate these crimes. Therefore it must be asked if the characteristics of the victim and their relationship to the offender should determine if a series of rapes should be considered as serial.

It has been stated that serial rapists are predatory individuals, seeking to gain control and dominance over their victim (Stevens, 1994). This description however could also apply to offenders who choose victims of their acquaintance therefore the definitional requirement that no prior relationship should exist between victim and offender should not deter police from investigating these crimes as they would stranger-serial rape cases. It should also be asked that if a series of rapes occurs and is deemed not to warrant an investigation as serial in nature due to a relationship between victim and offender could this be seen as a return to the acceptance of some forms of rape such as that once held for intra-marital rape.
Perceptions of the rape victim’s role in the actual offence have been the subject of debate. According to Abrams et al. (2003) extant ‘rape myths’ can attribute blame to the victim. According to Burt (1980) rape myths are stereotypes and false beliefs that can be prejudicial towards the crime, the victim, and the offender. These myths are based on unfounded assumptions and common examples include ‘only bad girls get raped’ and ‘women ask for it’ (Burt, 1980). These rape myths can include the general belief in Lerner’s renowned (Crome & McCabe, 2001) ‘Just World Hypothesis’ where bad things only happen to those who deserve it. Lerner (Lerner & Miller, 1978) examined the attributional process of blaming the victim and called it the ‘Just World Hypothesis’ where, “individuals have a need to believe that they live in a world where people generally get what they deserve and deserve what they get” (Lerner & Miller, 1978, p.1030). It was argued by Lerner that people generate the belief that a victim’s failure to take precautions and normal preparations to avoid negative circumstances leads to their outcome; that is, their victimisation.

This idea that the victim has some culpability in their own victimisation however, can also be seen to relate to a person’s status in society. Lerner states that those who are considered as ‘deviant’ or part of the minority including “the foreigner, and the mentally ill” (Crome & McCabe, 2001, p. 399) are considered as deserving of the events from which they become the victim.
Similarly, Miller and Schwartz (1995) interviewed prostitutes in a Midwestern city in the United States about the rape myths prevalent among clients, police, and people they would encounter generally. It was found that common rape myths contributed to the violence against these women. Emerging from this study were four key myths that were found to support the wilful ignorance of violence against prostitutes, while incorporating a fundamental belief that prostitutes are public property, and as such, open to abuse. The four key myths identified that: prostitutes are unrapeable; no harm is done to prostitutes when assaulted; prostitutes deserve to be raped; and, all prostitutes are considered the same (Miller & Schwartz, 1995). Miller and Schwartz state that due to their position in society whereby they openly sell sex, prostitutes are confronted by a stronger collection of rape myths, the strength of which is beyond that experienced by other women.

The relationship between the rape victim and offender can also influence people’s perception of victim blame. The study by Abrams et al. (2003) found that in some cases people were more likely to attribute blame to the victim when a relationship existed between the victim and the offender. Those findings were dependent upon the levels of benevolent sexism exhibited by participants. Such findings are supported by other studies such as that of Hazelwood and Burgess (2001) into the investigation of rape of fences suggest that police officers used factors such as the existence of a relationship between the victim and offender to determine the strength of the case. Additionally, if the victim were considered to have been forced into the situation where

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11 Benevolent sexism refers to attitudes which perceive women conforming to stereotypical roles in a positive light (Abrams et. al. (2003).
the rape occurred then the case was considered to be stronger by police than if the victim had willingly gone with the offender.

In a review of the literature addressing police attitudes to rape, Page (2007) suggests that in general, police officers accept rape myths whereby decisions on victim credibility and the ensuing investigation were based on the conformity of the victim to stereotypical rape behaviour and the assault conform to ‘ideal’ characteristics of rape. As discussed by Page, police culture can be seen to maintain the “rigid attitudes about the roles and actions of men and women in society” (Page, 2007, p.23) which reinforces the continued acceptance of rape myths by individual police officers. Thus, what police officers consider the ‘ideal’ victim and offence shapes the dictionary knowledge of rape offences and informs their directory knowledge of what investigation, if any, is necessary.

There are also myths that specifically focus on the victimisation of those within the context of sex roles and homosexuality. Many of these myths and stereotypes surround male sexual assault, as outlined by McAdam and Fitts (1999) in their research into the responses to the reporting of male sexual assault. One common myth identified was that males cannot be considered as victims of sexual assault because any sexual contact is a positive experience for them and therefore not considered as ‘assault’. Another misconception is that homosexuality is a feature of these offences where the offenders are homosexual and the victims ‘become’ homosexual, a myth strongly refuted by McAdams and Fitts. As argued by Mc Adam and Fitts, such myths pervade
both the general community and the professions that deal with males sexual assault victims, such as police.

According to Stewart’s (1999) report into the response of NSW Police to cases of sexual assault, there was dissonance in the way in which incidents were reported and subsequently addressed. This usually reflected the type and severity of the sexual offence reported, and the time that passed between the offence and when it was reported to police. Stewart states that this included a tendency not to take statements from victims; this was in accordance with police protocols at the time of some of the offences. Additionally, there was a tendency to refer victims to sexual assault services only when there was forensic evidence to be collected. There was an apparent failure to provide referrals for victims of indecent assault or attempted sexual assaults.

**The Invisible**

An issue acknowledged both in Australia and internationally, is that the death of some members of the community can occur without creating an alarm. Specifically very young children and the elderly are two groups whose deaths can be attributed to natural causes without the necessary evidence to support such a conclusion (Kraemer, Lord, & Heilbrun, 2004). The deaths of elderly people, particularly those known to have suffered from a long-term illness, are less likely to be queried as their death is at the least, not unexpected. This factor is often exploited by the ‘angel of death’ female serial murderer, who uses this to their advantage (Kelleher & Kelleher, 1998).
Similarly, the deaths of young children, when under 18 months of age, may not be considered as suspicious. This is particularly evident if the actual cause of death is not determinable, it is often attributed to Sudden Infant Death Syndrome (SIDS). This practice, and the serial murderer’s ability to take advantage of these circumstances, was recently uncovered in Australia with the conviction of Kathleen Folbigg. Folbigg was convicted of murdering three of her four children over a period of time. The children’s deaths were originally attributed to SIDS, until investigators found evidence suggesting that their deaths were deliberate.

There is currently no national system in place in Australia to track the deaths of children, particularly when the cause of death has been ruled to be ‘natural’. Some Australian states have monitoring systems in place; the NSW Child Death Review Team (CDRT) provides a benchmark for other systems. The CDRT was established in 1996\(^{12}\) to maintain a register of deaths of children under the age of 17 years (NSW Commission for Children and Young People, 2008).

This system however, does not appear to have any investigative capability or use. As stated in their recent annual report, the CDRT has six specific functions:

- maintain the Child Death Register,
- classify deaths according to specific criteria,
- identify patterns and trends emerging from the data,

\(^{12}\) This was introduced following the Folbigg case.
• undertake research into prevention and reduction in child deaths,
• monitor recommendations proposed, and
• identify areas where further research is required (NSW Child Death Review Team, 2007).

In addition, the report states that the CDRT makes recommendations to prevent or reduce child deaths emerging from these functions, for implementation by both government and non-government agencies and the community in general. Whilst the NSW Ombudsmen reviews deaths where the child has had a connection to the Department of Community Services, had been in detention, or had a disability and had lived in some form of residential accommodation, and have the capacity to review suspicious deaths. This however is separate from the CDRT. There is no apparent mechanism for this system to be accessible by NSW Police or any other Australian police agency.

Similar systems are in place in most Australian states, although there is currently no formal review mechanism in existence in the Australian Capital Territory (Commissioner for Children Tasmania, 2006; NSW Child Death Review Team, 2007). These systems have similar functions to the CDRT and are restricted to reviewing the deaths of the particular state’s residents, which means that there is a gap in recording the deaths of children whose death occurs in a state other than in which they reside.

13 Provides support and services for children and families experiencing a range of difficulties including, but not limited to, child protection
Again, as with the CDRT, there appears to be no investigative mechanism available to state police agencies.

This lack of available monitoring mechanisms that are accessible to police could also provide one explanation for the low incidence of recorded serial murder by females. Although there are monitoring systems in place, there is no national mechanism to assist in determining previous incidents in other states or jurisdictions. This has the capacity to result in many cases going undetected or unsuspected. Therefore the actual incidence of female serial murder may be much higher than generally believed, as many target the groups described above (Holmes, et al., 1998). Reduced investigative capabilities due to a lack of availability of monitoring systems available to police may be a compounding factor.

**Without a Trace- The Missing**

An important issue to be considered is that, in Australia alone, approximately 35,000 people are reported missing each year (James, Anderson, & Putt, 2008). James et al. found that a majority of people are located, with 90 percent of missing persons in Victoria located within seven days and found to have disappeared of their own accord. For the small percentage that are not located within twelve months of being reported the police do attempt to trace these people. However, with police resources being
restricted, investigators need to prioritise each case based upon the information they have received and their general knowledge and experience.

Research into the investigation of missing person reports has been limited and erratic, particularly in Australia. There has been little current research in Australia that extends beyond the consideration of the incidence of missing person therefore much of the available academic research is dated. An early research brief that considered the findings of two reports into missing persons, considers the investigative responsibility as resting generally with local police in most Australian states and territories (Swanton & Wilson, 1989). This report also considers the identification of ‘at risk’ missing persons and how this was determined. According to Swanton and Wilson (1989) police categorise missing persons, with those considered most at risk being those unable to protect themselves. This includes the elderly, young children and those who have a mental or physical disability. The police response to missing persons is driven by both formal and informal risk criteria used to assess the appropriate response (Swanton & Wilson, 1989).

This early research into missing persons also recognises that there were assessments made which proved to be inadequate. It was suggested that the only way to ensure an increase in effective assessments would be to treat all cases as urgent (Swanton & Wilson, 1989). However Swanton and Wilson contend that such a measure would result in a waste of resources, considering that the majority of missing persons are located within days of their disappearances. The need for a national register of
missing persons was recognised as being a possible tool to assist in the investigation of missing persons across states, however the cost effectiveness of such a measure was identified as an issue yet to be resolved (Swanton & Wilson, 1989).

Research following this report was largely absent for nearly a decade. A report by Henderson and Henderson (1998) considers the impact of missing persons on the general community in Australia. An issue that was revisited in this report was the need for a national approach to the investigation of missing persons. The establishment of the National Missing Persons Unit (NMPU) was touted as a means of coordinating national efforts, while a formalised crime linkage system was recognised as an investigative tool that can be used to provide shared resources (Henderson & Henderson, 1998).

The Henderson report also discussed the level of satisfaction of the public with the police response to those reporting someone missing. A survey of the friends and families of a sample of missing persons was conducted to obtain a representation of the levels of satisfaction with both police agencies and other organisations that assist in locating missing persons (Henderson & Henderson, 1998). Two issues emerged from this study: the timeliness of police action once the report had been made and the feedback provided by police during the investigation. However, there was little discussion of the investigation itself. Many of the reports which followed that of Henderson and Henderson, were based on the findings of this research and therefore do
not contribute anything further to the understanding of the investigation of missing persons.

A recent report into the investigation of missing persons reports by Victoria Police focused on the linkage between unidentified remains and outstanding missing person cases (Office of Police Integrity, 2006). This was in response to three complaints about the failure of Victoria Police to identify a reported missing person as deceased. Of significant interest is this report’s suggestion that:

the establishment of a national database would be the best way forward. A national database would ensure all Australian Missing Persons Reports (irrespective of which state they were raised in) could be more efficiently matched to corresponding unidentified bodies (irrespective of which state they were found in) (Office of Police Integrity, 2006, p.10).

In this 2006 report, there is no mention of the existence of a national database and its intended purpose for the monitoring of both long term missing persons and unidentified remains, as identified by Putt and Higgins (Putt & Higgins, 1997). While this report indicates that a formal linkage system has not been incorporated as an investigative tool, it specifies the need for another tool, a forensic odontology database to provide an accessible collection of dental records of missing persons (Office of Police Integrity, 2006).
During the past decade there has been limited research into the police investigation of missing persons internationally, with the most significant report produced by Geoff Newiss (1999). This study looks at nine police forces in the United Kingdom and examines the policies relating to missing persons reports. Few of these reports offered any models that could lead to more effective policy and practice in the investigation of missing persons.

An issue that may impact on the risk assessment of some individuals is that not all missing persons are residents of Australia. According to the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2007) just below 46,400 visitors to Australia overstayed their visa as of December 2005. While this equates to less than one percent of all visitors for the given period, it can still be considered as a significant number of people. This acknowledged level of visitors who overstay their visas can be seen to contribute to the dictionary knowledge of police. With large numbers of tourists voluntarily becoming untraceable, it may be considered that reported police perspective that many tourists tend to extend their stay by choice, and as such do not require the allocation of investigative resources. It should be noted that according to the Department of Immigration and Citizenship, police agencies are not considered responsible for locating visitors who have over stayed their visas (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2007).

In addition to immigration factors, a study conducted by Henderson, Henderson and Kieren (2000) found that less than 1% of people in Australia were still missing 18-
24 months after they were initially reported missing to police which equates to two of 505 people. This means that approximately 118 of the 35,000 people that go missing every year in Australia remain so after 18 months. Thus this could be seen to give rise to the understandable expectations of police that a majority of missing persons will be located in time or when they see fit or are able to notify family and friends of their whereabouts.

The Worthless

A factor that may contribute to the difficulty faced by law enforcement in identifying a series of related murders however, is the victim selection methods of the individual serial killer. Often victims from marginal groups are targeted, such as the homeless or prostitutes, as they may not be reported missing as readily as other members of society (Fox, et al., 2005). According to Fattah (1997), some groups of victims are considered “worthless” which he defines as being those who are marginalised by society due to their lifestyle choices which do not conform to those of the society in which they live. Fattah identifies prostitutes, the homeless and homosexuals, as just some of the ‘outcasts’ that can be included. Egger (1990b, 1998) states that the marginalised groups are often at a greater risk of being victimised by serial offenders, because their lifestyle brings them into contact with greater threats. This factor was validated in 2003; Gary Leon Ridgway appeared in a Seattle court after pleading guilty to the murders of 48 females in the Seattle area since 1982. The majority of these victims were prostitutes. Ridgway (quoted in BBC, 2003) stated that:
I also picked prostitutes as victims because they were easy to pick up without being noticed. I knew they would not be reported missing right away and might never be reported missing. I picked prostitutes because I thought I could kill as many of them as I wanted to without getting caught.

Not only does such a choice in victims make it difficult to identify a case of serial murder, but the response by the community to such crimes may also be reflected in this. It has been argued that some aspects of a community, particularly the media, do not consider the deaths of prostitutes as warranting a high level of media coverage (Fineman & McCluskey, 1997). This lack of media attention received can be seen to hamper an investigation, because the public is less aware that such crimes have taken place.

The lack of attention that the victimisation of prostitutes receive from some police was highlighted in an American study of Miller and Schwartz (1995). Interviewing a city vice officer as part of the study into rape myth prevalence among clients of prostitutes, police and other, they were told that:

…it was a common belief among local police that when a prostitute was found dead: “Who really cares? Who really cares? [You’re dealing with] a girl who’s zero” (Miller & Schwartz, 1995, p. 14).

It was concluded that such beliefs by that particular police department had been indicative of the attribution of extreme levels of victim blame (Miller & Schwartz,
The prostitutes interviewed in the study of Miller and Schwartz stated that their crimes of prostitution were considered to be more serious by the criminal justice system than the crimes of rape and violence committed against them. Although this study conducted over ten years ago, it does demonstrate the attitudes existing in the police department studied. Similar attitudes are evident in a later study conducted in Australia, suggesting that such police attitudes are not restricted to America alone.

Reflecting on their interactions with prostitutes in Australia, referred to as sex industry workers in their paper, Bridgett and Robinson (1999) comment that prostitutes are one group in society that are marginalised and thus vulnerable to acts of abuse and violence. Bridgett and Robinson examined a NSW Standing Committee of Social Issues report (Legislative Council, 1996) which found that there was an extremely high incidence of violence among this group, although the reporting of these crimes is low. It was also found that those who offend against prostitutes frequently had a prior history of sexual offences and would target prostitutes as they believed that there was a lesser chance of conviction.

As discussed by Bridgett and Robinson (1999), these victims of sexual assault often feel unfairly treated by both the legal and health systems. Those who have reported an assault describe disbelief with which their report was received by police. Bridgett and Robinson also identify that there have been claims where a woman has reported a sexual assault to police and were told that it was, “part of their job and consequently what they deserve” (Bridgett & Robinson, 1999, p.4). Victims are also
faced with inadequate outcomes in the criminal justice system, whereby attitudes expressed can be seen to reinforce the myths that prostitutes deserve to be victimised or that it is not as serious.

It is often contended by academics in the field, and by at least one self-confessed serial offender (Anonymous, 1998), that the serial offender depersonalises his victim. However according to Egger (1998), victims of serial crimes such as murder are often depersonalised by society as well. Particularly when victims are drawn from the ‘worthless’ classes, many people justify the murderer’s actions by deeming that victims ‘had it coming to them’ (Lerner & Miller, 1978). The victim is no longer of interest to society but becomes, according to Egger, ‘less-dead’ in that the undesirable groups have been cleansed from society by the offender. According to Turvey (2002d) investigators who share this perception of victims may not deem their victimisation as warranting a thorough investigation.

**Chapter Summary**

Police cultural knowledge can be seen to inform policing practice and shape decisions made in the field. This knowledge and thus its resulting actions are not uniform as there are identifiable subcultures existent in policing organisations. The cultural knowledge and more specifically the dictionary knowledge inherent within the organisation can lead to recognisable outcomes in the way in which an investigation may be conducted. The police perception of the victims and the knowledge that
informs their understanding of the various groups, can lead to overlooking of valuable information by police and the delay in the recognition of these crimes as serial. As a consequence information from the first incident of what becomes a series of related crimes can be lost and impact on the investigation of subsequent crimes.

In Chapter 2 the issues relating specifically to the investigation of serial crimes will be discussed. There are a range of investigative issues that are of consideration to this thesis. The ability of investigators to identify cases of serial crime has been considered as having a direct impact on the progress of an investigation. Such an issue may also be compounded by the type of victims in such offences which can hinder the ability of police to link such crime. The use of technological aids and other techniques will also be discussed in relation to their role in the investigative process.
CHAPTER 2: INVESTIGATING SERIAL CRIME

There have been recent scientific developments in police work that challenge the traditional approaches to policing (Tong and Bowling, 2006). In their presentation of a typology of the logic driving the way which detective work is done, they identify the profiling of offenders and the use of forensic science and new information technologies as developments which have an influence on the way that detective work is carried out (Stephen Tong & Ben Bowling, 2006). This thesis considers the influence of these practices on the investigation of violent serial crimes in Australia. The way in which investigative tools and techniques are utilised in the investigation of these crimes, particularly criminal profiling and forensic evidence will be examined.

Additionally, with the introduction of new models of policing come investigative tools to enhance the investigative capabilities. This new model is referred to as intelligence-led policing, and refers to the use of information technology and scientific methods in the analysis of the crime scene (Tilley, 2003) and in investigative practice. The concept of intelligence-led policing and its relevance to serial crime investigation will also be addressed in this chapter. It will be demonstrated that intelligence-led policing practices contribute to problems in the way in which police culture informs the investigation of serial crime.

As previously stated, the prevalence of serial crime is difficult to determine. This may be due to the nature of serial crimes, such as serial murder, where the
geographic mobility of the offender and the absence of a relationship between the victims and the offender, further hampers this identification process. Due to these factors, the ability of investigators to detect the serial nature of these murders is subsequently affected. Serial rape cases may also be difficult to detect as rape and sexual assault incidents are generally recognised to be under-reported crimes (Lievore, 2002). Thus investigators may not be aware that related incidents exist. This is further complicated when related crimes occur across different police command areas—either regional or national. One description of a serial murder investigation proffered by Ogan and Alison describes it as:

…combining sit does the involvement and scrutiny of the press, the complexity of multiple murders, contradictory and competing information, concerns around the worries of the local community and the information overload involved in the case (Ogan & Alison, 2005, p.24).

This description though aptly relevant to the investigation of serial crimes today, is describing the Whitechapel or ‘Jack the Ripper’ murders of the 1880’s. This can be seen to highlight that the challenges confronting police in the investigation of violent serial crimes remain the same more than a century on.
Traditional Investigative Techniques and the Serial Problem

Traditional investigative techniques, such as the interviewing of the victim’s family and friends, often provide little information in serial cases, due to factors such as the lack of victim-offender relationship and the motivation that drives the offender. In order to identify a suspect or gain information about a suspect, investigators often use interviews. This information is unavailable when interviewing family and friends of serial victims. Canter (2003) in a discussion of geographical profiling, comments that often in a murder investigation, the victim is often considered as the ‘starting point’. Questions about the victim’s lifestyle and habits are posed by investigators, looking for the situation in which the victim may have encountered their killer. Due to the frequent absence of a victim-offender relationship prior to a serial offence and therefore a lack of recognisable motive, the usual strategies employed by investigators seldom contribute to an investigation (Fox & Levin, 1998).

Investigators often need to rely heavily on information from the public. This is often achieved through media announcements, requesting information about such crimes to be reported to investigators. Investigators must also utilise a variety of techniques and technologies in their search for the serial offender, as such evidence may be the only information which can aid an arrest and conviction. In most murder investigations, the investigators can often gain a wealth of information from the crime scene (Rossmo, 1995). However, in many serial murder cases, there is often no known crime scene as the victims are found at a different location, referred to as the disposal
location. The ‘Truro’ murders, which occurred in South Australia, illustrate this point. The offenders disposed of their victims’ remains at various locations unrelated to the actual crime scene (Hoysted & Kidd, 2002).

**Scientific and Technological Advances**

A factor considered important in the investigation of serious crimes such as murder is the collection of evidence from the crime scene (Mouzos & Muller, 2001). The exploratory study of Mouzos and Muller (2001) considered the factors which contribute to the ability of investigators to solve criminal cases, including the use of forensic technologies. According to Mouzos and Muller, investigators consider the securing of a crime scene or scenes as necessary to solve a crime such as murder. The presence of forensic specialists at the crimes scene/s were also considered as an important factor (Mouzos & Muller, 2001). This ensured that evidence was preserved, collected and uncontaminated. Conversely, one of the major impediments to a murder investigation was considered to be the length of time taken for the forensic analysis to be completed (Mouzos & Muller, 2001).

Improvements in forensic techniques such as DNA analysis and fingerprint technology have increased the ability of police investigators to link related cases and thus identify cases of serial murder (Evans, 1996) or serial rape. Such techniques have become increasingly important in linking cases using evidence found at crime scenes,
and could thus provide a mechanism for classifying related cases as serial murder or serial rape.

Fingerprinting is perhaps one of the oldest forensic techniques used by police investigators and has been used for over one hundred years in Australia (New South Wales Police, 2005). There are commonly two forms of prints. The first, patent prints, are visible to the naked eye such as fingerprints left after contact with ink, blood or oil (Genge, 2004). The second, latent prints, are the other form of prints and cannot be seen with the naked eye, and require powder or chemical treatments to make them visible (Genge, 2004). According to Genge (2004) improvements in fingerprint technology has allowed for the detection of fingerprints from surfaces which were previously considered to be fingerprint ‘black holes’.

The technology of fingerprint identification is still the only means of uniquely identifying an individual (PMSEIC, 2000). The National Automated Fingerprint Identification System (NAFIS) which has been implemented under the national CrimTrac organisation aims to improve the ability to match and identify fingerprints. This system ideally aims at making information available between police organisations, which increases the effectiveness of fingerprint analysis and possibly identification in cases where a suspect or victim is from a region or jurisdiction other than where the crime took place. NAFIS was declared operational in 2001, and allows police to do an immediate search of existing records when processing an offender after an arrest (Mobbs, 2001).
In their discussion paper on serial murder in Australia, Pinto and Wilson (1990) discuss the use of developing forensic technologies. Deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) profiling is a method that analyses materials such as blood, semen, or other human tissues to identify a suspect biologically once samples are given for comparison. This is a technology that is considered to have improved the investigation into serial crimes (Pinto & Wilson, 1990). Traditional DNA testing of humans analyses the nuclei DNA. However humans have a second form of DNA referred to as mitochondrial (MDNA) which can be tested when there is insufficient nuclei DNA present (PMSEIC, 2000). According to the Prime Minister’s Science, Engineering and Innovation Council (PMSEIC), the acquisition of mitochondrial DNA techniques has been considered since 2000 (PMSEIC, 2000). However, the recent trial of the accused murderer of British tourist, Peter Falconio, highlighted the absence of such technology: samples were sent to the United Kingdom for testing by the Forensic Science Service who performed a new DNA analysis procedure (AAP, 2007). Consistent with NAFIS, the National Criminal Investigation DNA Database (NCIDD) was operational from 2001 which is a central database and matching service of DNA profiles submitted from all Australian police agencies (Mobbs, 2001).

The analysis of fibres is another forensic technique that has been gaining increasing prominence in the criminal justice arena over the past few years. The science of trace fibre analysis is based upon the assumptions of Locard’s Principle which states that “every contact leaves a trace” (Erainçlioglu, 2004). In simple terms, every time an offender comes into contact with the victim or the crime scene, they will leave traces of
themselves and take traces from the victim or scene with them. For example brushing up against the victim will lead to a transfer in fibres between both parties. However as outlined by Erainçlioglu (2004) although a trace may be present there is no guarantee that the trace will be detected. One of the most common forms of trace evidence is fibres (Lane, 2004). Lane (2004) identifies two types of fibres- natural and man-made. Natural fibres include those of animal, vegetable and mineral origin, while man-made fibres can be identified as natural polymers, synthetic polymers or inorganic fibres.

There are several different methods that can be employed to analyse fibres. The most common method is through the use of a comparison microscope. However, due to the increase in the number of man-made fibres produced and their similarities, further testing of the fibres were often required. In order to do this, double refraction or birefringence, infra-red spectrometry and pyrolysis gas chromatography can be used. These methods analyse different characteristics, such as light or infra-red absorption, and gas components (Lane, 2004).

According to the PMSEIC, “Australia has a high quality capability but limited capacity in forensic criminalistics. For some trace material there is a critical shortage both of capability and capacity” (PMSEIC, 2000, p.10). Thus although there are forensic techniques available to analyse trace fibres, it is uncertain to what extent these technologies are available or in use in Australia.
A technique that has been used for some decades is forensic odontology. Forensic odontology refers to methods of identification, being the matching of teeth to pre-existing record to identify an individual; and the comparison of teeth to bite marks that may have been left by an offender (Genge, 2004). The use of forensic odontology is particularly useful in cases where remains are unidentifiable by other means such as DNA profiling or visual identification. However one of the problems with forensic odontology is that it relies on records of the victims teeth being in existence in order to gain a comparison (Evans, 1996). Forensic odontology can also be utilised to aid investigators in identifying possible victims prior to records being available (Evans, 1996). For example, a person has been found but more information is required before police can identify a possible victim, and then forensic odontology can provide an estimate of age.

Another technology used in the investigation of serious crimes is ballistic technology, which refers to the science of firearms and bullets including the motion in which they travel (Evans, 1996). From the markings on fired bullets, it can be determined which weapon it was fired from because the barrel of each firearm is unique (Evans, 1996). This form of identification is used to identify a suspect and also to link crimes where the same weapon was used to commit various crimes. Although ballistic technology is well presented in the literature, in Australia few crimes are gun-related. A recent report identifying the use of weapons in homicides in Australia found that firearms were used in relatively few incidents (Mouzos & Houliaras, 2006). Less than one in ten female victims were killed with a firearm, while 19 percent of males were
killed using this same weapon (Mouzos & Houliaras, 2006). The incidence of firearms to commit serial crimes, particularly serial murder, is rare. Within the scope of this current study, there was only one case of serial murder that involved a firearm and the use of ballistic identification.

The establishment of DNA databases in some countries such as the United Kingdom and Australia, has allowed for the linkage and prosecution of cases that were considered to be beyond the investigators’ ability to close. A recent example of the successful use of this technique is the case of Steve Wright who was prosecuted for the murders of five women in England in January 2008 (Rayner, 2008). DNA evidence was presented to link the offender to three of the victims. DNA linkage was also evident in a series of rapes in the United States. The offender was identified after the federal DNA database linked a DNA sample from the offender with evidence obtained in at least nine rape cases across different jurisdictions (Snyder, 2005). Some of these cases, as identified by Snyder (2005) date back to 1974.

Improvements in the use of technologies for the processing of fingerprints, trace fibres and ballistic evidence have positively impacted on the solvability of criminal cases (Evans, 1996; Genge, 2004). Such technologies may also enable a reduction in the linkage blindness often experienced in cases of serial murder. The contribution of such systems to the investigation of serial crimes in Australia has not been addressed by previous research; the current study aims to ascertain how such techniques are used in cases of serial crime in Australia.
Media as an Investigative Tool

Due to their rare and violent nature, serial murder cases command considerable attention in the media (Fox, Levin and Quinet, 2005). Factors such as the age and sex of the victims, the number of victims and the amount or type of violence evident increases the public interest in such cases and therefore results in increased media coverage (Canter, 2003). This is supported by Innes (2002) who states that crimes of an unusual nature often attract intense media interest. These include those that involve high levels of violence, child victims or where the crimes are considered to be linked to other offences, thus identifying the crimes as newsworthy (Greer, 2003; Innes, 2002).

The media however can have various roles extending from their main function of acting in the public interest; however, Innes proposes that such interest places a significant amount of pressure on such investigations. This pressure in turn emphasises the need for detectives to achieve a good result (Innes, 2002).

According to Innes (2002) police investigating these crimes can be seen to collude with the media, encouraging them through the use of what he terms “rituals of display” (Innes, 2002, p.676). Such rituals include press appeals from the victim’s family, crime reconstructions and interviews with the senior investigating officer. These practices were considered by detectives studied by Innes to have two purposes. The first of these was to manage the media reportage of the crime, ensuring that the coverage did not damage the progress of the investigation. Detectives considered that the second purpose was to use the media as an investigative resource, whereby contact
can be made with potential witnesses and informants in a timely and cost-efficient manner (Innes, 2002). The media’s coverage of highly publicised investigations impacts upon the amount of information produced from these murder enquiries.

Innes (1999) comments that when police are confronted by a murder investigation that is not progressing towards identification of an offender, they may use the media through a range of strategies as part of their wider investigative practice. This use of the media for the investigation of serial crimes has also been referred to as ‘police public relations’ (Chavez & Gibson, 2004; Gibson & Chavez, 2004).

According to Chavez and Gibson (2004) an important part of an investigation into serial crimes is the management of public relations. They describe public relations during a serial crime investigation as having three purposes which are considered to have goal-oriented functions. The first of these is media relations, which refers to the interactions with the media personnel. This includes the release or withholding of information relating to the case at hand to media outlets. This can be driven by the need to achieve a specific purpose. Chavez and Gibson describe the media relations during the investigation into the serial murderer known as the Son of Sam in New York City. In this case the media was manipulated by both the police and government in order to “facilitate their investigation, control the flow of news to the public, and influence public perceptions of the case” (Chavez & Gibson, 2004, p. 13). Thus this can be seen to obtain specific outcomes from the police-media relationship.
The second function of public relations is crisis management. Chavez and Gibson (2004) explain that this is a response to the public reaction to crimes like serial murder which gain widespread attention and create concern in the general public. The third function of public relations identified by Chavez and Gibson is to provide public information. This can be disseminated in various ways and can target specific information at particular audiences.

Public relations exercises can be driven by different motivators. In what may be seen as positive stereotyping, Ericson (1993) describes the priority designation of some cases to be investigated based on the judgment that the prioritisation of such cases was good public relations. Ericson outlines two types of cases generally designated high priority due to public relations reasoning. The first are cases involving high profile or special victims where pressure is applied from the police hierarchy to prioritise them. The other type of case is where the suspect is high profile and could make effective complaints to both the police hierarchy and the public.

Media strategies often used in serial murder investigations, as outlined by Gibson and Chavez (2004), can include news releases, television programs, public meetings, news conferences, radio announcements and media briefings. The use of such media strategies can however create problems for investigators. Chavez and Gibson (2004) highlight the difficulties investigators face when balancing the needs of the investigation and the interest of the public. According to Chavez and Gibson, police aim to receive the maximum amount of information about a series of crimes while
releasing only a limited amount of information from their investigative files. At the same time however, they need to ensure that the minimal information that they release through media outlets adequately notifies the public of the problem posed by the serial offender without creating public panic.

When divulging to the media information pertinent to the crimes, investigators often attempt to withhold specific details relating to the crimes. These unpublicised details remain only known to the investigators and the offender and therefore are often referred to as ‘polygraph keys’ by Chavez and Gibson (2004). Such polygraph keys would be used by investigators to verify information that they may receive from a suspect; that is, in a confession.

As outlined in Canter (2003) media coverage of high profile cases can be seen to place pressure on the investigating police through the media’s uninformed speculations as to motives and possible offender. Canter discusses the murder of a high profile television presenter in London, where such media speculations were widespread. In this case the media was seen by police to be spreading so much misinformation that they were impacting on the public’s ability to share information of relevance to the investigation. The detective interviewed stated that he felt the need to strongly reject such claims publicly in order to ensure that the public did not receive a distorted view of the ‘facts’.
The impact of the media need not have a negative impact on an investigation. Turvey (2002b) notes that the dissemination of information through the media can be a useful tool for gaining information from previously unidentified victims and witnesses. Without some of the information about the crimes being made available to the public through the press, members of the public who possess valuable information would not know its value and therefore would not contact police (Chavez & Gibson, 2004). Although, as Canter (2003) points out, this can also lead to information overload for police investigators, where large amounts of irrelevant information was supplied by members of the public, disguising the ‘crucial’ information from immediate attention.

The media can also be actively used by investigators to ‘communicate’ with the serial offender. Turvey (2002b) emphasises the need for investigators to monitor the media coverage to observe if the offender’s behaviour reflects any of the information presented in the media. Canter sees this as indicating not only whether the offender is watching the investigation, but whether he or she is learning or reacting to that information about the investigation disseminated through the media. In addition Fox et al. (2005) discuss a case where an investigator publicly taunted the serial offender in the media, provoking a response from the offender in the form of further offending behaviour which led to his arrest.

When media outlets gain access to confidential information that is considered as key to identifying an offender this can seriously impact further investigations. Such information used to secure a scoop, can be gained through bribing people inside the
investigation, such as the police, for information that they can use as an exclusive scoop (Fox, et al., 2005). The disclosure of key information can lead to changes in the offender’s behaviour such as relocating from an area he or she learns is being staked out by police (Chavez & Gibson, 2004).

The reasons or justifications for such reporting are varied, although in all examples discussed the crimes can be seen as ‘newsworthy’ as described by Innes (2002). A study conducted by Chermak (1998) of crime story salience found that the number of victims affected by a crime was one predictor of the salience of a story in newspapers. This could thus explain why a case of serial murder, which by definition involves a number of victims, receives such detailed attention in the mass media. In his analysis of the media in the context of murder investigations, Innes (2002) considers that high profile cases result in media attention that scrutinises the reputation and competence of the investigating police organisation, becoming a significant source of pressure on the investigation and the judicial process.
Resources

Another important aspect of the investigation of serial murder and serial rape is the way in which resources are allocated. A study conducted by Mouzos and Muller (2001) on factors related to the solvability of murder investigations in Australia found that one of the main issues raised by investigators was the lack of resources available. This included a lack of appropriately experienced investigators, support staff, and analysts. Another important problem, which was identified by Mouzos and Muller as hampering investigations, was the lack of time devoted to the investigative process. This was due to the practices that an investigator can work on only one murder case at a time. This study however, did not focus on serial murder or serial crimes in general. Thus the relevance of this study to these crimes although not directly related, may be inferred and aid in the development of a research strategy.

According to Innes (1999, p.270), “wider moral conceptions of the seriousness of murder” are responsible for the substantial resources available for the investigation of such crimes. This however is seen by Innes to be dependent upon the progress of an investigation and the level of public concern about the crimes being investigated. According to Innes, when an investigation is not progressing significantly, investigators are placed under increased pressure to reduce the allocated level of resources available. One way in which to secure and sustain adequate levels of resources throughout an investigation, is to develop a high media profile for the case thus creating a ‘public concern’ (Innes, 1999).
In his examination of the solvability of homicide cases in the United States, Marché (1994) suggests that the allocation of police resources can be dependent upon the number of victims and the race of the victims. This is seen as being due to the level of community interest in the solution of such cases when there are a number of victims. One explanation in relation to race suggests that a preference towards white victims may be due to economic factors in a community (Marché, 1994). Even in predominately non-white areas, Marché surmises that the community concern for sustaining its white tourist or commuter presence would be reflected in the availability of police resources as there would be a greater chance of solving the case due to the community interest (Marché, 1994). Therefore it was suggested that greater resources may be allocated to the investigation of crimes against white victims due to the high level of community concern in both white and non-white communities.

The perspective on police resources during a serial murder investigation in Australia is considered by Hagan (1992) when he states that such crimes raise enormous challenges in this regard. Hagan suggests that the forming of a task force is an effective and efficient approach to dealing with the difficulties that serial crime investigations pose. This support for formation of task forces has been countered by Fleming (1994) who cites several serial murder cases in America where task forces were considered to have performed poorly. Fleming identifies a range of reasons for this lack of performance, including the decentralised nature of some of these task forces and the poor focus demonstrated at an operational level.
The traditional view of policing as a craft has been evolving with the integration of increasingly complex technologies and scientific methods into the investigation of crime (Stephen Tong & Ben Bowling, 2006). Tong and Bowling (2006) suggest that a new police professionalism has emerged, calling for detectives to work with other branches in the police organisation. This has led to a more scientific approach to doing police work that requires detectives to possess specialised knowledge and expertise.

The relatively new concept of intelligence-led policing offers more effective ways of investigating crime. Technologies such as the development of forensic science techniques including DNA analysis (Crim Trac, 2008a), and computer applications such as the Crime Linkage Analysis System (Mouzos, 2001), play an increasing role in the investigation of many crimes. However a greater emphasis on such technology exists when the crime being investigated is serial in nature.

Tilley (2003) comments that there is no precise philosophy that underpins the notion of intelligence-led policing. Tilley states that:

Intelligence-led policing is essentially about doing the practical business of policing more smartly, incorporating modern information technology and modern methods (Tilley, 2003, p.321).
The introduction of intelligence-led policing is considered to be the response to calls for more effective and cost-efficient policing practices (Ratcliffe, 2003). Additionally, external pressures, such as the growing demands of globalisation and technological enhancements and the inability of traditional reactive models of policing to respond adequately to these pressures, furthered this drive towards a smarter way of policing (Ratcliffe, 2003). Within the domain of policing, Ratcliffe (2003, p.2) asserts that in the early 1990’s in the UK, there was a recognition of reduced public confidence in police who were seen to be “losing the battle on the streets” coupled with an increase in the reliance on the private security industry.

