

The image features a large, light gray watermark logo on the left side, consisting of a stylized 'P' inside a circle. To the right of the logo, the text 'Pignou' is written in a large, light gray font, with 'THE PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY' written below it in a smaller, light gray font. A vertical line separates the logo from the text.

BLOCK 2
CRIMINAL PSYCHOLOGY



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UNIT 4 INTRODUCTION TO CRIMINAL PSYCHOLOGY¹

Structure

- 4.0 Objectives
- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Nature and Scope of Criminal Psychology
 - 4.2.1 Role and Functions of a Criminal Psychologist
 - 4.2.2 Criminal Psychology and Related Disciplines
- 4.3 Difference between Forensic and Criminal Psychology
- 4.4 Let Us Sum Up
- 4.5 References
- 4.6 Key Word
- 4.7 Answers to Check Your Progress
- 4.8 Unit End Questions

4.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you will be able to,

- discuss the nature and scope of criminal psychology;
- describe the and roles and functions of a criminal psychologist; and
- differentiate between forensic and criminal psychology.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Dr. Mahima was an academic counsellor at one of the IGNOU study centres in Delhi. And today she had invited her friend Dr. Anjali, who was a forensic psychologist, to interact with the learners of BAPCH. Let us look at their conversation.

Dr. Mahima: Hello learners

Learners (in unison): Hello Maam.

Dr. Mahima: Well, it gives me a great pleasure to introduce you to the speaker for today Dr. Anjali, who is a forensic psychologist and today she will speak on criminal psychology. I welcome Dr. Anjali and request her to please address our learners.

Dr. Anjali: So dear learners, you are well aware of what is forensic psychology, right?

Learners: Yes Maam.

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Dr. Anjali: *So can any one tell me what is forensic psychology?*

Salman: *Maam, we can describe forensic psychology as application of principles of psychology to legal system.*

Dr. Anjali: *Thats right. And forensic psychologists advices judges, lawyers and other persons in legal system.*

Sonia (Learner): *Yes Maam, we read about the roles and functions of a forensic psychologist in our course material of BPCE142.*

Dr. Anjali (smiling): *I am happy that I am addressing a well read audience. Did you read about criminal psychology as well?*

Navjyot (Learner): *Maam criminal psychology is one of the sub-specialities forensic psychology.*

Sofia (Learner): *But Maam, what exactly is criminal psychology?*

Dr. Anjali: *Well, as one of you mentioned criminal psychology is one of the sub- specialities under forensic psychology, which is a broader field and it can be described as applications of principles of psychology to understand a crime, the criminal and to an extent the victim as well as the entire situation that led to the criminal behavior.*

Kiran (Learner):*But Maam, how it is different from forensic psychology?*

Dr. Anjali: *As we can see from the definition of forensic psychology, the focus is on the legal system, whereas, in criminal psychology the focus is on understanding the crime and criminal behaviour.*

..... *And Dr. Anjali continues with her talk on criminal psychology.*

From the above conversation, you must have developed some idea about criminal psychology. Let us discuss further on this topic.

In the very first block of this course, we discussed about forensic psychology. Yet another field that is relevant in this context is that of criminal psychology. In the present unit, we will be dealing with criminal psychology from various perspectives. We will present definitions related to criminal psychology, what it is and look at criminal psychology from a historical perspective. We will discuss the nature and scope of criminal psychology and discuss the relationship between criminal psychology and other related disciplines. We will present the functions and roles of criminal psychologist.

4.2 NATURE AND SCOPE OF CRIMINAL PSYCHOLOGY

The word “criminal” originates from the French word “*criminel*” meaning criminal, despicable etc. and it directly rises from the Latin word “*criminalis*” pertaining to crime. The word “psychology” is a combination of two words, viz., ‘psyche’ and ‘logos’, that is, “psyche” means 'mind' and ‘logos’ means ‘the study of’. Thus, ‘psychology’ means the study of the mind and ‘criminal psychology’ means the study of the criminal mind. This study of the mind of the criminals goes beyond studying the committing of a crime by an individual, that is, this study includes also the reactions after the crime, the

escape of the person who commits the crime and his/her behaviours in the court etc.

Criminal psychology can be described as a branch of applied psychology that focuses on determination of the criminal's reasons for committing a crime. It can also be described as a study of thoughts, intentions, reactions and wills of a criminal so as to ascertain why the crime was committed. The legal dictionary defines criminal psychology as "a study of will, intention, thoughts, feelings and reactions of criminals and those who engage in criminal behaviour".

Criminal psychology to a greater extent derives its scientific methods and rigours from that anthropology. However, it uses psychological principles, techniques and knowledge in the process of investigation so that both crime and the criminal behaviours are understood relatively in greater depth. Criminal psychology thus helps the police and other investigating agencies by applying psychological principles in understanding a crime, the criminal and to an extent the victim as well as the entire situation that led to the criminal behavior. In the investigation, the focus is more often on the criminal, that is, the offenders.