As outlined by Tilley (2003), intelligence-led policing can be seen in some respects a return to traditional policing, where the detection and apprehension of offenders is a priority within a policing framework which considers law enforcement as the key function of police organisations. The focus of this model is to identify offenders and either incapacitates them or effect changes that reduce their ability to commit crime. This can be achieved through the use of computer technologies, which Tilley states has enhanced capabilities to manage information concerning criminals and their milieu. This enables police to enact a smarter response to criminal offending (Tilley, 2003).

This same trend has been reflected on an international scale. Intelligence-led policing is said to have originated in the United Kingdom and was introduced in Australia in the late 1990s (Ratcliffe, 2003). It has been well established internationally
since the year 2000 (Sheptycki, 2004). In his discussion of this model, Ratcliffe (2003) states that intelligence-led policing, as provided by the UK National Intelligence Model, focuses on four main elements: the targeting of active offenders; the management of crime and disorder hotspots; the application of preventative measures; and finally, the investigation of linked series of crimes.

Tilley (2003) expands on this, stating that to achieve these four elements of focus, intelligence-led policing is informed by intelligence products. Four types of intelligence products are outlined by Tilley: strategic assessments; tactical assessments; target profiles; and problem profiles. Strategic assessments inform the allocation of policing resources by predicting long-term trends that are considered to have some predictive function, whereas tactical assessments are considered to be short-term. The offender descriptions or target profiles are used to inform the police actions aimed at these offenders. Finally, Tilley identifies problem profiles as a measure for the identification of a series of offences or crime hotspots. These intelligence products can be informed by a range of sources whereby information is not only traditionally received but actively sought, and thus may not be in the public domain. According to Tilley, this covert gathering of intelligence information has been formalised by the intelligence-led policing paradigm.

As described by Sheptycki (2004) police have always used some form of intelligence through the gathering of information or knowledge and the translation of such knowledge into action. This is consistent with beat police gathering knowledge at
a local level although this has become increasingly difficult with urbanisation and the greater geographic responsibility of police: thus ‘local’ policing can be considered a misnomer. Sheptycki notes that over the past few decades a range of analytical and investigative techniques have been used more frequently. These include surveillance devices and computer facilities thus leading to this reliance on intelligence-led information gathering processes. The move towards a more systematic form of intelligence gathering has been demanded by the increased sophistication and increased mobility of offenders (Tilley, 2003).

According to Ratcliffe (2003) intelligence-led policing aims at attaining greater efficiency in policing. However, with its introduction, it has been coupled with other efficiency measures within a policing organisation which can be seen to conflict with intelligence-led policing. These measures of accountability, as previously mentioned, attempt to quantify many aspects of policing such as police response times with the aim of achieving measurable improvements (Ratcliffe, 2003). These demands for accountability could, according to Ratcliffe, lead to a reduction in the effectiveness of intelligence-led policing as it gets lost in the processes of accountability as responsibility for various functions gets shifted between those in the organisational structure.

**Using Intelligence-led Policing in the Investigation of Serial Offences**
One aspect of intelligence-led policing is of most interest to this research. That is, the identification and investigation of a series of crimes linked to the one offender, a key focus identified by Ratcliffe (2003). This emphasis on the targeting of serial offenders has been demanded by the growing recognition of such offenders. As demonstrated in the earlier discussion of the incidence of serial murder and serial rape in Australia, serial offenders pose a number of issues for investigators which are often exacerbated by factors such as offender mobility and the victimology of such offences. In order to meet these demands placed on investigators, the detection of serial crimes led to the increased use of intelligence-led policing measures.

As previously examined, Australian police organisations can be seen to utilise a number of what can be considered as ‘intelligence-led’ approaches. This includes the national fingerprint identification system, (NAFIS). This new system was introduced in 2000 following the recognition that the previous national fingerprint system had reached its capacity (Crim Trac, 2008b). The initial system which was designed in 1986 however, was superseded by those utilised in Europe, the United States and New Zealand. NAFIS has since been heralded as incorporating the latest technology (Crim Trac, 2008b). The format of this system allows for the exchange of intelligence both nationally and internationally (Mobbs, 2001). Another similar national comparison and matching system is the National Criminal Investigation DNA Database (NCIDD) which is a warehouse of DNA profiles (Crim Trac, 2008a).

As the cases of serial murder and serial rape considered by this research have been investigated over a relatively long period, being up to fifteen years, it is expected
that the progressive implementation of intelligence-led policing will be visible in the investigative practices employed. Particular attention will be given to the incorporation of ViCLAS into police practice, a system purported to reduce the problems associated with investigating serial crimes, as will be examined below.

**Police Subcultures and Intelligence Gathering**

The integration of intelligence-led policing initiatives into police practice is not without problems. Studies have found that some of the difficulties in incorporating the use of technologies into policing practice can be explained within the context of the occupational culture. One study considered the integration of intelligence-led policing systems in police organisations in several countries, including the United Kingdom, Canada, Sweden and the Netherlands (Sheptycki, 2004).

Sheptycki (2004, p.322) comments that “the introduction of criminal intelligence analysis into the police sector casts new light on the occupational subcultures that comprise it”. Such occupational subcultures can be within an agency but subcultures can also exist between agencies.Whilst Sheptycki recognises the detective and street cop subcultures, he also discusses the intelligence analyst. The position of crime analyst is considered a ‘new profession’ which has been instituted in an established or ganisation and thus his new role needs to be accommodated. Sheptycki describes one analyst as being treated inappropriately, assigned to do tasks unrelated to the analysis of intelligence. This was considered as due to the entrenched
attitudes and behaviours within the detective and street cop culture, which were unable to adapt to the needs of an intelligence-led approach.

These findings by Sheptycki were supported by the Chan, Brereton, Legosz and Doran report into the impact of information technology on police practices in Queensland (2001). They found that there were distinct conflicts between the operational culture and the new information technology culture. One of the key issues in relation to this conflict that emerged was the perceived lack of understanding of the needs of operational police.

Chan et al. (2001) also found that there was a shift in perceived status of the role of operational police. One respondent in their research expressed the view that operational police were now supporting information technology analysts when “they should really be supporting us” (Chan et al., 2001, p.99). These issues of cultural conflict are further exacerbated by intra-cultural relations between police and civilian information technology workers.

Chan et al. (2001) revealed that problems associated with data entry and communications that emerged during the study were attributed to the civilian information technology analyst’s lack of knowledge about police work. The inclusion of civilians in this role also raised issues of availability of technological support as civilians were not available outside normal working hours unlike operational police working shifts. Chan et al. (2001) also found that whilst civilians could be considered
useful for freeing up police to conduct operational duties, the trend towards utilising civilians was devaluing the role of police.

Further conflicts have been found to exist between the detective subculture and that of the information technology or intelligence analyst. As outlined by Sheptycki (2004) there is a level of personal prestige that comes with a detective making a ‘good pinch’ and as such can lead to advancements in their careers. In contrast, analysts do not receive adequate acknowledgment of their role. As stated by Sheptycki higher status is given to crimes that have been detected rather than those that have been prevented, thus acknowledgment of the analysts’ contribution to crime prevention can be minimised. Additionally, the opportunity for career advancement available to detectives who have received acknowledgment for a case is not similarly available for the analyst which can lead to the creation of friction within the organisation (Sheptycki, 2004).

As a result of such conflict between police subcultures is information or intelligence hoarding (Sheptycki, 2004). According to Sheptycki information hoarding is a symptomatic of the culture which allocates prestige and status to those who make a good pinch. Therefore there is a motivation to hoard intelligence as it is considered as a valuable commodity that can be presented when “it can realize its best return” (Sheptycki, 2004, p.321) for the holder. The hoarding of information may not be a deliberate action but may result from a dislike of paperwork involved in intelligence-led approaches (Sheptycki, 2004). This would be consistent with Chan’s
recipe knowledge which can be seen to inform police actions as a means of coping with the demands of police work (Chan, 2003a).

This hoarding of information is contrary to the demands of the intelligence-led policing model which relies on the sharing of information between officers and organisations to provide an accurate representation of the law and order problem (Sheptycki, 2004). Thus Sheptycki states that this lack of information exchange hampers the ability of intelligence-led policing systems to make an accurate and efficient analysis of the intelligence it holds.

Whilst Sheptycki’s research was in the context of international police organisations, the process of change is something experienced by all policing organisations that are increasingly reliant on intelligence-led approaches. Sheptycki describes the integration of various intelligence-led approaches into police practice and the response apparent in the police cultural attitudes to these new systems. It is expected that similar responses may be evident in this research of serial crime investigations.
Joining the Dots: Crime Linkage

A common problem for investigators is being able to identify similarities between related cases. The inability to discover such similarities is referred to as linkage blindness as defined by Egger (1990a, pp.164-165):

...the near total lack of sharing and coordinating investigative information and the lack of adequate networking by law enforcement agencies. This lack of sharing or networking is a prevalent condition of today’s law enforcement officers and their agencies. Thus, linkages are rarely established among geographic areas of the country between similar crime patterns or modus operandi.

A factor which has been considered as paramount in the successful investigation of serial crimes is the ability of investigators to link these crimes at an early stage (Egger, 1998). There are several ways in which this can be achieved. However, the efficacy of these methods relies on a number of dependent issues. Traditionally, a method of determining if several crimes are related involves comparing any evident modus operandi and/or signature (Keppel & Birnes, 2003; Killmier, 1997). However, this can raise difficulties when there is not the means to compare such information.

Another factor which affects investigation is the lack of information exchange between the various police areas. This means that some serial crimes could
go undetected. In order to counteract the problem of linkage blindness that is associated with serial crimes, including how to identify possible victims, there has been a movement by Australian police towards intelligence-led policing. Australian police organisations introduced the ViCLAS system in various states, to address the problems that arise when cases occur across jurisdictional boundaries. This introduction occurred in the mid-1990’s following the highly publicised cases of Ivan Milat and John Glover in NSW and Paul Charles Denyer in Victoria (Killmier, 1997; Mouzos, 2001). This intelligence-led approach aims at targeting serial offenders and closing the gap in the shared knowledge amongst police organisations nationally.

The Violent Crime Linkage Analysis System (ViCLAS) was developed by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and records a range of information on a range of offences including: all solved and unsolved homicides, predatory sexual assaults, unidentified remains, outstanding missing persons and non parental abductions (Putt & Higgins, 1997). The term “outstanding missing persons” refers to those still missing after 60 days or those that have disappeared under circumstances considered to be suspicious (NMPU, 2005). The information comes from an “analysis of victimology, suspect information, modus operandi, forensic and behavioural data” (Mouzos, 2001, p.6). The data recorded can then be compared to determine if any cases share several common factors, according to a range of criteria set by the analyst. According to Putt and Higgins (1997) the ViCLAS includes data relating to homicides and predatory sexual assaults from 1975 in an attempt to investigators in learning up these offences and to identify possible cases of serial crime.
According to Mouzos (2001), the Australian ViCLAS intelligence analysts provide assistance to detectives with the collection and analysis of information during an investigation. ViCLAS analysts are also able to liaise with other police organisations and other agencies in a timely and effective manner. This efficient access to relevant information is considered important to the outcome of an investigation (Mouzos, 2001).

Although there is increasing recognition of female serial murderers as acknowledged by Hickey (1997), little has been done to target this problem. As will be discussed, female serial murderers usually target victims who are known to them in some capacity. This places law enforcement at a possible advantage, as they may be able to identify related crimes earlier. In Australia, the ViCLAS was implemented in order to increase the ability of investigators to link similar crimes believed to be part of a series of offences by the one offender. However, the types of offences that are recorded by ViCLAS are relatively unrelated to the types of offences that females, in particular female serial murderers, would be likely to commit. There is currently no national registry tracking the questionable deaths of children and elderly people. These two demographics are perhaps the most vulnerable to female serial murderers; the deaths of some groups of vulnerable victims are not easily monitored or tracked as they are the responsibility of different agencies.

Although ViCLAS was originally operational in NSW, cooperation between this program and NSW Police has since been limited. NSW Police and Victorian Police withdrew their participation some time ago and thus were no longer submitting cases
for entry in the system. According to at least one source, ViCLAS was being actively used by Queensland police in 2007 during a sexual assault investigation (Lion, 2007). However, at the time of writing it appears that this system has now been decommissioned nationally although there has been no public recognition that this is the situation. To date this system has not been formally replaced with another system and as such the only means available to link related crimes are through the standard police recording system (such as COPS in NSW) and through the use of forensic techniques such as DNA and fingerprints. As the ViCLAS system was operational during the timeframe covered by this research, the contribution of this system to the investigation of violent serial crimes remained a consideration.

While many support the use of a formalised linkage analysis systems (Egger, 1990a; Killmier, 1997) Canter, Missen and Hodge (1996) are of the opinion that systems such as ViCLAS are too expensive. They argue that the resources allocated to such systems would be better invested in traditional investigative practices. Canter et al. state that in countries where police jurisdictions are geographically large, serial crimes will usually occur within that jurisdiction thus rendering a linkage system unnecessary. However Canter et al. focus upon the ability of these linkage analysis systems to identify an offender, offering an example of a case where the offender was not recorded in the linkage system used in that particular jurisdiction. They fail to acknowledge, however, that linkage analysis systems are designed to identify other crimes or events that exhibit similar characteristics and thus may be investigated as serial.
The Picture of Evil - Serial Offender Typologies and Criminal Profiling

Is There a Typical Serial Offender?

There are several typologies for categorising serial murderers, but only a few typologies for serial rapists, one of which has recently been amended to apply to serial murderers as well, although there are specific typologies derived for these offenders. Some of these typologies will be discussed along with the issues that the uses of such typologies raises. It must be noted that although these typologies appear to differentiate clearly between the different types of serial offenders, no offender can be fitted exclusively into one category (Hazelwood & Burgess, 2001). Such typologies are often used by investigators and criminal profilers to provide a framework within which they can operate to identify a possible suspect.

Such typologies, such as the serial rape typologies proposed by Groth, Burgess and Holstrom (1977) and the Massachusetts Treatment Centre Rapist Typology Version 3 (MTC:R3) (Knight, 1999; Knight, Warren and Reboussin, 1998) are derived from the motivations of the offender. The typologies developed for serial murderers are primarily organised according to the offender’s motivational factors, and generally refer to male serial murderers. According to Hickey (1997), this is to enable a greater understanding of why serial murderers commit these acts. The most commonly
referred typology specifically for male offenders was developed by Holmes and DeBurger (1998). However, a typology that has also been recognised in the academic literature is that of Kelleher and Kelleher (1998) which is targeted at female serial murderers and derived from a study of 100 offenders.

**Organised versus Disorganised**

The US Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) has formulated a classification system for serial offenders that categorises offenders based on their actions and apparent motivations. This classification system identifies offenders as either organised or disorganised and is applicable to a subgroup of serial murderers. For this subgroup, crimes are considered as motiveless and are identified as sex-related crime (Godwin, 2000). These categories are used to aid the criminal profiling process, as they are derived from such practices. The terms ‘organised’ and ‘disorganised’ as outlined by Ressler et al (1988), refer to both the characteristics and personality of the offender and the characteristics of the crime scene.

Ressler et al. (1988) state that the organised murderer is usually intelligent, skilfully employed and able to interact socially, often as a popular member of their community. They can usually sustain sexual relationships and are sexually competent. Although as a child they have had a relatively stable childhood with steady financial resources, discipline would have been inconsistent or absent. During the commission of the crimes whose trigger may be stress, this offender may have been
under the influence of alcohol yet been able to control his mood. After the crime he will follow the news to determine his situation and may change jobs or move if he believes he is in danger of detection or to avoid detection. The organised murderer usually plans his crime. He gains control over the victim through the use of restraints and conversation. The body of the victim is usually hidden in a location separate from the murder scene and little evidence and no weapon are left nearby.

In contrast, the disorganised murderer according to Ressler et al. (1988), is of low intelligence, and may be employed in an unskilled area if employed at all. He is unable to interact socially, cannot maintain sexual or social relationships and is usually sexually incompetent. He has had an unstable childhood, where discipline would have been harsh. At the time of the crimes he would be anxious but not under the influence of drugs or alcohol. However, after the crime his intake of drugs and alcohol may increase. The crimes are usually unplanned and spontaneous. Violence is used to subdue the victim. After death, the victim is usually left where he or she died without any attempt to conceal the body. The weapon is usually left with the body with a large amount of evidence.

**Criminal Profiling**

Once a case of serial crime has been identified, there is often a large number of suspects because of the extent of opportunities to offend (Turvey, 2002a). Therefore investigators need to utilise investigative techniques which may help reduce the range
of suspects. Often, the traditional method of deduction is the most useful tool in which suspects can be eliminated due to lack of opportunity. However, in some serial crime investigations, suspects are few, although there is an enormous number of people who were capable of committing such an offence.

The origins of criminal profiling are difficult to identify. The first person considered to offer a criminal profile is fictional character, Sherlock Holmes, the creation of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle (Petherick, 2005). As a tool used by detectives in the investigation of crimes, one of the first attempts to develop a profile of the offender was with the kidnapper of Charles Lindburg Jr. in 1932. This attempt was deemed to be rudimentary and not very successful (Evans, 1996). The first successful use of this technique came from an attempt to identify an offender following a series of bombings in New York City which started during 1940 and continued over a period of sixteen years (Evans, 1996; Petherick, 2005). A profile was developed by Dr James Brussel, a psychiatrist, who predicted many things about the offender, including that he would be wearing a double-breasted suit when arrested. The profile provided by Brussel led to the identification and arrest of George Metesky, referred to as the ‘Mad Bomber of New York’ (Petherick, 2005). This led to the increased use of this tool in the investigation of serious crimes.

The technique of criminal profiling can help reduce the number of possible suspects or help identify a possible suspect. Criminal profiling has been defined as the technique of interpreting behavioural patterns from a crime so as to construct a list of
‘characteristics’ or a ‘profile’ of the probable offender (Kocsis, 1999). According to Wilson (foreword, Kidd, 2000, xi):

> criminal profiling is increasingly becoming a major source of attention in the popular media. This is important, as profiling is one of the tools that offers great promise to the investigation of not only murder, but all forms of violent and serial crime.

Keppel and Walter (1999) state that a criminal profile can aid investigators to identify: the signature of the offender to enhance crime linkage; what characteristics—physical, behavioural or demographic—that may be possessed by an unidentified offender; and ways in which the offender may be apprehended. Once an offender has been apprehended Keppel and Walter posit that the criminal profile can be used by investigators to develop useful interview techniques and identify areas where evidence may be found.

There are several different methods used to form a criminal profile. These methods involve sourcing different information and analysing this information according to different frameworks. The difference in methods results in the production of criminal profiles which, in some cases, may differ to profiles formed using other methods. These varying forms of offender profiling are often referred to as ‘offender profiling’, ‘psychological profiling’ and ‘criminal investigative analysis’ (see Petherick, 2005 for discussion). There are two main ways in which a criminal profile is derived. These techniques are distinct from the frameworks of information used to provide a
The two methods used to form a profile are referred to as the inductive and deductive methods (Turvey, 1998).

According to Turvey (1998) inductive methods involve the profiling of behaviour, crime scenes and victims from known behaviours, that is, derived from other similar incidents. This method of profiling is often based on statistical information derived from previous cases of a similar nature. The resulting profile is therefore based on generalised information, not all of which is specific to an individual case, which can lead to inaccuracies and may implicate innocent people more frequently. However, due to its more user-friendly nature, inductive profiling methods are the most common form of profiling.

The deductive method of profiling requires the analysis of specific crimes, crime scenes and victims, exclusively based on evidence obtained - forensic and otherwise (Turvey, 1998). This method can more accurately identify the serial murderers MO and signature, enabling the linkage of other related cases. The signature must be identified and established in order to identity the offender, using this profile. As it is based on information specific to the offences investigated, the deductive profile avoids generalisations, leading to greater accuracy of the profile. The profile can also be modified and redeveloped as the offender’s behaviour changes and develops over time. The formation of such a profile requires trained specialists who have the specialised knowledge and skills to interpret information from the crime scene. The
expertise required and the fact that it is case specific means that it is often considered as
the most accurate method of profiling (Turvey, 1998).

The process of offender profiling is based upon the ability to classify these
offenders into understandable concepts. These categories can be as simple as sex, race
or occupation, and be as complex as the methods of serial murderer and the organised
or disorganised behaviour patterns of the serial murderer or rapist. Criminal profiling
has become popularised because it appears to provide a simple method for law
enforcement personnel to track down serial offenders who terrorise the community.

These forms of criminal profiling both rely on previous experience—that is
previous acts of serial crime in the form of typologies. Once an incident of serial crime
has been recognised, the targeting of possible suspects becomes difficult due to the
large number of offending opportunities in the general population, thus profiling is used
to reduce the scope of the investigation. The perceived usefulness of the criminal
profiling process and outcomes, by police investigators of serial murder and serial rape
in Australia will be considered at a later stage in this thesis.

Geographic Profiling

Another form of profiling used in the investigation of serious crimes is geographic
profiling, also referred to as ‘spatial mapping’ (Hickey, 2002). This form of profiling
seeks to identify geographic similarities between related crimes. As previously discussed, the distance serial offenders travel to commit their crimes varies, indicating their level of mobility (Egger, 1990a; Hickey, 1997). Geographic profiling considers these factors of distance, the mobility of offenders and the demographics of the locations of their crimes (Hickey, 2002). Geographic profiling also identifies ‘mental maps’, the cognitive images that the offender might have about the surroundings of his or her crimes (Hickey, 2002).

According to Hickey (2002) the more comfortable the offender becomes when committing his or her crimes, the further he or she is willing to travel to offend. By mapping where the offender’s crimes have occurred and their sequence, it is possible to identify a possible area to which the offender may be attached. This may be an area in which he or she lives, works or has some connection to. This can aid an investigation by identifying an area where investigators can commence door knocks for information or to reduce their suspect sample by determining who has a connection to that region (Hickey, 2002).

Geographic profiling has been credited as a key investigative technique that contributing to the arrest of Joseph Thompson, a serial rapist active for 12 years in New Zealand (Canter, 2003; Manning, 1997). According to Detective Inspector Manning, it had become apparent that “traditional criminal investigation methods were unlikely to be successful in this particular case” (Manning, 1997, p.2), and research into this his technique had led police to develop a profile based on the principles of geographic
profiling, and criminal profiling to some extent. Canter (2003) describes that within three months of researching and developing this technique, the offender was identified and arrested. Manning describes the use of this profiling technique as “an extremely viable and valuable investigative tool” (Manning, 1997, p.8) in the investigation of serial rape offences.

**Chapter Summary**

As described in this chapter, there are a number of issues that can be considered to have an impact on the outcome of a serial crime investigation. The ability of police to identify and link incidents of serial murder and serial rape appear to be of upmost importance to achieving a positive investigative outcome. However, as discussed, there are numerous other factors that can also influence the progress of an investigation.

The increased reliance on investigative technologies such as those in the forensic sphere can be seen to aid in the ability of investigators to not only link offences but also identify offenders. Techniques such as criminal profiling are important tools complementing traditional investigative practices.

The relatively new model of policing, intelligence-led policing, has also been discussed. This model has been increasingly prevalent in policing practices both nationally and internationally. This model of policing can be seen to be influenced by
police cultural knowledge and practice, particularly in the police ability to link related crimes, a supposition that will be explored in this research.
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

There are several gaps in the current knowledge about the investigation of serial murder and serial rape. Previous studies into the different aspects which can contribute to the investigative process have been limited and few have considered serial crime as a separate investigative issue. As previously stated, serial crime poses several issues for investigators that may not be apparent in other investigations and thus this research aims to identify how serial crime investigation can be seen to differ.

Research Question

The research question directing this research was how can incidents of serial crime remain undetected for long periods of time? In order to answer this question, the use of a range of investigative tools, techniques and technologies was examined to determine how their use contributed to achieving the investigative outcome.
Research Aims

First and foremost, this research aimed to compile and systematically analyse a previously disparate body of procedures, practices and experience-based knowledge of investigators of serial crimes. Thus, this research aimed to bridge the gap in academic knowledge of the methods employed to investigate serial crimes in Australia and the issues and problems that arise in the practices and techniques employed. The use of a range of investigative tools, techniques and technologies in the context of serial crime investigation were considered. This has also been deliberated on within the framework of police cultural knowledge. By examining the use of investigative tools, techniques and technologies in the context of police culture, the existence of a dictionary knowledge pertaining to serial murder and serial rape was identified. How this knowledge is used was examined in light of the decisions made by detectives in relation to the way in which these crimes were investigated.

This research also aimed to ascertain how police culture impacts on the investigation of the serial crimes of murder and rape. It has been argued that police culture is a multifaceted construct (Chan, 1999b), therefore consideration has been given to its varied nature and how different outcomes can arise from the cultural influences that pervade and shape policing. Thus the way in which aspects of police culture reflect on an investigation of serial crime has been identified and examined. Police perceptions of the investigative process are important sources of information, allowing such reflections to emerge through analysis.
Of particular interest is the police construction of victimhood and how this relates to the broader arguments about occupational culture and the barriers to investigative practice. The bearing of this constructed knowledge on the investigative response will be considered. As discussed in the previous chapter, international research has indicated that the victimology of serial crimes can impact on the progress of the investigation (Turvey, 2002d). This research attempts to provide an Australian perspective on this phenomenon.

The research literature suggests that characteristics of convicted serial offenders can be used to identify offenders still at large (for example Egger, 1998). The use of intelligence-led policing practices to identify and proceed with an investigation against serial offenders has been examined and the effectiveness of these practices, in particular investigations, was explored. The timeframe of this research covers the lead up to the implementation of some forms of intelligence-led policing practices, specifically ViCLAS. Of interest was how these were incorporated into broader investigative practice.

**Methodology**

This research has used a qualitative research approach to address the abovementioned research aims and related issues. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2005) qualitative research is the study of a range of empirical materials through interpretive practice to
gain an understanding of a subject. As this was a qualitative study which sought to answer questions raised by the research literature surrounding the investigation of serial crimes, a grounded theory approach was utilised by this research. Developed by Glaser and Straus, grounded theory uses inductive strategies to analyse data and is considered a comparative method of analysis (Charmaz, 2003). Grounded theory methods enable the researcher to analyse the data without prior hypotheses, in order to generate a theory.

There were two methods that were employed in this qualitative study: case studies and semi-structured interviews. This use of two methods, in conjunction with the extensive literature review, triangulation, was designed to ensure depth and detail of data was obtained. According to Golafshani (2003), triangulation is a strategy employed to improve the validity and reliability of research findings, and can be defined as the combining of methods or data to achieve this. Burns (1997) considers that the use of multiple sources of data “makes a case study report more convincing” (Burns, 1997, p.86) through the corroboration of the findings. Breitmayer, Ayres and Knafl (1993) state that triangulation provides completeness and confirmation of information.

According to Richards (2005) the nature of qualitative records means that there is no consistency in the detail, style, source and reliability. As such, more than one form of data should be used. This is particularly important, when the research is attempting to “learn from the data, rather than test a theory already arrived at” (Richards, 2005, p.
35). Therefore, triangulation provides for systematic comparison of data sources. It is for these purposes that this method was chosen, as information relating to the investigation of serial crimes was not readily available from one source but from various sources.

Selection of Cases

The timeframe within which methodologies were drawn was from 1990 to the present day. Due to the rarity of serial murder and serial rape in Australia, a broad timeframe was deemed appropriate in order to ensure that a sufficient sample size of cases from which to select was possible. This also allowed for the researcher to gain a sufficient sample for both the interviews and case studies. For incidents to be included the investigation must have occurred within the stated timeframe although the actual crimes may have occurred outside this period, as it was the investigation of the crimes that was of interest, not the actual crime itself.

Through a negotiation process, permission to access NSW Police closed case files and personnel for interview were obtained. During this process, contact had also been made with South Australia Police and Victorian Police to attempt to negotiate similar access. This was not successful. I was advised by South Australian police that they would not consider my research proposal. This was partially due to the very recent nature of the Snowtown case which at the time was still the subject of legal proceedings against some of the offenders. Victorian Police advised that their approval
processes would take some time—up to twelve months. As will be outlined later in this chapter, extensive delays had already been experienced with NSW Police and given time restraints it was decided that this avenue would not be pursued.

**Stage 1: Case Studies**

Incidents of serial murder and serial rape in Australia were identified for analysis based on their suitability for thematic case study analysis, based on the information available. This information included a range of documents and records that were either publicly available or accessed from NSW Police. Case studies provide information in relation to the issues surrounding investigative techniques and policies. The case study analysis provided information about the pressures on police to solve the crime through the utilisation of secondary data such as biographical and media accounts of serial crimes which detail factors relating to the investigation. The use of case studies as a form of research allows for the focus upon several factors, resulting in often highly detailed and extensive information (Neuman, 2003). According to Neuman (2003), case studies allow for the analytical investigation of an issue. Furthermore, case studies can help link the micro to the macro. This is consistent with the proposed use of case studies, in that the individual characteristics of the investigation into specific incidents of serial crime (micro) will be studied in relation to its contribution to the understanding of investigative practices of serial crime as a whole (macro).
There are different techniques that can be employed to conduct case study research, from observations to interviewing to document analysis (Burns, 1997). The technique that the current research utilised is document analysis. Document analysis was favoured here as it was deemed the most appropriate method to enable access to the case study data being sought.

Similar studies in America examining the psychological and offender characteristics of serial murder have also used case study research. Giannangelo (1996) used case studies of American serial killers to determine which psychological characteristics were prevalent, while Egger’s (1998) use of case studies enabled him to develop an understanding of a range of issues related to serial murder including offender characteristics and investigative issues.

These case studies were conducted to provide further evidence in relation to the issues surrounding investigative techniques and policies, as many biographical accounts of serial crimes detail factors relating to the investigation. By comparing investigators’ opinions of such practices and having accounts of these practices presented by a third person, the consistency and relevance of such opinions were gauged from this data. Such information was also utilised as an aid in the development of interview questions as well as furthering the findings from such interviews. Themes identified from the research literature and strongly represented in the case study data were incorporated into the interview schedule in the hope of gaining more depth of information. Additionally, many issues that were pertinent to an investigation may not have been
apparent in these accounts and thus the interviews enabled a richer, more inclusive picture of the issues relating to investigative procedural and resource issues. Specifically, indications as to why particular investigative techniques were employed over others may not be evident from the case study data.

Sample

In order to determine which cases were to be included in the analysis the population of offenders who could be considered as serial had to be determined. This was achieved by identifying cases in Australia where an offender or team of offenders had been convicted of crimes (rape/sexual assault or murder) against two or more individuals. This was accomplished by utilising the materials listed in ‘Sources of Information’ section which follows.

As previously discussed in the introduction, there are criteria recognised by law enforcement agencies in Australia, which are used to determine whether crimes can be defined as serial in nature (Cook & Hinman, 1999a; Mouzos, 2000; Pinto & Wilson, 1990). These definitions in conjunction with the identified typologies of serial offenders, were used to determine the suitability of cases for inclusion in the population of known convicted serial murderers or serial rapists in Australia. These were presented in Tables 1 and 2 in the introduction. The decision to use both the formal definitions and the typologies as guidelines in this research, stemmed from the number of problems that arise when relying on traditional definitions of serial crime alone. Additionally
cases such as the Snowtown murders which are recognised as ‘serial’ internationally would otherwise have been excluded. As discussed previously, there has been much critical discussion of some of these basic definitional frameworks (Fox, et al., 2005; Hickey, 1997).

Cases were excluded if there were inadequate convictions recorded, if offenders were deemed to be ‘mass’ killers, professional or contract killers, or if they did not conform to the definitional criteria or typologies previously discussed. For instance, the case of Peter Dupas was originally excluded from the population as only one murder conviction had been obtained. This however changed in 2004 when he was convicted of a second murder and is currently awaiting trial for a third (AAP, 2006).

From the ten recognised incidents of serial murder that have occurred during the stated timeframes, five of these cases were selected for inclusion in this research. There were a number of reasons why particular cases were selected as outlined in Table 3.
### Table 3: Selected Incidents of Serial Murder for Case Study Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offender Name</th>
<th>No. of Victims</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Reason for Inclusion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Paul Charles Denyer   | 3              | VIC   | • Availability of documents and records  
|                       |                |       | • Example of investigation from state other than NSW                                |
| Kathleen Folbigg      | 3a             | NSW   | • Availability of documents and records  
|                       |                |       | • Example of female serial murderer                                                   |
| John Wayne Glover     | 6              | NSW   | • Availability of documents and records, including closed case file from NSW Police  
|                       |                |       | • Example of investigation in NSW                                                     |
| Ivan Marko Milat      | 7              | NSW   | • Availability of documents and records  
|                       |                |       | • Example of investigation in NSW                                                     
|                       |                |       | • Example of missing persons investigation                                            |
| Snowtown              | 12             | SA    | • Availability of documents and records  
|                       |                |       | • Example of investigation from state other than NSW                                
|                       |                |       | • Example of missing persons investigation                                            |

* Convicted of the manslaughter of a fourth child

Three of these offenders committed their crimes in New South Wales, namely John Glover, Ivan Milat, and Kathleen Folbigg. Paul Denyer committed his crimes in the state of Victoria while the series of crimes referred to as the Snowtown murders occurred in South Australia. These cases have been chosen on the basis that the investigations occurred within the determined timeframe and based on the amount of information available on each case. Although some other high profile serial murder cases that occurred during the timeframe were considered by this current
research, the cases were excluded based on the lack of available information about the investigation. These cases that formed the sample were also selected due to the differences between each of the cases: the victims, the offender, the investigations at different points of time by different police forces and the way in which the media portrayed the investigation of these crimes.

By conducting a comparison of these different cases, it was considered possible to gain a greater understanding of how various aspects of a serial crime can influence the way in which the crimes are investigated. As has been discussed in previous chapters, the phenomenon of female serial crime offenders has become increasingly recognised. Therefore it was also considered important to include a case of a female serial murderer, to demonstrate how traditional policing techniques could overlook these incidents. The number of case studies chosen has been supported by previous studies of serial crime that aimed to identify the impact of specific offender characteristics on issues of interest to those researchers (Egger, 1984; Giannangelo, 1996).

As illustrated in the review of the research literature, it appears that serial rape is at the very least as prevalent as serial murder in Australia. Therefore, the inclusion of such cases was considered as paramount to understanding the investigative techniques employed by Australian police, as these crimes are considered to present comparable issues to investigators. Four cases of serial rape were included in this case study research, all of which were committed in NSW. The selection of cases was based upon
the quantity and quality of information available on each and it was coincidental that all cases occurred in NSW. As discussed previously, cases of serial rape rarely gain the same coverage as serial murder through biographical accounts and the like. Sources of information included newspaper articles and records, the richness of data from the newspaper articles was often not comparable to that available for serial murder cases. The offenders of interest to this research were Wayne Anthony Trindall, David Glen Johnson, Anthony James Daley and Bruno Presta.

Table 4: Selected Incidents of Serial Rape for Case Study Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offender Name</th>
<th>No. of Victims</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Reason for Inclusion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anthony James Daley</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>• Availability of documents and records</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Glen Johnson</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>• Availability of documents and records, including partial closed case file from NSW Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bruno Presta</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>• Availability of documents and records, including closed case file from NSW Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wayne Anthony Trindall</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>• Availability of documents and records, including partial closed case file from NSW Police</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen in Table 4, all cases chosen were from NSW. This was primarily due to the quantity and quality of the information available about these cases.
Sources of Information

In order to conduct case study research, a variety of materials were drawn on to provide details of these crimes. When conducting a document analysis, there are two forms of evidence, being documents and records (Hodder, 2003). Documents and records can be distinguished by the purpose for which they were created. As outlined by Hodder (2003), records are official texts and refer to a formal and often legal transaction, whereas documents are texts that are formed for personal use. Examples of records include marriage certificates and drivers licences whilst documents are informal texts such as letters, memos, and field notes (Hodder, 2003).

Documents

The documents used in this research included publicly available biographical texts, newspaper articles, radio transcripts, television documentaries and previous case study research, depending upon the availability of such resources. In his discussion of case study methodology, Burns (1997) contends that while some documents may not be entirely accurate or unbiased, they provide a means to corroborate evidence from other sources. Burns also states that documents can provide greater detail about events and issues than would otherwise be obtained from interviewees.
General Internet searches using search engines such as Google and Alta Vista were also used to obtain information on cases of interest, although care was needed to ensure the accuracy of the information presented. It is interesting to note that there was little information available on the Internet on Australian cases with the majority of sources referring predominately to cases in the United States and the United Kingdom. One American-based website, Tru tv (www.trutv.com) formerly known as Crime Library (www.crimelibrary.com) and Court TV (www.courttv.com), does include accounts of some of the more notorious Australian cases of serial murder such as that of Ivan Milat, John Glover and the Snowtown murders. Other Internet sites provide brief accounts lacking detail. Many of the Australian Internet sites were media-based and related to television programs, media reports and the like. However incidents of serial rape were largely absent from such sources whether they be Australian or American cases. Information on serial rape cases was largely drawn from newspaper articles, biographical texts, and in some cases court judgements, as indicated in Table 5 below.

The use of Internet sources can identify issues relating to the credibility and reliability of the information presented, as there are few regulations to ensure that the information conforms to any academic standard (Scott, 1996). In an article advising how to assess Internet sources, Scott (1996) states that when considering a source one should:

… Check reliability and credibility by verifying the author, his or her affiliation, date, and the source of publication; check perspective by assessing
biases presented in the information or its source; and check the purpose by determining its scope, coverage, and level (Scott, 1996, p.46)

This process was carried out when deciding whether to include Internet sources. Several were excluded when the author’s credibility could not be ascertained or the website on which the information was posted was considered to have a purpose that did not support an unbiased, academic approach. This included serial killer fan websites.

The use of secondary sources such as the documents outlined above has been accepted as appropriate materials for case study research. In particular, Giannangelo and Kappel and Birnies (2003) have previously accepted this use of secondary materials in studies of serial crime. The recent study by Mouzos and Muller (2001) also used secondary materials. According to Egger (1990b) media reports are a comprehensive source for gaining information of serial crimes which have been used in several studies into serial crime including his own (Egger, 1984 cited in Egger, 1990b).

Newspaper indices were used to identify and obtain relevant newspaper articles for the selected cases of focus. The indices of contribution include Lexis.com and the Proquest ANZ Newsstand and the databases of the Sydney Morning Herald, the Daily Telegraph, ABC Online and BBC News Online. Some articles were from the author’s own collection.

Similar to the review of Internet sources, the newspaper articles and other media sources were judged on their credibility. A large proportion of the newspaper articles
quoted the relevant police or ganisation as their source and thus these articles were deemed to be credible. This was reinforced by similarly worded articles appearing at the same time from various newspapers indicating that the information came from a published media release from police. This applied to both broadsheet and tabloid newspapers, which often presented the same information in their reports, although stylistically they may have differed.

Documentaries and biographical texts were assessed similarly. Many of the authors to such texts were journalists who had conducted their own research in addition to the information gleaned from investigators themselves. Although the writing style would vary—some more sensationalist than others—the basis for credibility came from the sources they cited. Some of the documentaries included interviews with the detectives and consultants that had been part of the investigative team on these cases. Therefore the information obtained from these was deemed to be credible.

Records

A number of databases were also used to obtain court decisions relating to the cases of interest. These databases include the Australasian Legal Information Institute, CaseLaw NSW and Lawbook Online. These decisions often related to the appeal against convictions or sentences and were selective in the amount of case specific information that was detailed within. As information regarding the investigative process
was of interest, these materials only contributed if a point regarding the investigation had been questioned during an appeal.

Access to official police records in the form of closed case files and Briefs of Evidence from NSW Police were obtained in a number of ways. A list of cases of interest was forwarded to the research contact at NSW Police who then forwarded these on to NSW Police Archives. The cases that were available at NSW Police Archives were then relayed and access arranged at the storage facility. For a number of cases, such files were not present at NSW Police Archives and the actual location could not be determined. One case, that of Ivan Milat, was not present at NSW Police Archives and for some time the exact location of the files could not be determined. Initially it was advised that the entire closed case file had been lost although there were reassurances that it was ‘on disk’ however not at the NSW Police Archives therefore access would need to be at another location. While I expressed a willingness to review this case file at any location at which it would be available, access was not forthcoming. It was later thought that the closed case file had been ‘found’ with a faculty within NSW Police and although access was to be arranged through the research contact at NSW Police, this never eventuated. It is still unclear as to why this was the case. After 18 months of waiting and due to time restrictions on conducting the methodology, this was not pursued any further.

Access to other files, usually Briefs of Evidence, were gained primarily through another research contact at the Behavioural Crime Unit of NSW Police. This contact
had been conducting their own PhD research into similar cases of serial crime and thus had been in possession of a number of related files. These files were accessed at the NSW Police Headquarters at Parramatta where the Behavioural Crime Unit is based, although there were extensive delays in gaining approval to access the files once a new unit commander was in place. Many of the files accessed were brief and incomplete with documents, reports or pages of information absent. Other Briefs of Evidence were available to view from the lead investigator at the location that they were currently positioned at. It was noted with interest at the time that for some cases there appeared to be no closed case file or Brief of Evidence in existence. Whilst one would assume that they had existed at one time, they were considered either lost or simply ‘held somewhere unknown’.

Due to the highly confidential nature of these files, documents could not be removed and all files had to be viewed at their location. Prior to gaining access to any documents, UWS Ethics Approval was required by NSW Police (See Appendix A). NSW Police did not have an ethics review process in place, instead accepting the veracity of the processes of the university ethics review system. In order to allow for later analysis of the information obtained from these files, notes were taken for coding and analysis.

The records obtained from NSW Police would be accurate and credible sources of information relating to the investigative techniques that contributed to the investigative outcome, and with Briefs of Evidence, to the prosecution. However, these
sources would not provide a complete representation of aspects of the investigation. Information relating to investigative techniques that were not presented in the prosecution of the case would not be included in Briefs of Evidence. Also missing from such sources would be indications as to why some cases were not investigated at the time they were reported. Such sources would also not detail opinion as to why specific methods were not used, or the usefulness of particular investigative methods.

**Availability of Sources**

Table 5 details the various sources utilised to inform this research. Not all sources were available for all cases, for example court decisions were not accessible for all relevant cases. This contributed to a disparity in the amount of detailed information available on comparable cases of serial crime.

**Table 5: Sources of Information Used in Case Studies**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offender Name</th>
<th>News Articles</th>
<th>Documentary</th>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Book Chapter</th>
<th>Web</th>
<th>Court Decisions</th>
<th>Case File</th>
<th>Brief of Evidence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Snowtown*</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milat</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folbigg</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glover</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denyer*</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trindall</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnson</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daley</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presta</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 144-
* Police case files or Briefs of Evidence were not sought for these offences as they occurred in states other than NSW and would have required ethics approval and research approval from the state police organisations.

The sources outlined above were not exhaustive. Several newspaper articles were excluded due to their comparable content to other articles from the same print day or commercially related paper. Some books were also excluded due to the lack of ready access to these sources over prolonged periods of time making a comprehensive thematic analysis of the source not possible.

**Case Study Analysis**

The aim of this case study analysis was to identify if the key themes that had been identified from the research literature relating to the investigation of serial crime, were evident in the documents and records obtained on each case. The identification of the types of resources and techniques utilised by police during a serial crime investigation was of importance.

In order to conduct these case studies with uniformity, a coding system was established based on the research literature to identify issues that the records and documents might address. Similar to a survey questionnaire, this framework of broad thematic clusters set out the issues and themes related to the aims and questions of this thesis and this framework was consistent across all eight case studies (see Appendix B for example of thematic clusters). Such a framework also allowed for ease in coding.
variables identified as themes from the research literature, in the data analysis stage which will be discussed below.

The information obtained for each case study was analysed in order to determine if certain characteristics were present in relation to the offender and the crime, and the references to investigative practices, issues and practice.

The information derived from these case studies of serial crime were analysed and used to contribute to the development of interview questions, as details about the investigation are discussed in such sources. The information from the case studies was essential to addressing the aims of this study, specifically in regard to the use, efficiency and accuracy of the various techniques and technologies considered, such as criminal profiling.

Methodological Issues: Case Studies

One of the main problems that arose from the research was the contradictory information that was present. Although there was a general consensus of information across the various sources, a few occasions existed where information from one source contradicted or was absent from another. This made it difficult to determine the accuracy of information, as it was unknown if this additional information was the result of poetic licence of authors or journalists or good investigative journalism. Any information that could not be confirmed by at least one other source or by the interview.
data was not considered by this research. This did not apply to records whereby information in Briefs of Evidence and the closed case files was often not disclosed to the media or other outlets as they are official records of NSW Police.

Another issue which had to be addressed when using this methodology was the lack of availability of records. At the outset it was hoped that coronial reports and court transcripts could be accessed. However coronial findings were often deemed not available to the public and court transcripts were too expensive to obtain for all cases reviewed. As previously discussed, selected court transcripts were available from the Australasian Legal Information Institute website (www.austlii.edu.au) however many of these were related to appeals and therefore often did not contain the depth of information about the investigation of these crimes required for this research.

However it was later found that the incidents of serial murder and serial rape were not presented to the Coroner therefore access was not required. Additionally, from reviewing and analysing the court transcripts that were available it became clear that there was very little information relating to the actual investigative processes employed, other than if they contributed to the prosecution case. Excluded from transcripts was information concerning the range of investigative practices utilised regardless of the contribution that these had to the outcome. Therefore it was decided that as information from this source was limited it would not be used further.
The records available from NSW Police, Briefs of Evidence and closed case files, also posed some problems. The Briefs of Evidence only include information relating to the investigation that can be used to obtain a conviction. Other information regarding the investigative processes employed that failed to culminate in a usable result is not included in these files. For example, if police had interviewed a number of people who were unable to provide any relevant information, this fact is not included in a Brief of Evidence, resulting in an incomplete picture of the investigation.

Similarly, the closed case files accessed were not always comprehensive with some containing the Brief of Evidence and a small amount of additional paperwork. Other files were simply incomplete, with some of the contents of a box appearing to be missing or some of the boxes/files to be absent. It was also difficult to gain access to some files. There were a number of cases that had been identified to me as being in the possession of the Behavioral Crime Unit. However, when I spoke to the contact with the unit, the files were not always accessible. As her research had been on the use of criminal profiling in these investigations, this doctoral research may have been seen to compete with her own research interests.

As was illustrated in Table 5, not all cases were available to be reviewed. The records for these cases were not stored at the NSW Police Archives, and there was no available system to determine where such cases would be. This issue however is not unique to NSW Police. Similar experiences accessing police files were reported by
Brookman (1999) in her doctoral research into the patterns of masculine homicide and violence in England and Wales. Brookman (1999, p. 48-49) states that the idea that:

police murder files would be neatly filed in some secured and centralised area for the respective forces could not have been further from the truth.

Therefore it may be suggested that this may be a cultural practice existent amongst some other police forces and not unique to NSW Police or even to Australian policing organisations. Notably absent in this present study were the files of the investigation into Ivan Milat. As detailed above, these were reportedly ‘lost’. However it is surmised that one reason for the unavailability of these files may be that Milat is currently under investigation for other cases. Therefore there may have been concern about this researcher gaining access to relevant materials.

**Stage 2: Interviews with NSW Police Detectives and Professionals**

Members of the NSW Police and other professionals, such as criminal profilers who have worked on serial crimes in an investigative or consultative capacity, were selected for interview. An interview format was selected to ascertain the police practices and the use of investigative tools used in the investigation of serial murder and serial rape, as stated by the investigators themselves. The opinions of these investigators are essential in establishing how beneficial such tools are, and if police practices as previously outlined, impacted on the investigation and to what extent.
Interviews of the investigators of serious crimes have been used in numerous studies. The study by Mouzos and Muller (2001) that aimed to identify factors that impacted on the ability of investigators to solve murder cases used this technique, in addition to using secondary resources. Many issues may not be apparent in these case study accounts and thus the interviews will enable a richer, more accurate picture of the issues. Data from interviews may also identify lacunae arising from the case studies. As outlined by Kiger (1990) media reports can be problematic sources of information, as they may sensationalise reports for commercial benefit. These semi-structured interviews are aimed at providing a more accurate, realistic and inclusive overview of the investigative process. By comparing the investigator’s opinion of such practices and the recording of such practices with the accounts by a third person, the accuracy, depth and applicability of such opinions can be determined.

Interviews were chosen as the preferred method over surveys, although surveys would have been easier to administer and analyse, particularly as some of the cases occurred in other Australian states. Had this research extended into other states of Australia then a survey method would have been considered. According to Fontana and Frey (2003), one of the advantages to using semi-structured interview formats is that a greater depth of data can be obtained. This was considered to be due to the qualitative nature of such interviews in contrast to structured interviews which are considered by Fontana and Frey to be quantitative in nature. One of the factors considered when choosing an appropriate methodology for this research was the higher response rate to interviews in comparison to surveys (Neuman, 2003), which had been initially expected.
in this research. The choice however, of semi-structured interviews was mainly due to the varying nature of investigations- inherently no two investigations are identical. As the cases focused over a period of approximately fifteen years, investigative techniques may have changed, as too may have the technology available to investigators. Additionally, some issues of interest such as missing persons, were not apparent in all of the considered cases.

**Interview Method**

The interviews were semi-structured in nature, incorporating both closed and open questions. This form of interview structure allows for further probing of issues that arise during the interview process, for example when response is unclear and/or needs further explanation. As stated by Gray (2004) semi-structured interviews provide flexibility in the interview process allowing: questions to be excluded if irrelevant; questions to be reordered to reflect the flow of the interview; additional questions to be asked that had not been anticipated prior to the interview. The interviews were each conducted over an approximate one-hour period, and were face-to-face in all but one interview. When a face-to-face interview was not feasible, a telephone interview was conducted. This was at the request of the participant. The face-to-face interviews were recorded using an audio recorder and transcribed at a later date. The facility to audio record was not available at the time of the telephone interview, and notes were made of the participant’s responses.
Construction of Interview Schedule

The construction of the interview schedule was informed by the research questions and the preliminary analysis of the case study data. The common themes that were identified from the case studies were incorporated into the interview schedule (see attachments to Appendix A), which was based on the framework of thematic clusters developed for the case study analysis. Due to the varying nature of serial crimes and their investigation, an inflexible interview schedule would not have been practicable nor effective in extracting the desired information relating to the issues of interest. This is consistent with Gray’s (2004) contention that semi-structured interviews allow for greater flexibility in both the way in which questions are asked and which questions are deemed relevant to the interviewee.

As can be seen in the interview schedule, themes were loosely addressed by the questions to allow for the investigators experience and perception to emerge. For example, if the case study data analysis identified a particular investigative technique as making a central contribution to the investigation, the question would ask about techniques in general. Such a format also allowed for the interviewee to follow up and identify specific issues that were raised in the case study analysis but not by the interviewee.
Participants

Recruitment

Non-probability sampling procedures were employed for this qualitative aspect of the research, employing snowballing and purposive sampling techniques (Sarantakos, 2005). This method of sampling was chosen as this research did not aim to gain a representative outcome. Indeed, as previously discussed, the nature of violent serial crimes precludes the pretence of ‘representativeness’ due to its varying and rare nature.

Participants were drawn from the research population employed by NSW Police currently or previously, or who were identified by NSW Police to have contributed to the investigation of serial crime. It had been originally planned that participants could be identified from the specific closed case files; however, due to the extensive delays in accessing such files, this was not possible.

Two methods were employed to recruit participants. The first method identified participants through ‘snowballing’. Snowballing is a process whereby one key individual is used to locate other individuals who may be suitable research participants in the research (Bernard, 2000). According to Bernard, this method of sampling can often gain access to and ‘open doors’ to ‘elites’, who are those whose opinion ‘really counts’. This process proved to be successful where one contact led the researcher to four participants,
one of whom also provided another participant. There were a number of other persons recommended by participants in this sample; however these persons were unavailable or did not meet the criteria for participation in this research—such as their role in a serial crime investigation preceded the study timeframe. This method of sampling also enabled contact with former members of NSW Police who otherwise would not have been easily identifiable or contactable. However, while a number of ‘elite’ individuals were identified through this method of sampling very few agreed to participate. This was in contrast to Bernard’s (2000) belief that the use of this sampling procedure ‘opened doors’ to the elite.

The second method was to directly target the research population of current NSW Police through a memorandum which was composed and distributed across the network via email through the NSW Police internal communications processes. The memorandum outlined the research and requested that anyone who had worked in any capacity on a case of serial rape or serial murder within the given timeframe, to contact the researcher. Although this was considered to be the most direct method of identifying compliant participants, this resulted in very few responses. Only one of these was from someone who had worked on a case of serial crime. The other responses were from those in an education role within NSW Police who were interested in receiving news of the outcome of this research. This method was considered as a purposive sampling technique as outlined by Sarantakos (2005), whereby the distribution of the memorandum targeted a specific group, with the understanding that their experiences would be relevant to the research.
Six interviews were conducted which represented the investigations of five incidents of serial murder and serial rape. Of these, five were face-to-face interviews while the other was conducted over the telephone. The five face-to-face interviews were with NSW Police detectives who had been the lead investigator of their respective cases. The sixth participant was a forensic anthropologist who worked in a consultative capacity with NSW Police, providing services consistent with a criminal profiler.

As this research’s aim was to collate data that would generate a saturation of qualitative data rather than attempting to create any sort of statistical or quantitative outcomes, there was not the intention to interview large numbers of individuals. It was anticipated that interviews would be obtained from as many suitable participants as possible (for example chief investigator, senior forensic technician). Although the detectives interviewed were all considered the chief investigator/senior investigating officer, there was no response from other members of the investigative team. In particular, participation from forensic technicians was specifically requested in the memorandum to NSW Police members, however none was forthcoming. This may have been partly due to the general response from the Forensic Services Group of NSW Police, who would not acknowledge the research approval given by NSW Police. Attempts to gain additional approval met with resistance during the research process and due to time constraints further attempts were not made.
Confidentiality and Consent

Prior to the interviews, participants received a consent form and Information Statement detailing the aims of the research (Appendix A). Participants were informed that they could withdraw from the study at any time. Participants were given sufficient time to read the Information Statement, ask the researcher any questions they may have had and consider the consent form. Interviews were conducted at a time and place convenient to the participant and suitable for the purpose. The forensic anthropologist received verbal advice of the Information Statement and gave verbal consent.

Participants were given the option to remain anonymous if they preferred. This was outlined in the Information Statement and the consent form (Appendix A). It had initially been envisaged that since serial crime investigations involved large teams of personnel, a larger number of interviews would be obtained. Under those conditions, anonymity could have been maintained with greater ease as several members of the one task force could be interviewed. None of the participants however, requested anonymity. Had any of the participants requested anonymity, their positions as lead investigators of their respective cases would have meant that anonymity could not be maintained. Additionally, as the participants predominately investigated different incidents of serial crime from one another, anonymity would have been difficult to maintain as the case itself would have identified them.
Most participants did make a number of comments that were “off the record” or could only be used if it was not attributed to them. As someone not associated with NSW Police or the investigation, it demonstrated that whilst they were comfortable in making these statements to me with the confidence that I could be trusted in how that information was used, their concern related more to possible repercussions they could face for airing such views. Due to the limited number of interviews obtained, these statements were not included in the analysis as they could be directly associated with the case and thus the participant. In hindsight, some of these statements may have been available for inclusion in the research had anonymity been a universal given from the outset and in the context of a larger research sample.

Comments made by other members of teams investigating incidents of serial murder and serial rape have also been utilised. Although not participants in this study, their comments were already part of the public record through media interviews and documentaries.

*Interview Transcription*

Consistent with a grounded theory approach as identified by Charmaz (2003), the interviews were transcribed by me as it was deemed more suitable to allow for the saturation of material and increasing my familiarity with the material. This also ensured that confidentiality of material was maintained as there were often comments made “off
the record” which participants would not have been comfortable with a third party being privy.

**Analysis of Case Study and Interview Data**

As with the information extracted from the case studies, the interviews were subject to a thematic analysis. A computer program, QSR NVivo 2, specifically designed to analyse qualitative data was used to aid the analysis of the interview materials. This program allows the researcher to clarify concepts that emerge from the data, through organising the key themes or issues in categories or nodes (Bazeley & Richards, 2000). These themes are elicited from the data through the recognition of patterns of information from otherwise disorganised or random information (Boyatzis, 1998).

Due to the nature of the sources of information for the case studies, NVivo was not a suitable option for a large proportion of the case study materials, therefore manual coding of the various sources was required. This was done manually using the coding framework used in NVivo.

Consistent with employing a grounded theory approach to his qualitative research, the analysis was not conducted separately. During the analysis process of the interviews, issues were raised in relation to investigative factors such as the formation of task forces. This led to a return to the case study data to ascertain if this was evident.
from these sources for both the cases identified by the participants, but also the cases not covered such as the Snowtown case. This narrowed the scope of the research as using methods to triangulate the data identified which of the themes recognised by the research literature were evident in the data.

**Methodological Issues: Interviews**

There were several difficulties experienced during this stage of the methodology. The identification of participants proved difficult as one of the contacts at NSW Police was not forthcoming with information that they were meant to provide. This led to a change in the methodology as a planned pilot study could no longer be conducted as the closed case files were not available. As participants were to be drawn from these closed case files alternative recruitment measures were required. This process was very time consuming, particularly as much time was spent awaiting promised information from the NSW Police.

**Ethical Considerations**

My intention to ascertain from NSW Police whether access to closed/completed police case files could be made available for the purpose of this study led to issues relating to confidentiality and privacy. In accordance with the University of Western Sydney Ethics Approval which was obtained, assurances had to be given to NSW Police in the
research proposal submitted to them, that the information that was sought from these closed case files would be specific to investigative practices only and confidential information or information of current operational interest would be treated with the greatest respect and confidentiality (See Appendix C).

As the inclusion of confidential information or information of current operational interest would not benefit or contribute to the research in any way, these assurances were readily given. The recording of information of this nature or relating to the victims of these crimes was only recorded if it was already public knowledge. For example, a victim’s name or the employment of a victim as a prostitute was only recorded if public sources such as books, newspaper articles or media releases, and publicly available court transcripts had previously made such identifications. Only information pertaining to the use of investigative practices, techniques and technologies were of interest to this research. All documents containing confidential information related to this research have been stored in a secure locked location, to which only the researcher has access.

**Research Limitations**

One of the limitations to this research is the small number of interviews conducted with current and former members of NSW Police who had investigated serial crimes. It had been aimed to conduct interviews with more investigators however there were a number of difficulties experienced in realising this goal. The difficulty experienced
generally stemmed from the timeframe of the cases considered in this research. As cases of serial murder and serial rape that had been investigated as far back as 1990 were of interest, it was found that a number of key people involved in the investigative process of various cases had retired from the force and were unable to be contacted. Whilst this problem had been predicted, the broad timeframe that had been aimed at reducing this problem by increasing the number of cases that fell within the scope of the study, failed to adequately address this issue.

Another issue was the willingness of investigators to participate in the research. On a few occasions, the names of investigators who had worked the cases specified were given to the research contact at NSW Police. After contact was made it was determined that they either did not wish to participate in the research or were unable to make themselves available for interviewing due to their current case load. I received explanations that such interviews about the way in which the crimes were investigated were not appropriate. I found it disconcerting when I would sometimes see the same people who used that excuse, giving interviews with the media for documentaries on these cases.

As previously outlined, a memorandum distributed through the NSW Police email communications network resulted in the identification of one participant. There were no other expressions of interest to participate in this research which was considered surprising as numerous detectives that were experienced in the investigation of serial crimes had appeared in television documentaries about the incidents of serial
crime that they investigated. This was also reflected with those detectives approached directly through the research contract at NSW Police. Due to the large number of investigators who had played a role in serial crime cases, it was expected that a greater number of responses would have been received. Again, it was also hoped that forensic technicians who had a role in a serial crime investigation would respond to this memorandum but no such response was received.

This response could be largely attributed to the researcher’s status as an outsider to the police or ganisation, and policing in general. The difficulties in conducting research within police organisations as an “outsider” were examined by Rainer and Newburn (2008) who describe how suspicions about outsiders can affect the information that the researcher receives as restrictions are imposed. This could be due to concerns that the publication of certain information could “endanger or discourage witnesses or make specific detection methods widely known and hence less effective” (Reiner & Newburn, 2008, p.358). These concerns were raised during this current research, where those in the organisational hierarchy expressed concern that the information may be used for purposes other than research, or that information that was still of investigative value to active cases could be divulged through publication. Although assurances were given that checks would be put in place to prevent these problems, the concerns raised were considered to be too great for some in NSW Police.

According to Pogrebin (2002) having an inside contact in a police organisation can be helpful for reducing suspicions and the associated concerns, how ever this did not provide much benefit in this research with those that held strong concerns.
Reiner and Newburn (2008) contend that participation in initiation rituals can lead to some level of acceptance. These rituals include going for a drink after a shift and other social activities. However, as this current research did not require the presence of the researcher within a particular police unit or department for any period of time, acceptance could not be achieved through these means. The majority of the detectives who were involved in the investigation of serial murder or serial rape incidents were part of different units or located at different police stations within NSW.

Although the interview sample was smaller than originally intended, the interviews were designed to build on and enrich the data obtained from the case study analyses. This function was not affected.

As there was a sample timeframe of over fifteen years, changes in investigative practice, the availability of forensic techniques and technologies have occurred and will occur in the future. While this research does not pretend to provide an insight into all cases of serial crime in the past or seek to predict the investigation of serial crimes in the future, there are a number of considerations stemming from the research that could aid in the future construction of serial crime investigation. As will be discussed in the following chapters, this research has identified areas that have impacted on the investigation. These issues will be discussed further in relation to its impact on the investigation of serial crime.
CHAPTER 4: CASE STUDIES – OVERVIEW AND

TIMELINE OF EVENTS

This chapter presents the cases selected for the case study method. These cases are introduced through the presentation of an overview of the case and a victimological timeline for each. This timeline is used to consider the development and progress of the investigation within the context of the case as a whole. The use of the victimological events as the framework for the timeline was necessary to illustrate the investigation, or lack of, as some cases were not investigated at the time of fences occurred. This victimological time line would differ from the time line of the actual investigation in a number of cases such as Milat, Snowtown and Trindall, the investigation into these offences did not occur at the time of victimisation but up to ten years after the event.
In 1993, Paul Charles Denyer stalked the Victorian suburb of Frankston killing three young women and attempting to abduct a fourth, over a relatively short seven week period. The three murder victims were violently stabbed to death, however none was subjected to a sexual assault. Denyer was identified after a postman made a report to police of a suspicious person in a vehicle, which matched the description of a vehicle a police officer had previously identified as being near the last murder scene. As the vehicle did not display any number plates, the police officer had recorded the vehicle’s details from the registration sticker, enabling identification of Denyer.
Table 6: Denyer- Timeline of Victimological Events\textsuperscript{14}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11 June 1993</td>
<td>Elizabeth Stevens, aged 18, is reported missing after failing to return home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 June 1993</td>
<td>The body of Elizabeth Stevens found in Lloyd Park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 July</td>
<td>Roszsa Toth, 41, is violently attacked at gunpoint while walking home from work. The attacker attempts to drag her into bushland. Roszsa escapes and seeks assistance from a passing motorist. Police search the area but cannot locate her attacker.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 July</td>
<td>Debbie Fream, aged 22, goes missing after leaving her twelve-day-old son with a friend while she drives to the local shop for milk. Debbie Fream’s remains are found in a paddock by the farmer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 July</td>
<td>Natalie Russell, aged 17, goes missing after riding her bike home from a local College. Natalie’s remains are found eight hours later in bushes near the bike track. A piece of skin, believed to be from the killer is found on her body. Paul Denyer is identified after his vehicle was noted by police as being in the area where the murder of Natalie Russell took place. Denyer is questioned by detectives at his home before being taken to the police station for formal questioning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 August</td>
<td>Denyer confesses to the three murders after requests for DNA samples are made.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 December</td>
<td>Denyer pleads guilty to the murder of the three women and abduction of a fourth.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{14} Derived from Petraitis (1995) and Swanborough (2004)
Kathleen Folbigg

In 1999 after the death of her fourth child, and the deaths of her three previous children, the deaths of Kathleen Folbigg’s children were investigated by NSW Police. Although the deaths of her prior children Caleb, Patrick and Sarah were attributed to Sudden Infant Death Syndrome or natural causes, the coincidence of losing four children to similar causes raised questions. Following the discovery of Folbigg’s diaries by her husband who passed them onto police due to their revealing nature, further investigations into the deaths as suspicious were instigated. Folbigg was convicted of the murder of three of her children and the manslaughter of her fourth child.
Table 7: Folbigg- Timeline of Victimological Events

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 February 1989</td>
<td>Caleb is born at the Western Suburbs Maternity Hospital, Waratah Newcastle. Folbigg is living in Mayfield, Newcastle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 February 1989</td>
<td>Caleb, 19 days old, dies. Post-mortem is conducted and the cause of death attributed to SIDS. Police officer from Mayfield attends residence to extend sympathies. Attends hospital with Craig Folbigg (husband) for formal identification.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 3 June 1990        | Patrick is born at the Western Suburbs Maternity Hospital.  
                      | Doctor states death due to asphyxia caused by an epileptic fit on death certificate.                                                                                                                 |
| 18 October 1990    | Patrick, eight months old, dies. Doctor states death due to asphyxia caused by an epileptic fit on death certificate.                                                                                     |
| 21 November 1990   | Doctors believe that Patrick had suffered a catastrophic asphyxiating event, possibly causing the damage to occipital lobes of the brain, causing blindness and possibly seizures.  
                      | Kathleen Folbigg decides to move house. Kathleen and Craig move to Thornton, Maitland.                                                                                                               |
| 13 February 1991   | Kathleen Folbigg decides to move house. Kathleen and Craig move to Thornton, Maitland.  
                      | Post-mortem conducted on Sarah. Although abnormalities noted, cause of death attributed to SIDS. Folbiggs move to Singleton or Glendale.                                                                  |
| 14 October 1992    | Kathleen Folbigg decides to move house. Kathleen and Craig move to Thornton, Maitland.  
                      | Post-mortem conducted on Sarah. Although abnormalities noted, cause of death attributed to SIDS. Folbiggs move to Singleton or Glendale.                                                                  |
| 30 August 1993     | Sarah, ten months old, dies. Remains taken to Maitland Hospital. Detectives from Maitland Police Station attend scene. Do not take further action although discrepancies exist in timeframes given by Kathleen and Craig.   |
| 1 March 1999       | Laura dies, aged 19 months.                                                                                                           |
| 7 August 1997      | Laura is born in Singleton Hospital                                                                                                    |
| 19 April 2001      | Kathleen Folbigg arrested and charged with the murders of her four children                                                           |
| 21 May 2003        | Kathleen Folbigg found guilty of the murders of Patrick, Sarah and Laura and the manslaughter of Caleb and the infliction of grievous bodily harm.                                                      |

There is some discrepancy between sources as to the exact location at this time.

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Derived from Benns (2003), Marks (2003)
Between January 1989 and March 1990, six women, mostly elderly, were murdered and several others were sexually assaulted, molested or assaulted. These crimes occurred in the North Shore area of Sydney. These crimes occurred in a range of areas including nursing homes, retirement villages and public streets. In 1990 a suspect, John Wayne Glover was identified: however he was not arrested until after committing his sixth murder whilst under police surveillance. Glover was convicted in 1991 of the murders of the six women.
Table 8: Glover- Timeline of Victimological Events

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11 January 1989</td>
<td>Margaret Todhunter, 84 assaulted in Mosman. Offence not reported to police until December 1989 as she was a visitor to the region. Report made to Queensland police after her return to Queensland and following the media coverage of the crimes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 March</td>
<td>Gwedoline Mitchelhill, 82, is murdered in Mosman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 May</td>
<td>Lady Winifred Ashton, 84, is murdered in Mosman. Strangled with own pantyhose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 June</td>
<td>Marjorie Mosely is sexually molested in a nursing home in Belrose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 June</td>
<td>Lillian Travey and Jean Mc Gilchrist are sexually molested in a nursing home in Lane Cove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 August</td>
<td>Euphemia (Effie) Carnie is assaulted in Lindfield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 October</td>
<td>Phylis McNeil is sexually molested in a nursing home in Neutral Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 October</td>
<td>Doris Cox, 86, is assaulted in her retirement village in Mosman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 November</td>
<td>Margaret Pahud, 85, is murdered in Lane Cove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 November</td>
<td>Olive Cleveland, 81, is murdered in the same nursing home in Belrose where Mosely was attacked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 November</td>
<td>North Shore Murders Task Force is established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 November</td>
<td>Muriel Falconer, 92, is murdered in Mosman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 January 1990</td>
<td>Daisy Roberts is sexually molested in Greenwich Hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chatswood detectives identify John Glover as a suspect in the last assault. After being contacted by police Glover attempts suicide. Staff at the hospital give detectives the suicide note with ‘no more grannies’ written on it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 January</td>
<td>Chatswood detectives interview Glover and photograph him for identification purposes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End January</td>
<td>Suicide note and photograph passed on to Detective Inspector Mike Hagan, head of the task force investigating the murders and assaults</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Task force detectives interview Glover. Glover put under 24-hour surveillance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 March 1990</td>
<td>Joan Sinclair, 60, is murdered in her home while police had the property under surveillance for over seven hours. Glover is found in the bathtub after attempting suicide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1991</td>
<td>John Glover pleads not guilty to six counts of murder on the grounds of diminished responsibility. The jury find him guilty of all counts.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ivan Marko Milat

Ivan Marko Milat was convicted in 1996 with the murders of seven people and the attempted murder of another. Milat’s murder victims disappeared over a two year period from late 1989 to 1992, while reportedly backpacking from Sydney to the southern regions of NSW. All of these individuals were reported missing to authorities within an average of one month from the date of the last known contact. Of the seven murder victims, only one, Simone Schmidl, was travelling alone. The remaining victims were travelling in the following pairs: Deborah Everist and James Gibson; Gabor Neugebauer and Anja Habsheid; and Caroline Clarke and Joanne Walters. The first remains were uncovered in the Belanglo State Forest south of Sydney in 1992. However it was over 12 months before the remains of the other victims were uncovered in the same region.
Table 9: Milat- Timeline of Victimological Events\textsuperscript{17}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>December 1989</td>
<td>Deborah Everist and James Gibson, both 19, contact family/friends for the last time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 January 1990</td>
<td>Deborah and James are reported missing to police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 January</td>
<td>Paul Onions is the victim of an attempted robbery and assault near Bowral after accepting a lift while hitchhiking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December-February 1990\textsuperscript{18}</td>
<td>A camera belonging to James Gibson is found near Galston Gorge, on the north-western outskirts of Sydney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1991</td>
<td>Simone Schmidl, 19, contacts friends for the last time, and is reported missing four days later</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 December 1991</td>
<td>Anja Habschied, 20, and Gabor Neugebauer, 21, contact family for the last time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 January 1992</td>
<td>Anja and Gabor are reported missing to the German police and Australian Embassy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1992</td>
<td>Caroline Clarke, 21, and Joanne Walters, 22, last seen in Sydney heading south</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 1992</td>
<td>The remains of Caroline Clarke, and Joanne Walters, are discovered in the Belanglo State Forest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1993</td>
<td>The remains of Deborah Everist and James Gibson are discovered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 October 1993</td>
<td>Task Force ‘Air’ is formed to investigate these murders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 November 1993</td>
<td>The remains of Simone Schmidl are discovered. Two days later the remains of Anja Habschied and Gabor Neugebauer are uncovered nearby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1993</td>
<td>Paul Onions contacts NSW Police and recounts January 1990 incident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1993</td>
<td>Forensic psychiatrist Dr Rod Milton and social anthropologist Dr Richard Basham provide a profile of a suspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1994</td>
<td>Onions’ report recognised as significant to investigation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Surveillance on Ivan Milat commences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 May 1994</td>
<td>Ivan Robert Marko Milat is arrested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 November 1994</td>
<td>Ivan Milat is ordered to stand trial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 July 1996</td>
<td>Ivan Milat is convicted of seven counts of murder and one count of attempted murder</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\textsuperscript{18} Reported dates of the discovery of the camera vary across the various sources
Snowtown Murders

The four year period from 1994 to 1998 was dotted with the disappearances of twelve people who lived in or around the area of Snowtown in South Australia. However the absence of some of these individuals went unnoticed and unreported. In 1999 during a lengthy investigation into the disappearance of three of the missing individuals, police discovered the remains of eight people in a disused bank vault. Shortly thereafter, another three bodies were uncovered on a property associated with one of the offenders. One of the victims had been discovered several years prior but was not associated with this case until a later stage. John Bunting, considered the primary motivator, Robert Wagner, Mark Haydon and James Vlassakis were convicted of these murders.
Table 10: Snowtown - Timeline of Victimological Events

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16 August 1994</td>
<td>Skeletal remains of an unidentified young male adult were discovered in a field in Lower Light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Clinton Trezise is reported missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Barry Lane disappears</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 1998</td>
<td>Elizabeth Haydon disappears</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1999</td>
<td>Task Force ‘Chart’ is formed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 May 1999</td>
<td>Remains of eight individuals are discovered in disused bank vault after a year long missing persons investigation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 May 1999</td>
<td>John Bunting, Robert Wagner and Mark Haydon are charged with murder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 May 1999</td>
<td>Remains of a person are recovered from Bunting’s former residence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 May 1999</td>
<td>The remains of an additional person are recovered from Bunting’s former residence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 June 1999</td>
<td>Vlassakis is arrested and charged with murder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1999</td>
<td>Unidentified body discovered in 1994 is identified as Clinton Trezise from dental records</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Vlassakis confessed to four murders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 October 2002</td>
<td>Trial of Bunting and Wagner begins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 September 2003</td>
<td>Bunting found guilty of eleven counts of murder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wagner found guilty of seven counts of murder. Wagner had pleaded guilty to an additional 3 murders prior to the trials commencement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The jury could not reach a verdict on a 12th charge of murder</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Introduction...Serial Rapists

Anthony James Daley

Between 1998 and 2000, Anthony James Daley attacked at least seven women, aged between 21 and 40 years of age. These offenses were committed in the suburbs of Parramatta, west of Sydney, and Leichhardt in Sydney’s inner west. Daley targeted his victims after dark when they were alone, often when they were making their way home from work. Daley threatened his victims with either a knife or a screwdriver before sexually assaulting them.
### Table 11: Daley- Timeline of Victimological Events

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 September 1998</td>
<td>A 26-year-old woman is attacked as she gets out of her vehicle at a golf club in Parramatta. Victim is threatened with a knife, dragged into nearby bushes and sexually assaulted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 October</td>
<td>A 22-year-old victim is walking from a bus stop in Leichhardt, when she is threatened with a screwdriver and sexually assaulted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 November</td>
<td>While walking from a bus stop, a 40-year-old victim is attacked as she reaches her house in Leichhardt. Offender produces a knife.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 April 2000</td>
<td>A 30-year-old woman parks her car in the garage of her Parramatta home, the offender approaches threatening her with a screwdriver and sexually assaulting her.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 May</td>
<td>A 35-year-old woman drives into her garage in Westmead. As she leaves her car she is attacked and sexually assaulted by Daley who has a knife.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 June</td>
<td>A 25-year-old woman attempts to leave a car park in her vehicle when the offender enters the vehicle. Victim is sexually assaulted at knife point.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 June</td>
<td>Strike Force Sapelo is formed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 July</td>
<td>A 21-year-old victim is walking to her vehicle from the Westmead Railway station when she is attacked at knife point. She is dragged into the front garden of a house, where the offender attempts to sexual assault her.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 July</td>
<td>Daley is arrested on the Great Western Highway at Parramatta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Twenty nine women were the victims of David Johnson. From 1995 to 1997 Johnson was convicted of crimes against 18 of these victims. Of these victims, eight related to charges of sexual assault. A majority of these women were the victims of sexual assault or attempted sexual assault whilst others managed to disrupt the offender before such acts could be attempted. Johnson, known publicly as the ‘Western Suburbs Rapist’, would break into the victim’s residence in the early hours of the morning, usually with the intention of sexually assaulting his victim. He usually stole items from the residences, often money and/or jewellery, before approaching his victim whilst they were asleep. Frequently, Johnson would make sexually suggestive comments to his victim. In response to these attacks, Task Force Ardmore was set up in early May 1997. Johnson was arrested later that month after fingerprint evidence linked him to some of the reported incidents.
Table 12: Johnson- Timeline of Victimological Events

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13 November 1995</td>
<td>A 60-year-old woman sexually assaulted in home. Property is stolen from premises. Fingerprints left at scene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 November</td>
<td>A 56-year-old woman is indecently assaulted. Victim is spoken to. Property is stolen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 November</td>
<td>Attempted assault 45-year-old. Victim is spoken to. Property is stolen from premises.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 December</td>
<td>Attempted assault 68-year-old. Victim is spoken to. Property is stolen from premises.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 January 1996</td>
<td>Attempted assault 46-year-old. Victim is spoken to. Property is stolen from premises.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 January</td>
<td>Attempted assault 46-year-old. Victim is spoken to. Property is stolen from premises.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 January</td>
<td>Attempted assault 23-year-old. Victim is spoken to. Property is stolen from premises.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 January</td>
<td>Attempted assault 35-year-old. Victim is spoken to. Attempted assault 36-year-old later that same night. Victim is spoken to.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 February</td>
<td>Property is stolen. A 46-year-old woman sexually assaulted. Victim is spoken to. Property is stolen from premises.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 February</td>
<td>Attempted assault (non-complainant). Victim is spoken to.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 February</td>
<td>Attempted assault 61-year-old. Victim is spoken to. Attempted break and enter. Attempted break and enter at another location that same night.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 February</td>
<td>Attempted break and enter. Victim is spoken to.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 February</td>
<td>Break enter and steal Attempted sexual assault at another location. Victim is spoken to. Items from the other location are found at this scene. It is established that the offender had attempted to assault the victim at this location previously. Task Force Ardmore is set up to investigate these crimes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 March</td>
<td>Indecent assault of 27-year-old. Property is stolen from premises. A torch is found at the scene.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 March</td>
<td>Sexual assault of non-complainant victim</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event (continued...)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23 May</td>
<td>Indecent assault of 31-year-old. Victim is spoken to.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 June</td>
<td>Break and enter. Offender disturbed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 July</td>
<td>Break and enter. Victim is spoken to.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 August</td>
<td>Sexual assault of 24-year-old victim. Victim is spoken to. Property is stolen from premises.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 August</td>
<td>Attempted sexual assault. Victim is spoken to. Property is stolen from premises.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 September</td>
<td>Attempted break and enter. Victim is spoken to.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 October</td>
<td>Break and enter. Victim is spoken to.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 January 1997</td>
<td>Break and enter. Victim is spoken to.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 January</td>
<td>Repeated sexual assault of 36-year-old. Victim is spoken to. Property is stolen from premises.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 February</td>
<td>Attempted break and enter. Victim is spoken to.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 March</td>
<td>Johnson is identified from a fingerprint match from the first case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 March</td>
<td>Search warrant is executed on Johnson’s property. Johnson evaded police.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 March</td>
<td>Johnson is arrested.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bruno Presta

Over an eight month period in 1997, Bruno Presta targeted young males aged 15-21 in the general area of Liverpool in Sydney’s west. In each case, Presta used a gun to threaten his victims into complying with his instructions. His victims were forced or coerced into his vehicle, from where they were taken to his home and drugged, bound and sexually assaulted for several hours. These assaults were videotaped by Presta. These tapes were discovered by police and used later in court. After Presta had completed his assaults he would dump his victims at a different location to where they were kidnapped.
Table 13: Presta- Timeline of Victimological Events

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28 March 1997</td>
<td>At 10.30pm a 15-year-old boy walking home from a party is forced into vehicle at gunpoint. He is taken to Presta’s home where he is drugged and sadistically sexually assaulted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 April</td>
<td>A 17-year-old boy is on his way home late at night when offered a lift by the offender. Presta produces the gun and takes the boy to his house where he drugs and sexually assaults him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 May</td>
<td>A 21-year-old male is jogging in the early hours when grabbed from behind and threatened with a gun. He is taken to the house where he is sexually assaulted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 October</td>
<td>While waiting at a bus stop late at night in Claymore, an 18-year-old is forced into a vehicle at gun point., taken to offender’s house and sexually assaulted. Report is received by Detective Faucett who initiates investigation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 November</td>
<td>A 15-year-old boy walking home in the early hours is forced into a vehicle at gunpoint. He is taken to the home where he is violently sexually assaulted. Investigation into all five crimes commences.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>Identification of Presta via phone records leads to the execution of a search warrant and arrest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1998</td>
<td>Presta convicted is 26 charges relating to the assaults.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wayne Anthony Trindall

Wayne Trindall was convicted of the violent sexual assaults of six women and the attempted sexual assault of a seventh between 1995 and 2004. A majority of these offences occurred in the Darlinghurst and Kings Cross areas in Sydney. The victims were persuaded by the offender to leave with him on the pretence of taking photographs of the victims or providing drugs. A majority of these victims were described as prostitutes although not necessarily working at the time these offences took place. A Task Force was initiated in 2004 after initial DNA analysis linked three offences.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22 September 1995</td>
<td>Victim is approached for calendar photo shoot. Taken into bushes at Queens Park Road where she is sexually assaulted. Crime is reported to Kings Cross Police.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 May 1997</td>
<td>Trindall approaches victim as a customer, making an agreement to take the victim ‘home’ for services. Victim is driven to Royal National Park, Audly, where she is sexually assaulted. Crime is reported to Sutherland Police.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 January 2000</td>
<td>Woman is approached for swimsuit photos. Taken to Centennial Park where she is sexually assaulted. Crime is reported to Kings Cross Police.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 October 2003</td>
<td>Offender poses as a customer. Victim taken to Centennial Park where she is sexually assaulted. Crime is reported to Maroubra Police.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 January 2004</td>
<td>Victim is approached and assaulted in Centennial Park. Crime is reported to Maroubra Police.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 May 2004</td>
<td>Victim is offered cannabis and leaves area with Trindall. Goes to Centennial Park where she is sexually assaulted. Crime is reported to Surry Hills Police.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2004</td>
<td>Task Force Grahame is set up to investigate three of the offences linked by DNA Link is made to a fourth victim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 2004</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 August 2004</td>
<td>Attempted sexual assault is reported to Redfern Police. Victim identifies Trindall as offender.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 August 2004</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 2006</td>
<td>Trindall is charged with first offences relating to the sexual assaults.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trindall is sentenced to a minimum of 22 years imprisonment.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23 Derived from NSW Police Brief of Evidence and Begg and Norris (2006)
Victimological Representations

As discussed in Chapter 4, it has been suggested that the victimology of serial crimes can have an impact on how the offences are investigated and thus the construction of the investigation. As will be demonstrated in the following chapters, different aspects of the victimology of serial rape and serial murder offences is reflected in the cultural practices of policing organisations.