Historically, explanations for crime as to why it occurs and explanations for criminal behaviours can be obtained somewhere in the early 20th century when psychologists offered psychological explanations for criminal behaviours and also speculated about the various causes that could be related to crime and criminal and deviant behaviours. In the beginning criminal psychology was more theoretical in nature though in later years it became more clinical with attempts made to measure the many personality characteristics and the mental capacities of the offenders. As far as 1919, Harry H Goddard, a distinguished psychologist who studied causation of crime, stated that the greatest single cause of delinquency and crime is the low-grade mentality. Similar views had been expressed by William Healy, Charles Goring and Lombroso, who stated that a person is born with criminal traits, and in many cases, defective intelligence was one of the important constitutional factors in the causation of crime. This kind of thinking led to theories such as the ones given below:

- i) The mental defective, that is, a type of "born criminal".
- ii) Feeble-mindedness is a heredity unit character following Mendel's Law.
- iii) The feeble-minded characteristically commit crimes in the absence of inhibiting social factors and they lack the capacity to grasp what is right and what is wrong.
- iv) The feeble-minded cannot foresee the consequences of their actions and thus indulge in crimes getting apprehended and also incarcerated depending on the severity of the crime committed.
- v) The feeble-minded are suggestible and respond to criminal leadership of brighter individuals.
- vi) If reared in families and neighbourhoods where they are constantly getting associated with delinquents as examples, feeble minded persons also follow them and take to delinquency."

Many explanations in the form of biological, social and familial, have thus been advanced as contributing to criminal behavior.

Until 1930's or thereabout, experts continued to hold the view that mental deficiency, delinquency and dependency were related phenomena. Psychologists such as Herbert Goddard pointed out repeatedly that most juvenile and adult offenders were "mentally deficient", which led to the thinking that crime and criminal behavior were due to mental deficiency or intellectual limitation. Persons with such intellectual limitation, were considered morally less capable in adapting themselves to the requirements of the society, and thus tend to make use of primitive methods, such as indulging in crimes, to meet their needs. These explanations and conclusions however did not get the support in the present day context, as psychologists and social scientists found that many social and economic factors, cultural conditions, and socialisation processes do play very important role in crime and criminal behavior.

In the 1940's an important technique to identify criminals emerged, that is, criminal profiling. This was an important development that took place in criminal psychology, and is attributed to Walter C. Langer a well known psychiatrist who was asked to draw up a profile of Adolf Hitler and he did show Hitler as being both a neurotic and a schizophrenic. Following all these developments, came forensic psychology which had its origin in the works of Hugo Munsterberg, followed by McKeen Cattell who studied the psychology of testimony.

As of today when one considers the status of criminal psychology, one needs to recognise that crime has become a perpetual element of the society and hence it is a big challenge to prevent crime and criminals in the society. Laws alone cannot deter crimes from occurring. It is therefore necessary to understand all aspects of crime and criminals, which criminal psychology has as its main aim. Some of the important queries that arise in this regard include: "How does a criminal's mind work?" and "what is the cause behind the crime?" "Why do crimes happen"? These queries could be answered by both criminology and criminal psychology, as criminology deals with the various factors in the society and criminal psychology deals with thoughts and behaviours of criminals and puts forward theories related to crime and criminal behavior.

As is well known, one of the important challenges for any society is to prevent crimes that destroy the peace of people. It is also well known that Law or punishment alone cannot help prevent or reduce crime in the society. To prevent crime and criminals, it is important to have a thorough knowledge of the causes that lead to crime and criminality. Also it is important to understand how a criminal mind works so that one could try and change the mental framework or take such measures that could offset the consequences of the action by criminal mind. Criminals are of two types, viz., psychopaths and sociopaths, with the former referring to high criminal tendencies and the latter referring to emotionally imbalanced persons. In addition these persons also experience economic, social and family problems. Instead of using lawful and appropriate behaviours to solve the problems, they resort to

deviant and criminal behaviours to overcome the problem. To deal with all the concerned issues, knowledge of both criminology and psychology is important. Crime is an act forbidden by law, and requires an action by a human to commit the crime (Actus Reus) and this human (person) concerned must also have an intention to commit the crime (Mens Rea). Such crimes violate the rights of the people and affects the society creating a sense of distrust and fear among people and in the environment. Hence, to understand crime, many aspects have to be considered, for which disciplines such as psychology, sociology, criminology, criminal psychology etc are required which can provide understanding of the criminal behaviours in depth. In this context, taking up criminal psychology, which is, as pointed out earlier, a branch of applied psychology, applies knowledge and principles of psychology to understanding crime and criminal behaviour in terms of why, how and where it takes place and whether such crimes could be prevented, reduced and eliminated from the society. Despite efforts to define criminal psychology, there is until now no specific definition except one, that is, criminal psychology is a branch of applied psychology which is concerned with the collection, examination and presentation of evidence for judicial purposes (Gudjonsson and Haward, 1998).