Below is an overview of the demographic characteristics of the case studies. The statistics for serial murder since 1990 in Australia are provided in some cases, providing a context for the case study data. As each serial-rape case study used in the sample occurred after 1995, these statistics are also compared to all incidents of serial rape that occurred after 1995.
CHAPTER 5: RESULTS- EMERGENT THEMES

Thematic Analysis of Case Studies and Interview Data

Several themes were identified from the research literature as key issues in the investigation of serial murder and serial rape cases. A subsequent thematic analysis of the data derived from case studies and interviews examined the presence of these themes in the investigations of the cases of consideration. These themes will be introduced in this chapter with further discussion in Chapters 6, 7 and 8. These themes did not necessarily apply across all cases identified by either of the methodologies employed, but were considered significant regardless.

These themes can be categorised into three different perspectives on the process of investigating serial crimes in Australia. The first is the methods employed to investigate these crimes that will be examined in Chapter 6. The influence of police cultural constructions on the investigation will be examined in Chapter 7. Chapter 8 will discuss the themes that emerged in the use of intelligence-led policing practices and criminal profiling.

The following chapter considers the social context within which these crimes occurred and within which the police investigations were constructed. Crimes of a serial nature receive attention from the media which informs the public’s understanding...
of both the offenders and the police investigation into these crimes. This can also be seen to influence the understanding of police and their response to these crimes. Additionally, the victimology of these offences can be seen to be influenced by the general community understanding of victims.

**Construction of an Investigation**

There are several common themes that emerged from the case studies and interviews when considering the way in which an investigation into serial crime was developed and constructed.

1. **Serial Crime Recognition and Establishment of the Task Force.** One of the strongest of these themes was the concept of the ‘task force’ which appeared across the majority of serial crime investigations. The task force was identified as the key strategy to obtaining resources. In most of the cases where a task force was deployed, the amount of resources at the disposal of the task force was considerably greater than that apparent for other serial crime investigations. As will be discussed, many of these task forces were set up following the recognition that a number of offences had taken place, or had possibly taken place.

   An interesting point that emerged from the theme of the task force was the question of what constituted a task force, as there was some variance in the number of
personnel assigned to the individual cases. Another salient feature of the task force that transpired was how they achieved effective and efficient information management.

2. Media as an Investigative Tool. Another strong theme was how the media was used and managed in a serial crime investigation. As outlined in Chapter 2, incidents of serial murder and serial rape tend to receive disproportionate media coverage, which is often sensational in nature. The sensationalist reporting is frequently restricted to incidents of serial murder and although not directly of interest to this research, this was apparent here. Of greater interest were the calculated attempts by investigators to limit such reporting in some cases.

A common feature across serial crime investigations was the use of the media to request information from the public about the crimes. This was achieved through a variety of media outlets, although this depended on the size of the investigation. The media was also used as a means for reassuring the community and as a means of crime prevention.

3. Contribution of forensic techniques. The extent to which technologies such as DNA testing and other forensic analyses could be seen to contribute to an investigation was also of interest. It emerged that there were quite varied experiences, particularly with the extent to which DNA technology contributed to the outcomes. A theme that arose from this was one of mismanagement of evidence, of both DNA and other forms.
This mismanagement reflected directly on the progression of some investigations considered.

In addition to this, a theme that emerged from most incidents was one where blame was attributed to one or more aspects of an investigation. This is often applied by the media through their reporting or publishing of biographical texts of the cases. From the interviews, there was a general dismissal of such allegations, often emphasised by the context in which any ‘error’ was made.

**Cultural Constructions of Policing**

This research aimed to consider the investigation of serial crimes within the context of police cultural knowledge and practices, as identified by Chan (1999b). There were several significant themes that emerged from the case studies and the interviews relating to how police cultural knowledge was reflected in the investigative practices.

1. **Policing subcultures.** The first of these was the existence of subcultures. These subcultures could be seen to conflict and compete during the investigation of both serial rape and serial murder offences of focus. These competing subcultures however, were not as strongly divided as suggested by Chan (1999b, 2003b), as will be discussed in Chapter 7. These subcultures were identified as the ‘detective’ and the ‘specialised unit’ whereby some conflict or lack of understanding about the roles and responsibilities of each was apparent.
This disparity also existed across the various levels in the organisation. This research was challenged by different levels of the organisation, mainly middle management, while receiving support from those at the grass-roots level and upper management.

2. Experience of lead detectives. Another issue that arose from the case study analysis and the interviews was the amount of experience that some of the lead detectives had at the time of the investigation. This could be seen to vary with the size of the task force or investigation, whereby the detectives seconded to large task forces tended to have greater experience in both the position of detective and the investigation of serial crimes. Consistent with this, the detectives investigating incidents of serial rape or in one case serial murder without the resources of a task force tended generally not to have this experience.

3. Case Theories. A theme that pervaded the analysis was the idea of following a ‘hunch’ or a case theory. Again, similar to detectives’ levels of experience, it was found that there were two strands of thought emerging on this issue. One considered following instinct as a acceptable strategy. The other considered the negative consequences that such a limited approach to an investigation can bring. This is presented within the context of good management of resources.
4. **Knowledge.** A significant theme that emerged from this research was the way in which police dictionary knowledge informs police practice and reflects on the investigations of serial crimes. As outlined in Chapter 1, police dictionary knowledge is shaped through cultural understandings and informs the way in which police work is conducted, known as directory knowledge. One aspect of this knowledge is how stereotypes are given meaning through cultural expectations. These stereotypes relate to specific groups of people and affect how these groups are responded to.

Such stereotypes can be seen to be reflective of some myths which are common throughout the general community, particularly those relating to sexual assault and homosexuality. The concept of the worthless victim as proposed by Fattah (1997) was also seen to be reflected in the cultural understandings of the investigations into serial crimes at different points.

An interesting finding was the lack of directory knowledge relating to serial murder or serial rape investigations evident in the interviews and case studies. While the research literature suggests that some investigative tools, such as the media and crime linkage systems, are used within a specific framework for the investigation of serial crimes with expected outcomes, this was not evident. Thus, the knowledge gained by previous investigations into serial murder and serial rape were not considered to have actively informed subsequent investigations.
In the discussion of dictionary knowledge of police in Chapter 1, the concept of a specialised language utilised by police to express a cultural understanding given to particular terms was discussed (Devery, 2003). This was not seen as a significant theme emerging from the case studies or interviews although there were some inferences that may be considered reflective of such language. The absence of specialised language in the research environment is however also considered in the discussion in Chapter 7.

**Intelligent Investigations and Culture**

There has been significant research in the area of crime linkage. As discussed in Chapter 2, the ability of police to recognise a case of serial murder or serial rape can impact on the progress and outcome of the subsequent investigation (Egger, 1998). Every case that was considered in this research experienced a delay in the recognition of the offences as serial in nature. Some of these delays were extensive, up to ten years. All involved more incidents than the two victims that are required to identify similar crimes as serial. The reason for these delays can be seen to reflect some of the cultural understandings discussed in Chapter 7.

**1. Linking Crimes Using Intelligent Tools.** In Chapter 2, the introduction of intelligence-led policing practices into many aspects of police practice was discussed. One of the focuses of this approach is to aid in the investigation of series of crimes, as identified by Ratcliffe (2003) in his discussion of the UK National Intelligence Model. In Australia the ViCLAS was introduced to provide a national intelligence-led approach
to monitoring missing persons and a range of serious offences, among other things. One of the purposes of this system was to enable greater assistance in recognising a series of crimes that may be serial in nature. While this system has since been abolished, it was in place during the investigations of many of the cases studied.

From the case study and interview analysis it was clear that ViCLAS was not being used as an investigative tool, thus contributing to the dismissal of this system. Although some of the serial crimes studied occurred prior to the introduction of this system, those crimes that occurred within the operational time frame did not use this system in their investigations. Again, this can be seen to reflect the cultural practices evident in police organisations.

2. Contribution of Criminal Profiling. Another tool that has been used in several investigations was criminal profiling. The use of a criminal profile was seen to be as a tool to aid other investigative techniques and was seen in cases where a suspect was not readily apparent. There were however, mixed successes using this as an investigative tool in the cases of interest. In addition to the use of a criminal profile, there was also some evidence that typologies were used in particular cases. Again, the use of these in an investigation could not be seen to impact on the investigative outcome, as will be discussed in Chapter 8.

These themes provide a picture of an investigative process that is still individualistic. There is no evidence that once crimes have been recognised as serial in
nature that there has been or is any specific response to these crimes. It had been expected that there would be some change over time due to the timeframe chosen for this study but this was not evident.

From these, a typology of the investigation of serial crime has been developed, as presented in Chapter 9. This typology reflects the ability of investigators to recognise and link related offences, and the influence that such recognition has on the investigative practices employed.
CHAPTER 6: ISSUES IN THE INVESTIGATION OF SERIAL CRIME

This chapter will provide a picture of the investigative processes employed in the investigation of serial rape and serial murder in Australia. The types of investigative techniques and technologies employed will also be identified. As serial rape and serial murder cannot be assumed to be considered as the same from an investigative standpoint, these two offence types will usually be discussed separately.

As outlined in Chapter 2 one aspect of investigative practice that is of interest to this research is intelligence-led policing. This chapter will identify emergent themes relating to the incorporation of intelligence-led policing practices into the investigation of serial crimes as reflected in the case studies and interviews conducted.

The most detailed information relating to the processes involved in investigating a serial crime emerged from the closed case file of the Glover case. This was the only record obtained that was near complete in content. Unlike Briefs of Evidence, which only included evidentiary-related information about the investigation, the complete case file also records the processes that do not directly lead to the arrest of the offender. This is particularly pertinent in the information relating to the investigation of other suspects which is absent from the Brief of Evidence. Other information includes the strategies

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24 As described in previous chapters, the crime of murder is considered as more heinous than the crime of rape thus the importance attached to each can influence the construction of an investigation.
employed such as canvasses, pro-active patrols, approaches to institutions such as schools and foot patrols in the areas where the offender was thought to have identified his victims. Unfortunately the Glover case is the oldest in terms of the timeframe of events. Therefore it cannot reflect completely on the use of techniques introduced since the investigation of 1990.

**Pictorial of the Investigation**

**A Resourceful Investigation: The Task Force**

An important aspect of the investigation examined, is the way it is resourced and the availability of such resources. In all but one of the cases of serial rape or serial murder, a task force was formed to manage the resources and structure the investigation. As recognised previously in Chapter 2, a task force is considered as an approach which can effectively and efficiently handle the range of challenges arising from the serial murder or serial rape investigation, through providing a centralisation of resources. The following task forces were examined:

- Task Force Air- Ivan Milat
- Task Force Pulsar- Paul Denyer
- North Shore Murders Task Force- John Glover
- Task Force Chart- Snowtown Murders

- 195-
- Task Force Ardmore- David Johnson
- Strike Force Grahame- Wayne Trindall
- Strike Force Sapelo- Anthony Daley

Two of the case studies did not have formalised task forces established. These were the cases of serial rapist Bruno Presta and serial murderer Kathleen Folbigg.

*Task Force Air- Milat*

An issue with the initial Milat investigation which followed the discovery of the first victims was the way in which it was constructed. According to Bellamy (2004) the investigation was set up as individual groups of detectives which were working independently until Task Force Air was set up and headed by Superintendent Clyde Small. This task force was not formed until after the discovery of the remains of Everist and Gibson in October 1993, over 12 months after the first two victims were discovered. Initially, this task force was said to be 20 members strong with a mandate to investigate the deaths of the four victims who had been discovered at that point (Walsh, 1993). Walsh (1993) also suggested that the task force’s role was to consider links with other missing backpackers. The discovery of the remains of Schmidl, Habscheid and Neugebauer soon after led the task force to announce publicly that they were treating these crimes as serial murder (Bellamy, 2004).
It is unknown whether investigators had been treating these cases as serial in nature prior to this announcement. If they had not, this may have hampered their investigation. This point was emphasised by Egger (1998), which will be addressed further in the discussion of crime linkage in Chapter 8. Of immediate interest is how the decision to form a task force was made and the factors to be considered. Superintendent Small was asked about what considerations were made in the formation of the task force to investigate the murders, which occurred after the second discovery in the Belanglo State Forest. He explained:

There were a number of things that played on the decisions that were made. On the—one of the matters was that 12 months earlier there had been bodies found in the forest area. There had been a police search. No further bodies were found but here we were 12 months later finding another body…. That’s not a criticism of the original police investigation, it’s simply saying that the size of the area to be searched was very, very large and we really had to make some decisions about how we were going to search the forest. And that was a big issue.

This response suggests that there were clear considerations during this time that these crimes could be serial in nature and that there could have been more victims. The recognition of the limitations placed on the initial investigation, and the impact that this had on that investigation, contributed to the decision to form a task force to ensure that the resources for this would be available. This however, itself, also presented problems as evident as Small continued:
… The second thing is that the forest itself, and that in part the forest where
the bodies were found were quite isolated and rough terrain. There weren’t
any shops or canteens or anything like that where you could get drinks of
water, food, refreshments. Even toilet facilities weren’t there. So that in itself
was a significant logistics issue…. The other thing, the third thing was that
the local police station was, I think, around 20km or so away… so even the
local resources were quite distant from where the crime scene was. And then
the- another part that was relevant was the fact that whilst the inquiry was at
this time was essentially in the Belanglo Forest the reality is it looked as
though it would be a long and protracted inquiry and that probably a better
place for the command centre after the forest had been searched would be
Sydney so we had to set up a Sydney command post as well to take over the
running of the inquiry for its duration…. The other one was how many police
did we need down there, and where would we get them from and where
would they be accommodated.

The logistical problems of managing so many personnel were a leading factor in the
decision to form a task force, as specified by Small. The problem with having no local
police resources and that a second command centre would be needed means that the
task force could not be as centralised as would normally be expected. Small concluded
his explanation by saying:
…also the fact that there were already rumours floating particularly in the media but also among police about other disappearances that could have occurred in the area. It was within the context of all those sorts of things that it was decided to set up a taskforce and decisions were made about the structure and the sources for that taskforce.

This investigation took place over a period of at least 13 months up until the arrest of Milat, although the taskforce still had a role in the processes involved in the prosecution of Milat. According to the case review, the cost of Task Force Air exceeded $4 million dollars (Small, 1998).

**Task Force Pulsar - Denyer**

According to one source (Swanborough, 2004) the task force investigating the Denyer murders, Task Force Pulsar was formed after the second murder. This however, may have been a strategic formality as there were no apparent changes in the way in which the case was investigated after this taskforce was established. Separate to this was Operation Reassurance, which was a help centre set up to provide information on personal safety for women (Kidd, 2008). This crime prevention initiative was formed in response to the increased fear in the community after strong media coverage (Petraitis, 1995). This was the only example where resources were specifically allocated as a crime prevention initiative.
The actual task force for the Glover investigation, The North Shore Murders Task Force, was comprised of a similar number of police to the Milat investigation, although initially it started with 35 detectives (Sunday Mail, 1989b). There were however, fewer supplementary personnel as will be discussed in relation to investigative personnel in the next section. The closed case files included the reporting of the resources utilised by the taskforce at different stages, recording changes and the reasons for these changes. The resources allocated to the Milat and Glover task forces were in stark contrast to those during the Trindall investigation. Task Force Grahame consisted of two detectives from the Sex Crimes Unit and access to their resources in the form of an intelligence analyst, for example. As acknowledged previously, this task force was initiated after Trindall had been identified as a suspect by DNA linkages to some of the crimes. As an offender had already been identified, this may have limited the need to dedicate greater resources to the investigation. This may however, have been due to the nature of the victims. As suggested by Marché (1994) the allocation of resources may be reflective of the community interest in relation to the crimes. Marché identifies the race of the victim as one of the defining issues, but this may extend to those from marginalised groups (Marché, 1994).
Task Force Chart - Snowtown Murders

Task Force Chart had an initial brief to investigate the connection between three missing persons (Boston, 2004) in South Australia. While the initial membership is uncertain, Boston (2004) states that at its peak, the task force consisted of 33 police officers from the Major Crime, Crime Scene Examination and Missing Persons Squads of South Australia Police. These officers were supported by administrators to assist with the management of information. Similar to Task Force Air, specialists in the form of anthropologists and pathologists were consulted on this task force.

Boston (2004) describes Task Force Chart as a year-long missing persons investigation. This distinguishes this task force from the other cases of serial murder considered by this research, in that it did not begin as a murder investigation. It was this investigation into missing persons that led to the discovery of the remains of victims. This is unlike the other serial murder cases where at least some of the victims had been located prior to the establishment of the task force.

Task Force Ardmore - Johnson

Following the attacks on 28 women in Sydney’s western suburbs, Task Force Ardmore was set up. According to documents from the closed case file and media reports, this task force was established following an initial investigation, and was directed to re-
investigate these of fences (Goodsir, 1997). This move followed the loss of key evidence by investigators which led to some of it being destroyed (Riley, 1997). It was also suggested that forensic procedures were not carried out, with police failing to attempt fingerprint analysis on a torch that the offender had dropped at a crime scene (Warneminde, 1997). The allocation of these resources, however, did not occur at the time that a number of incidents were linked. According to one media report, similarities between the first eight of fences had been identified, leading to the compilation of a report detailing these cases which was then submitted to senior NSW Police members and the then Minister for Police (Riley, 1997). It was some 13 months later, following an internal investigation into the first investigation of these crimes, that a task force was dedicated to the offences (Warneminde, 1997).

Warneminde (1997) describes the task force as consisting of 24 ‘hand-picked detectives’. This followed public assurances by the then Assistant Commissioner, Clive Small, that the crimes were “serious enough for resources to be upgraded as required” (Keogh, 1997) in the form of police and the use of technology. The closed case file also describes a further four investigators being allocated to Task Force Ardmore, along with an analyst and clerical officer.

**Strike Force Grahame- Trindall**

Strike Force Grahame was initiated following the linkage of three incidents of sexual assault that occurred over a period of seven years, and subsequently led to the
identification of further offences that occurred over the previous nine year period (Begg & Norris, 2006). Personal communications with the lead detective on this case, Detective Graham Norris, show that the task force had been established only two months before the suspect was identified, as the most recent victim had been known to the offender and had named him in her report to police (Norris, 2006). As outlined in the Brief of Evidence, it was the forensic evidence from this incident that was used to link it to other crimes through DNA analysis. According to Norris, it was only after the development of the task force that these linked crimes were fully investigated (Norris, 2006). According to Norris the task force consisted of two detectives and one intelligence analyst (Norris, 2006).

As this task force was established after the suspect had been identified through DNA analysis, the investigative functions performed were more limited than those of other task forces considered. The main investigative function of this task force was to identify if other similar cases existed. Once similar crimes had been identified, the task force had to establish what physical evidence was available to be analysed in order to link these offences (Norris, 2006).

**Strike Force Sapelo- Daley**

Following a number of cases of sexual assault in western Sydney suburbs over a period of approximately 18 months, Strike Force Sapelo was set up (Rowlands, 2000). There were eight members of this task force, who had come from a specialised unit (AAP,
The closed case file identifies that the strike force was set up after six offences were committed. Initial media reports suggest this strike force was investigating sexual assaults in the suburbs of Parramatta and Westmead (AAP, 2000; Cowper, 2000; Toy, 2000). While it was acknowledged by police that this scope was localised and that related crimes may have occurred in other areas (AAP, 2000), it was not until Daley was arrested that offences from the suburb of Leichhardt were publicly linked (Rowlands, 2000).

**Critique of Task Forces**

Although there is general support for the use of task forces in a serial crime investigation, there have been some criticisms levelled at them, such as those by Fleming (1994). Fleming identifies and discusses several serial crime cases in America, where the task forces were considered to have functioned poorly. In the main this was not apparent in the investigations considered by this current research. There were however, initial problems evident with the investigation into the series of sexual assaults committed by Johnson. The case review indicated that the problems with the investigation previously mentioned were to be addressed by a thorough reinvestigation. This included re-interviewing victims and witnesses.

Task Force Ardmore faced other challenges, as it was working around an Internal Affairs investigation into the investigatory practices of the initial detectives working the case (Riley, 1997). The closed case file also acknowledges that following a
public appeal for information that included a visual description of the offender, three
serving police officers were nominated as possible persons of interest by the public.
One of these was the Commander of Task Force Ardmore; this led to an investigation
into those allegations and the involvement of Internal Affairs.

Another issue raised in the literature by Innes (1999) was that there was pressure to reduce the resources available to prolonged investigations. This did not emerge as an issue in any of the investigations from the case studies or the interviews. However in the Folbigg case, Detective Ryan did describe some initial resistance to instigating the investigation:

Detective- I had difficulty getting a full time strike force on it. It was put in
the corner of an office and you picked it up every now and then.

Interviewer- So there were problems getting resources put on to it?

Detective- Yeah…. I suppose there was always that- flogging a dead horse,
you'll never prove it. How much do we throw at this you do all those things
but everything I asked for I make sure I had the evidence to back it up. So I'd
say- listen I want to go to America and England to do this, this and this, right
and this is the reason why. And say no, and we'll go to the coroner and you'll
have to answer questions as to why you didn't…
This resistance was explained by the fact at that stage of the investigation, there was little evidence to substantiate that the deaths were homicides. In order to obtain expert evidence to determine whether the deaths of the Folbigg children were suspicious, Detective Ryan needed to consult experts in England and America. When asked whether there were problems obtaining resources to travel to England and America to consult with experts, Detective Ryan explains:

No. Back in those days the way the police service was structured overseas investigative trips got funded by the Deputy Commissioner. They had a budget and it went to the Minister to sign off on. We do an itinerary as to reasons to get permission. But I found absolutely no problems at all in going overseas.

This variance in the attitude to the provision of resources from different levels may be an indication of the value placed on some forms of information, such as the obtainment of expert evidence. It may also reflect the priority to what was being proposed as a case of serial murder. As a task force had not been initiated in this case, it is more likely that there were not sufficient resources at a local level to support an intensive investigation based on circumstantial evidence.
Investigative Personnel

The number of investigative personnel on each case varied significantly. On most of the cases, accurate numbers were not available as the range of sources available often recorded different numbers of personnel or gave personnel different titles that were not comparable. This was also due to the unavailability of some closed case files or the incompleteness of those files that were available. As previously stated some of the records available from NSW Police were limited to Briefs of Evidence and therefore did not contain such information.

The case with the greatest available detail was the Milat case, where accounts of the number of personnel required for different parts of the investigation were available. The resources available to the investigation team, Task Force Air, varied at different stages of the investigation. It is reported by Bellamy (2004) that by the end of 1992 the team numbers had been either reduced or redirected to other cases and, just prior to the discovery of the bodies of Gibson and Everist, were practically nonexistent.

From the Milat case review, Small had identified that the task force consisted of 40 personnel with additional support staff on hand to deal with physical evidence and intelligence. Approximately 500 police were required to search the Belanglo State Forest and another region north of Sydney where belongings of one of the victims were found. The search of the properties associated with Milat and the subsequent arrest of Milat required 280 police personnel. These personnel were required at different times
during the investigation depending on their role. Also included in the resources for this investigation were two cadaver dogs, used to aid the search of the Belanglo State Forest during the second search of the area (Small, 1998). This is consistent with media reports that emerged at the time of Milat’s arrest in 1994, which identifies the task force of consisting of “some 500 police, including a nucleus of 38 investigators, uniformed police, forensic scientists, criminologists and fresh Police Academy graduates” (Sheather, 1994, p.26). This indicates a strong level of communication with the media about the Milat investigation. Such information was not commonly reported on in the other serial crime investigations of focus in this current study, at a time pertinent to the investigation. However, some biographical accounts of ten attempted to describe the investigative team in hindsight, probably in an attempt to illustrate the investigative procedures.

From the case study analysis, there were suggestions that emerged relating to the resources initially available in the Milat investigation. According to Bellamy (2004) some of the personnel who conducted the search in the Belanglo State Forest were from the Tactical Support Unit. Prior to their involvement the forest had been searched but not systematically or with a formalised system. Although it is not possible to second guess whether the initial search was extensive enough, it can be said that this delay reduced the ability of investigators to link these victims at an earlier stage.

In the Glover case, the investigation into the murders was deemed a major investigation and the North Shore Murders Task Force was set up eight months after
the first murder and after the deaths of at least three (possibly four\textsuperscript{25}) victims. From a Briefing in the closed case file, the personnel figures are available. Similar to Task Force Air, this task force was 40 members strong, with four analysts and intelligence officers and eight surveillance personnel. There were also an undisclosed number of uniformed and plain clothes police performing patrols at targeted times.

Non-traditional forms of resources were also apparent in the Milat investigation. After Superintendent Small was appointed head of Task Force Air, he formed a ‘Think Tank’ that included psychiatrist Dr. Rod Milton; Dr. Richard Basham a psychological anthropologist; and Bob Young a computer analyst (Bellamy, 2004). This was in addition to a probability specialist, members from the task force and the State Intelligence Group (Small, 1998). The Think Tank with its specialists from a range of different backgrounds was there in a supportive capacity to the task force. Superintendent Small explains that:

> What the purpose of the group was to discuss the issues, to discuss the options, to float ideas just to see what people thought. And that was the role of that group.

In the majority of the serial murder cases considerable resources, particularly in the form of personnel, appear to have been readily available. For example the task force

\textsuperscript{25} The exact date of establishment varies between sources and may have occurred the day before or after the death of Glover’s fourth victim.
during the Denyer investigation is reported to have been 150 people strong (Swanborough, 2004).

The resources available to serial rape investigations are in stark contrast to those available for serial murder cases. In many of the serial rape cases considered in this current research, it was found that such resources were either absent or their availability only came after a considerable length of time. For example, the Trindall investigation was comprised of only two detectives who made up the ‘task force’. Task Force Ardmore, investigating the series of sexual assaults committed by Johnson, was set up 20 months after the first three assaults. Similarly the task force into the investigation of the crimes by Daley, Strike Force Sapelo, was formed after a similar time period after the first of fence. Although the number of personnel on Task Force Ardmore is not known, one article describes an eight detective strong Strike Force Sapelo, all from the then Homicide and Serious Violent Crime Unit (AAP, 2000).

Another aspect of the task force dimension is that although serial crimes are usually considered major investigations, this is not always reflected by the formation of a task force. The formation of the investigative team in the Snowtown investigation is not as clear as those for the other investigations discussed. From the biographical texts and articles, there does not appear to have been a task force as such in place. There are few references to the strength of the investigative team, although McGarry describes that there were “…50 people from the CIB, major crime and forensic services” (2005, p.137) who attended a briefing after the initial discovery of the remains at the bank.
location. This would indicate that although the investigative team was not labelled a ‘task force’ the resources available were comparable.

There were issues relating to the availability of resources during the Presta investigation, for which there was no task force formed. This was identified by the lead detective as a problem with the investigation of his case, as can be seen from the following exchange with Detective Faucett:

Interviewer- Were there any other problems that you experienced with the case?

Detective - Just the matter of the resources- we just didn’t get help with them. It’s the same with everything. Myself and the other… fellow, we were leading the investigation. Compared to today we’re not that inexperienced but at the time were very inexperienced in plain clothes. We had both done plain clothes work but we were the most junior in the office at the time. We happened to be on call all the time. Sex Crimes didn’t help. Behavioural Sciences helped after with some stuff. Even the bosses didn’t really…weren’t that interested in it…. We were supported really well by the Macquarie Fields staff as soon as we needed to but apart from that it was just another job come into office.

Interviewer- Even when it was recognised that it was serial and there were a number of other offences was it still hard getting resources?
Detective- Yeah- we just didn’t have it. Didn’t have the added luxury because as it turned out it went so quickly we got the SPG in quickly which it’s not hard to get them in when there’s a firearm involved. But they’re only talking about one day. Surveillance was good. They came onboard straight away- as soon as he was recognised. Our own staff did the warrant which we did anyway. It just wasn’t treated as anything major really.

From these comments, it is evident that there was inconsistent support by various units within NSW Police. Emerging from this is a pervasive attitude towards some cases even when the series of sexual assaults have been linked. Even once these crimes were linked, it did not alter the way in which the crimes were investigated at the local level as it was not considered as “anything major” (Detective Faucett). The uncertainty of such resources was also evident from Faucett’s interview when she described the use of surveillance:

…And we kept surveillance on him the night before we did the warrant and arrest so we didn’t want him to have anyone with him when we went in there. But unfortunately the bikies starting shooting each other at the Hellfire Club the night before and they pulled all our surveillance so we went in blind not knowing if he had someone in there or not.

The uncertainty of the availability of resources was also raised in the Glover case, where some briefings included the movement of detectives between the task force and their regional positions. This was attributed to reasons such as their prior involvement
in other murder investigations, and in one case, where the detective was an Italian interpreter, that his skills were required on another investigation. This movement of key personnel could be argued to impact on the sharing of knowledge of the cases being investigated. As a member of the team leaves, all the information that the individual received cannot be recorded sufficiently. For example, the way in which information has been understood or connected loosely to other evidence may not be adequately expressed. As stated above, there were varying levels of resources available to the different investigations at any one time. The identification of offences as serial did not necessarily result in the allocation of large quantities of resources.

Information Management

One of the problems that emerged from many of the serial crime investigations was the way in which large amounts of information were handled. This was particularly the case in the serial murder investigations studied. In his interview, Superintendent Small describes how Task Force Air had received, “a couple of million pieces of information in a very short time”. According to Mouzos (2001), the holdings of information were not initially that large but had “increased from around seven to ten thousand pieces of information to around 1.5 million in just 12 weeks” (Mouzos, 2001, p.5).

This influx of information came when investigators had what they considered to be much circumstantial evidence and in an attempt to gain some ‘real evidence’ a public hotline was set up (Bellamy, 2004). This created further difficulties for police, as the
computer system that they were using at the time, the Task Force Information Management System, was not able to deal with the quantity of information that was produced from this investigation (Bellamy, 2004). The need for an effective information management system became paramount. According to Small,

> It was clear that our existing system could neither handle the amount of information involved nor was it sufficiently flexible to allow for adjustments in and the realignment of information groupings as circumstances changed, nor the retrieval of information in desired forms.

This statement is in part supported by Kidd who claims that the task force was considered to have made little progress due to the large number of leads that were received daily (Kidd, 2000). It was identified by Basham in an interview that he was aware of problems experienced with the incompatible computer systems. This led to the decision in December 1993 to introduce a new program to analyse this information, which created further delays as all new information now then had to be processed manually (Bellamy, 2004). According to Small, this process required that, “12 different software packages were taken into use and linked” (p. 7), requiring that most of the information already received had to be manually transferred into the replacement system. Small considered this process labour intensive but it ensured that no important information was overlooked.

The need to formulate a ‘new’ system for managing information for Task Force Air came only two years after the Glover investigation, where a similar need had been
identified and a ‘solution’ provided. From the closed case file, it is apparent that a recently introduced system, the Major Incident Investigation System, had been implemented during the Glover investigation. It was described in a document from the closed case file as having, “achieved remarkable results in speed of collation and analysis of intelligence”. The need for even more efficient system than the Major Incident Investigation System may have been due to the large amount of information being received through the public hotline during the Milat investigation. Task Force Air would have been receiving thousands of leads each day, whereas some of the documents from the Glover case mention smaller numbers. One document states that six hundred and eight calls had been received by the task force, and details the general purpose of each call.

Similar issues have not emerged from the case studies of serial rape. However, as previously discussed, there were issues relating to the public hotline information received in the Johnson case, which identified three serving police officers as persons of interest. There was little data available regarding the information received from public appeals in the other serial rape cases. From the available Briefs of Evidence it does not appear that much information of investigative use was obtained from these appeals.
Using the Media in Serial Investigations

Separate to the largely sensational reportage of serial crimes in the mass media, as outlined in previous chapters the media has also been used as an investigative tool. This may be in the form of community reassurances, appeals for information from the general public, or in the form of a preventative, proactive activity. Again, this coverage varied according to the types of serial crime, where the media was more likely to be used as an investigative tool for the incidents of serial murder.

Media releases in any investigation are carefully controlled. In NSW the Police Media Unit has the primary responsibility for the information that is released to the media. This was evident from the Glover closed case file, which contained numerous media releases as well as the documents outlining what was described as the media strategy at different points during the investigation. Much of the information present in the media releases could later be seen in the newspaper articles and other forms of media output. Often these were incorporated into feature stories, such as one published in the *Sunday Mail*, which made connections to Jack the Ripper (Sunday Mail, 1989a). The article also includes several ‘profiles’ provided by experts who were not working on the case. One describes the offender as a psychopath getting a thrill out of the murders, while another suggests that the offender may actually be a woman. Similarly, the media reporting into the Denyer cases has been described as sensationalist, where “Not only was the community under siege with a killer in its midst, but it was also under siege from the media” (Petraitis, 1995, p.80).
This sensationalist reporting was clearly not what was intended to be encouraged by NSW Police when releasing media statements. From the draft media strategies available from the closed case file of the Gilber investigation, the aim of such initiatives emerges as does the audience that different forms of media were targeting. One strategy that had been planned was to include ten police officers who would be patrolling the Mosman area on motorbikes, a clear attempt to promote community safety. The strategy identifies that this should be reported to Sydney-wide media bulletins and thereafter the general public. Present in the file was a running sheet detailing a request to local store owners and residents to report suspicious conduct, particularly in the presence of the elderly, promoting both community safety and crime prevention.

Another aspect of the strategy included interviews on Sydney radio stations 2GB and 2UE. Again, the strategy details the audience, in this case small businessmen. The aim of this strategy though was not to reassure the community, but a direct appeal for information. In the same draft media strategy document, it notes that a media release should be distributed to outlets requesting “media assistance in not publishing or broadcasting material likely to incite further attacks”. This approach was also a key feature in the media strategy of the Milat investigation.