To elaborate on the scope of criminal psychology. It involves evaluation that is carried out with the help of psychological tests and interview if the person accused of a crime (criminal) is capable of standing the trial in a Court of Law, in terms of his mental capacity, understanding and mental state. A criminal psychologist plays an important role in helping the courts, the judges and other law enforcement personnel in arriving at a proper decision regarding the accused such as if he/ she in fact had committed the crime, if so the motive behind the same as well as other details of the person. Criminal psychologists are also involved in the evaluation of the eye witnesses in regard to the credibility, veracity and reliability of their statements about what they witnessed at the crime scene etc. Often action researches are conducted in criminal psychology so as to help the judges and the courts to decide in the most competent and justified manner about a case.

Criminal psychology has actuarial scope too, in that the experts in criminal psychology use statistics such as probability of a crime taking place at a certain place or the probability of a criminal striking again or reoffending. Another important scope is one of advisory wherein the criminal psychologist gives suggestions and advice to police personnel involved in investigation. They also help judges to understand the behaviours of an accused or offender and deliver accurate justice.

4.2.1 Role and Functions of a Criminal Psychologist

One of the important roles of a criminal psychologist is to study the behaviours and thoughts of criminals. In many ways, criminal psychologist and forensic psychologist perform almost similar roles and thus quite often the two terms are interchangeable.

Criminal psychologists study the various causes that lead people to commit crime. They assess criminals and evaluate them in order to determine recidivism, that is whether the person concerned will indulge in crime once

again, and also evaluate as to their behaviours and actions after having committed the crime.

Criminal psychologists also provide expert testimony in the court. They are involved in criminal profiling, which as mentioned earlier in the section on historical perspective, started in the 1940's with Langer making the first such profile and that too of Adolf Hitler. Criminal profiling helps the police and the investigators to identify the criminal concerned and apprehend him/her.

Criminal psychologists also take up psychological assessment and counselling people who have committed a crime, so that similar or even newer crimes may be prevented. They also are involved in studying the hackers, internet predators and help computer experts in investigating frauds online.

Criminal psychologists interview people, work out in detail an offender's life history and help the law enforcement in both investigating crime and apprehending the criminal.

Prof. Lionel Haward, who is considered to be the father of criminal psychology, categorised the functions into the following:

- 1) **Clinical functions:** This involves assessing a person to provide a clinical judgment. For this they use assessment tools, such as personality tests, psychometric tools, interview etc. and inform the police and the court whether the individual is capable to stand trial and whether he/she suffers from any mental illness that renders him/her incapable of understanding what is going on in the court proceedings.
- 2) **Experimental functions:** These are research functions, involving tests of varied types. Using tests and research materials, the criminal psychologists inform the courts about the credibility and veracity of the statements given by the defendant, victim and the eye witnesses. For example, whether the response of the person involves false memory, whether the eyewitness statements are credible etc.
- 3) **Actuarial functions:** Criminal psychologists use statistics to present a case to the court and to the police. For example, they provide the occurrence of probability of an event such as murder, rape or burglary and even may indicate whether the offender will repeat offending after release from jail etc.
- 4) **Advisory function:** The criminal psychologist gives advise to the police regarding how to proceed with the investigation, and what are all the best methods to conduct interview with a suspect, and advises the police and the court how an offender will act after committing an offence.
- 5) **Crime analysis:** Taking into consideration the victim's statement and report, as well as inferring from the crime scene, the criminal psychologist analyses the behaviour of the offender in the specific situation and compares these information and the profile of the offender across different recorded similar crimes in the database. This analysis

helps the police officers and the investigating team to identify the criminal and also consider the probabilities of the same person committing a crime in a typical geographical location.

Criminal psychologists collect reliable and accurate information through interviewing offenders and witnesses as well as the victims. They are skilled in conducting interviews of children, adolescents and adults about the case, using different approach and extract useful information. Criminal psychologist also use the worked out offender profile to determine the most appropriate approach towards solving the crime. The criminal psychologist not only helps the police to apprehend a criminal, but also helps the government and its competent organs to take steps to prevent the offenders from re-committing a crime and getting them rehabilitated back in the society.

A criminal psychologist performs many roles and functions including carrying out research, treating the accused or the offender, advising parole boards, intervening clinically to modify the offender's behaviour, appear in court as expert witness, serve and advise in mental health tribunals and use statistical analysis for offender profiling.

4.2.2 Criminal Psychology and Related Disciplines

Let us now discuss about relationship of criminal psychology with other disciplines

Criminal psychology and criminology: While criminology studies the causes of crime, criminal psychology studies thoughts, feelings and behaviours of criminals. Also, criminology finds out and presents measures to prevent and control crime in the society based on the study of causes of crime. Criminal psychology on the other hand focusses on what makes a person commit the crime and the typical personality that such persons have and creates a profile of such people so as to even predict the kind of persons would commit a certain crime etc. While criminology is a multidisciplinary subject, and its focus is on theories of crime, factors influencing crime, history of crime, control and prevention of crime etc. the focus of criminal psychology is to interpret psychological tests administered to criminals and others and use theories to explain the criminal behaviour.

Criminal psychology and police psychology: As for its relationship to police psychology, criminal psychology applies psychological knowledge to police settings and problems. Criminal psychologists are used for evaluating police applicants, educating and training the police officers, as well as evaluating police personnel's job tasks and duties. The criminal psychologists are also used to assess whether the police applicants for different police positions are mentally fit and suited for the job assigned to them, etc.

Police psychology is practice of psychology in police settings. It is a clinical endeavour, provided by clinical psychologists in assessment and treatment of prisoners, victims and perpetrators if they suffer from any mental illness. Police psychologists provide research consultations. They apply

psychological knowledge and principles to the many problems related to police and the many police settings. Police psychology is involved in recruitment and selection of police personnel, their placement as well as training. They evaluate the job tasks and duties of police personnel to ensure efficiency and effectiveness. They also evaluate the psychological fitness of the police applicants. They also screen out applicants who manifest psychopathology and those who are not fit to be in the police employment. Using psychological tests such as personality tests, situational and projective tests, role play etc. they select persons who show ideal police characteristics.

Criminal psychology and legal psychology: Psychology applied to the legal system is called legal psychology. It studies varied aspects of the legal system, and uses psychology to understand, evaluate, and question the suspects. It also evaluates jury candidates, (in countries which have the jury system) as well as those who investigate crimes and crime scenes, forensic investigation and other legally-related situations. Legal psychology is part of applied psychology and differentiated from criminal psychology. Both these disciplines differ from each other though both study criminals with different focus. Legal psychology also deal with the improving the legal system through research etc. While legal psychology uses cognitive and social principles in dealing with the legal system, criminal psychology uses psychological principles and techniques to deal with behaviours of individuals especially those of criminals. Legal psychology can be seen in advisory roles, academics and research in legal matters. The legal psychologists are involved in trial consulting, policy and guidance in legal aspects based on empirical research, scientific backups and statistics. Legal psychology is used in testifying eye witnesses.

Criminal psychology and investigative psychology: Investigative psychology works with police to assist them in finding out from analysing the crime scene, what type of crime has been committed and what type of criminal is the offender who has committed the crime. It is concerned with all types of criminality dealt with by the police including arson, burglary, murder as well as terrorism. Investigative psychology is a relatively a newer discipline and is a part of applied psychology. It focusses on understanding and conducts profiling of criminals. This branch helps in providing assistance in investigating a crime, and presents important evidences which are presented in a court of law during trial. The main objective of this branch of psychology is to assist in solving crimes.

Investigative psychology should not be confused with forensic psychology. It mainly handles criminal profiling, which is a tool that helps the police and other law enforcement personnel to profile the offenders and predict criminal behaviour. Investigative psychology examines and analyses criminal styles and patterns to arrive at the criminal's thinking and other personality characteristic traits. In addition investigative psychology also handles interviews with the victims of crime, comprehensively analyses the legal and investigative processes and decisions. It uses various aspects of psychology in all areas of both criminal and civil investigations.

Criminal psychology and clinical psychology: Clinical psychology deals with assessment, diagnosis and treatment of behavior and emotional problems in a broad spectrum of people. In clinical psychology, persons with mental health problems are tested, the test results are interpreted, diagnosis of the problems are arrived at and plans for treating the problems are worked out in detail and administered to patients to render the persons asymptomatic. Criminal psychology too requires knowledge and training in clinical psychology so as to administer the required tests, interpret the same and arrive at the understanding of the crime that has been committed and also of the individual who has committed the crime. Criminal psychology thus uses clinical psychology and psychological knowledge in dealing with the legal system and issues related to crime and criminals. While a clinical psychologist may be an advocate for his/her clients/patients, a forensic psychologist/criminal psychologist works generally for an attorney, judge and any other legal authority. While forensic psychology and criminal psychology requires a strong clinical psychology knowledge and discipline, clinical psychology does not require background in forensic psychology.

Check Your Progress I

- 1) List the roles and functions of a criminal psychologist.

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4.3 DIFFERENCE BETWEEN FORENSIC AND CRIMINAL PSYCHOLOGY

In the very first unit of this course, we discussed about forensic psychology. In this section of the unit, we will explain the difference between forensic and criminal psychology.

The terms forensic psychology and criminal psychology are often used interchangeably. Though, there are differences between the both, as such criminal psychology can be termed as one of the sub-specialities under forensic psychology (as was mentioned in unit 1).

Forensic psychology deals with work related to prisons, victims of crime, witnesses to the crime, and handles counselling of 'at-risk' youths. Forensic psychology also assists lawyers and advocates, as well as the law enforcement in regard criminal investigation. Forensic psychologists render an opinion as to whether an individual is competent to stand trial, whether the person is capable and competent to continue with the legal proceedings in the court of law. Thus, forensic psychology mainly focuses in the association between psychology and law.

Forensic psychology deals with work related to prisons, victims of crime, witnesses to the crime, and handles counselling of 'at-risk' youths. A forensic

psychologist does not evaluate criminals. He/ she focusses on cases related to both criminal and civil law. He/ she assists lawyers and advocates, as well as the law enforcement in regard criminal investigation. render an opinion as to whether an individual is competent to stand trial, whether the person is capable and competent to continue with the legal proceedings in the court of law. A forensic psychologist also renders opinion as to whether an individual is competent to stand trial, whether the person is capable and competent to continue with the legal proceedings in the court of law.