According to Superintendent Small, a strong relationship with the media was necessary in balancing the dissemination of ample information to satisfy the public and media whilst not creating undue public unrest. Superintendent Small explains:
The way that you look at the media I think depends on the different stages and circumstances of an investigation. In the first instance down at Bowral and Belanglo when the searches were on, the risk of the media, the risk for us then was that the media would start making all these speculations, producing highly emotive headlines that may well have been quite wrong. But because of the publicity that they would draw, because of the media, because of the political concerns that they would generate, because of the police executive political concerns that they would generate, my lament— we would be drawn off and forced to go down wrong tracks simply to cater to the excitement generated by the media.

Therefore the management of the media reportage of these crimes can be considered as an investigative strategy, reducing the need to pursue unfruitful avenues and waste resources.

Additionally, as outlined in his review of the investigation, Small identifies the global nature of the media attention. According to Small, the international media attention was due to the nationalities of some of the victims, with media from Britain and Germany present. In his interview, Small also describes the presence of a US CNN reporter which was considered “a first for US coverage of Australian news events”. The coverage of these crimes was not limited to the murders themselves or to the police investigation, but Small describes how the impact on Australian tourism was also an issue. Such issues may have also been of concern during the Glover investigation, as one source states that, “The attacks have already attracted interest from the London
press and Japanese television” (Sunday Mail, 1989a). At that time, and still today, a large proportion of visitors to Australia originated from the United Kingdom and Japan (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1989, 2002).

During the Milat investigation, it was with these additional pressures that Small decided that he had to develop a media strategy that carefully controlled the information flowing through to the local and international audiences. This control was gained through a form of cooperation with the media. As outlined in the investigative review, Small explains how time was taken to ensure that the needs of the media were met through the release of strictly controlled release of information through interviews at prearranged times. This however, was not a one-sided relationship and the media were expected to honour this attentiveness. During his interview, Small describes the relationship in relation to the public, political and media pressures the police were encountering:

And in those sorts of environments my- and also if you didn’t cater to the media they were going to get photographs and leaks and stories one way or the other- so in that sort of environment my view was the best thing you can do is try and control the media by providing them with the facts as best you could give them and in a sense controlling those facts.

And also getting them to understand that anyone that was caught, if you like, cheating or going out of bounds would be banned from attending but also gathering your trust that- or having the trust that we would not give a story to
one journalist but not the whole lot. So all be treated fairly and this was not about- bear in mind that at the time of the searches we had around 300 police, so anyone could be in a pub having a drink, anything could happen, having a cup of coffee, whatever, and just make a comment that could send you off on a tangent. So what we did we got the media and we set some ground rules….

Being perceptive of the needs of the media played an important part in this relationship. Small describes the way in which such needs were understood and subsequently met:

…okay, we know when you have to meet your deadlines and- in the morning and in the afternoon- and also we know that you want a bit of colour and you need some background, so in the morning we will do an interview each day in the forest. That gives you the scene of the investigation. But some of you can’t message [sic] from the forest because there was no satellite to beam to the television screens so in the afternoon, and we can do that at a time that allows you to get back into Bowral and beam your messages and do whatever you want to meet your deadlines, and in the afternoon because things are tighter, we can do an interview at the police station in Bowral each afternoon and those of you that need to can make it a direct feedback where you don’t have a delay.

The reasons for ensuring media compliance were three-fold. A significant issue as identified by Small was the need to reinforce public confidence in the police and the investigation. This was particularly important following the media reportage of the discovery of the first remains and subsequent search of the Belanglo State Forest, which did not yield any further remains. Twelve months after this search, more remains
were found, and Small states in the investigative review that it was important to restore confidence in the investigation. In his interview, Small states that:

And also we had to convey that we were doing everything practical so there was always a confidence in the investigation itself. And that was one of several themes that continually came through. And that worked quite well.

This was later reiterated when he states that:

One of the things that came out of the media was, some of the themes we kept giving the media, and which they took up was, here’s a group of people doing everything they can to solve these crimes. The community should have confidence in them. The community should not go into a state of hysteria or panic. And that worked in our favour. And the second thing we were doing with the media was, by doing all of that, if we got to the stage where we couldn’t solve the crime, what we had was a media that had given the message that these people were doing everything they can. And we would be in the position to say, look we have done everything we can. We can’t do anymore. If anyone has any suggestions, we’re happy to take it up. So you wouldn’t have had a media provides a negative attack on police fail in this. You know, here is a group that’s done everything they can, they’ve been unable to solve these murders. It wasn’t about doing a PR job for ourselves. It was more about making sure the community retained the confidence in the police and that they do the job properly.
This supports the ideas proposed by Chavez and Gibson (Chavez & Gibson, 2004) that such public relations activities are a method of crisis management. From Small’s discussion it is clear that media was used as a means of reassuring the public following the discovery of additional bodies in the Belanglo State Forest. However, the insistence on portraying the investigation as one doing everything possible could be an indication that this was part of a public relations exercise, attempting to gain public confidence. The need to build this confidence can be seen to stem from the initial response to this case. This is suggested by Bell (2002) when he claims that as police had initially “…downplayed the earlier discoveries…they’d invited a much more rigorous media vigilation of what they did now” (Bell, 2002, p.237). The multifaceted nature of the police-media relationship during the Milat investigation is summed up best by Small who states that when looking at the priorities at the start of his involvement with the investigation:

The second thing was how we were going to handle the media, because they were becoming quite speculative, and that creates the possibility of unnecessary concern in the community, and can also side-track investigations. And another thing was, “How do we stop the fear level increasing in the small local communities?” (quoted in Bell, 2002, pp.239-240).

Further to this was an important theme emerging from the interview and can be seen as a motivator for different aspects of the investigation. It was evident that investigative techniques were employed in a way that supported the media strategy.
When discussing the reasoning behind the formation of the Think Tank as an investigative strategy, Small validated this step with the following explanation:

What you were envisaging was I guess a couple of scenarios. One was that we would never solve the crimes. But we had to make sure that we had done everything we could. Everything that was humanly possible to solve them. And we also had to make sure that the public was aware that we had done everything that was humanly practical to solve them so that they had confidence in the investigation. “Yeah, look. They didn’t solve it but they gave their best shot. You can’t criticise them”. I’m not talking about criticising me personally, but they needed to have confidence in the investigation.

This reinforces the argument that such media strategies were an attempt to boost public confidence in the investigation. Additionally, in relation to use of the media as a direct investigative tool, Small concedes that there had been a diversion from the usual media relationship. In what can be seen as a direct use of the media as an investigative tool, this had been done in order to elicit information from their suspect, Milat and members of his family. Small explains:

One thing when we did use the media was Chris Masters on the Four Corners program had actually done their own homework. And they came across two women from the ABC who had told this story about being picked up while hitchhiking and escaped and Chris Masters produced that material. But he also wanted to do a Four Corners story and he was going to use the girls in
it. And the girls in fact they identified Richard Milat and Ivan Milat, I think it was- but I’m not sure of that- but they were shown photographs and they picked two men from the Milat family, one of whom was Ivan. But the evidence wasn’t strong enough to refer charges and they had escaped. So even that report was on the right track. And Chris Masters in fact then, we cooperated with them doing a *Four Corners* program. One of the reasons we cooperated was, because Masters had done a lot of his own work too, but we were interested in seeing what reaction if any there might have been among several of the Milat families. And we monitored those reactions in various ways. So yes we used the media to do that.

This strategy is identified by Small as being aimed at putting pressure on the offenders. Finally, the media strategy also aimed to gain information from the public, as was seen in the Glover case. As stated in the case review, “and perhaps our most obvious strategy was to jog the memory of people who might have relevant information and to get them to come forward” (Small, 1998, p.6).

Many investigations of serial crime utilised the media as a more general investigative tool, with the most common forms being calls for public assistance or information. This was evidenced in the media releases from closed case files of the Glover case as discussed above and during the Milat investigation, amongst others. This approach however was not always beneficial to the progress of an investigation. In his discussion of the Milat case, Bellamy (2004) states that public assistance was not contributing to progress as many sightings of the two victims were reported to occur
after they were believed to be murdered. This problem of misinformation gathered from
the public and its lack of positive contribution to the investigation highlights the
argument that serial crime investigations are confronted with more difficulties than
traditional investigations. This would have been further impeded due to the period of
time between the victims’ disappearance and the discovery of their remains.

The use of the media as a crime prevention tool during an investigation was also
apparent in some of the serial murder and serial rape case studies. One example detailed
previously occurred during the Glover investigation whereby community members were
asked to be aware of those acting suspiciously around the elderly. During the Presta
investigation, there was a point when it was deemed necessary to use the media in a
similar capacity as illustrated by Faucett who states:

Detective- We were in the process of doing that [going to the media] - when
we identified him. At the time things weren’t quick like they are now. If you
put in a phone trace now you can get it back in 24 hours if you need it. At the
time it was taking weeks. And it got to the point where I’d approached the
boss as I felt we had to go public with it because of the danger involved in it.
They’d just agreed they would do that when we got the return to identify the
person and we could put him straight under surveillance we knew what he
was doing.
Interviewer- If you hadn’t identified him, the reason before for going public would be a safety concern for other victims. So it would be a prevention measure?

Detective- Yep. Yep, he was getting more violent. And that difference occurred, he was getting more violent, they were coming out with more injuries and they were getting more frequent. There was a very short time between the last two.

Until that time, the media reportage had been limited to individual incidents in the local media, but it is unclear how much attention these received from the larger media outlets. The extent of the media reporting of the other cases can be considered as limited. The cases of Folbigg and Presta were reported on only sparingly prior to their arrests. The Folbigg case had limited coverage in the Newcastle area and surrounding regions where the investigation was taking place, although this was largely after she had been charged with the crimes.

The use of the media as an investigative tool was not seen to be significant in any of the case studies of serial rape. There was no media coverage of the Trindall crimes prior to his court appearance. The nature of the investigation precluded the need to engage the media in the investigation, as the task force was only initiated after the suspect had been identified through DNA.
The influence of a task force on the level of media coverage relates to the police informing the media of the task forces establishment. This was evident in the case of Daley. Once Task Force S ApeIo had been initiated, there were regular newspaper articles that covered the general features of the sexual assaults and the description of the possible offender. As with the cases of Milat and Glover, there were specific requests for information, often including the contact phone numbers (Cowper, 2000; Toy, 2000). The task force however, did not make any connections to the incidents in Leichhardt, indicating that there had been no linkage between these crimes at that stage.

The media reporting also aimed to increase community awareness and promote the safety of women. Inspector McKay, who led Strike Force S ApeIo, is quoted as saying, “We want to prevent any further attacks from occurring” and “We strongly recommend women who are on their own take particular care especially while parking their cars at night, and if possible remain in the company of others” (Parramatta Advertiser, 2000). This had followed an assurance by Inspector McKay that the investigation “...was working relentlessly to bring the man responsible for these attacks to justice and all available resources are being devoted to this investigation” (Parramatta Advertiser, 2000), echoing the sentiment evident during the Milat investigation that a thorough investigation was being conducted, thus deemed as fulfilling a public relations role.

During the Johnson investigation, no media strategy per se is evident. Yet the media coverage of the investigation into the serial rapes can be seen to have impacted
on the investigative process. The investigative review document states that the investigation received a great deal of media attention, some of which covered the loss or mishandling of evidence collected from the crime scenes and allegations of negligence during the initial investigations. This media attention is identified as having led to the direction to reinvestigate all incidents associated with these serial offences, including the re-interviewing of witnesses and victims, but also locating all evidence related to the cases. The then Minister for Police, Mr Whelan, is reported to admit that further victims may have been spared had the investigation been conducted properly initially (Riley, 1997). Therefore the media coverage was a measure of accountability for this investigation.

Another way in which the media had been used was to help identify information that had been previously reported on in media sources. During the Presta investigation, a number of diaries had been obtained from search warrants on the offender’s property. These diaries had recorded details about other apparent assaults. Faucett describes her use of a media organisation to gain more information on the cases that she was unable to identify at the time of the Presta investigation:

I used the media after we had charged him to locate old offences that he had …we found 7 years of diaries but unfortunately he had stopped writing at the time of our offences. They dated back quite a few years. And when I was reading through them I found… sort of confessions to other assaults. And I used Fairfax Research Group to find some old comfits that had appeared in
the paper. So they were brilliant. It was one phone call and they got straight
back pretty quickly.

It was unclear as to why this information could not have been accessed through the
records of NSW Police, although Faucett had stated earlier that cases were difficult to
find using their systems unless one knew what they were looking for.

In three of the cases studied in this research there were no media reports evident
prior to the arrest of the offenders. In both the Trindall case and the Snowtown murders
there were no media reports found relating to the cases or the victims at the time of the
criminal events. This lack of media reporting in both cases can be attributed to the
failure of police to link one to other similar crimes. Thus in both cases, the
investigations were not subjected to public scrutiny in the way that the Milat, Glover or
Daley cases were due to the lack of public awareness. During the Snowtown investigation this public awareness may have been beneficial to investigators, allowing
them to conduct the investigation without alarming the offenders. However in the
Trindall case, the lack of media attention is attributed to the fact that there was no
active investigation until after the offender had been identified through a cold DNA
match, where a match was made from an old case.

In the Folbigg case, there was minimal media coverage of the crimes until after
the arrest of the offender. This is largely attributable to the nature of Folbigg’s offences
and the fact that the crimes were not initially recognised as such. It is not standard
procedure to issue press releases when children are deemed to have died from natural causes, such as SIDS.

Investigative Techniques and Technologies Utilised

A range of investigative techniques and forensic technologies were used in the investigations of both serial murder and serial rape cases concerned here. It was clear that there were several issues emerging from the case study materials that were critical of some aspects of investigative practice, including the forensic analysis of evidence. The case studies demonstrate that most cases used, to some extent, DNA technology. Other forensic technologies were also used and can be considered to have had an impact on the outcome of these investigations into the serial crimes.

Several forms of forensic techniques were utilised in the investigation of the Milat victims. Forensic odontology was used to formally identify some of the victims including Gibson, Everist and Schmidl (Bellamy, 2004). Ballistics technology was used to aid in linking these crimes as the weapons used in separate cases were found to be identical (Bellamy, 2004). However problems reportedly arose in the collection and analysis of DNA evidence. Bellamy (2004) suggests that due to decomposition, evidence of sexual assault was difficult to determine in the cases of Clarke and Walters. During Milat’s trial, the court was advised that evidence of sexual assault after a period greater than three months was near impossible. Although this may have been the case, problems with contamination of this evidence were raised.
It was found that the scientist who conducted the DNA testing on the Clarke and Walters samples had found foreign DNA present; however, retesting produced different and inconsistent results on each occasion (Shears, 1996). It was found that the samples had been contaminated on multiple occasions by the scientist and the laboratory equipment involved in the use of the DNA testing (Shears, 1996). Further to this, the scientist admitted under questioning by the defence lawyer, that he was not qualified to conduct such testing.

In addition to this, hairs found in Walters’ hand when her body was discovered were determined not to be hers. The forensic scientist stated that comparison to a possible offender would need to be conducted when a suspect was located (Shears, 1996). In another alleged act of incompetency, it was revealed that some of the hair samples had been handled by a scientist who did not have the relevant experience in DNA testing and whose prior work in this field was questionable (Shears, 1996).

Had these samples been the most substantial evidence against Milat, in all probability he could have been acquitted. The contamination of evidence made any results unreliable and unusable, thus possibly affecting the investigators’ ability to limit their field in relation to suspects or gain an understanding of how these crimes were committed. One of the main issues that are highlighted here is the lack of control police had over the samples. The police reportedly had no knowledge of which individual was conducting the testing, what their qualifications were, and the way in which the samples were handled (Shears, 1996).
When asked about the reported contamination of the forensic evidence, Superintendent Small explained in his interview that his recollection was that the hair samples had been degraded due to exposure and therefore had been deduced to be not belonging to the victim. With the subsequent investigation following the discovery of the other victims, retesting of evidence occurred and “the hair and other samples were taken to the United Kingdom which was then regarded as the foremost body and they found that the testing of the hair at Glebe was incorrect.” These latter tests concluded that the hair samples had belonged to the victim. In relation to the contamination of the samples taken to determine if DNA evidence indicating whether a sexual assault had occurred, Superintendent Small states that he was not aware of this problem. Therefore it was not possible to gauge what impact this may have had on the investigation.

Problems with the processing of DNA evidence were not exclusive to the Milat investigation. As outlined in news reports, an inquiry into the investigation of the Johnson series of rapes found that police had lost semen samples in what has been described as a ‘botched’ investigation (Riley, 1997; Warneminde, 1997). According to Warneminde (1997) these samples were not found for 14 months by which time they were deemed useless for the purposes of DNA testing. This reflects on the knowledge of procedures relating to the collection and storage of DNA evidence. As the Trindall case demonstrated through the successful analysis of evidence up to ten years after collection, properly stored DNA evidence can be effectively analysed years after the date of collection. Therefore the problem experienced in the Johnson case may be
attributed to the experience and/or training of the police officers who collected and handled the DNA evidence.

Similar problems were also evident in the Trindall serial rape investigation. From the Prosecutorial Brief of Evidence it was evident that the DNA evidence in the form of Sexual Assault Investigation Kits (SAIK), collected at the time that the assaults had occurred were not processed until 2004, nine years after the first attack was reported to police. Initially, only three cases dating back to 1997 were linked by the Diagnostic and Analytical Laboratory (DAL). Following this a manual review of similar cases was conducted by Strike Force Grahame, which then had to identify the location of the evidence collected from each case, with one dating as far back as 1995, in order to obtain a DNA analysis and subsequent comparison to the other matched samples.

From the records available in relation to this case, it is clear that there was minimal, and often no, formal investigation into the sexual assaults when they were reported to police. This lack of formal investigation meant that there was no follow-up on the forensic evidence submitted. From the Brief of Evidence, forensic evidence logs show that some items collected from the victims or the crime scenes were destroyed prior to the analysis of the other DNA evidence. From the log it was also evident that some of this evidence was never forwarded for scientific or investigative analysis.
There may be a number of reasons for this, in addition to the lack of a follow-up investigation at the time of the offences. The Trindall crimes can be seen as an example of linkage blindness. Without the knowledge that these cases were linked, the resources needed to conduct a comprehensive serial crime investigation were not available. The task force to investigate these crimes was only set up once the DNA evidence had made the initial link to the offender. Failure to follow-up on the testing of these samples may again be attributable to detective experience.

In this case, however, the issue of the victimology emerged. In one news article, Detective Norris who led the investigation, is quoted as stating that the investigation, “…involved a number of girls” (Ravens, 2006) although all victims were adult women, thus reminiscent of the term ‘call girl’ often used to refer to prostitutes. In another article, the detective is quoted as making the point that, “Everybody in society is at risk of this happening to them, and if somebody is sexually assaulted we encourage them to come to police and tell us about it, and we'll investigate it” (ABC Premium News, 2006). This can be seen as a reassuring statement to the public, creating the image of an impartial police force. Absent from this was the acknowledgement that these cases were not labeled as a priority when they occurred, which led to the delays in the analysis of the DNA evidence.

Unusually, the investigation into the serial rapes committed by Presta did not rely on forensic evidence. The offender had videotaped his crimes and these recordings
were found during the execution of the search warrant. In relation to the presence or use of DNA evidence, Detective Faucett states:

No, there may have been but we didn’t use it. The DNA would only have been from Presta’s house. We didn’t get any DNA from the sexual assault kits. This went so quickly and since it didn’t go to trial we didn’t need to get it. The young bloke from Emu Plains - the 15 year old - the sexual assault kit said he wasn’t sexually assaulted. The videos showed that he was. So there would have been no physical evidence to back up any claim he would have made of sexual assault. Without the video there would have been nothing but a common assault on him.

This highlights the importance of looking at other evidence and not relying on DNA or other forensic technologies as the limitations of such technologies are often overlooked.

Other investigative techniques

Problems with the analysis of other evidence were also present in cases such as Johnson’s, in addition to those outlined above. One of the main issues raised in news reports was the loss of a balaclava belonging to the offender which was not processed for forensic clues as it had been forwarded to lost property (Warneminde, 1997). Additionally a torch that also belonged to the offender had apparently not been fingerprinted and thus was overlooked as evidence (Warneminde, 1997).
The use of forensic techniques was not always associated with problems. In the Milat case, many of the victims could only be identified through forensic odontology due to extensive decomposition. From the news reports at the time it was evident that this process was an efficient method of identification: Joanne Walters was identified within 48 hours of the discovery of her remains (Herald Sun, 1992). Richard Basham, who was a consultant on the Milat investigation, identified that there had been a tendency of police to videotape the crime scenes. During the interview, he said that there had been very few good still photographs taken and that he believed that the recordings were not of good quality or clarity. This could not be confirmed as the closed case file that would contain these photos was not available.

The use of forensic odontology was not limited to the Milat investigation. The discovery of the first Snowtown victim had been made some years before he could be identified. As the remains were skeletal, other forms of identification were required. When one of the victims, Trezise, was reported missing a year after his death, South Australian police had requested the Forensic Science Centre in Adelaide to compare the remains found to the recent missing persons report. The expert who conducted this comparison negated the identification, significantly delaying identification and thus the investigation of Trezise’s death by a further four years (McGarry, 2005; Pudney, 2005). This can be seen to have impacted on the investigation significantly as the linkage of the murder of Trezise to other missing person cases ultimately led to the identification of the offenders (McGarry, 2005; Pudney, 2005).
Traditional investigative techniques such as surveillance were a feature of many of the investigations studied. This technique was more frequently used after the identification of a suspect, although with serial investigations producing large numbers of suspects, this meant that surveillance was not limited to the actual offender as it was also used to eliminate suspects. This was particularly evident in the G lover investigation, where documents from the investigation identify the use of surveillance on a number of suspects. Surveillance was also used in the investigation of Presta although this was limited to the day before the execution of a search warrant on his premises.

During the Folbigg investigation, a technique called Scientific Content Analysis (SCAN) was used to provide a document analysis of the personal diaries of the then suspect, Kathleen Folbigg. The aim of this tool in the context of this investigation was to give the detective information that would aid detectives during the interview of the suspect (Smith, 2001). Detective Ryan describes the use of this tool and its lack of contribution to the investigation when he stated that:

He looked at them (the diaries) and it’s a technique that analyses the way that people write- I don’t know- whether they put a pronoun or an adverb I don’t know- to try and give the investigator a perspective about the personality. The reason we wanted that was to start to develop an interview plan. She was- I wanted to be able to try and gain a confession or an admission…. She made a couple of admissions but the report really didn’t give assistance at all in relation to her personality it sort of gave us the opposite. It said that one of my
techniques should be to develop a rapport get a detective that could empathise with her - a female detective that had had children. As it turned out every time she asked a question Kathleen would direct her answer to me. She was more comfortable with me. Sort of enjoyed the interaction she was having with me and that’s....

While this tool did not produce the information to assist in the investigative process as had been hoped, Detective Ryan acknowledged the importance of using a range of tools to inform the investigation. Although this technique was unsuccessful in contributing to an effective interview plan, this detective had not dismissed using this technique again in the future. It is interesting to note that this technique was not used in the Presta case, where a number of personal diaries were obtained from the offender. When asked if there had been any forensic analysis of the diaries, Detective Faucett stated:

No one has actually seen them other than me. SY (Behavioural Crime Unit) has them at the moment but no one has ever really looked at them. We had some blokes come out from Canada last year, who only looked at one as an example.

From this statement it is evident that the diaries were not analysed forensically for over eight years, as Presta was arrested in 1997. This is despite Detective Faucett’s contention that the diary entries included references to other crimes that the offender had committed. This may have been because the diaries were not obtained by police until the search warrant had been executed and the suspect arrested. When this occurred, the substantial evidence obtained from the property negated the need for
further investigative tools to be used as the police may have been satisfied that they had enough evidence to obtain a conviction.

Due to the relatively rare nature of serial murder and serial rape, many police investigators did not have any experience in investigating serial crimes. The lack of familiarity and training in collecting forensic evidence may be attributable to this inexperience. Moreover, the value of some evidence may not be realised at the time of the offence. Due to the prolonged timeframe over which these crimes often occur, this realisation may only come after crimes have been linked and a serial offender suspected. As demonstrated, this was evident in the Trindall case with the delay in DNA evidence analysis.

**Pressures on Police**

A common theme running through many of the biographical and newspaper accounts was one of blame. This was directed towards the police who were often blamed for reacting poorly to the circumstances and failing to recognise that a serial offender was at work, which was compounded by the absence of formal linkage systems. This blame was directed at police during both serial murder and serial rape investigations. The key concern was that inadequate investigation of various crimes led to the continued offending behaviour of the serial offender and thus further victimisation.
The case studies identify that an allegation of incompetence was first levellled during the 1989-1990 serial murder investigation into John Glover. Kidd (2000, p. 237) suggests that towards the end of Glover’s crimes he was “leaving clues all over town” which may have saved a couple of lives had detectives recognised the value of these clues. The failure of police to link a series of sexual assaults against elderly women which occurred concurrent to the murders can also be considered as hampering the outcome of the investigation as the incidents later had a significant role in identifying Glover (Kidd, 2000). Such claims emerged later on in the investigation, after it became clear that the case theory leading the investigation was at fault.

Similarly, it was also alleged that if police had responded “a lot more efficiently on Onions’ report of the 1990 incident with Ivan Milat, the killer could possibly have been apprehended a lot sooner” (Kidd, 1999, p. 140). The report of the attempted murder and robbery was taken by police at the time but from the sources, it does not appear that there was any investigation into this attempt on Onions’ life. It was reported in some sources that police put a description of the vehicle over the police radio (Kidd, 2000) but there was no evidence of further investigation of the report at the time.

The suggestion is that lives may have been saved had the Onions incident been investigated thoroughly as this event occurred prior to the disappearance of five of Milat’s victims. Indeed Kidd (2000) claims that many lives could have been saved if police had responded adequately to the report filed by Paul Onions stemming from the attack on him by Milat (who at that time was unidentified), which occurred during the
same month that Everist and Gibson disappeared. Kidd (2000, p. 260) describes this as a “monumental blunder by country police”, suggesting the inadequate experience of police in ‘country’ areas was to blame.

As identified by a number of sources including Deans (2006), Shears (1996) and Whittaker and Kennedy (1998) amongst others, Onions’ report in November 1993 made to the police hotline in response to the media attention following the discovery of the other bodies in the Belanglo State Forest, still remained unlinked to the other crimes for a further four months. This criticism could be carried further, in that even after the discovery of the bodies in Belanglo, no one from the police station that took the report, thought it significant or possibly related. One source suggests that the record of this attack was misplaced and that the only record remaining was from an officer’s notebook (Shears, 1996). According to Shears the original statements taken by police at Bowral Police Station were disposed of when the constable who took the report was transferred to another station. This is supported to some extent by Detective Small when he explained that:

It wasn’t recorded as it should have been. And in the first instance we didn’t do the physical check, we were told it had been checked. So we then had the report of the incident, Onions and the woman from Canberra. And at that point it became a priority. So there was a delay. I’m not suggesting it happened in 24 hours. But the delays we are talking about are days and weeks, not anything longer. And it is not unreasonable given the amount of information that we actually had.
These delays were not seen to have had an impact on the investigation as such delays were considered reasonable in an investigation that spanned over two years. Detective Small also responded to the criticism that some victims died due to the lack of police action to the Onions report. He stated that:

It wouldn’t have changed anything. In fact, probably wouldn’t have even shortened the enquiry. What it might have meant was that the enquiry had a slightly different skew to it. And the subject would have come first but even that was not enough to simply race out and arrest Ivan….

We have said that this matter should have been properly followed up at the time. Whether it would have made a difference or not is another issue because at the time of the Onion incident they hadn’t found any of the bodies. So what they would have had was a one-off incident to pursue…. They (the victims) hadn’t all disappeared and I guess you can get all emotive and say that you could have prevented that murder. The fact of the matter is that you had a one-off incident and that’s where you would have stayed.

This suggests that there was little about the Onions case to suggest that there would be any links to the disappearance of backpackers in the general area. As previously stated, there was no formal linkage system in place at the time of these offences. Had one existed, it is possible that police may have been more aware of the number of victims who had disappeared under similar circumstances, and therefore their investigative capabilities may have been improved.
Similarly, the significance of the delay in linking the Onions assault to other information received from the public was also questioned. In responding to this claim, Small puts the information in the context it was received, as follows:

Interviewer- Another thing that comes up a few times- Paul Onions, the ‘victim that got away’, it’s been reported that he returns to England, the bodies are found, hotline is set up, he rings the hotline, but nothing was done.

Detective- Well, I don’t know about that. Certainly I think it’s fair, I can’t remember the number, but we had hundreds of thousands of calls over a couple of weeks, so I think it’s fair to say that no one would have seen, no one on the other end of the phone would have jumped up and said, “We’ve got him! Quick. Jump on a plane and come out to Australia,” or anything like that. But what happened was about the time Paul Onions rang we also received a phone call- sorry three separate things occurred. About the time Paul Onions rang, a woman rang from Canberra and she was the person who had picked up Paul Onions and driven him to Bowral police station. Then when Paul Onions rang, we were able to put those two things together. We had also, prior to that, been told by locals about this abduction that had occurred and in fact they were talking about the Paul Onions matter. And that had been reported to Bowral police station. We had checked Bowral police station for the records but couldn’t find anything. When Paul Onions and the woman rang and were put together we said “Hang on, this is the Bowral incident”. We need to go back and check everything again. And in doing that we then found a record of it.
Similar accusations of further victimisation resulting from police incompetence were levelled during the Johnson investigation. In 1997 the then Minister for Police, Mr Whelan, was reported in the media as having claimed that “some of the women may have been spared their ordeal if it were not for the ‘gross incompetence’ of police” (Riley, 1997). This accusation was seen to have partially stemmed from the revelation that it took NSW Police 13 months to instigate a task force to investigate this series of sexual attacks against women.

**Chapter Summary**

This chapter examined the way in which the investigations into serial murder and serial rape are constructed. From the case study and interview data, the importance of the allocation of resources in the form of a task force emerged as a key issue that emerged. This chapter has also demonstrated the role of the media in the investigation of violent serial crimes, both as an investigative tool and as a source of pressure on the investigation.
CHAPTER 7: THE POLICING PERSPECTIVE - CULTURE & PRACTICE

Strong themes emerged from the data relating to the use of police cultural knowledge to inform the investigation of serial rape and serial murder cases. Supporting claims made in the research literature and the interview data showed that subcultural differences were evident within the police organisations. The strongest issue that emerged was the use of dictionary knowledge, and thus stereotypes, in informing the responses of police in the sample. As suggested by the research literature, victim stereotypes were evident; these were found to have influenced the action of police at the time that some incidents were reported, thus suggesting that this knowledge delayed the investigative outcomes. As such, dictionary knowledge may be considered to fail in its design to contribute efficiently to policing outcomes (Chan, 1999b) in the investigation of serial murder and serial rape. Although there have been several incidents of serial murder and serial rape experienced Australia-wide, there appears to be little in the way of dictionary knowledge specific to these crimes, or the directly knowledge that is informed by it.
Reflecting Subcultures

Competing Subcultures

In Chapter 1, the existence of varying and sometimes competing occupational police subcultures was discussed. One set of competing subcultures had been identified by Ericson (1993) as being between general detectives and detectives from specialised units. This sense of competing subcultural identification emerged from one of the interviews particularly when the input of special units to the investigation was raised. There was however a difference in opinion depending on the duties performed by the particular unit.

What is perhaps more telling is that some participants did not recognise the input of other units at all. When forensic evidence is a key feature of a case, one would expect that in NSW the Forensic Services Group would have had some role in the collection of evidence. This group however was never mentioned. This was perhaps due to an assumption about that unit’s responsibility which precluding it from having an ‘investigative’ role similar to that of detectives. In the Folbigg case, forensic experts were sourced from around the world but there was no reference to NSW Police forensic experts or the Forensic Services Group having had any role in the identification of these experts. One detective interviewed described his experience in investigating serial rapist, Luke Slater. During the investigation of this case, the Forensic Services Group
was seen to offer a criminal profile of a suspected offender although there had been no request made of them (Detective Pryde).

The Behavioural Sciences Unit of NSW Police pointedly did not receive any positive comments from those interviewed. In a serial sexual assault case the BSU was called upon to provide a profile of a possible offender. The geographical profile was produced which identified the offender as “…living somewhere over this Penrith way, Penrith-mountains sort of way.” (Detective Faucett). This profile was considered inaccurate, as the detective also stated that,

I assumed he would have been from the Liverpool area as that’s where the first offence occurred so I thought that’s where he’d be familiar.

This was the area in which the offender was later located. Similarly the criminal profile provided by the BSU was:

Very, very general. But it wasn’t based on anything new… the kids had given us, pretty much outlined what our profile was going to be so there wasn’t a lot more to add to it but we weren’t given anything else anyway (Detective Faucett).

While Detective Faucett conceded that the BSU had been responsible for some assistance, it was made clear that this assistance was not constructive.
However, during the later investigation, Detective Pryde had a different experience with one of the specialised units of NSW Police. When asked about support he readily acknowledged that:

…a detective inspector from the state crime command serious and violent crime … took an interest in the matter. He assisted in conducting some enquiries interstate using the resources of the state crime command.

Consistent with this opinion, other specialised units were perceived in a similar light. Detective Faucett had previously commended the State Protection Group and Surveillance teams for responding quickly to her requests for assistance on the Presta case. These units were not directly involved in the investigation and were brought in to support the lead detectives, and therefore would not have the same claim to ownership of aspects of the case.

**Detective Experience**

From the interviews conducted, there appears to be a strong pattern emerging in relation to the issue of investigator experience and the way in which an investigation is managed or constructed. It was evident that some of the detectives interviewed who were responsible for heading a serial rape or serial murder investigation had no prior experience in investigating crimes of a similar nature. The exceptions were former Superintendent Clive Small who had been involved in a number of serial crime
investigations at different points during his career and Detective Ryde who had previously worked in a peripheral role on the investigation led by Detective Faucett.

In Detective Faucett’s case, she had been in the position of detective for only a few months. Detective Faucett states that she and the other detective working the investigation:

…at the time were very inexperienced in plain clothes. We had done plain clothes work but we were the most junior in the office at the time”

The decision to put inexperienced detectives in a lead investigative role on a serial case was attributed to the belief that the job was considered difficult whereby:

It just seemed that—looking on the surface of it when we first got it there was—they didn’t believe there was much chance we’d lock someone up. So it was kind of ‘a lot of work, no result job’ to begin with (Detective Faucett).

Although some may have been inexperienced in investigating serial crimes, all of the detectives interviewed had been with NSW Police for many years, the least experienced having 14 years of service at the time of interview. This is not to be unexpected as they each held the role of lead detective. Similarly, the detectives identified in the case studies as leading the investigations into the other serial crimes of interest to this research, had all been with their respective police organisations for a
lengthy period of time and were considered experienced in the investigation of murder and rape cases, although not necessarily serial crimes.

The role of experience in the investigative team or task force was also a significant issue emerging from the data. In relation to the Snowtown investigation, the Acting Police Commissioner of South Australia Police, Neil McKenzie stated that, “…Never before, in the history of South Australia has the challenge been so great… to investigate a series of crimes as a single event” (Boston, 2004). This was despite some very high profile serial murder investigations having taken place in South Australia, such as the Truro murders of seven women in the late 1970’s (Kidd, 2000) and the ‘Family Murders’ in the 1970s and 1980s, although a conviction was not obtained in the latter case (Pinto & Wilson, 1990).

**Playing the Hunch**

Contrary to existing literature regarding the negative use of case theories in the investigation of crimes, the interviews showed that ‘following a hunch’ was used for reasons other than reading the criminal element, as is proposed by Innes (2003). Following a hunch proved fruitful to one investigation where it was the forensic experts that were in question. In relation to the use of forensic experts in the investigation of Kathleen Folbigg, Detective Ryan states that;
I interviewed those doctors over the phone, and you know how you get that gut feeling? I just didn’t like them. I didn’t like the fact that they were defensive…. As an investigator I don’t think we trust our gut instincts enough and our ability to be able to assess people quickly.

Detective Ryan’s ‘gut instinct’ was proven correct when the expert evidence given in relation to another case by the two English forensic experts in question, was overturned in the Court of Criminal Appeal in the United Kingdom.

This idea that instinct has a role in the investigation of serious crimes such as serial murder was further evident in the Folbigg case. When discussing the case, Detective Ryan explained that when he heard that there had been three prior deaths when investigating a fourth death in the family of Kathleen Folbigg he stated that, “that’s got to sound alarms”.

There was some evidence to support the practice of using a case theory to develop an investigative strategy. Unlike the example of Harry Blackburn previously discussed in Chapter 1, these case theories were formulated based on what appeared to be accurate information received at the time.

Small described the need to have a balanced approach to your case theory, going beyond a reliance on a feeling or a hunch. Here he describes a situation where one of the investigators was focused on proving a case theory against Milat:
…when a particular member of the investigation team kept coming up to me and saying, “Ivan did it. Ivan did it. Look, I’ve got this, this, and this” which shows me there certainly was a build up of evidence that strongly suggested he did it, and my comment was something along the lines of, “That’s terrific. Now go and tell my why he can’t have done it.”

Small explained that his response had been received with some officers questioning his commitment to the proposed case theory and subsequent evidence:

And there was a bit of comment by a few people, saying why does he keep saying tell me why he can’t have done it, doesn’t he believe he did it? That wasn’t the point.

Small explains his reasoning for these responses, using an example where the use of a case theory in an investigation into a series of sexual assaults led to an inaccurate investigative outcome. He continues:

What I was trying to say was we needed a very tight case and it isn’t about finding the inculpatory evidence, it’s about finding all of the evidence whether it’s inculpatory or exculpatory…. And that means being thorough about the whole of the evidence, and the Harry Blackburn case is an example. They had made their mind up that this person did it, so they found all this evidence that they thought showed that he did it and pushed aside evidence that exculpated him. At the end of the day, what happened was that
they totally destroyed all the inculpatory evidence against any offender and
they had the wrong person.

Detective Small had previously asserted that the objectivity of a case theory as being an
important approach to an investigation.

One of the problems you have with an investigation like this is that you can	often get a lead which looks very good. What you have to be careful of is that
you don’t put all your eggs in one basket and then find that the lead was
completely wrong and you’ve wasted the majority of your resources effort
chasing down false leads. Even when Milat was increasingly emerging as a
prime suspect we still had another million leads to follow and you couldn’t
discard them. And you couldn’t discard them on the basis of: one, it might
have identified the real offender; two, it might have provided extra
information inculpating Milat, or further providing information exculpating.
So there’s a number of things. There is I guess, some people who take a risk
and say that’s the lead that’s where it’s going and it works out and that’s fine.
But it can also be very disastrous for you.

The importance of an impartial investigation was also echoed by Detective Ryan. In
describing the investigation into the deaths of the Folbigg children, he explains the
approach investigators should take in investigating such deaths:

We probably think of it more as a suspicious death. We’d have to start to
narrow our investigation to look at it as murder, but murder is the intentional
killing or reckless murder. What we base our investigation on is the inquisitorial search for the truth and then if you’re looking at it and establishing that truth. If I’m running a murder investigation now, I would instruct not to put in things like ‘murder’ - it affects the integrity of yourself. Our job is to get all the facts whether they’re for the accused or against the accused; you put it all in there.

The lesson not to direct resources based entirely on a case theory was learnt during the Glover investigation where a significant proportion of resources had been allocated to what was later discovered to be an inaccurate lead. Early on in the investigation a witness stated that they had seen a young male in the vicinity of the crime. This lead was picked up on, and influenced the response to other information received during the investigation. The closed case file indicates that significant resources were directed based on the case theory that the offender was a young male, for example the investigation of schools situated in the area.

This case theory also influenced the way in which other information had been classified. Priority was given to information relating to young people. A comfit of the young person of interest was distributed through media outlets, requesting any information about the case or that person. This subsequently resulted in an investigation that was misdirected which impacted both on the way in which the resources were used but also the public awareness of these crimes. Once it was recognised that an adult offender may be responsible, connections were made between reported sexual assaults at nursing homes in the area.
From the Glover closed police case file it was also evident once this case theory had been questioned and a new theory formed, that the offender may be older, investigators were forced to return to previous witnesses and question them about this new suspect. This illustrates Detective Small’s point about the dangers of allocating all resources to the one case theory.

While this theme arose in relation to all of the NSW-based cases of serial murder, the use of a case theory in serial rape cases was evident in only two of the cases. Unlike the serial murder cases, where the case theory related to the way in which the investigation proceeded, case theories of serial rape investigations often appeared to have a negative impact on the investigative process.

Prior to the 2004 instigation of Task Force Graham, the series of sexual assaults committed by Trindall was not subject to investigation. The records available indicate that although some of the forensic evidence was forwarded on to be processed, no formal investigation into any of the individual incidents took place and no follow up on the evidence occurred. This inaction reflects the theory that the individual cases were not seen to be a profitable use of resources. Similar inaction during the early stages of the investigation into the crimes of the serial rapist, Presta, reflected on a case theory that the complainants were not real victims. Instead they were considered by one detective to be mischief makers. The underlying basis for the development of such case theories could perhaps be better understood in the context of the dictionary knowledge that investigators use.
Dictionary Knowledge and the Conceptualisation of Victims

As discussed in previous chapters, police dictionary knowledge is a dimension of police cultural practices (Chan, 1999b). According to Chan, dictionary knowledge is usually used by police to form judgements on the criminality of people or groups. This use of dictionary knowledge leads to stereotypical responses to particular groups of people. One of the strongest themes that emerged from the research was the way in which the use of stereotypes could be seen to reflect on the investigative practices. This was evident with the investigation of both serial murder and serial rape incidents.

Although Chan (1999b) considers dictionary knowledge to usually relate to the labels applied to offenders, this was found to apply to the victims as well. From the interviews, it was evident that in some cases this stereotypical knowledge may have been beneficial to the victims of some of these crimes. When discussing the victims, Detective Faucett commented that “…These were just regular kids. They weren’t crooks, they weren’t using [drugs].” And later, “…these kids were on their way home from parties—decent kids just on their way home…”.

It is clear from the detective’s comments that these victims were considered as vulnerable. These were not street wise youths who had been involved in illegal activities. One victim was even sympathetically described as not being a “particularly bright kid” who had thought he was simply getting a ride home. This more positive use of stereotypes may be seen to inform the detective knowledge of his detective. In
response to the claims made by some media reports that some of the victims were street kids, the detective had felt the need to emphasise that these were ‘normal, innocent’ rather than ‘street wise’ victims perhaps validating her investigative response to the cases. Detective Faucett later explained that there were difficulties in tracing earlier victims of Presta as:

He was charged but it was withdrawn ‘cause the offender- being street kids most of them- some of them were turned away. We did find out that some of them were turned away when they originally went to report it. Most of them are drug addicts now. Some of them you’ll never ever be able to identify.

Dictionary knowledge as constructed by different investigators, results in a varied set of investigative scripts deriving from the stereotypes being used to inform the way in which they analysed a situation. In the Presta case, this resulted in stereotyping which negatively impacted the victims and also extended to the offender. A different opinion of these victims was held by at least one of the detectives involved in the investigation. When discussing the reportage of one of the incidents in the series of crimes Detective Faucett said about one of the detectives,

…he [the victim] was in the hospital one of the police officers that had went to take the original report had an argument with him and told him he was lying about it. Because his story kept changing. Turns out his story didn’t change at all it was just a long story and he was telling parts of it and he had been given Rohypnol and so he was having [sic] in and out of memory. That
report was nearly not made because they didn’t believe him. He had cigarette burns all over him and whip marks everywhere but they still hadn’t believed a word he said. And every one of the kids interviewed had said if they hadn’t been picked up by an ambulance they wouldn’t have reported it at all.

This was not simply a matter of reasonably questioning a complainant’s version of events. In this case, one of the victims was perceived as an offender. Detective Faucett continues:

The one from South Penrith was interviewed [unclear] and they were going to charge him with public mischief ‘cause they didn’t believe him either. So there was a major problem with policemen believing that this could happen to males I think. And that was a major problem during the whole investigation I found it really difficult to talk to him and really difficult during the search warrant and everything. It was really quite hard.

This perception may be considered to be the product of the dictionary knowledge that males are the offenders of sexual assault rather than the victims.

Such an attitude can be seen to reflect some of the common myths and stereotypes surrounding male sexual assault, not just in policing but in the general community, as outlined by McAdam and Fitts (1999) in their research into the responses to the reporting of male sexual assault. Common myths include the belief that males cannot be victims of sexual assault or that homosexuality is a feature of or a
result of such acts. Although the behaviour described may not be entirely attributable to
the dictionary knowledge that males are rarely victims of sexual abuse, in the situations
described this general attitude is clearly reflected in the directory knowledge; that is,
how the investigation has been carried out based on this information. As evidenced in
the earlier quote, at least one of the victims was threatened with criminal charges for
wasting police time. In another case the report nearly went unrecorded because the victim had not been believed.

Detective Faucett later commented on the behaviour of the detective in question
during the execution of the search warrant and arrest of the offender in this case. In
describing the detective, Faucett describes how “he wouldn’t go anywhere near the bloke during the search warrant. You could feel the hostility.” As this was spoken in the
context of the detective’s response to the offender one may surmise that the detective
also had issues arising from men committing these crimes against other males or
perceived homosexuality in general. This would be consistent with the belief in rape
myths discussed by McAdam and Fitts (1999). Such open hostility could cause problems when attempting to build a rapport with the offender during the interview
process.

This lack of an appropriate response towards the veracity of the victims was
also evident in the investigation into the brutal sexual assaults of six female prostitutes
over a nine year period. From the available records, it is clear that there was minimal
investigation of these sexual assaults against these women at the time of the incidents.
In three cases a crime scene examination was conducted and evidence was collected, (Begg & Norris, 2006) although the Brief of Evidence shows that some of this was destroyed after a period of time and was not analysed. Even though all cases were reported to police, few victims had their formal statements recorded at the time of reporting.

This inconsistent practice can, in part, again be attributed to the dictionary knowledge of crimes against prostitutes. According to Bridgett and Robinson (1999) prostitutes are one group in society that are marginalised and subsequently vulnerable to such acts of violence. A New South Wales Standing Committee of Social Issues report (Legislative Council, 1996) found that there is an extremely high incidence of violence committed against prostitutes although the reporting of these crimes is low. Many of these offences involve the use of a weapon and result in significant physical and psychological injury to the victims. The report also found that the offenders of these crimes often have previous criminal history of violence or sexual offences and thus target prostitutes as they feel they are less likely to be convicted of these offences (Legislative Council, 1996).

Bridgett and Robinson (1999) discuss the legal restrictions placed on the sex industry in general, that force some prostitutes into unsafe working environments, which increases the risks they face. There is frequently an inadequate outcome in the criminal justice system. Bridgett and Robinson state that victims who have reported incidents of sexual assault to police have felt that they were not believed and did not
receive any support to assist in following through with their allegations. Police are inherently in the position to be aware of this issue and to some degree at least, of the extent of violence experienced. Therefore their dictionary knowledge is informed by this, and thus their subsequent directory knowledge about how they should respond to these crimes.

There is an awareness that most of these cases do not achieve a successful outcome in court. Police are also aware of a number of problems arising from the mobility of such victims, often making it hard to follow through on aspects of the investigation and prosecution. This problem was realised in the current case, where initial investigators had trouble tracing the victims to get formal statements which were not made at the time of the report. As indicated by Begg and Norris (2006), this led to the investigations stalling. According to Stewart’s (1999) report into the response of NSW Police to cases of sexual assault, this tendency not to take statements was in accordance with police protocols at the time of some of the offences.

Detective McGann has detailed the problems he experienced in the investigation into the disappearance and death of Jodie Larcombe in 1988.\(^\text{26}\) In this case, the problems experienced with victim perception were not with the NSW Police Force, who had supported his investigation, but with the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP) who had initially proceeded to ‘no bill’ the charges against the offender, Daryl Suckling. McGann describes in both his interview and an article written detailing the

\(^{26}\) Although this case was outside the research time frame, the interviews were not limited by this. There were significant delays in the prosecution of this case which went on into the 1990’s
case, that a solicitor with the DPP had told him, in regards to the victim, that it was “a shame that she (Larcombe) was not a better class of victim”, which McGann attributed to the knowledge that Larcombe was a prostitute.

Further stereotyping of victims also occurred in the investigation of the Snowtown serial murders. Acting Police Commissioner of South Australia Police, Neil McKenzie was quoted in the media as describing both the victims and offenders as “a group that preyed upon itself” (Boston, 2004). Commissioner McKenzie had been alluding to the homosexuality of many of the victims and the homosexuality of some of the offenders. This is a clear example of what Fattah (1997) refers to as the ‘worthless victim’. A review of all case study material shows the absence of a police investigation into many of the victims once they had been reported missing.

According to Pudney (2005) and as illustrated in Table 10 in Chapter 4, the investigation into the disappearances did not commence until after Suzanne Allen was identified as missing. She did not belong to this ‘group’ in that she was not homosexual but the wife of one of the offenders, and therefore a more traditional victim. It was only after her disappearance was linked to that of the other victims that further investigation into the other persons reported missing was initiated. This discrepancy in the initiation of an investigation can be considered to demonstrate the extent to which police cultural practices are prevalent in the investigation of serial crime. This discrepancy is also a reflection of the cultural knowledge and shows how such
knowledge forms an understanding of different groups in society, thereby instructing the directory knowledge from such understandings.

The Missing

A theme that emerged from the case study analysis was that victims reported missing are also typecast, which is considered to have influenced the way in which their disappearances are initially investigated. Many of the victims’ families have been reported as commenting that they were told by police things such as ‘young people often forget to contact home’ or ‘backpackers often go “missing”’. Many of the relatives overseas spoke of being brushed off by allegedly unconcerned police in NSW. According to Whittaker and Kennedy (1998), when the mothers of Everist and Gibson went to report their children missing they were not taken seriously and were quoted missing person statistics. According to Whittaker and Kennedy, “It was not a serious case in the eyes of the police- two nineteen-year-olds off on a bit of a skylark. If they investigated every such case, they’d be doing nothing else, especially in mid-summer” (p. 189). When it is considered however, that of the 35,000 people who are reported missing each year in Australia, a majority do return home within a few weeks, the attitude of police is both substantiated by fact and thus understandable.

This response to reports of missing victims is further supported by a statement by Superintendent Small. When asked about the investigations into the disappearances of the Milat victims when they were initially reported as missing, Detective Small
admits that there had been a limited investigation however justified this investigative approach. He states that:

> There would have been very limited investigations undertaken at that time because they were simply…they were backpackers. They had no friends or relatives here, their contact had been… the reporting by them of their movements had been quite intermittent, so you really had very little to go on.

This statement is reflective of the knowledge of missing person incidents, where in Australia the majority are located within a few weeks. This statement also supports the proposition by Fattah (1997) and Fox et al. (2005) that marginal groups are targeted by offenders due to the lack of reporting of such disappearances to authorities. Detective Small’s comment that the victims’ contact with family was intermittent provides support for this aspect being a marginalising factor for this group. This in turn impacts on the ability of police to investigate the disappearances. The dictionary knowledge internalised by police would have identified likely outcomes of such an investigation. This point is elaborated on by Detective Small when discussing the probable investigative outcomes after the discovery of the victims by the detective when he stated:

> …the victims were backpackers which meant they had no close connections in the immediate Sydney area or the Bowral-Belanglo area, so our opportunity for leads were less than might be the case. You also had the fact that there had been a degrading of the crime scene simply because of the
weather over several years, and trying to track the immediate movements of the victims was also very difficult. Because they were simply backpackers travelling alone.

The nature of these victims and the features which characterise these victims were seen to contribute negatively to the possible outcomes of the investigation. The traditional sources of information were not available, as Small describes the opportunities to receive leads and information from the crime scene had been minimised due to both the nature of the victims and the timeframes of the crimes.

This problem of gaining information related to missing persons was apparent in the Snowtown case. As outlined in Table 7 in Chapter 4, one of the victims had been discovered in August 1994. Police, however, were hampered in their investigations as they were unable to determine the identity of the victim. The victim, Trezise, would not be reported missing until 1995 (Pudney, 2005). This delay in reporting Trezise as missing was due to his volatile relationship with his family, who had assumed that he had simply left (Pudney, 2005). Pudney describes how even after the missing person report was made, Trezise’s remains were not identified due to an error made by the expert at the Forensic Science Centre leading to a four year delay in identification.
Although it is evident that dictionary knowledge is employed when investigating the serial murder and serial rape incidents, this knowledge was not specific to these types of crimes. This may relate to the lack of experience as the large proportion of detectives interviewed had little experience with investigating violent serial crimes as identified previously. It was noted that in their descriptions of the offenders and their crimes, none made any connections to other cases of serial murder or serial rape, nor did they justify the use of particular investigative tools or techniques based on prior experience with these investigations. This was despite two of the detectives interviewed having prior experience, one of whom had extensive experience in the investigation of serial rape.

This lack of knowledge about investigating serial crimes was raised by Kidd who describes how during the Glover investigation police:

…had never experienced such a case, investigators had nothing to go on. There were no guidelines to steer those trying to find the elusive murderer” (Kidd, 2000, p.237).

Therefore, as a lack of experience meant that there was insufficient dictionary knowledge to aid investigators in understanding these crimes, this subsequently meant that the culturally appropriate responses to these crimes, and the actions needed to
achieve organisationally acceptable outcomes were absent. Thus, the requisite directory knowledge which is usually informed by the dictionary knowledge could not exist.

**Use of Language to Understand Investigations**

As discussed in Chapter 1, dictionary knowledge of police can be expressed through the use of specialised terms and references as a way of expressing the shared understanding, as proposed by Devery (2003). There were few examples of ‘specialised language’ present in any of the case studies or the interviews. There was one example of where this specialised knowledge extended to more mundane tasks such as paperwork. From the closed police case file of Glover, running sheets where bundled into four set categories—“1. Very interesting, 2. Interesting, 3. Average, 4. Ho-hum”. From the content of these running sheets it was evident that the information contained within these categories reflected not only the importance of such information, but presumably the level of attention each received. This however, was the only example of the use of police dictionary knowledge in the investigative process evident from the closed case files and Prosecutorial Briefs of Evidence.

Less specifically ‘specialised’ language emerged in a few instances during the interviews. One example was when Detective Ryan was describing the process of initiating the investigation into the deaths of the Folbigg children, and commented that the previous deaths of the other children, “ought to be enough to start ringing the bells. Sound an alarm.” This is a phrase that does not require specialised knowledge of the
cultural meanings to be understood. Another similar statement to this came from Superintendent Small who, in describing the possibility of approaching schools for information during the Milat investigation said:

And so writing to all the schools saying, look any teachers who were at these schools, did you remember a kid who was a bit of a bastard (laughs), kind of thing, would have stood about because of this, this and this, cause he would have been a bit of a control freak in those early days.

The use of the terms ‘bastard’ and ‘control freak’ are colloquial terms which have a shared understanding among the general community, rather than a specific understanding based upon the dictionary knowledge of police.

The absence of other examples of this specialised language from both the records and the interviews can be explained in two ways. First, it would not have been professional on the part of police to include such terms in documents that would or could later form part of the Brief of Evidence. The specialised language is a means of informally communicating information in a way that is meaningful to the receiver, so that by using a particular term, it would express both the dictionary and the directory knowledge. In the above example from the Glover case file, the directory knowledge can be considered intrinsic to the labelling of the information, thus the label applied to each (dictionary knowledge) prioritised the response to the categories of information (directory knowledge).
The lack of apparent inclusion of specialised language in the interviews with detectives may be attributable to the fact that the researcher is not with NSW Police or any other police organisation and therefore does not share the cultural understandings of such language. This may also explain the use of more colloquial terms which the interviewees may have gauged would obtain a greater level of understanding on this researcher’s part.

**Chapter Summary**

The use of case theories to inform the investigation of serial crimes was seen to have varied consequences. It was found that the use of intuition, in the form of following a hunch, was found to have been used in some cases, however there was insufficient evidence to support that this experience informs the way in which detectives investigate these crimes. The conceptualisation of the victim as worthless, or not credible, has led to problems with the investigation of serial crime in a number ways. This can be seen most particularly in the lack of dictionary knowledge and the influence this has on directory knowledge specific to both serial crime investigations, and the victims of these crimes. This lack of specific knowledge was demonstrated to impact on the investigative processes that were employed and therefore, the progress of the investigation.
CHAPTER 8: THE CULTURE OF INTELLIGENT INVESTIGATIONS

As discussed in the previous chapter, the investigations of serial crimes reflect the police cultural knowledge that pervades these organisations. Police cultural knowledge and practices can be seen to shape the investigations. Chapter 8 will discuss the emergent themes relating to the incorporation of intelligence-led policing practices into the investigation of serial crimes in Australia. As will be demonstrated, police cultural knowledge can also be seen to shape the way in which intelligence-led policing has been integrated as an investigative model. This coupled with the use of other investigative tools will be examined.

Crime Linkage

Timeframes of Recognition

One of the key areas of interest to this research is the ability of police to link a series of related crimes. This was determined by establishing the timeframe between the second crime\(^{27}\) and the formal recognition of the crimes as serial by police, as ascertained from either police closed case files, interviews, newspaper articles or other sources.

\(^{27}\) Since at least two crimes must occur before they can be considered serial, police would be unable to ‘link’ incidents until after the second crime had been committed.
biographical accounts. As the nature of the offences varied,\textsuperscript{28} the time since the second contact or report to police was used as the signpost to establish the timeframe. The impact of this identification of a series of crimes as serial on the outcome of the investigation, measured as the achievement of an arrest of a suspect, is also of consideration. A factor that will affect both timelines is the frequency of offending. For example, in the Glover case, a number of crimes were committed over a relatively short period of time, while in the Milat case there were several months, and at times a year, between some offences.

\textit{Time from Second Offence to Recognition of Crimes as Serial}

From examining the incidents of serial murder and serial rape, there appears to be a delay in the formal recognition of the crimes in the case studies as serial. The recognition of a possible link between offences usually meant the establishment of a task force to investigate the series of crimes, with the exception of the Glover investigation. Although from the closed case file it is clear that the murders were considered linked, it was only after the fifth murder that the North Shore Murders Task Force was formally set up.

Only two incidents of serial murder were linked soon after the second offence; being the Glover and Denyer incidents. In both cases, the police recognised the link

\textsuperscript{28} Some victims were reported missing several months before their remains were found and others, as victims of sexual assault reported crimes as they occurred.
between the second and first incidents relatively quickly. In the Denyer case, the victims were found in busy, urban areas and were young women in and around Frankston in Victoria (Petraitis, 1995). The nature of the offences, the way in which the victims were murdered, also enabled recognition of the possibility of these crimes being linked. That they occurred over a two month period also reduced the linkage blindness often apparent in serial crime investigations.

Similarly, in the Glover case the victims were all found within the region of Sydney’s North Shore, over a period of months, in similar circumstances. Although an initial assault was not reported for nearly 12 months, once the second murder had occurred police records indicate that both murders were treated as though they were related.

Following the discovery of the remains of Clarke and Walters during the Milat investigation, police released a statement to the media stating that they did not believe that further bodies would be discovered (Bellamy, 2004). This could be seen to indicate that although they had recognised that several backpackers were missing, they were not preparing to investigate them as related crimes. The investigation was reported to have stalled within a few weeks of the discovery of Clarke and Walters, as the physical evidence that was collected did not provide information that assisted the investigation (Bellamy, 2004). Other similar missing person cases were not considered at that stage of the investigation. It was only after the second set of remains were discovered some
12 months later that the possibility of links to other missing person cases was considered.

The Snowtown murders involved more complex processes linking the victims, as some were reported missing, while others were not. Although some victims had been linked during the investigation, this could not be confirmed until the remains of all 11 victims were found over a period of days and the process of identification was completed. Due to the nature of these victims’ lifestyles, a number of these victims were not formally reported missing to police in South Australia making it difficult to ascertain an accurate timeline from the second report of a missing person to the establishment of the task force to investigate the large number of missing persons within the small community.

Timelines from the second offence to the recognition by police that crimes were linked tended to be longer for the incidents of serial rape considered by this current research. In the Trindall case, there was a significant delay between the second offence and the recognition that it was part of a series. This seven year delay was due to an inappropriate delay in the analysis of the forensic evidence of a number of sexual assault cases (Norris, 2006). Extensive delays were also reported in the Johnson investigation. Although similarities were recognised after the first eight victims, the resources allocated in line with investigation into a series of fences was not forthcoming until some 13 months later (Riley, 1997). This followed a “massive botch-up” on the part of NSW Police, as described by the then Acting Police Commissioner.
Clive Small which included the failure of four area commanders to coordinate a joint inquiry into these offences (Riley, 1997).

In the Presta case, the crimes were only recognised as serial in nature following the fifth and final offence in this series. This was eight months after the second offence took place. This link was established when Detective Faucett describes that after the fourth offence, “It was only a number of days later that we got another call in relation to a younger man” who described an assault similar to the fourth offence. It was then that other cases merged through various informal measures, as will be discussed below.

It is unclear in the Daley case as to when the cases were initially identified as serial in nature. However from the sources available, it appeared that this was not formally recognised until the sixth offence\(^{29}\) which led to the establishment of Strike Force Sapelo. The seventh and final offence in this series occurred 11 days later. Therefore, this case appears to follow a similar progression to the Presta case.

*Time Until Arrest from Recognition of Series of Crimes*

Egger (1990a, 1998) proposes that delays in the recognition of a series of crimes as such could impact on the achievement of a successful investigative outcome. Incidents

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\(^{29}\) There were a total of eight offences for which Daley was investigated, however one victim was considered a non-complainant and charges were not laid in relation to this offence
of serial rape considered here had shorter timeframes between the recognition of crimes as serial and the arrest of the offender than the incidents of serial murder considered. Three of the cases of serial rape had timeframes between recognition and arrest of less than one month. In the Presta case, the offender was arrested the week following the recognition that the crimes were related. In the Trindall case, the time between recognition and arrest was approximately two and a half months. This can be attributed to the requirement of the task force to trace previous victims and obtain the forensic evidence that had been stored at different locations depending on where the assaults were reported.

This time range of between seven days and two and a half months could not be seen to be influenced significantly by the length of time over which the crimes had occurred. As such, although the Presta, Daley and Johnson cases occurred over a period of approximately 18 to 24 months, all investigations resulted in an arrest within a month of investigators recognising the serial nature of the crimes. Although the longest investigation was the Trindall case, where the recognition of the incidents as part of a series took several years, this two and a half month timeframe could be explained by the circumstances of the offender. As he had been arrested and charged with the assault of his female companion, he was under a bail order that meant that police could monitor him. This allowed for the collection of evidence and the verification and formalisation of the links drawn between all cases.
Although the time range from the recognition of serial rape cases to the arrest of the offender was relatively narrow, a comparative range for serial murder investigations were more varied. For serial murder cases, the timeframe ranged between 17 days and two years. This can be seen to correlate directly with the time between the second offence and the recognition of the crimes as serial in nature. Therefore the Denyer investigation achieved an arrest after seventeen days from the date when it was recognised as serial in nature and a task force was set up to investigate these crimes. At the other end, Folbigg was arrested two years after the recognition that the death of her last child was part of a series of murders. This case had the longest timeframe between the second offence and recognition of the offences as being serial in nature, with a nine year timeframe. This demonstrates the importance of recognising crimes as serial in nature early and allocating resources appropriately thus supporting Egger’s (1990a, 1998) contention that a reduction in linkage blindness increases the likelihood of a successful investigative outcome.

**Recognition of Crimes as Serial**

As previously outlined in Chapter 2, the ability of investigators to link related crimes is an issue that has been identified by many academics as important to the investigative outcome. As identified, one of the most significant themes that emerged from both the interviews and case studies, was the inability of police to readily link related offences. In all the cases represented by the interviews conducted none was able to use any formal system to link related crimes. This was despite lengthy research timeframe
that covered the introduction of the formal national linkage system, ViCLAS. As discussed in Chapter 2, the new intelligence system ViCLAS was set up a few years after the Milat case, and was designed to analyse information about solved and unsolved homicides, serious sexual assaults, and long-term missing persons from around the nation.

When asked about the investigative process of identifying related cases, a similar response was elicited from all participants: that difficulties were experienced in all cases as they were without an adequate tool. Of the closed case files reviewed, only one case appears to have completed ViCLAS submissions. This was for the case of Terry John Williamson, which was not a focus in the case study methodology. It should be noted that these submissions to ViCLAS were made after the case had been solved and therefore could not have assisted in the investigation of these crimes.

When asked whether there were any problems in the identification of similar offences as associated with the series of rapes committed by Presta, Detective Faucett responded,

Major problems. The only reason we found them was because we knew they existed. We knew they had come from the Emu Plains and Penrith area so I knew to narrow it down…. The Liverpool one I knew about. I knew who the bloke was so that was no problem finding I could just give him a ring and ask about that one. But the two from Emu Plains/Penrith it was only because I knew they had been in the paper. I knew that they were both boys who had
been dumped, that I knew where to look for it. It still took me a whole shift to actually find those events. If I hadn’t known about them previously I wouldn’t have found them.

Interestingly, Detective Faucett had earlier commented that,

We then…I…when I was called out for the second one a member of my family had said to me “it sounds very much like something that was in the paper from Emu Plains” and we remembered because the Comfit in the paper reminded us of someone we knew quite well. So I looked up - got on the computer system and found that offence and that was in relation to a 16 year old who was picked up from a party in Emu Plains a year before- around about a year before.

While it would now be expected that the reliance on informal measures and local networks to link related crimes would no longer be needed due to the existence of systems like ViCLAS, this is not the case. Although ViCLAS was introduced in the mid 1990s, it has now been ‘decommissioned’ in NSW and therefore does not submit cases any longer. This diminishes the effectiveness of the initiative. This could also be seen to indicate that the linkage of such crimes may occur more readily through informal methods, relying heavily on a sharing of knowledge at a local level.

The reasons for the decommissioning of ViCLAS were not immediately apparent. Through contact with the ViCLAS personnel oficer at NSW Police it
emerged that this system was, at one time, under review but with no immediate plans to continue submitting case information for inclusion on this system. While no submissions appear to be made, it was apparent that the facility to request analysis of the system for similar cases is still possible. Although as NSW Police are not consistently submitting information one could conclude that any analysis would not be an accurate reflection of incidents of murder, sexual assault, long term missing persons and the other cases it was designed to monitor.

The implementation and use of ViCLAS was also considered problematic to some extent by those with the opportunity to use this system. Some of the cases represented by the interviews occurred prior to the establishment of ViCLAS whilst the crimes in the Folbigg case investigated by Detective Ryan would not have met the criteria for inclusion on the database initially, as the deaths of the children were attributed to natural causes. Therefore the only cases where inclusion on ViCLAS was expected were the serial rape incidents.

From the interviews it was evident that there were some other issues that arose in the utilisation of this system, in addition to the designed purpose of the system. Detective Pryde described the problems with submitting a case to ViCLAS and the unmet expectation that followed:

ViCLAS themselves did not assist us in any way in this particular matter. As a matter of fact I got no feedback whatsoever from ViCLAS. I’m not sure whether they’ve even looked at the matter or not. It was more a case of - I
don’t really have a reason why- why they didn’t or why they hadn’t, perhaps
it was a resource issue, I don’t know.

As the offender about whom Detective Pryde was seeking information about was in the
armed forces and had been linked through informal means to other incidents in other
states in Australia there is a reasonable expectation that ViCLAS may have been able to
make some contribution to the investigation, if only to actively eliminate possible links
to other cases on the system.

There also appeared to be problems in the submission of information to the
system, particularly in relation to whose responsibility it was to complete the ViCLAS
form. In relation to the Presta case, Detective Faucett’s response to whether ViCLAS
submissions about the incidents had been made was:

Detective- Yeah…because the Behavioural Sciences [Unit] had gone to
Liverpool to look at the original case. They’d done a backtrack on it. Because
when I went over to pick up the case file there was a heap of stuff missing
out of it that they’d taken from the case file over there.

Interviewer- So they had taken that to submit an actual ViCLAS - ?

Detective- I believe so, yeah. They were looking at that case. They were
looking at profiling that case to see if they could find anything else but there
was nothing at that stage to come of it. It hadn’t been linked to the E mu
Plains one.

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This exchange indicates that there may have been a misconception about both the ‘profiling’ process and the process involved in making a ViCLAS submission. The discussion of profiling in relation to ViCLAS could indicate a lack of appreciation of the system. It may also be seen as a distancing from the BSU and what may have been perceived as one of their responsibilities which did not result in a usable outcome. This is consistent with the previously discussed attitudes evident towards specialised units.

The Milat investigation, as previously mentioned, predated the introduction of formal crime linkage systems and therefore relied on informal measures of linking related crimes. In this case, it was found that investigators had little difficulty in identifying the remains found in the Belanglo State Forest. According to Bellamy (2004) police believed that the identity of the victims may have been known by colleagues in Sydney’s King’s Cross and from the Missing Persons Bureau, not long after the remains of Clarke and Walters were identified not long after they were discovered. It is suggested that the police had knowledge of the investigations being undertaken by their counterparts in Sydney and contacted them immediately. When asked about the quick identification of the victims, Superintendent Small stated that:

…also the fact that there were already rumours floating particularly in the media but also among police, about other disappearances that could have occurred in the area.

Expanding on this in further detail later and highlighting the pragmatic problems in substantiating this local knowledge, Small states that:
What you have was when the people went missing they were reported at a variety of different locations. Some were reported at King’s Cross police station, some were reported to Missing Persons, some were reported- Gibson and Everest ... were reported to NSW police. Anja Habschied and Schmidtl were reported through the German authorities to the Australian Federal Authorities so the Australian Federal Police had reports of them.

And what we ended up with at the end of the day was finding that- the backpacker- there were about seven different locations that had reports of these missing backpackers that had their own recording system but they didn’t link, weren’t necessarily compatible and we had to draw them together. So that meant that we just couldn’t go to one place and make a search and come up with a list. So that was one thing we had to be careful of and that came out in our inquiry. But in terms of the quick identification, was that some of the people had clothing that was readily identifiable and well described when they were missing persons and that facilitated their identification.

This statement highlights a problem that featured in other cases, in particular, the reporting to different police stations or organisations.

There were several indicators that aided in the identification of these crimes as serial in nature and the responsibility of the same offender/s. The remains of the victims were all covered with debris from the forest such as branches and leaves (Bellamy, 2004; Whittaker & Kennedy, 1998). Another feature that indicated to police that these
crimes were related was the discovery of a barbecue made from house bricks at two of the locations (Bellamy, 2004; Whittaker & Kennedy, 1998). Additionally, Superintendent Small explains the process whereby key commonalities were used to seek connections between other disappearances:

You have to set criteria first. One of the things that we did, after searching the forest and we found the rest of the bodies one of the things that was done was that - one of the things we did was to establish a set of parameters. And not long after the bodies had been found, that’s all of them had been found, we were able to establish a number of characteristics. For example they were backpackers, they had left from the Liverpool area had become a point of interest, they were youngish, and there were a number of those sorts of characteristics and we compiled those parameters, we sent then a list to missing persons - said, “Can you provide a list of all the people who disappeared over this period of time who would fit these parameters?” So that was one source. We also checked reports of bodies that had been found that may not have been identified. Do any, as far as we know, do any of the characteristics fit these circumstances?

Another commonly reported item was the belief held by investigators that Milat may have been involved in at least three other murders (Kidd, 2000). This suspicion has been upheld by a coronial inquest in which Milat was linked to the disappearances of three young women during the 1970s in the Newcastle region and at least another five murders (Stewart, 2001). In relation to the Newcastle cases, a former publican identified Milat as a guest at his hotel around the time that one of the young women, a
patron to the hotel, had disappeared (ABC, 2002). As stated by Small, there were a number of cases where Milat had not been eliminated as a suspect (Small, 1998).

The ‘lack of networking’ or linkage blindness capability identified by Egger (1990a) was apparent in the Wayne Trindall case where six incidents were reported to four different police stations. A factor that compounded this situation was the nine year timeframes within which Trindall committed his offences. A review of records indicates that although several of the offences occurred during the timeframe when ViCLAS was in use, none of these offences appear to have been submitted to the system for inclusion or later comparison. The timeframes over which these offences occurred and the lack of viable linkage capabilities undoubtedly delayed recognition of these offences as committed by a serial offender.

Although there can be no definitive explanation as to why such a step was not taken, several factors when considered together may provide a tentative answer. These factors are the victim selection methods employed by some serial offenders, as identified by Egger (1990a) and Fox et al. (2005), coupled with the influence that this understanding has with common dictionary knowledge of police and the resulting outcomes. Although the Trindall crimes were linked using DNA technology, NSW Police records indicate that some of these cases were not investigated until 2004. This arguably reduced the ability of police to recognise that a serial offender was responsible for the sexual assaults, which did not occur until mid-2004. The records also indicate that there was little if any formal investigation of the offences when they were reported.
One explanation for this is consistent with the argument proposed by Turvey (2002d) that the crimes may not have been viewed as warranting a comprehensive investigation. Police socialisation practices as outlined by Devery (2003) identified the existence of a “…specialized language of operational police” (quoted, p. 118) that is used to categorise people they would encounter in their profession, as discussed in Chapter 4. This dictionary knowledge as described by Chan (2003a) has some influence on the actions that are taken in response to a situation.

In the Trindall case, police were usually aware that many of the victims worked as prostitutes, and that violence is not a rare consequence of the job. This specialised knowledge may have led to the minimum recording and gathering of evidence to be conducted, thus allowing the offender to go undetected for longer.

From the information available on the Daley case, it is unclear as to when or how this series of crimes were linked. All media articles from the inception of the task force until just prior to the arrest of Daley reported on cases that occurred in the suburbs of Parramatta and Westmead. It was only after Daley’s first court appearance for these crimes that there was any mention of the sexual assault cases in Leichhardt. The statements made to the media by the task force’s Inspector McKay had not previously made reference to the Leichhardt offences and due to the unavailability of records, it is unclear how this linkage was made. There is some indication from the records that the crimes were largely linked by the modus operandi, whereby Daley would attack his victims when they were in a car park, with one exception, and had
produced a weapon each time. Demands made by the offender for money and oral sex were also features of his modus operandi, perhaps aiding in the linkage of these crimes.

Similarly, the crimes committed by Johnson appear to have been linked due to the similarities in his modus operandi. The case review states that Task Force Ardmore was set up in response to a series of sexual assaults without describing how these cases had been linked. A newspaper article however, it describes how, “police have identified a number of similarities with each crime and are convinced the attacks, ranging from sexual assaults to rape, have been committed by the same man” (Keogh, 1997). This supports the idea that these crimes were linked by their modus operandi.

The issue of linkage blindness also surfaced during the Snowtown investigation. This investigation began as separate missing person enquiries. As detailed by Pudney (2005), the name of one of the offenders, James Bunting, was connected to these individual cases at an early stage of their disappearances. Due to the inability of the systems to adequately cross check this information adequately, it was not until an officer working on one of the missing persons cases made a connection by chance that these incidents were linked.

**The Paper Trail**

As identified by Sheptycki (2004) there is a dislike of the paperwork involved in intelligence-led approaches. Therefore, the avoidance of paperwork may also be argued
to be a reflection of the way in which dictionary knowledge of police can pervade the use of intelligence-led policing tools.

This argument that the avoidance of paperwork can be influenced by police dictionary knowledge would also provide an explanation as to why none of the incidents studied that occurred during the period where the linkage system was available were submitted to ViCLAS for inclusion. The ViCLAS forms are actually small books and request an enormous amount of detail relating to many aspects of a case. There is also an abridged version of the ViCLAS form, referred to as the ‘short’ form, which is still several pages long. One detective gave the opinion that this tedious form-filling was one of the reasons they believed ViCLAS was not readily incorporated into NSW Police.

There was, however, little evidence to support the idea that the practice of inaction in police work to avoid paperwork was widespread. However there were some instances, such as the Johnson investigation, where evidence had not been properly recorded and maintained which would appear to be reflective of the practices described, consistent with minimising the paperwork completed.

One reason for lack of examples evident of this practice of avoiding these accountability measures may be the type of investigation that is the focus of this research. Serial crime cases were not considered routine police work, but part of large investigations. The exception here of the Johnson case can be attributed to the varied
nature of the offences, whereby on a number of occasions the offender committed break and enter offences without any physical attack on the victims. Therefore, the suggested negligence may have been an indoctrinated response to dealing with those types of offences, which can be numerous in some areas.

In investigations of serial crime, there is frequently high level of media coverage. This attention adds to the pre-existing levels of accountability. As previously discussed, Superintendent Small commented that there were pressures from the media, politics, internal politics, but stemming from the community to ensure that the investigation was carried out to the highest standard. This higher level of accountability to more than just the reporting requirements may have contributed to the levels of compliance seen.

Additionally, the construction of a task force requires that there are individuals responsible for specific duties. In the task force situation, each person would need to ensure that their contribution is being made, otherwise the investigative process cannot come together and the outcome of various leads will not be seen in the context of the investigation as a whole.

**Criminal Profiling**

One of the investigative techniques that was recognised in the literature review as a tool frequently as sociated with the investigation of serial crimes was criminal profiling.
Criminal profiling, the deduction of offender behaviour and characteristics based on information such as the crime scene, was used in several of the cases of interest. The ways in which this tool was perceived by investigators and influenced the actions of the investigation differed. From the interviews and the case study materials, it was evident that the majority of cases of interest used or attempted to use a criminal profile at some stage during the investigation.

Criminal profiling was conducted to some degree by the police and by professionals in the field during the Milat investigation. As the closed case file was not available for this case, the original criminal profiles provided to investigators were not available. An account by Bellamy (2004) however, details what is purported to be the criminal profile provided by an experienced criminal profiler, Dr Rod Milton, a forensic psychologist who was bought in after the discovery of Clarke and Walters. Dr Milton was a member of what was referred to as the ‘Think Tank’.