Criminal psychology uses the psychological expertise in evaluating criminals, whereas forensic psychology does not evaluate criminals. Furthermore, criminal psychology focusses on criminal behavior, whereas forensic psychology focusses on cases related to both criminal and civil law. Thus, the focus of criminal psychology is on crime and criminal behaviour. A criminal psychologist could look in to the history, past experiences of the criminal, in order to ascertain his/ her behaviour. Various factors related to the crime are also analysed. Further, criminal psychologists are also involved in ascertaining the progress of the offender when he/ she has been sentences or after a treatment play is assigned to him/ her.

A criminal psychologist uses psychological expertise in evaluating criminals, He/ she may also conduct studies using psychological tools focusing on the causes of criminal behaviour. A criminal psychologist is also involve din devising psychological tests that could tap the criminal traits and tendencies in individuals. He/ she helps in policy decisions regarding prevention of crime in society and may present number of measures, tools and techniques to prevent crime and criminal behaviours

Forensic psychologists work with judges and lawyers. They may also serve as legal consultants and could be involve din assessment of competency to stand trial and assessment of the mental health of the criminal. The focus of forensic psychology is also on investigation of crime and processes related to the judiciary. Whereas, a criminal psychologist is mainly involved in the assessment and treatment of the offender.

To summarise, the difference between forensic psychology and criminal psychology, forensic psychology involves analysis of the effect that the crime has on the victims and also on the mental status of the offender. Criminal psychology on the other hand involves determination of the reason why the criminal may have committed the crime.

Check Your Progress II

- 1) List any one difference between forensic psychology and criminal psychology.

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4.4 LET US SUM UP

To sum up, the present unit focused on the field of criminal psychology. Criminal psychology is one of the sub-specialities under forensic psychology. Criminal psychology can be described as a branch of Applied Psychology that focuses on determination of the criminal's reasons for committing a crime. It can also be described as a study of thoughts, intentions, reactions and wills of a criminal so as to ascertain why the crime was committed. The word "criminal" originates from the French word "*criminel*" meaning criminal, despicable etc. and it directly rises from the Latin word "*criminalis*" pertaining to crime. The word "psychology" is a combination of two words, viz., 'psyche' and 'logos', that is, "psyche" means MIND and 'logos' means 'the study of'. Thus, 'psychology' means the study of the mind and 'criminal psychology' means the study of the criminal mind. The unit mainly focused on the nature and scope of criminal psychology. The roles and functions of a criminal psychologist were also highlighted. The unit further discussed about how criminal psychology can be related to other fields. Difference between forensic psychology and criminal psychology was also discussed, where it was mentioned that forensic psychology involves analysis of the effect that the crime has on the victims and also on the mental status of the offender. Criminal psychology on the other hand involves determination of the reason why the criminal may have committed the crime.

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4.6 KEY WORD

Criminal psychology: Criminal psychology can be described as a branch of applied psychology that focuses on determination of the criminal's reasons

for committing a crime. It can also be described as a study of thoughts, intentions, reactions and wills of a criminal so as to ascertain why the crime was committed.

4.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress I

- 1) List the roles and functions of a criminal psychologist

A criminal psychologist performs many roles and functions including carrying out research, treating the accused or the offender, advising parole boards, intervening clinically to modify the offender's behaviour, appear in court as expert witness, serve and advise in mental health tribunals and use statistical analysis for offender profiling.

Check Your Progress II

- 1) List any one difference between forensic psychology and criminal psychology.

The focus of forensic psychology is also on investigation of crime and processes related to the judiciary. Whereas, a criminal psychologist is mainly involved in the assessment and treatment of the offender.

4.8 UNIT END QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the nature and scope of criminal psychology.
2. Explain the roles and functions of a criminal psychologists.
3. Describe criminal psychology and related discipline.
4. Differentiate between forensic psychology and criminal psychology.

UNIT 5 THEORIES APPLIED TO CRIMINAL PSYCHOLOGY¹

Structure

- 5.0 Objectives
- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Psychological theories
 - 5.2.1 Psychodynamic Theory and Criminal Behaviour
 - 5.2.2 Cognitive Theory and Criminal Behaviour
 - 5.2.3 Behavioural Theory and Criminal Behaviour
 - 5.2.4 Personality Theory and Criminal Behaviour
 - 5.2.5 Theories of Intelligence and Criminal Behaviour
- 5.3 Biological and Integrated Theories
 - 5.3.1 Psychophysiology
 - 5.3.2 Brain and Criminal Behaviour
 - 5.3.3 Genetics and Criminal Behaviour
- 5.4 Let Us Sum Up
- 5.5 References
- 5.6 Key Words
- 5.7 Answers to Check Your Progress
- 5.8 Unit End Questions