Superintendent Small also discussed his perception of the criminal profiling process and the way in which he used the profile during the Milat investigation. His opinion on how a criminal profile should be utilised in the context of an investigation was expressed during the interview:

One thing that profiling did then and does now is it gives you a bit of a picture of the offender. You have to be careful and remember that is never always 100 percent, but it can also give you tips of things to look for if you ever identify a suspect. Profiling, there might be one or two exceptions
around the world, but profiling doesn’t actually identify the offender. What it will do is give you a bit of a picture of what the offender might look like.

In the case of the backpacker investigation, the profiling was particularly useful in a number of ways. It provided a picture which quite fitted Ivan Milat when he was subsequently identified and indeed the Milat family. But I think in a sense more importantly the profiler assisted to the extent that Rod Milton was very convinced that the offender would have kept items belonging to the victims. That the offender would have some of those items, probably close by him and on display in the house because there would be this feeling of power where you might go and visit Ivan Milat- you might visit the offender- and the offender knows that property belonging to people he has murdered is on show. You can see it. You may even be handling it. And it gives them a sense of satisfaction and feeling of power and the – that extent those sorts of views when they are strongly expressed and reasonably argued they do influence your decisions on: Will we go and search the home? When will we execute a warrant? When will we make an arrest? Under what circumstances would we make it?

It is evident that in this case the criminal profile guided aspects of the investigation decision making. This knowledge was used as a guide to understanding the offender. The criminal profile can also be seen as a tool to aid the implementation of other investigative techniques, and legal actions such as a search warrant. Superintendent Small described the way in which the criminal profile informed the investigation during the Milat investigation:
And sometimes they identified issues like motive and behaviour. So that I think was very, very important. What you have now also, though, are things like, more than you did then, are things like where plenty of studies have shown that offenders commit crimes in those areas where they are comfortable which means they’ve probably been in the area and they feel safe and secure. This was again the case with Milat…. It not only came from Rod Milton but it tended to reinforce your own views and your own assessments which is always comforting to you.

So very quickly we had a profile built up where the offender knew the Bowral area and the forest are very well, was well experienced with firearms, had probably lived in the area. Also knew the Liverpool area quite well. Rod Milton added those dimensions of probably being a control freak, a very controlled person, blue collar worker, a rough age range and things like that. Now a lot of that does not identify individuals, what it does do is put a lot of people into the parameters, people outside it you can’t necessarily rule out…. It allows you to prioritise.

The readiness to consider the criminal profile in the investigations could be seen to reflect the traditional ‘gut instinct’ approach to policing. Being able to incorporate experience into the understanding of the crimes, even if not one’s own, may be seen to familiarise detectives with the cases that are rare and therefore unfamiliar.
In addition to this implementation of the profile, Superintendent Small also commented on the form of the profile. As discussed in Chapter 3, the criminal profiling process usually results in an actual profile produced, which in some cases may not be amendable.

...once a profiler puts it into black and white, you’re going to be locked to it. It focuses your mind and you don’t ask all the other questions. My view was: yes, I wanted Rod to do his profile; yes I wanted him to put some things in writing; but I didn’t want to be locked to that.

The role of the criminal profiler in the Milat investigation emerges as one in support of investigators. Using the Think Tank as a sounding board during the investigation also supports this idea. Investigators drew the conclusion that as the bodies were found in an isolated area, the offender may be local (Bellamy, 2004). Dr Milton agreed with police that the killer was familiar with the area, supporting this supposition. This conclusion may have helped guide their investigation towards possible suspects who lived in or were familiar with the area. Small discusses an instance where this relationship between criminal profiler and investigator was at play:

For example we’d all come to the view that he had- the offender or offenders- had gone to school in somewhere between Belanglo and Liverpool or Belanglo and the northern side of Liverpool. That sort of thing. And we were also of the view that this person would probably be known to teachers, that would have been a problem child, would have come from a large family-
that’s what Rod Milton had put a large family in- and would have had these
criteria. And we actually toyed with the idea of writing to all the
schools.

Although the criminal profile developed by Dr Milton appeared to contribute positively
to the development of the investigative strategies employed during the Milat investigation, his prior involvement in the Glover case could be considered less successful.

The criminal profile developed by Dr Milton was present in the closed case file, and was constructed after the murders of two of the women. In this profile, it is suggested that the crimes are consistent with an offender who is in their late teens to early twenties. He substantiated this with facts from the case, such as the time of the offences after 3pm, and the proximity of the local high school to the murders that were of consideration at the time this profile was being developed. Also used to substantiate the profile of a young offender was a witness statement from another incident, whereby an elderly man had been attacked late one night. The theory at the time of investigators, as evident in the closed case files, was that the elderly man may have been mistaken for a woman due to the coat he was wearing.

If parallels are drawn between the use of the criminal profile in the Milat and Glover investigations, it can be seen how a profile later found to be inaccurate could have influenced an investigation. Small was quoted saying such information from the criminal profiler assured him that a line of investigation was worth pursuing. The
criminal profile in the Glover case may have had a similar effect, bolstering the investigators’ belief that the offender was a young male, even though this was only supported in the profile by a witness to a crime that may not have been related to the murders. Thus, this can be seen to support the argument that incorrect case theories can lead to misguided efforts in the investigation.

Also of interest in the Glover investigation was that there had been attempts made to have the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) compile their own criminal profile. Information had been collated and sent through an Australian embassy representative; however, from the closed case file it does not appear that the criminal profile was produced by nor received from the FBI. There was not a written record of it in the file, nor was there any reference to a received profile in any of the documents relating to the investigative strategies in place. This file, however, was not complete therefore the FBI profile may have been received but was not on record.

The criminal profile developed by Dr Milton in relation to the serial rapes committed by Johnson was markedly different. Here, there were two criminal profiles available. Both had been written after the identification of the offender as a suspect and it is clear from the profiles that Dr Milton had been informed of the offender and his general background. The initial profile offered the typology under which the offender of these crimes would be classified. The subsequent criminal profile offered some insight into the relationship between Johnson and his wife, drawn from letters obtained
during the execution of a search warrant on Johnson’s premises. The investigative impact of such insights are limited.

During the initial stages of the Presta investigation after five cases had been identified as possibly being serial in nature, Detective Faucett describes her request for a criminal profile from the Behavioural Sciences Unit of NSW Police and the information received:

Detective- …Rang the Behavioural Sciences Unit and asked them to profile it all for us. They came up with …a location map that mapped where the set occurred and where they believed the offender lived.

Interviewer- A geographic profile?

Detective- Yes. They had him living somewhere over his Penrith way, Penrith mountains sort of way.

It was not clear from the interview whether the detective had expected a geographic profile or a criminal profile detailing possible characteristics of the offender. This was also not available from the closed case file which was incomplete when accessed. To establish the type of profile they received I asked Detective Faucett:

Interviewer- Did they attempt to give you an actual profile- a personality profile of the person?
Detective- Very, very general. But it wasn’t based on anything new. We knew he was a security guard. We knew that he had probably been in the security industry because he had a jacket on that looked like a uniform— he had on a black uniform. It worked out he was a loss prevention officer. He wasn’t a security guard as in a patrolling security guard. But he was wearing the uniform he had an obsession with uniforms and police and that sort of stuff. He also— We knew his age range from the boys descriptions, we knew he was not Caucasian descendant because the descriptions the kids had given us pretty much outlined what our profile was going to be so there wasn’t a lot more to add to it but we weren’t given anything else anyway.

Although it appears that some information consistent with a criminal profile was received, it is clear that it did not contribute to the investigation. Following up on the comment previously made about the geographic profile to ascertain the usefulness of such information to the investigation, Detective Faucett was asked:

Interviewer- The Behavioural Sciences Unit, they gave you a geographic profile that identified the Penrith/mountains area. Where was Presta actually living?

Detective- Liverpool. I assumed he would have been from the Liverpool area as that’s where the first offence occurred so I thought that’s where he’d be familiar. Turns out he worked in the mountains. He worked as a security guard. He worked at several different locations all over the place. He worked at Macquarie Fields, he worked at Picton but it was on his journeys back
from Katoomba to Wattle Bay that he made his pick ups of these boys.

There’s also an offence that occurred when he was up near Newcastle but it was never reported but it seemed to follow his work location.

Finally, during the Folbigg investigation, the opportunity was taken to have a Scientific Content Analysis, as previously described, conducted on the diaries of the offender. It was not considered useful in this case however, according to Detective Ryan, this process was aimed at giving the investigator a perspective about the personality of the suspect that could be incorporated into the interview technique. Although unsuccessful in this case, Detective Ryan was more optimistic about its use in the future. He commented that:

… it was worth trying and at the end of the day you try anything as an investigative technique to gain all the information that you can possibly get and it enables you to make the right decisions. I’d do it again even though I didn’t get a lot out of it.

This sums up the overall perception about the use of criminal profiling, in any form, in an investigation; it is a means to obtain as much information as possible to aid other aspects of the investigation.
Use of Typologies

As identified previously, there has been a significant amount of research into categorising offenders according to varying sets of typologies. These serial murderer and serial rapist typologies were proposed to classify offenders in the anticipation that this may aid the investigation of these crimes. From both the interviews and the case studies, an attempt was made to see if the use and understanding of typologies had an important contribution to the investigation, as suggested in the previous research outlined in Chapter 2.

As abovementioned, the criminal profile produced in the Johnson case identified the offender according to the category of rapist he best fitted. Johnson was identified as a power-reassurance rapist (Groth, Burgess, & Holmstrom, 1977a), a category discussed in Chapter 2, and the criminal profiler went on to describe some of the activities in which this type of offender may be involved. There was no specific information presented in the profile about how this knowledge could assist the investigation.

What was interesting to note was that this profile had been developed after the offender had been identified through fingerprint technology. A search warrant had been executed by Task Force Ardmore at the offender’s property, during which items belonging to some of his victims were identified and collected. From the criminal profile provided, it was evident that information about the suspect had been provided to
the profiler. This practice is not in line with some traditional beliefs about criminal profiling, whereby such information may be considered to bias the development of a criminal profile. The criminal profile is usually considered as a tool to identify an offender (Turvey, 2002a); therefore the usefulness of the technique to the progress of an investigation in this case was questionable.

The other case in which the use of typologies was evident was in the investigation into Slater conducted by Detective Pryde. Although a criminal profile had not been sought, he did receive advice from the then Crime Faculty that informed him that the crime he was investigating appeared to have been committed by a sexual sadist, a typology as described in the literature review. A list of typical behaviours accompanied this advice, although it did not contribute to the actual investigation. It should be noted that the Crime Faculty had not reviewed the full details of the case and therefore would not have been able to provide a great deal of case-specific information.

Modus Operandi & Signature

The use of the modus operandi in the investigation of serial crimes was consistent throughout serial murder and rape investigations. This information could be seen to reinforce decisions by investigators and to indicate lines of inquiry, issues which emerged from both the interviews and case studies. In discussing the investigation into a serial rapist, Detective Faucett describes how they identified related crimes. She states that the “MO was good” (Detective Faucett) when comparing various
reported incidents. Similarly, the MO was used to demonstrate an understanding of the offender’s suspected criminal behaviour in previous years as the detective stated that, “That was his MO at the time so that was my assumption” (Detective Faucett).

Although this example illustrates the use of the modus operandi to clarify and support the investigative direction, this is not always the case. The modus operandi in the Milat case varied and is still subject to speculation. The methods used to commit the murders included repetitive stabbing, gunshots, and in the case of Abscheid, decapitation (Bellamy, 2004; Whittaker & Kennedy, 1998). All victims had been murdered where their body was found with the exception of Eugenbauer. Evidence suggests that Eugenbauer had been moved from the site where he was murdered (Bellamy, 2004). Such variance in modus operandi may have attributed to the belief that Milat did not commit these murders alone and may have been part of a team.

A key feature or signature in this case which was evident from the remains of Milat’s victims, was that the pants or jeans of victims were found to be buttoned but had the zip undone (Bellamy, 2004; Whittaker & Kennedy, 1998). In addition to this, it has been noted by many sources that near each body disposal location, a brick or stone fireplace was present, further linking these crimes.

The use of a signature to justify the linkage of a series of crimes was also evident in other cases such as Glover. In the Glover case, the victim’s stockings tied around their neck was the recognised signature. This, however, had the ability to
mislead investigators, as this feature was not present in all the cases and did not occur in the additional sexual assaults committed by Glover. Although the severity of the murders and the victimology was sufficient to link these crimes without a constant signature, it could be suggested that this may have been one of the reasons why the series of assaults and sexual assaults on elderly women were not associated with the murders until towards the end of the investigation.

In discussing the use of modus operandi recognition in the case investigated by Detective Pryde, he identifies the importance of officially recognising this feature for its possible future use:

In particular this victim from her statement and other police evidence we had including the offence we call garrotting. Now I wanted to charge him with the garrotting because his MO was that he would choke and strangle and if you can get that in it shows it makes a sort of link between that particular offence- the strangulation component of the sexual offence to other offences he committed not only in this state but I was thinking about the bigger picture and that was this person was involved in other sexual assaults that were yet unsolved or unfinalised in other states where he’d done the same thing.

From this example and the others discussed, it is apparent that the use of the modus operandi was not as necessary to aid in determining whether a number of crimes were considered as serial in nature. Rather, the modus operandi contributed more to the
linking of such crimes. In the case of Daley, Justice Simpson described both the signature and modus operandi:

…[the] modus operandi was to lie in wait for women at night when they left work or as they walked home after getting off public transport. Armed with a knife or screwdriver, he would then force them to perform oral sex on him and would ask them questions about their sexual history before robbing them (Williamson, 2002).

In this investigation, the modus operandi was publicised through the media (Cowper, 2000; Toy, 2000). Therefore it can be seen to be used both investigatively, to identify unconnected crimes (Toy, 2000), and as a crime prevention tool, identifying and disseminating information relating to the risk faced by the public (Cowper, 2000).

Chapter Summary

There has been a mixed reaction to the use of intelligent-led policing practices, most notable of which was the formal crime linkage system once in place, ViCLAS. Whilst it has been acknowledged by police that there have been problems in linking related crimes, support for systems such as ViCLAS was not evident. The use of criminal profiling techniques in the investigation of serial crimes was also subject to mixed responses by police. There was insufficient evidence to suggest that such techniques had a significant impact on the way in which serial crimes are investigated. There was
however, a clear willingness amongst police to consider this tool in future investigations.
CHAPTER 9: A NEW TYPOLOGY - VIOLENT SERIAL CRIME INVESTIGATIONS

This research set out to determine why serial crime incidents remain undetected for prolonged periods of time, and what factors impact on the investigation of these crimes. From the research a number of factors were identified as having an impact on the way in which serial crime investigations have progressed and led to a conviction. These factors contribute to our understanding of the processes of investigation that are utilised in the investigation of serial murder and serial rape.

In order to enhance our understanding of serial crimes, there have been a range of typologies proposed, as identified in the research literature. Such typologies exist for both serial rape (Groth, Burgess, & Holmstrom, 1977b; Knight, 1999; Knight, Warren, & Reboisson, 1998) and male and female serial murderers (Holmes & DeBurger, 1985, 1998; Kelleher & Kelleher, 1998). One of the main critiques of these typologies is that they do not contribute to our understanding of the ways in which serial murder and serial rape are investigated. These previous typologies are almost exclusively representations of the motivation of the offender.

As has emerged from the research, there are numerous issues that were identified as impacting on the ability of police to recognise cases of serial murder and serial rape. Once this recognition was made, police were able to achieve a positive outcome and stop the series of offending, thus preventing further victimisation.
Therefore, it is essential for a typology to assist the investigation through the recognition of limitations to the investigative process.

From the findings that have emerged from the data, it is proposed that a typology of the investigation exists, which describes the investigation as a whole. This typology is developed based on the trends that have emerged from the findings. As with most typologies, these categories are not mutually exclusive and there can be some overlap. These categories largely reflect the recognition of the crimes as serial, which can be found to influence the length of the investigation, the span of criminal offending and the time to achieving a positive investigative outcome in the form of the arrest of the offender. There are three categories in this typology and they have been termed as: the Serendipitous Investigation; the Conspicuous Investigation; and the Delayed-Recognition Investigation.

**The Serendipitous Investigation**

The first category of this typology has been termed the Serendipitous Investigation. These cases are often characterised by:

- A primary link between cases from sources other than police
- A linkage that occurs after at least four cases or six months
- An arrest usually achieved within six months of recognition of crimes as serial by investigators
The underpinning of this category is the way in which these series of crimes are linked. Rather than being linked through formalised linkage systems during an active investigation, these serial crimes are linked through other methods or sources. Cases from the present research sample that support this identification of the Serendipitous Investigation include:

- Bruno Presta
  - The sexual assaults had occurred over an eight month period prior to linkage.
  - Similarities between two cases and earlier incidents were first recognised by a family member of the detective.
  - Additional crimes were identified through the detective’s own knowledge about other cases.
  - Presta was arrested within weeks of the linkage recognition.

- Wayne Anthony Trindall
  - The sexual assaults occurred over a nine year period.
  - Recognition of related cases was made by the Diagnostic and Analytical Laboratory (DAL). This was not as a result of an active investigation.
  - Trindall was identified and arrested three months after the investigation into this series of crimes began.
Although not completely consistent with this category, in the case of Ivan Milat, the media had drawn links between the first known victims and the other missing persons. However, this was a time when police were reporting that they were not expecting any further victims; therefore these crimes were not investigated as a serial offence at this stage.

The Conspicuous Investigation

The second category, which is referred to as the Conspicuous Investigation, refers to cases in which the link between crimes is apparent. The characteristics include:

- A number of victims that emerge over a relatively short period of time.
- Clear signature or modus operandi evident in each of the crimes.
- Intensive investigation, usually in the form of a task force, initiated immediately after linkage between crimes made.

This category represents those cases that are usually best conform to the ‘ideal’ type of serial offender, who targets vulnerable victims, is considered to have been motivated by a need to fulfil a sexual desire (Goldsworthy, 2002; Mouzos, 2000) or is motivated by the need to achieve power and control over their victim (Egger, 1998). Such crimes are usually the focus of intense media attention. The investigative team is usually well resourced, even when investigations become
protracted. Cases from the present research sample that support the identification of the Conspicuous Investigation include:

- **Paul Charles Denyer**
  - Three women were murdered and another violently attacked over a 20 day period.
  - There were clear similarities between the cases with a strong modus operandi apparent.
  - Strike Force Pulsar initiated soon after second offence, leading to Denyer’s arrest 50 days after his first murder.

- **John Wayne Glover**
  - Five women were murdered over a seven month period, with another murdered just prior to Glover’s arrest. All women were murdered within the same geographical area.
  - Recognisable signature apparent in all murders.
  - Although an intensive investigation was initiated, it was almost seven months before a dedicated task force was formed. This led to the arrest of Glover two months later.
• Ivan Milat

  o Although murdered over a period of two years, five of the seven victims were discovered over a period of a few weeks and linked to the prior discovery of the other two victims. All victims were located in the same geographical area of the state forest in which they were found.

  o Although the modus operandi varied between some of the victims, there was a clear signature linking the crimes.

  o Task Force Air was set up immediately following the discovery of the second set of remains and a link between the earlier discovery of victims was made. Milat was arrested eight months after this task force was formed.

This latter case demonstrates the importance of linking related crimes, as this was not achieved until after all victims’ remains were discovered. This is unlike the other two cases in this category, where the link between related crimes occurred within months of the murders taking place. However, although linkage of missing person cases did not occur, the crimes were linked once they were recognised as victims of crime, and therefore are represented by this category.
The Delayed-Recognition Investigation

The third and final category presented in this typology is termed the Delayed-Recognition Investigation. This category refers to incidents of serial murder or serial rape where there was a long period of offending prior to the recognition of the offences as serial in nature. This category is characterised by:

- Delay in recognition of related crimes exceeding 12 months.
- Long history of criminal offending in the series.
- Different jurisdictions involved in the investigation of the various crimes.
- Inadequate consolidation of resources.

As noted, the difficulties acknowledged by the research literature in relation to the consolidation of resources across different jurisdictions (Egger, 1990a) have been identified as a key issue and characterise many of the cases that fall into this category.

From the present research sample, the cases of serial murder and serial rape that support the identification of the Delayed-Recognition Investigation include:

- Anthony James Daley
  - A period over 18 months before the crimes were investigated as serial in nature. Not all crimes were initially linked to the offender or investigated by the Strike Force Sapelo.
Timeframe of known criminal offending was 22 months.

Offences occurred in two regions over 20 kilometres apart and under different local area commands.

Initially the crimes in the two areas were investigated as unrelated and investigated by the respective commands.

- David Glen Johnson

• Formal recognition of the crimes as serial in nature did not occur until almost two years after the initial offences. The task force was set up following problems in the previous investigation by detectives.

• The known timeframe of offending for this series of crimes was two years.

• Due to the deficiencies in the original investigation, specialised detectives were required to form the task force, leading to a reinvestigation of all evidence and witness testimony.

- Snowtown

• Initial investigation into the disappearances of three people did not occur until at least six months after the last person was reported missing.

• Crimes occurred over a five year period, with some victims being reported missing to police at various times. The remains of all but one victim were discovered up to three years after death.
Some of the victims were reported missing and therefore had been investigated by a dedicated unit, while other detectives were later required when the scope of the crimes emerged.

- Kathleen Folbigg
  - Although each death had been referred to police automatically, due to the assignment of each of the deaths as a result of Sudden Infant Death Syndrome, these crimes were not recognised as such for ten years.
  - The offences of murder of three children and the manslaughter of a fourth occurred over a ten year timeframe.
  - Folbigg had lived in two residences and attended at least four different hospitals with her children.
  - Once the investigating detective recognised the possibility that the deaths may have been serial in nature, resources from NSW Police were relatively forthcoming, although not dedicated to that case alone.

As previously acknowledged, the categories in this typology are not exclusive. Due to the timeframe of offending and other features of the case, the Trindall case can also be seen to fit into this category.

- Trindall
  - Crime linkage did not occur until up to nine years after the offences occurred.
Known criminal offending occurred over a nine year period

Although the majority of crimes occurred within the same area of Sydney, the crimes were reported to a number of different police stations.

Similarly, aspects of the Milat investigation can be seen to meet the criteria for this category as well.

- Ivan Milat
  - The known timeframe of offending in this series occurred over a three year period, with recognition of the crimes as related coming only after these crimes occurred.
  - Victims were reported missing to different police agencies in Australia and overseas.

As no two incidents of serial rape or serial murder are identical, there can be no one category within which these crimes can be placed. Of the cases from the research sample, the Milat case is the only one which has features which suggest inclusion in all three categories.

This typology emphasises the relationship between the ability of police to link related crimes and thus to investigate them as such, and the progression to achieving a good investigative outcome. This supports suggestions by Egger (1990a, 1998) that
linkage blindness can have a detrimental impact on the investigation of serial murder and serial rape cases.

Also significant to this issue of linkage blindness is the victimology of these crimes and the way in which this can be seen to contribute to the progression of the investigation. In the Serendipitous Investigation category, the cases which have been identified all include victims that are subject to strong stereotyping by police: As discussed in the research literature, prostitutes (Bridgett & Robinson, 1999), male victims of sexual assault (McAdam & Fitts, 1999) and missing persons (Swanton & Wilson, 1989). This supports the research literature which proposed that detectives will use culturally informed judgements based on stereotypes, which are all subject to police cultural understandings about these groups. This dictionary knowledge can be seen to assist police to make judgements about victims, and subsequently inform the way in which they investigate crimes committed against these groups.

This use of knowledge also provides one explanation for why the majority of the victims represented in the Conspicuous Investigation category were recognised as being part of a series relatively soon. The victims of the Denyer and Glover cases are ‘innocent’ victims- young women and the elderly- and thus achieve a different response due to the police cultural understandings that these groups are ‘real’ victims (Egger, 1998; Fox, et al., 2005). Coupled with the fact that these victims were murdered over a comparatively short period of time and discovered soon after death, these factors contributed to the ability to recognise that the crimes were related.
Similarly, the victimology of the crimes could be seen to have some influence in the Delayed-Recognition Investigation category. This is particularly evident in the Snowtown case where police described the victims as “a group that preyed upon itself” (Boston, 2004), thus demonstrating the knowledge that had informed the way that they investigated the disappearances of these victims. Conversely, the police understanding that accepted the explanation provided for the deaths of Folbigg’s children, and the knowledge that the murder of children by their mother is rare, contributed to the delay in the investigation of these crimes.

As has been demonstrated in this typology, the issues of crime linkage and victimology are not the sole defining issues contributing to the investigative outcome. Other issues such as the allocation of resources, the skills of the investigators and use of investigative tools and techniques all contribute to the ability of investigators to achieve the investigative outcome of an arrest, and are reflected in the timeframe within which this occurs.
RECOMMENDATIONS

This current research identifies some areas in the investigation of serial rape and serial murder that need to be addressed by police organisations. There are also further areas of research identified that were beyond the scope of the present research.

Recommendations for the Investigation of Serial Crimes

1. Increased crime linkage capabilities required

As presented in the discussion, an analysis of the data has revealed that the ability of police to link related crimes impacts on the timeframe of offending and when the offender is arrested. The crimes that were recognised as serial in nature earlier were shown to increase the chances of an efficient and quickly obtained outcome in the form of arrest.

2. Reintroduction of formalised intelligence-led linkage systems

The findings from this research suggest the need for formalised linkage systems that are in line with intelligence-led policing principles. While it is acknowledged that the system previously operational, ViCLAS, was not integrated into Australian police organisations long term and is no longer operational, this research has identified the
need for more effective linking of related crimes. As demonstrated by the typology outlined in Chapter 9, the linkage of related crimes through traditional investigative practices often result in a delayed recognition, up to two years in this research sample, which can lead to a longer investigation, greater allocation of resources, and an increased number of victims as the offender continues to offend until arrested.

3. National centralised body with investigative capabilities

Due to the nature of violent serial crimes, few police agencies have detectives experienced in the investigation of these crimes. Very few of the detectives involved in the investigation of the cases of focus in this research had any experience with serial crime investigation. Unlike other countries such as the United States and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Australia does not have a national policing organisation with the jurisdiction to investigate crimes such as murder and rape that occur across local policing boundaries or when assistance is requested. Such centralised bodies can provide experienced investigative teams who have skills and knowledge to investigate serial crimes.

4. Improved education of police officers to recognise groups vulnerable to crime

A significant delay in the recognition of related crimes as serial in nature was found to be frequently associated with victims that are considered as vulnerable by the research literature. This includes prostitutes and those who live transient lifestyles. This
education would assist in informing police cultural knowledge and therefore subsequent police practice.

**Recommendations for Further Research**

1. **Closer analysis of the missing persons register and its use investigatively**

   With the introduction of a national missing persons database in recent years in Australia, it has been hoped that it will be a more efficient and accessible system than its predecessors. While this system theoretically fills some of the gaps left in the wake of ViCLAS, it still faces the same challenges of being integrated into standard police practice. The need for a fully integrated national missing persons database was supported by the Victorian Office of Police Integrity (2006), following the decommissioning of the ViCLAS system.

2. **New initiatives such as the NSW Police Unsolved Homicide Unit need to be reviewed**

   The introduction in recent years of initiatives such as the Unsolved Homicide Unit need to be studied to determine if they have any impact on the investigation of serial crimes. As recognised by Kennedy (2007), modern forensic techniques could improve the likelihood of achieving closure on outstanding homicide cases. However, how this will impact the investigation of serial crimes is yet to be determined, thus further
consideration is required. How these new initiatives address the problems experienced in linking violent serial crimes is yet to be seen.

3. An expanded study into the investigation of serial crime to validate the proposed typology

Further research that analyses the investigation of other incidents of serial murder and serial rape, both in Australia and internationally, is needed to validate the proposed typology. This was beyond the scope of the present study.
CONCLUSION

This study asked how incidents of serial murder and serial rape in Australia remained undetected for up to nine years. To answer this question, the way in which police investigated these crimes had to be considered. An analysis of the research literature revealed that there was little prior research into how a range of investigative tools and techniques were utilised and how they contributed to the investigative outcome.

While forensic techniques have their place in the establishment of links between related crimes, other aspects of the investigation were seen to have a greater impact on the investigative outcome. One aspect that had a significant influence on the investigative outcome was the allocation of resources, whereby it was found that early identification of the crimes as serial, coupled with the establishment of dedicated resources in the form of a task force, achieved an efficient resolution to the case more often.

The efficiency of this combination of factors was demonstrated by the proposed typology in which the Serendipitous Investigation referred to cases of serial murder and serial rape where the link between related cases was made up to six months after the series began, which often led to the arrest of a suspect within six months of this link being made. This was in contrast to the Delayed-Recognition Investigation which referred to cases where the linkage of related crimes did not occur until 12 months or more after the initial of fence had occurred. However on the crimes had been
recognised as serial in nature and resources allocated in the form of a task force, most of these incidents were not resolved quickly with some investigations exceeding twelve months until arrest of the offender was achieved.

One factor that contributed to the inability of police to link related crimes was the lack of a formal crime linkage system. This intelligence-led approach, ViCLAS, had been in place during the time period when most of these offences occurred; however there was no evidence from the research data to suggest that any attempt had been made to use this tool in the investigation of serial murder or serial rape. This was despite the fact that this system had been designed to target such offences and contribute to a reduction in linkage blindness.

Another key issue to the investigation of serial rape and serial murder offences was found to be the media. During these highly publicised investigations, the media was found to serve important functions for police. These functions were as a direct investigative tool to gain information from the public and for additional victims to come forward; to boost public confidence in the police investigation itself; and as a tool for crisis management to counteract a climate of fear created by sensational media reporting.

The overarching factor that has been demonstrated to influence all of these aspects of the investigation was the way in which police cultural knowledge was demonstrated to inform how police investigate serial murder and serial rape. Police
cultural knowledge can be seen to impact on the progression of the investigation, especially through the decisions made in regards to the cultural understandings about some groups of victims. Of particular interest to this research was the way in which police cultural understandings of the victim influenced how they investigated violent serial crimes.

Police cultural knowledge informed the investigation of serial murder and serial rape offences from the research sample. The relatively rare occurrence of serial crime causes problems in the development of police investigative techniques. Police interviews demonstrate that the investigation of newly identified serial crimes posed major issues for investigators. The cases that were characterised by extensive delays in the recognition of offences as part of a series often involved victims that were the subject of strong police cultural understandings.

It was demonstrated that this dictionary knowledge informed detectives about the way in which reported crimes or missing person reports were dealt with when the victims were known prostitutes, considered to be criminals themselves, or were deemed to be likely to disappear of their own accord. This subsequent dictionary knowledge led to the delay in the recognition that a serial offender was present. Thus, this knowledge directly impacted on and contributed to the delay in the recognition and investigation of serial murder and serial rape cases. It is suggested that improved education of police officers to increase their understanding of the victimology of violent serial crimes could assist in the recognition of these offences.
An issue that was evident in the analysis of the data was that of detective experience. Due to the rarity of violent serial crimes, many detectives do not have the experience in the investigation of these crimes. It is suggested that a national, centralised policing body could address this problem, forming a united source of experience and expertise.

The factors identified by this research have impacted on the investigation of serial murder and serial rape incidents in Australia. Whilst the impact on the investigation varied between cases, they contributed to the delay in the recognition of these offences as serial in nature and in achieving a positive investigative outcome. As indicated by the proposed recommendations, these factors can be addressed to improve the investigative capabilities of the police investigating these violent crimes.
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APPENDIX A
UWS HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

PROTOCOL APPLICATION FORM

To Obtain an Ethics Clearance

Research projects involving human participants

- Staff, PhD, Masters Hons candidates see Instruction Sheet 1.
- 4th Yr Undergrad Hons candidates see Instruction Sheet 2.

*You are reminded that your project should not commence without prior written approval*

1. **Title of Project**

Serial Crime in Australia: Investigative Issues and Practice

2. **Indicate whether Staff or Student Application**

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and complete the appropriate section of Question 2

2. a **Chief Investigator/s (Staff)**

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<th>UWS School</th>
<th>Contact details (Telephone, Email)</th>
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2. b **Associate Investigator/s (Staff)**

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<th>Contact Details (Telephone, Email)</th>
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2. c **Chief Investigator (Student)**

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<th>Name</th>
<th>UWS School</th>
<th>Contact details (Telephone, Email)</th>
<th>Research Degree being undertaken</th>
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67/169 Horsley Road Panania NSW 2213

4. Anticipated Duration of the Project

   Proposed commencement date:  
   June 2005 

   Proposed completion date:  
   December 2006 

5. Funding

   Is the research project the subject of an application to an internal or external grants body, or will be granted
   other funding support?  
   Yes ☐  No ☒

   If yes, Name of the funding agency  

   What was the outcome?  
   Approved ☐  Pending ☐  Refused ☐

   Are there any constraints placed on the release of research data by the funding body  
   Yes ☐  No ☒
   If yes, provide details

6. Lay Summary of Project

   Write in words a layperson would understand a brief description of the project, ie use ‘Plain English’

   First and foremost, this research aims to compile and systematically analyse a previously disparate body of procedures, practices and experience-based knowledge of investigators on serial crime. Thus, this research will bridge the gap in knowledge of the methods employed to investigate serial crimes in Australia and the issues and problems that arise in the practices and techniques employed. The aim of this research is to determine what factors impact upon, and contribute to the investigation of serial crime in Australia. These include the investigative practices and policies such as: the allocation of resources; the identification criteria for serial crimes; and the methods utilised to link these crimes. The investigative aids that will be considered include: forensic techniques; and criminal profiling. These practices and techniques will
be considered to determine what, if any, issues or problems arise in the utilisation of these techniques, in particular how it relates to organisational practices.

Serial crimes such as murder and rape, which are the focus of this research, have become increasingly evident in Australia. A serial crime can be defined where two or more crimes occur over a period of time, which can be linked through the similarities between each case, and the belief that these offences were committed by the one offender. Serial crimes provide a number of issues for investigators. Due to the random nature of these crimes, investigators often face many challenges when investigating an incidence of serial crime.

The contribution that the various police practices and techniques have to the investigation of serial crime as a whole has been neglected by past research. This research aims at expanding upon previous research. Previous academic research in the area of serial crime has focused on the offenders of these crimes, in particular the motivations for committing the crimes and the background of the offenders. Other researchers have focused their attention on the accuracy of investigative aids such as criminal profiling, but not in the context of other investigative practices or issues. A study conducted by the Australian Institute of Criminology found that investigators believed that there were problems with the time delay in receiving the forensic report, and that it was often phrased in a way which they couldn’t understand. In this same study investigators identified the allocation of resources as a factor which investigators believed affected the outcome of the investigation. This study however did not consider serial crime in any capacity as it related only to homicide cases in general.

7. Scientific, Educational or Cultural Aims of Project

Refer to Guidelines Section 7. for information on details required

There are a number of aims and objectives of this research:

- To gain an understanding of what police practices and policies affect the investigative process and to what extent these practices and policies are seen to affect the outcome
- To gain an understanding of how and to what extent investigative aids such as forensic techniques and analysis and criminal profiling are utilized in a serial crime investigation in NSW, what are the issues or problems with utilizing these aids and how do they contribute to the investigative outcome
- To compile and systematically analyse a previously disparate body of procedures, practices and experience-based knowledge of investigators on serial crime
• To fill the gap in criminological knowledge of the issues that arise in the investigation of serial crime in Australia and how these issues affect the investigative outcome and how these issues relate to organisational practices.

8. Value and Benefits of Project
Refer to Guidelines Section 8 for information on details required
(use approx. the space provided and type in 12 point font)

This study aims to bridge the gap in criminological research of serial crime investigation in Australia through the compilation and systematic analysis of procedures, practices and experience-based knowledge of investigators of these crimes. It considers the problems police face in the investigation of serial crime and how these problems can be countered. How future investigations of serial crime can be improved will be addressed through identifying gaps in knowledge, resources, or training of NSW Police from their previous experience.

9. Details of Research Methodology/Procedures and Recruitment Procedures
Refer to Guidelines Section 9 for information on details required.

There are two methods that will be employed in this qualitative study: case studies of serial crime incidents and in-depth semi-structured interviews of members of the NSW Police who have worked on serial crimes in an investigative or forensic capacity. This use of two methods in conjunction with the extensive literature review, triangulation ensures a complete set of data is obtained.

Case studies will provide information in relation to the issues surrounding investigative techniques and policies. This will provide information about the pressures on police to solve the crime through the utilisation of secondary data such as biographical and media accounts of serial crimes which detail factors relating to the investigation. Thematic analysis will be employed to analyse case study data, the results of which will be compared with the interview data. Such information will also be used in the development of interview schedule. A preliminary thematic analysis of secondary case study data in conjunction with a thorough literature review has been utilised to develop the draft interview schedule (attached).

The second research method is in-depth semi-structured interviews, which will provide primary data to compare with the results obtained from the first stage of research. Interviews will be voice-recorded and transcribed at a later date. Interviews will then be subject to a thematic analysis the findings of which will be compared to the themes and data gathered from the case studies. Many issues may not be apparent in these accounts and thus the interviews will
enable a richer, more accurate picture of the issues. Data from interviews may also identify lacuna arising from the case studies. By conducting such a comparison between the investigator’s opinion of such practices and the recording of such practices by a third person, the accuracy and applicability of such opinions can be determined. A computer program specifically designed to analyse qualitative data such as QSR NVivo will be used where appropriate.

Participants will be recruited through the NSW Police. Contact has been made with the research coordinator of the NSW Police, Mr. Chris Devery, who has agreed to recommend suitable participants or identify the squads that need to be contacted to access suitable participants. Recruitment will utilise a ‘snowball sample’ to access a larger number of suitable participants. Participants will include NSW Police officers and forensic technicians who have worked on a serial crime investigation. Research approval will need to be gained from NSW Police. However, I have been advised that approval can only be sought after receiving approval from the UWS Ethics Committee.

Prior to the interviews participants will receive a consent form and Information Statement detailing the aims of the research. Participants may withdraw at any time. Participants will be given ample time to read the information statement, ask the researcher any questions they may have and consider the consent form. The consent form and the Information Statement are attached. Interviews will be conducted at a time and place convenient and suitable for the purpose. The anonymity of participants will be assured. Information collected from the interviews will be coded and de-identified prior to thematic analysis. Confidentiality will be maintained at all times.

10. Participant Sample Description and Sample Size
Refer to Guidelines Section 10 for further information on details required.

You must clearly define the ‘type’ of participants, and in particular if the participants are children or young people, persons with an intellectual or mental impairment, highly dependent on medical care, persons in dependent or unequal relationships, persons from a distinct collective, or Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

The participants will be adults, over the age of 18, of no specific race, gender, or age. Persons with an intellectual or mental impairment, highly dependent on medical care, persons in dependent or unequal relationships, or Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples will not be targeted.
Participants will be drawn from the research population employed by NSW Police currently or previously as identified by NSW Police who have contributed to the investigation of serial crime. Forensic technicians employed by the NSW Police will also be recruited as participants in this research. The number of participants will be dependant upon the availability of suitable participants. However it is anticipated that interviews be obtained from as many suitable participants as possible (for example chief investigator, senior forensic technician). As this research is aimed at collating data that will generate a saturation of qualitative data rather than attempting to create any sort of statistical or quantitative outcomes, it is not the intention to interview large numbers of individuals.