5.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you will be able to,

- discuss the various theories applied to criminal psychology.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The questions that are dealt with by criminal psychology are: “Why are there crimes in the society? Can any society be free of crime? Why does a person commit crime? Can crimes be prevented?” To provide answers to these queries, criminal psychology takes the help of psychology and uses some of the theories that explain criminality and criminal behaviour. Before proceeding to discuss the theories and provide explanations to criminal behaviour, it is important to know what is a “theory”. Often we ask “Why?” about many phenomena. Theory provides answers to these “Why” questions. Theory helps enhance one’s knowledge of a subject area. Theory is a combination of many ideas accepted by large number of persons in a community or society as well by culture. Theories do not emerge overnight but are developed by scientists, researchers and academics in a step by step

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process, such as starting from observation onwards to description to formulation of hypothesis, validate or reject the hypothesis through research and experiments specially designed, and finally when the researcher understands “why” based on the experimental or research results, the same is shared with academics and other researchers and stake holders etc. through peer reviewed articles in journals or in books, after which this becomes a theory accepted by all in a community. Thus, theories are very important as they scientifically find out the answers to “why”. Similarly to the “Why crimes and criminal behaviours?”, various theories have been propounded to answer these questions.

It is indeed well known that crime has existed from time immemorial. Many social scientists such as criminologists, psychologists and others have attempted to explain why a person commits a crime and why crime exists in society, but no specific conclusive answers have been obtained. While criminological theories try to explain crime and criminal behaviours in terms of society and its environment, and many social changes that take place from time to time in the society, psychologists try to explain crime and criminal behavior in terms of personality traits and characteristics and psychopathology in the individual. On the other hand biologists try to explain crime and criminal behaviours in terms of certain biological, genetic, chromosomal, neurological and other related deficiencies with which the individual is born.

Let us take up the psychological theories first and consider criminal behaviour from the point of view of these theories.

5.2 PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES

There are basically five major psychological theories that are associated with criminal psychology which deals with the thoughts and behaviours of offenders and criminals. These are psychodynamic theory, cognitive theory, behavioural theory, personality theory and theory of intelligence. These theories explain dynamics underlying crime and criminal behaviours. The psychodynamic theory provides explanation for crime and criminal behavior. Let us see in detail how this theory explains criminality.

5.2.1 Psychodynamic Theory and Criminal Behaviour

According to the psychodynamic theory, the early childhood experiences of the individual are responsible for such behaviours. The proponent of this theory was Sigmund Freud and this theory had three basic elements, viz., the Id, the Ego and the Super Ego. While Id was considered the primitive part of the individual’s mental makeup and was also present at birth onwards, the Ego developed in the early years of the individual’s life. The Id functions on pleasure principle, in the sense, it needs immediate gratification of its needs, desires and wishes. Psychodynamic theorists are of the view that the individual’s personality is controlled by unconscious mental processes having their origin in the person’s childhood. Thus, the Id represents the basic biological drives for food, sex and other needs for the individual’s very survival. Ego on the other hand functions on the reality principle, in the sense

that it looks for the available sources in the environment that could gratify the Id's needs. The Super ego is considered the moral arm of the individual's personality. It is the embodiment of all the 'rights' and 'wrongs', imbibed by the individual on the basis of do's and don'ts, dictated by the parents and significant others. The conscience is the sense of guilt when the person does something wrong and the Ego Ideal is the idealistic view of all that which is correct/right. While the Ego tries to gratify all the needs of the Id, it also makes sure that the Super Ego's requirements are not ignored and the ideal self remains and the person is not overwhelmed by guilt feelings. Thus the Ego strives to strike a balance between the Id's desires and wishes and the moral requirements of the Super Ego. So long as the Ego is strong and capable, neither the Id nor the Superego becomes dominant or overpowering.

According to psychodynamic theory, the Id has been considered responsible for criminal behavior. As mentioned above, Id is concerned with immediate gratification of its needs with no concern for others or what is right and what is wrong. For instance, criminals have no concern for their victims or the society or its laws and regulations. They are generally lonely, interested in getting what they want by forcibly taking away from others their possessions in the process injuring, harming the persons, to such an extent that if situation warrants, they may take away the victim's life too. Thus, psychodynamic theory explains criminal behavior in terms of a dominant Id, frustration, provocation and childhood experiences such as being neglected, unhappy and miserable, lack of love and nurturing and a very weak super ego and a weak , which is linked to immaturity, and dependency on others.

5.2.2 Cognitive Theory and Criminal Behaviour

The next theory to explain criminal behaviour is the cognitive theory. According to this theory, criminal behaviour is explained in terms of the mental processes of the individual. The focus of this theory is to understand how criminals perceive the world around them, and how the individuals solve problems. Cognitive theory has two sub disciplines, viz., a) moral development, and b) information processing.

a) **Moral development:** The focus in moral development is to understand how individuals morally represent the world and how do they reason about that world. In information processing, the focus is to study how people people acquire, retain, and retrieve information. According to this theory, moral development goes through three different levels and six different stages. Level 1 is called pre conventional which contains stages 1 and 2. Level II is called conventional and contains stages 3 and 4. The third level (Level C) is called post conventional and contains stages 5 and 6.

In pre conventional level which covers kindergarten to class 5, stage 1 refers to obedience and punishment. Children will have to learn to behave according to acceptable norms as laid by parents, teachers and the school. Obedient behaviour in children at this stage is ensured through punishment. In stage 2, the main characteristics to be developed by children include individualism, instrumentalism and exchange. This stage focusses on the child developing the 'right' behaviour, inferring

that the child behaves correctly and acts appropriately in his or her own best interests.

The Level II is the conventional level. This covers stages 3 and 4. In stage 3, the individual is able to understand and recognise that he/ she is a member of the society and has certain roles to play and are concerned with the approval and disapproval of people in the society. Stage 4 which is contained in this level 2, focusses on the individuals accepting the importance of laws, rules and customs of the society. Such an understanding helps the individual to function properly in the society, obey and recognise the social pillars of the society. In other words, the child or the individual develops into a person who is reliable, who can distinguish between right and wrong, is decent, hardworking, helpful and compassionate towards others, engages in voluntary work and takes up worthy causes to work on for the benefit of the society etc. The person is law abiding and follows all norms.

At this point, it is important to remember that no society can function without law and order and by punishing those who violate the law, the society ensures obedience from its people. In other words, people obey law and order due to fear of punishment. According to Kohlberg (1984), most people in any society are at this stage of moral development, wherein morality is driven by external force.

Level III is the post conventional level. This contains stages 5 and 6. While stage 5 is referred to as social contract (decisions taken by majority opinion with scope for compromise) and the stage 6 is known as principled conscience (principled justice and human autonomy). For explaining criminality and criminal behaviour, this theory states criminals are significantly lower in their moral judgment development. Thus one explanation for criminal behaviour based on this theory is that those who are low in moral judgement, are more prone to criminal behaviour as compared to those who are high in this characteristic.

- b) ***Information processing and criminal behaviour:*** Under cognitive theory, information processing is an important aspect. According to this, people use their thought processes step by step to make a decision based on the information that they received through their information processing system. For instance, as the individual experiences an event, he/ she gathers all the relevant information from the environment and stores them for retrieval at a later time. Then the person searches for the appropriate response and from amongst the responses, selects the most appropriate one for action. Those persons who use the information correctly and appropriately will avoid criminal or delinquent behaviours. Also those who make reasoned judgements when encounter emotional situations, would most likely avoid criminal or antisocial behaviours. One of the reasons for inappropriate reasoning is the faulty cognitive processes, that is the individual is following what he/ she had learned in childhood. Also such inappropriate reasoning may result from a very long period of exposure to violence and also can be the consequence of rejection. and neglect experienced in childhood. These persons tend to

become hypersensitive and often resort to violent behaviours, as a coping mechanism, in addition to becoming alcohol and substance dependent.

Thus, cognitive theories explain criminal behaviour as a defect in thought processes, mental development and moral thinking.

5.2.3 Behavioural Theory and Criminal Behaviour

The main tenet of this theory is that all behaviours are learned and hence can be unlearned and a new behaviour which is more appropriate and desired can be learned in place of the undesirable behaviour. By the same logic, criminal behaviour or violent behaviours too are learned and so can be unlearned, and in their place new and desirable behaviours can be learned afresh. Behaviourists opine that behaviours are not inherited but are learned during growing up on the basis of their experiences in their environment. Violent behaviours and criminal tendencies are learned by the individuals from their experiences in their environment. For instance, the individual in his/her childhood years if had been observing his father or any other adult or peer being rewarded for violent behaviours, then the individual acquires and internalises the violent behaviour, and uses it to get the desired outcome. This is also termed “modelling”, as stated by Bandura(1977).

Thus, according to behavioural theory, criminal behaviour is a learned behaviour. If an individual, during his childhood, had experienced a violent environment or had witnessed time and again violence getting rewarded or if he/ she had acquired criminality as part of socialisation in his community, then one can expect such an individual to indulge in criminal and violent behaviours.

5.2.4 Personality Theory and Criminal Behaviour

Every individual thinks, feels and acts. Personality can be described as the individual’s pattern of thinking, feeling and acting (that is, the behaviour of the individual). Basically personality deals with two areas, viz individual differences and how various parts of the person combine together as a whole.

Most definitions of personality focus on the characteristics and patterns of behaviour of an individual. Personality is determined by the interaction of hereditary and environmental factors. Other characteristics of personality include consistency, its impact on individual’s behaviours, and its multiple expressions in thoughts, feelings and close relationships with other people in the environment. Thus, personality can be defined as the characteristic sets of behaviours, cognitions and emotional patterns which evolve from both biological and environmental factors. Thus, personality is a relatively stable characteristic of a person that helps behaviour consistent across situations.