The participants will be asked to take part in semi-structured interviews. All information gathered will be treated in strictest confidence and stored securely. The respondents will be made aware that should they decide, at any stage of the research, that they now longer wish to participate then they can withdraw. Respondents will be made aware that no data will be reported that compromises their anonymity.

Values and Ethics – Guidelines for Ethical Conduct in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Research

Researchers, both staff and students who are conducting research with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander participants are required to review the Values and Ethics – Guidelines for Ethical Conduct in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Research. (see Guidelines for more detail)

Criminal Checks

In some circumstances, involving children, it may be necessary for the researchers to have undertaken a criminal record check. You should indicate if this is required and provide a copy of the documentation.

(use approx. the space provided and type in 12 point font)

The researcher/s will be required to undertake a criminal check

Yes ☐ No ☒

11. Evaluation of Potential Harm or Risk of Harm from Research Procedures

Refer to Guidelines Section 11 for information on details required

Does the project involve any of the following research procedures?

a) the possibility of physical stress/distress, discomfort to the participants

Yes ☐ No ☒ If yes, how will the potential harm or risk of harm be addressed?
b) the possibility of psychological/mental stress/distress, discomfort  Yes ☒ No ☐
to the participants. If yes, how will the potential harm or risk of harm be addressed?:

It is not anticipated that interviews will trigger any form of discomfort as interviewees are experienced criminal investigators who deal with these issues on a day-to-day basis. However, as interviewees will be required to discuss criminal cases that they have investigated in case it may trigger their emotional responses to the crimes, the New South Wales Police Service have their own internal counselling services that members have access to. However if interviewees do not wish to utilise the services provided by the NSW Police then participants can contact Dr. Fiona Rummery Senior Lecturer at the University of Western Sydney by phone on (02) 9685 9120 or by email f.rummery@uws.edu.au. Dr. Rummery has extensive counselling experience.

This will also be addressed by including the contact number of my supervisor who will put them in contact with a qualified counselor, on the Information Statement attached to the survey. Participants will also be informed that they can withdraw at any time without penalty or prejudice.

c) deception of participants at any stage of the project  Yes ☐ No ☒
If yes, give details, will the participants be debriefed after the procedure?

12. Potential Ethical Issues

For example, chemical compounds, drugs, ionising or non-ionising radiation, other biological agents, human tissue, special diets or modified foods, sensory evaluation of genetically modified food. Evidence of clearance from the University Biosafety Committee should be submitted with your application.

If yes, give details as to how any potential harm or risk of harm will be minimised:
You should address each potential ethical issue as it relates to your project

(use approx. the space provided and type in 12 point font)

12 a. Integrity, Respect for persons, Beneficence and Justice
Refer to Guidelines Section 12 a for further information on details required.
You must provide a statement that demonstrates that you have considered the ethical principles of Integrity, Respect for Persons, Beneficence and Justice as it relates to your research project. The researcher is committed to the principles that guide reputable research, including the principle of beneficence. The researchers supervisors and professional advisor (Mr. Devery) have many years of experience and commitment to research and understand the importance of ethical conduct toward research participants. The researcher will therefore be operating within a framework that reflects the respect for persons and justice that the research requires. All research will be undertaken with care and respect for the respondents’ professional and personal circumstances, with attention paid to the nature of the profession of police work.

This research will be conducted with the greatest respect to persons involved and with high integrity. There are no benefits to be gained by the researcher from being dishonest with participants. The researcher is aware of providing for the welfare and rights of all participants. All participants will have the opportunity to ask the researcher any questions they may have and the researcher will respect and consider any such questions seriously. None of the research carried out in relation to this project will disrespect any of the participants.

12 b. Consent
You should refer to Guidelines Section 12b for information on detail required.
Provide details about how you will obtain the agreement of your participants to take part in the research. Provide as attachments copies of Information Letters, Consent forms, etc. as set down in this section.

All participants will receive a consent form and Information Statement prior to the commencement of interviews. The Information Statement will outline in plain English the aims of this project and the role of participants in this project. Two copies of this will be available, so that participants can retain one copy for themselves and the researcher will retain the other copy. Participants will be given ample time to read the information statement, ask the researcher any questions they may have and consider the consent form.

Participants will have the option to remain anonymous if they should wish. This will be outlined on the Information Statement and consent form. If a participant requests to be anonymous, their anonymity and confidentiality will be maintained at all times. There is no benefit to be gained by this study by the
identification of participants or by breaching their right to anonymity and confidentiality.

12 c. Research Merit and Safety
You should refer to Guidelines Section 12c for information on details required.
Your response should demonstrate the research is justifiable and is designed as to ensure that any risks to participants are balanced by the likely benefit/s to be gained. The research should be conducted or supervised only by persons with experience, qualifications and competence appropriate to the research.

The risks involved in this research are extremely minimal, as the ethical approach in regards to participant consent and the access to counseling services, reduces the likelihood of this occurring. In 2002 I have conducted and completed research as part of my Bachelor of Social Sciences (Honours) Criminology thesis.

The principle supervisor, Associate Professor Meg Smith has extensive experience in conducting research. Associate Professor Meg Smith has also, amongst other things, conducted her own research for her Ph.D.

d. Ethical Review and Conduct of Research
Refer to Guidelines Section 12 d for information on details required.
Provide details about how the results of the research will be disseminated and to whom. You must provide details of how the data collected will be stored securely, who will have access and the disposal time line.

The contents of the interviews will be voice-recorded and transcribed to enable analysis by the Chief Investigator. All identifying material will be locked in a filing cabinet in my office for the duration of my PhD research. After completion it will be stored in the same manner by my supervisor. Participants will not be identified unless they wish to be and give written permission to be identified. All recordings and related transcripts and related materials will be stored in a locked filing cabinet for a five year period. All material will be accessible by the researcher.

A copy of this thesis will be made available to participants at the University of Western Sydney library or by contacting the School of Applied Social Sciences, from early 2007. Participants will be informed of this access to the thesis on the Information Statement.

13. Privacy requirements
Refer to Guidelines Section 13 for information on details required for Questions a & b

a. Will you be accessing data held by a Commonwealth Department or Agency? Yes ☐ No ☒
b. Will you be accessing data held by a State Department or Agency?

Yes ☒ No ☐

If the researcher/s answer yes to question a or b they should be aware of and agree to abide by the Privacy Principles in dealing with personal Information.

c. Does your research involve the use of existing records, which identify individuals but which are not in the public domain (eg medical or other personal records) that are held by an organisation.

Yes ☐ No ☒

Provide details if you answer yes to a, b or c

B. It is my intention upon approval from NSW Police to access the NSW Police Library in Goulburn. Access to this library will provide me with further information regarding police policies and procedures relating to investigative methods. It is not envisaged that I will be accessing any personal data on individuals from the NSW Police Library. Information obtained from the library, although not readily available to the general public, should not consist of restricted or confidential material. I am, however, aware of the Privacy Principles in regards to personal information, and I agree to abide by those principles when dealing with any personal information I may obtain.

It is also my intention to discover from NSW Police if access to closed/completed police case files will be available to contribute to the data gathered for the case study component of this study. The information that will be sought from these case files would be specific to investigative practices only and confidential information or information of current operational interest will be treated with the greatest respect and confidentiality. Access to this information will be conditional to permission being granted by NSW Police and conformity to any guidelines or protocol that they establish to ensure the sensitivity and privacy of the data is respected. Again, I am, aware of the Privacy Principles in regards to personal information, and I agree to abide by those principles when dealing with any personal information I may obtain.

14. Ethics Approval from Another Institution

Does this research require the ethics approval of another institution? If yes, give details including whether or not you have submitted an application to that institution for ethics approval.

(please ☒)Yes ☒ No ☐

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15. Chief Investigator/s Declaration (Staff or Student)

I/we certify that the information given in this application is correct to the best of my/our knowledge. I/we acknowledge that I/we must notify the Committee if there is any ethically relevant variation or if the project is discontinued prematurely. I/we have read, and agree to abide by the relevant code of practice for research involving humans.

Chief Investigator Signature/s:
Signed................................................ Signed................................................
Signed................................................ Date………………………………………..

16. Student Supervisor Declaration

I certify that the information given in this application is correct to the best of my knowledge.

Supervisor’s Signature:
Signed.................................................. Date……………………………………..

Before lodging the application please complete this checklist

☒ All questions have been answered

☒ Chief investigator/s and if applicable Student Supervisor have signed the declaration

☒ Supporting documentation is attached

☒ Required number of copies plus the original are attached

The Human Ethics Officer has reviewed the application Yes ☐ No ☐

☒ Staff, PhD or Masters (Hons) candidates - Application has been submitted to the UWS Human Ethics Research Committee (See Instruction Sheet 1.)

☐ Students – Bachelors (Hons) candidates, Masters (Course Work) - Application has been submitted to the UWS Human Research Ethics Student Panel (See Instruction Sheet 2.)

Application submitted...........................................(Date) End of Application

Interview Schedule- Police

Semi structured interview schedule. Questions in capital letters are the questions that will be asked. The questions in point form below each main question are prompts to aid the interviewer.

Name
Age
Rank/Position
Number of years with NSW Police

HOW MANY SERIAL CRIME INVESTIGATIONS HAVE YOU BEEN PART OF?
- What type of crimes were involved- murder, rape, arson

HAVE THESE CASES BEEN SOLVED, LEADING TO THE PROSECUTION OF AN ALLEGED OFFENDER?
- Yes
- Was a conviction obtained
- If a conviction was obtained who was the offender
- If a conviction was not obtained, what was the reason for this
- No
- What were some of the reasons for this
- Was there a lack of evidence, no viable suspect

AT WHAT STAGE OF THE INVESTIGATION WERE DID YOU BECOME INVOLVED
- After how many reported victims
- In what capacity/ what was your role
- Had you any previous experience in serial crime investigations
- Were you reassigned to another case at any time during the investigation
- What was the reason for this- progress of investigation at the time of reassignment

AT WHAT STAGE WERE THE CRIMES CONSIDERED TO BE RELATED OR SERIAL
- How long after the second reported victim
- Was there any problems in linking these crimes
- Was the violent crime linkage analysis system used to help link these crimes
- Did this effect/impact the investigation in any way
- Were more manpower allocated/resources
- Was a taskforce set up

SERIAL MURDER- WERE ANY OF THE VICTIMS REPORTED MISSING FOR A PERIOD OF TIME BEFORE THE DISCOVERY OF THEIR REMAINS
• Was their disappearance investigated in relation to a serial crime before the remains were found
• If so, what suggested that this victim was linked to other cases
• If not, what is your opinion as to why this was
• If more than one victim was reported missing prior, were these disappearances linked

WHAT FORENSIC TECHNIQUES WERE EMPLOYED IN THIS INVESTIGATION
• Was DNA profiling used to link related crimes
• Was DNA profiling used to identify a suspect
• To what extent was fingerprint analysis used and how beneficial was it to the investigation
• Was other techniques used such as blood pattern/stain analysis, ballistics.
• Were there any forensic techniques not used but you feel would have been beneficial to the investigation

FOR THE FORENSIC TECHNIQUES USED IN THE INVESTIGATION DID YOU RECEIVE A REPORT
• Did you understand the content of the report and how it applied to your investigation
• Did you understand the terminology
• Was the terminology explained to you at any time
• Did a lack of understanding of the terminology effect the investigation in any way
• Was there a delay in receiving such a report

WAS CRIMINAL PROFILING USED AS AN AIDE IN THE INVESTIGATION
• How did the profile contribute to the investigation
• How much weight was given to the profile
• Do you consider the profile to be accurate
• If the profile was inaccurate, did this impact the investigation negatively

LOOKING BACK ON THE INVESTIGATION IN ITS ENTIRETY, WHAT BENEFITED THE INVESTIGATION MOST
• What techniques or practices contributed positively
• What policies allowed greater contributions- taskforce/manpower

WHAT DO YOU BELIEVE IMPACTED THE INVESTIGATION NEGATIVELY
• Did policy effect the investigation- resource allocation, manpower reassignment
• Were there any techniques not used that you feel would have been beneficial
Interview Schedule - Forensic Technicians/Consultants

*Semi structured interview schedule. Questions in capital letters are the questions that will be asked. The questions in point form below each main question are prompts to aid the interviewer.*

Name
Age
Rank/Position
Number of years employed by NSW police in forensics
• As a civilian
• As a NSW Police member

HOW MANY SERIAL CRIME INVESTIGATIONS HAVE YOU WORKED ON?
• What was your role
• What type of crimes were involved- murder, rape, arson

HAVE THESE CASES BEEN SOLVED, LEADING TO THE PROSECUTION OF AN ALLEGED OFFENDER?
  - Yes
  • Was a conviction obtained
  • If a conviction was obtained who was the offender
  • If a conviction was not obtained, what was the reason for this
  - No
  • What were some of the reasons for this
  • Was there a lack of evidence, no viable suspect

DID ANY OF THE FORENSIC EVIDENCE CONTRIBUTE TO AN ARREST OR CONVICTION
• What type of forensic evidence contributed to this
• To what extent
• Was it used as evidence in court

AT WHAT STAGE OF THE INVESTIGATION DID YOU BECOME INVOLVED?
• From first reported victim
• Part of a team that was involved from the beginning
• What form of forensic analysis did you conduct
• What other forms of forensic analysis were conducted by others according to your knowledge

WERE YOU PHYSICALLY INVOLVED IN COLLECTING EVIDENCE FROM ALL RELATED CRIMES?
• If yes, do you believe that this is an important measure in collecting evidence from related cases
• If no, was the other technician/s from your office/team
• Do you believe that this could impact an investigation- different perspectives, not aware of similar evidence

WERE THERE ANY ISSUES/PROBLEMS IN THE COLLECTING OF EVIDENCE
• Were crime scenes secured adequately to protect the evidence

DID THE FACT THAT THESE CASES WERE CONSIDERED AS SERIAL IMPACT THE WAY IN WHICH YOU TREATED/VIEWED THE EVIDENCE
• How, to what extent

WHAT WAS THE AVERAGE TIMEFRAME BETWEEN THE COLLECTION OF EVIDENCE AND THE AVAILABILITY OF A REPORT TO POLICE
• Is this a common/standard timeframe
• Were any problems associated with processing the evidence
• In your experience did the police have any issues in the timeframe

TO YOUR KNOWLEDGE DID THE POLICE HAVE ANY ISSUES IN UNDERSTANDING THE FORENSIC REPORTS
• If so, what type of problems arose
• Were issues explained to them if they requested it

CONSIDERING YOUR ROLE AS A WHOLE IN THE INVESTIGATION, IS THERE ANYTHING THAT YOU CONSIDER MAY HAVE IMPROVED THE FORENSIC ASPECT
• Improvement in services, access to evidence
Information Sheet for Participants

Study of the Investigation of Serial Crime in Australia

Project Description
This study is part of a Doctor of Philosophy project at the University of Western Sydney. The aim of this research is to determine what factors affect the investigation of serial crime in Australia: in particular, the impact of forensic techniques and criminal profiling on the outcome of an investigation. The impact of policies, procedures and practices of the NSW Police Service, and how they contribute to an investigation of serial crime will also be considered. In order to participate in this study, you must have contributed to the investigation of serial crime in NSW, in any capacity.

Your Role & How It May Affect You
As a participant, you will be asked to answer several questions which will identify what you, as a member of, or employee of, the NSW Police, perceive as issues surrounding the investigation of serial crime. For each question, you will also have the opportunity to add any comments you may feel necessary. This interview will take approximately 45-60 minutes to complete.

If you do not wish to participate, we respect your decision. There is no penalty or disadvantage to you, for not participating. You may also withdraw from participation at any time, without any penalty or disadvantage to you. As a participant, you may be completely anonymous if you so wish. Any information provided by you will be kept in a secure place at the University of Western Sydney.

The completed thesis will be available in early 2007 from the University of Western Sydney library or by contacting the School of Applied Social and Human Sciences by mail, to School of Applied Social and Human Sciences, University of Western Sydney, Locked Bag 1797, Penrith DC, NSW 1797
**Further Information**

Any questions concerning the project can be directed to the Chief Investigator Natalie Scerra by email n.scerra@uws.edu.au or the Project Supervisor Associate Professor Meg Smith by phone on 0297726299 or mobile 0411 030 256. Or by mail, to the School of Applied Social and Human Sciences, University of Western Sydney, Bankstown campus, Locked Bag 1797, Penrith DC, NSW, 1797, or by email m.smith@uws.edu.au.

If participation in this study has caused you distress and you wish to seek counseling you can either contact Associate Professor Meg Smith who will provide suitable contacts for counseling services. Alternatively, you can contact Dr. Fiona Rummery at the University of Western Sydney by phone on (02) 9685 9120 or by email f.rummery@uws.edu.au.

**Note** - This study has been approved by the University of Western Sydney Human Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about the ethical conduct of this research, you may contact the Ethics Committee through the Research Ethics Officers (tel: 02 4736 0883). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated fully, and you will be informed of the outcome.
SIGNÉE D’ENTREPRISE/ CONSENT

Je (le participant) ai lu l’information fournie sur la Feuille d’information et toutes les questions que j’ai posées ont été répondues avec satisfaction à mon goût.

Je m’engage à participer à une étude de doctorat et que toute information que je fournis à l’étude peut être publiée dans la thèse de doctorat ou tout autre ouvrage apparenté. Je comprends que une copie de la thèse sera disponible à la bibliothèque de l’Université d’Western Sydney, à partir de fin 2006.

Je m’engage à participer à cette étude, réalisant que je peux retirer à tout moment sans préjudice ou pénalité.

Veuillez lire les déclarations ci-dessous et choisir votre préférence. Votre confidentialité sera respectée à tous les temps.

☐ Je souhaite rester anonyme et non être identifié dans la publication.

☐ Je souhaite être identifié avec mes déclarations et donner l’autorisation d’utiliser mon nom dans la publication.

Signature ______________________________   Date ______________

Pour les seuls usages du chercheur :

Nom____________________________________
Contact Phone Number_____________________________

Veuillez signer cette déclaration et la renvoyer au chercheur.
Natalie Scerra  
67/169 Horsley Road  
Panania NSW 2213

Dear Natalie,

Re: HREC 05/061 Serial Crime in Australia Investigative Issues and Practice

The Committee has reviewed your responses to the issues raised and the project mentioned above is now fully approved.

You are advised that the Committee should be notified of any further change/s to the research methodology should there be any in the future. You will be required to provide a report on the ethical aspects of your project at the completion of this project. The form is located on the Research Services Web Page.

The Protocol Number HREC 05/061 should be quoted in all future correspondence about this project. Your approval will expire 30 December 2006. Please contact the Human Ethics Officer, Kay Buckley on tel: 02 47 360 883 if you require any further information.

The Committee wishes you well with your research.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]

Professor Elizabeth Deane  
Chairperson  
UWS Human Research Ethics Committee  
Cc Associate Professor Meg Smith
APPENDIX B
Example of Preliminary Thematic Cluster

Victimology

This is an example of the preliminary thematic clusters used as a guideline to analyse the data. This diagram identifies the issues relating to the victimology of the cases of serial crime. As these factors did not occur in isolation from the other factors which impact on the investigation of serial crimes. Therefore there would be an overlap and repetition of some factors.
APPENDIX C
Letter to NSW Police Requesting Access to Closed Case Files

Natalie Scerra
University of Western Sydney
Locked Bag 1797
Penrith South DC 1797

To Whom It May Concern:

I am a PhD candidate at the University of Western Sydney and would like to conduct interviews of NSW Police employees who have contributed to serial crime investigations. My research aims at addressing the impact of policies, procedures and practice on the investigation of serial crime in Australia. In particular, how forensic techniques and criminal profiling contribute to an investigation of serial crime will also be considered.

In order to conduct this research I am requesting permission to access closed/completed cases files from NSW Police. These case files would need to pertain to the serious serial crimes of murder and rape. These case files will only be utilized for the purpose of gaining information about the investigative practices and techniques used in the individual investigations.

In accordance with the University of Western Sydney Ethics Approval, I would like to emphasise that the information that will be sought from these closed case files would be specific to investigative practices only and confidential information or information of current operational interest will be treated with the greatest respect and confidentiality and in adherence to State Privacy Laws. The inclusion of confidential information or information of current operational interest would not benefit or contribute to the research in any way. It is understood that access to this information will be conditional to permission being granted by NSW Police and conformity to any guidelines or protocol that they establish to ensure the sensitivity and privacy of the data is respected.

If you have any queries you can contact me, the Chief Investigator, by phone on (02)9772 6411 or email n.scerra@uws.edu.au or the Project Supervisor Associate Professor Meg Smith on (02)9772 6299 or m.smith@uws.edu.au. Both the Chief Investigator and the Project Supervisor are contactable by mail to, School of Applied Social and Human Sciences, University of Western Sydney, Bankstown campus, Locked Bag 1797, Penrith DC, NSW, 1797.

Yours Sincerely

Natalie Scerra

Note- This study has been approved by the University of Western Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about the ethical conduct of this research, you may contact the Ethics Committee through the Research Ethics Officers (tel: 024736 0883). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated fully, and you will be informed of the outcome.
SERIAL CRIME

IN

AUSTRALIA

Investigative Issues & Practice

Research Proposal to NSW Police
Submitted by Natalie Scerra
University of Western Sydney

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Serial Crime in Australia: Investigative Issues & Practice

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AIMS

First and foremost, this research aims to compile and systematically analyse a previously disparate body of procedures, practices and experience-based knowledge of investigators on serial crime. Thus, this research will bridge the gap in academic knowledge of the methods employed to investigate serial crimes in Australia and the issues and problems that arise in the practices and techniques employed. The aim of this research is to determine what factors impact upon, and contribute to the investigation of serial crime in Australia. These include the investigative practices and policies such as: the allocation of resources; the identification criteria for serial crimes; and the methods utilised to link these crimes. The investigative aids that will be considered include: forensic techniques; and criminal profiling. These practices and techniques will be considered from an academic viewpoint to determine what, if any, issues or problems arise in the utilisation of these techniques, in particular how it relates to organisational practices.

PROPOSED OUTCOMES & BENEFITS

This research aims to identify how the various aspects of the investigative procedures and processes interact and contribute to the outcome of an investigation of serial crime in Australia. As serial crime occurs infrequently in comparison to other offences, the application of models such as intelligence-led policing and crime management have not been adequately considered by previous academic research in the sphere of serial crimes.

It is hoped that this research can lead to more efficient and applicable investigative policy for serial crimes. Not only may this lead to the identification and arrest of serial offenders, but the sooner such an arrest occurs in a serial offender’s career, the greater impact such investigations have as crime prevention measures by reducing the number
of victims targeted by such offenders. As serial crime creates uncertainty and fear in a community exposed to these crimes, efficient detection will ease the issues of the community.

**BACKGROUND**

Much academic research in this field has focused on the offenders of these crimes, in particular the motivations for committing the crimes and the background of the offenders (see Fox & Levin, 1998; Hickey, 1997; Holmes & Holmes, 1998). Another focus of researchers has been on the accuracy of investigative aids such as criminal profiling (Kocsis, 1999; Kocsis, Cooksey, & Irwin, 2002).

However, serial crimes, in particular serial murder and serial rape, provide a number of issues for investigators. These problems arise from the inherent characteristics shared by many of these crimes. Characteristics such as the lack of prior relationship between the victims and offender, the lack of apparent motivational drives, and the offender’s mobility, often hinder traditional investigative procedures (Egger, 1998). For example, interviewing family and friends for an indication of motivation is unlikely to be useful.

According to Mouzos (2000) Australian police agencies accept the Federal Bureau of Investigation’s (FBI) definition as outlined by Cook and Hinman (1999, quoted in Mouzos, 2000), which states that:

> there are 2 or more separate homicide events which occur over a period of time (hours, days, weeks, or even years). There is a cooling-off period between episodes. These crimes are predatory. The offender frequently stalks his victims. The motive is clearly psychological. The offender’s behaviour and the crime scene evidence typically indicate sexual and sadistic features, and may involve torture and mutilation of the victim (p.364).
In New South Wales, the legal definition of rape, referred to as sexual assault, is “any person who has sexual intercourse with another person without the consent of the other person and who knows that the other person does not consent to the sexual intercourse…” ("Crimes Act 1900 (NSW)," Section 611). The definition for serial rape is however, more difficult to operationalise. Unlike serial murder, definitions of serial rape are not freely available in the publications of academics. Instead, the term serial rape is often presumed by many to be self-explanatory.

Therefore in simple terms, serial rape can be considered as repeated rape offending. However, when we refer to serial rapists, we usually refer to predatory rapists who victimise strangers. Rapists who repetitively offend against someone known to them, e.g., girlfriend, or those make a habit of raping many sexual partners over a period of time, are rarely considered as serial rapists.

**Australian Police Context**

It is also the researcher’s intention that the findings from this study be available to NSW Police. All of the factors that will be discussed are considered as components of the integrated crime management model. The integrated crime management model considers that functions such as investigative, intelligence, forensic all work together to contribute to a more effective way of managing and responding to crime. This research may be utilised by Australian Police forces to consider how this model performs when confronted by serious serial crime.

**Defining & Linking Related Crimes**

The mobility of serial offender’s may also hinder investigations as investigators of one case may not be aware of the occurrence and/or evidence from another related case. One issue which will be addressed is the methods or systems employed by investigators to determine that cases of serial murder or serial rape are occurring. This
relates both to the technologies employed such as the Violent Crime Linkage Analysis System (ViCLAS) (Killmier, 1997; Mouzos, 2001) and the policies relating to the procedure to make such a determination. By determining that cases are linked and thus may be serial in nature, it is also aimed that it can be ascertained as to what impact this has on the investigative processes employed and the procedures used in the investigation of these crimes. Particularly if these differ from conventional investigative processes or procedures employed in the investigation of non-serial crimes.

Previously, little research has been conducted into how defining and linking serial crimes can contribute to an investigation of serial crime in Australia. One study conducted by Adderley and Musgrove (2001) considered several computer software systems implemented in police forces internationally. One of the main problems with such linkage systems that were identified in this study was the ability of the investigator to ask the right question of the system. As such systems require that specific questions must be asked by the users, it was found that often the user would not know what question was relevant thus affecting the ability of the system to be used to link related crimes. Adderley and Musgrove however, did not consider the ViCLAS system that is currently utilised in Australia. Thus one aim of this research is that an understanding of the issues Australian police have with a similar system can be gained.

The issues of defining and linking serial crime will be considered in the context of previous research in the area of intelligence-led policing, as many of the concerns identified above arose from this framework of policing.

**Police Policy and the Allocation of Resources**

Another issue, which may impact upon an investigation of serial crime, is the length of time between related cases, which may be up to several months or years. This period of inactivity of the offender may lead to a reduction in police resources. Police policy may be one that believes that police resources may be more fruitful on more recent and possibly solvable cases. A study conducted by Mouzos and Muller (2001) on
factors related to the solvability of murder investigations in Australia, found that one of the main issues raised by investigators was the lack of resources available. This includes a lack of appropriately experienced investigators, support staff, and analysts.

Another important resource which was identified by Mouzos and Muller as hampering investigations was the lack of time devoted to the process due to the policy that an investigator can work on only one murder at a time. As this issue does not appear to be particularly apparent in serial crime investigations in which task forces are usually formed, this research will aim to determine how this differs. However, it is also recognized that there may be similar issues relating to support staff, particularly if an investigation loses momentum over a period of time.

The Contribution of Forensic Techniques

The use of investigative technologies can aid serial cases by providing evidence when there are no other avenues to explore. These technologies include trace/fibre evidence, DNA profiling, fingerprinting, and bloodstain analysis. A factor considered important in the investigation of serious crimes such as murder is the collection of evidence from the crime scene (Mouzos & Muller, 2001). However, the contribution of forensic techniques to serial crime investigations is considered to be a given fact and research into this area is in its infancy. According to Mouzos and Muller, investigators considered the securing of a crime scene or scenes as necessary to solve a crime such as murder. The need for forensic specialists at the crimes scene/s was also considered as an important factor. This ensured that evidence was preserved, collected, and uncontaminated. Conversely, one of the major impediments to a murder investigation was found to be the length of time taken for the forensic analysis to be completed.

However, the study conducted by Mouzos and Muller (2001) was not specific to serial crimes and thus one aim is to determine if there findings regarding resources and the forensic process have been considered an issue by investigators of serial crime. The impact of this information on the investigation will also be considered to determine the
extent of which forensics contribute to the outcome of a serial crime investigation. For example was forensic evidence the key factor linking related crimes?

Another aspect of the use of forensic techniques will also be considered. A timeline of the availability of various forensic techniques will be determined and considered in relation to how this development affected investigative capabilities over time.

**Criminal Profiling as an Investigative Aide**

The use of many of these technologies are standard in the investigation of serious crimes, however the use of criminal profiling is a tool which is often utilised in serial crimes in which there are very few leads. The aim of criminal profiling is to limit the focus of the investigation, to suspects which conform to the profile, in an attempt to limit the scope of the investigation particularly when there are numerous possible suspects (Turvey, 2002a). However, criminal profiling is not an exact science, and sectors such as the media often lay much weight on this technique. There have been incidents where the criminal profile has been criticized by the media and other outlets for misleading an investigation. An example of this was the original profile of the ‘Granny Killer’ stated that the offender would be young when the offender was middle-aged. Thus the contribution that this technique makes to an investigation, how it is utilized and to what extent, is one of the aims of this research.

There have been a number of studies into the accuracy of the criminal profile and the level of ‘expertise’ required to form one, however this research aims to go beyond this previous form of analysis to consider how useful this tool can be during the actual investigative process.

**The Victim**

In addition, the victimology of these crimes may make it difficult for investigators to recognise or establish cases of serial crime. For example some people
are more likely than others to live transiently, thus their sudden absence will not cause alarm (Fox & Levin, 1998). A recent example of this issue was apparent in an American case of serial murder, where the offender stated that:

\[
\text{I also picked prostitutes as victims because they were easy to pick up without being noticed. I knew they would not be reported missing right away and might never be reported missing. I picked prostitutes because I thought I could kill as many of them as I wanted to without getting caught.}
\]

(BBC, 2003)

This research will aim to determine if the victimology of these crimes impacted the investigation. In particular if victims were reported missing after a period of time had elapsed thus impacting the investigative process. Additionally the issue of determining a possible link between several reported cases of missing persons through the utilisation of resources such as ViCLAS will be considered. Specifically, if at any stage during a serial crime investigation, a review of missing person records is conducted to determine if there are any similar cases. This would also apply to data relating to serious sexual assaults or murders.

**NEED FOR RESEARCH**

As demonstrated, there are several gaps in the current academic knowledge of the investigation of serial crime. Previous research into the different aspects which can contribute to the investigative process have been limited and few have considered serial crime as a separate investigative issue. As previously stated, serial crime poses several issues for investigators which may not be apparent in other investigations and thus this research aims to identify how serial crime investigation can be seen to differ.
METHODOLOGY

- Case Studies
- Interviews

There are two methods that will be employed in this qualitative study: case studies of serial crime incidents and in-depth semi-structured interviews of members of the various Australian Police agencies who have worked on serial crimes in an investigative or forensic capacity. This use of two methods in conjunction with the extensive literature review, triangulation ensures a complete set of data is obtained. It has been determined that interviews would be an accurate method to determine police practices and the use of investigative tools as stated by the investigators themselves. The opinions of these investigators are essential in establishing how beneficial such tools were, if police policy as previously outlined, impacted upon the investigation and to what extent.

Time Frame

A time frame from which both methodologies will be structured is 15 years. This is a lengthy period of time, however the researcher feels justified in setting this time frame as the incidence of serial crime is so rare. This also allows for the researcher to gain a sufficient sample for both the interviews and case studies.

1. Case Studies

Case studies of serial crimes in Australia will be conducted. These case studies may provide further evidence in relation to the issues surrounding investigative techniques and policies, as many biographical accounts of serial crimes, detail factors relating to the investigation. By conducting such a comparison between the investigators opinion of such practices and the recording of such practices by a third person, the accuracy and applicability of such opinions can be determined. Such information can also aid in the development of interview questions as well as furthering the findings from such
interviews. Many issues may not be apparent in these accounts and thus the interviews will enable a richer, more accurate picture of the issues.

Similar studies in America which considered the psychological and offender characteristics of serial murder have also utilised case study research. Giannangelo (1996) utilised case studies of American serial killers to determine what psychological characteristics were apparent. Whilst Egger’s (1998) use of case studies enabled his development of understanding a range of issues related to serial murder including offender characteristics.

Sources of Information

In order to conduct case study research, a variety of materials will be drawn on to provide details of these crimes. When conducting a document analysis, there are two forms of evidence, being documents and records (Hodder, 2003). Records are official texts, whereas documents are texts which are formed for personal use. Thus the records that will be analysed, depending upon availability, in this study are coroner’s reports, closed police files and, and the documents will include biographical texts, newspaper articles, radio transcripts, television documentaries and previous case study research, depending upon the availability of such resources. It was hoped that additional sources in the form of completed police records of serial crime would be available. This would provide accurate information and allow for a greater analysis of investigative issues.

However the use of secondary sources such as the documents outlined above has been accepted as appropriate materials for this study. In particular, Giannangelo (1996) and Kappel and Birnies (2003) have previously accepted this utilisation of secondary materials in studies of serial crime.

Sample

It is aimed that at least 4 cases of serial murder and 2 cases of serial rape be considered for this case study research. However this will be dependent upon the availability of closed case files from NSW Police. If access to individual closed case files is not available through NSW Police then the cases would be chosen based upon
the amount of secondary sources available. As it is aimed that incidents of serial rape will also be included in this case study research to gain a fuller understanding of the investigation of serial crimes in general, the unavailability of closed case files will hinder the ability to adequately consider this crime. This would be due to the lack of available secondary sources of information, effective case study analysis may not be possible.

The number of case studies chosen has been supported by previous studies of serial crime, which aimed to identify the impact of specific offender characteristics on issues of interest to those researchers (Egger, 1984; Giannangelo, 1996).

2. Interviews

As investigation techniques and practice are of interest, it was considered as essential to be able to interview members of the police force who have worked on serial crime cases. Interviewing investigators of serious crimes has been utilised in numerous studies. The study by Mouzos and Muller (2001) which aimed to identify factors which impacted the ability of investigators to solve murder cases utilised this technique, in addition to using secondary resources. Many issues may not be apparent in these case study accounts and thus the interviews will enable a richer, more accurate picture of the issues. Data from interviews may also identify lacuna arising from the case studies. By conducting such a comparison between the investigator’s opinion of such practices and the recording of such practices by a third person, the accuracy and applicability of such opinions can be determined.

Consent

Prior to the interviews participants will receive a consent form and Information Statement detailing the aims of the research. Participants may withdraw at any time. Participants will be given ample time to read the information statement, ask the researcher any questions they may have and consider the consent form. Interviews will be conducted at a time and place convenient and suitable for the purpose. The anonymity of participants will be assured. Information collected from the interviews
will be coded and de-identified prior to thematic analysis. Confidentiality will be maintained at all times.

Sample

Participants will be drawn from the research population employed by NSW Police currently or previously as identified by NSW Police who have contributed to the investigation of serial crime. Forensic technicians employed by the NSW Police will also be recruited as participants in this research. If access to closed case files is granted this would allow for a more efficient way of determining which people could be targeted as possible participants. This would be gained by utilising the case files to determine who contributed to a specific investigation thus identifying a specific sample group.

The number of participants will be dependant upon the availability of suitable participants. However it is anticipated that interviews be obtained from as many suitable participants as possible (for example chief investigator, senior forensic technician). As this research is aimed at collating data that will generate a saturation of qualitative data rather than attempting to create any sort of statistical or quantitative outcomes, it is not the intention to interview large numbers of individuals.

Interview Method

The interviews will be semi-structured in nature, incorporating both closed and open questions. This form of interview structure allows for further probing of issues that arise during the interview process, when response is unclear and/or needs further explanation. The interviews will each be conducted over a one-hour period, and will be face-to-face unless circumstances does not allow for this format. When face-to-face interviews are not feasible, due to financial or other issues, then telephone interviews will be conducted. The interviews will be recorded using an audio recorder and transcribed at a later date.
**Analysis**

In-depth semi-structured interviews, which will provide primary data to compare with the results obtained from the first stage of research. Both the case study information and interviews will be subject to a thematic analysis the findings of which will be compared to the information on investigative techniques and practices and data gathered from the case studies. A computer program specifically designed to analyse qualitative data such as QSR NVivo will be used where appropriate.

**Confidentiality and Privacy**

As it is my intention to discover from NSW Police if access to closed/completed police case files will be available to contribute to the data gathered for the case study component of this study, issues relating to confidentiality and privacy will arise. In accordance with the University of Western Sydney Ethics Approval, the researcher would like to emphasise that the information that will be sought from these closed case files would be specific to investigative practices only and confidential information or information of current operational interest will be treated with the greatest respect and confidentiality. The inclusion of confidential information or information of current operational interest would not benefit or contribute to the research in any way. Only information pertaining to the use of investigative practices, techniques and technologies is of interest to this research. It is understood that access to this information will be conditional to permission being granted by NSW Police and conformity to any guidelines or protocol that they establish to ensure the sensitivity and privacy of the data is respected.

Participants that have taken part in semi-structured interviews will be assured that all information gathered will be treated in strictest confidence and stored securely. The respondents will be made aware that should they decide, at any stage of the research, that they no longer wish to participate then they can withdraw. Respondents will be made aware that no data will be reported that compromises their anonymity. All
documents containing confidential information related to this research will be stored in a secure locked location. Only the researcher will have access to this information.
REFERENCES CITED


Crimes Act 1900 (NSW), 611 (1900)


Research Approval- New South Wales Police

Dear Ms Scerra

The NSW Police agrees to allow you to commence data collection for your PhD project on serial crime.

Please remember that your ethics committee approval requires strict confidentiality in regard to information you become aware of in relation to any victim, suspect, witness or police officer, in the course of your work.

In due course the NSW police will require, as a condition of the grant of this approval, receipt of a final version of your Thesis, along with your agreement that we are able to place the thesis in the NSW Police library, and use the information therein as we see fit, but, of course, with due respect to your moral rights as author. This will all be detailed in the formal research agreement.

We will also appreciate receipt of a brief executive summary of the work, containing any observations or recommendations that you think we should consider. While the NSW Police is happy to receive recommendations, we remind you that we are under no obligation to implement them.

I am organising a contact person within the Behavioural Crime Unit, who will be able to coordinate your initial contact and data collection. I hope to be able to e-mail you later today with that information.

Please let me know if there is any thing else I can do to assist you.

Yours Faithfully

Dr Chris Devery
Principal Research Officer
Leadership Development Directorate