There are many personality theories, but the one that could explain criminal behaviour appear to be that of Eysenck’s theory of personality. This theory of Eysenck is also known as personality theory of offending. It is also known as the PEN model. Eysenck considered criminal behaviour as the outcome of interactions between extraversion, neuroticism and psychoticism. All these three traits can be measured and interpreted. While E refers to the overall the person being sociable, active, lively and sensation seeking etc. N stands for

persons being anxious, depressed and react strongly to adverse stimuli. P refers to psychoticism and people getting high scores on this dimension are considered to be relatively more aggressive, antisocial and more egocentric and Eysenck related P to the functioning of the nervous system and according to him/ her all the three E, N and P traits are determined largely by genetics. On the basis of this theory, Eysenck considered criminal behaviour as arising from immature development, selfishness and persons demanding immediate gratification of all the desires and wishes which arise within. In almost all societies many of these behaviours are intervened by socialisation process and the individual is trained and made to learn to postpone his gratification etc. However in the criminals, socialisation process does not have the needed impact and such persons continue to act irresponsibly and remain immature and cannot tolerate frustration arising due to the needs and wishes not getting gratified immediately. These frustrations lead to anger, violence and indulgence in criminality. One of the personality disorders associated with criminality is the Anti Social Personality Disorder, characterised by impulsive behaviour, excitability, lack of remorse, violating other people's rights, and linked closely to adult criminal.

The important factors of personality that influence criminal behaviour are biological risk factors, adverse childhood experiences, negative social environment and substance abuse.

As for biological factors, the variances and abnormalities in autonomic arousal, neurobiology and neuroendocrine functioning have been found to increase the probability of a person to commit a crime.

In regard to adverse childhood experiences, it has been noted that children who are brought up or raised in bad situations are considered to be at greater risk for indulging in delinquency during childhood and adolescence and criminal behaviour during adulthood, as compared to those who are brought up under favourable and good loving situations.

Another factor contributing to criminal behaviour is the social environment such as the crime filled neighbourhood or living in a home with either or both parents involved in criminal activities. Such persons by closely associating with criminality develop personality which is anti social in all aspects and thus indulge in criminal behaviour unmindful unremorseful of the damage and injury they cause to the victim. Furthermore, extreme poverty and struggling for food causes intense stress and such persons are more likely to indulge in crime.

Substance abuse is another important problem that leads to criminal behaviour. The substances which are intoxicants bring about an altered state of mind losing all the inhibitions that a normal person would experience when contemplating or indulging in wrongful behaviours. These intoxicants cause physiological and psychological changes affecting adversely the individual's ability to control himself and also his decision making ability. Furthermore, the person's craving for the substance such as alcohol or heroin etc. accompanied by extreme discomfort compels him/ her to obtain the drug by any means including criminality.

Thus, personality theory is able to explain criminal behaviour in terms of a number of factors such as psychoticism trait, antisocial personality and factors such as biological, physiological and psychological factors including substance abuse, poverty etc.

There are different modalities through which criminality has been associated with personality. The question in this regard is whether there is a typical personality associated with criminal behaviour. Many researches in this area have shown contradictory findings, even though the link between personality and antisocial behavior has been fairly well established through research. Many facets of personality or the traits of personality combine together to form personality of an individual. More specifically, personality traits refer to the persisting underlying tendencies in an individual to act in a certain way in particular situations (Farrington and Jolliffe, 2004)

These personality traits are combined together into super traits which characterise an individual's underlying personality. Traits which also contribute to the emotional and experiential spheres of life, define people's perception of the world and explains how that perception influences the physical and psychological outcomes. As pointed out by Miller and Lynam (2001), many structured models of personality exist, each consisting of a set of traits and super traits.

As one considers crime and personality, it is seen that these two are linked in two ways, viz., certain traits or super traits are linked within a structural model of personality and on to antisocial behaviour. Of the structural model, the main ones include the 5-factor model of McCrae and Costa (1990), the PEN model of Eysenck (1977), the 3-factor model of Tellegen (1985) and the Temperament and Character model of Cloninger et al (1993). The 5-factor model has Neuroticism, Extraversion, Openness to experience, Agreeableness and Conscientiousness. Eysenck's PEN model consists of Psychoticism, Extraversion and Neuroticism. The 3-factor model of Tellegen covers Positive Emotionality, Negative emotionality and Constraints. The fourth model of Cloninger and colleagues contain traits such as novelty seeking, Harm avoidance, Reward dependence, Persistence, Self directedness, Cooperativeness, and Self transcendence.

Eysenck's PEN model hypothesised that a typical criminal would possess high levels of psychoticism, Extraversion and Neuroticism traits. Cloninger on the other hand hypothesised link between anti social personality with high novelty seeking, low harm avoidance, and low reward dependence.

Another way by which personality theorists link the personality with criminal behaviour is by asserting that abnormal persons, and persons showing deviant behaviours possess criminal personality. These personality include psychopathic personality trait, sociopathic or antisocial personality trait. Persons with these traits are generally highly self centered, grandiose, callous and lack remorse or empathy for others in addition to being manipulative and superficial. They are impulsive irresponsible, and antisocial in their behaviours. Some may suffer from antisocial personality disorder as classified by DSM-5 of APA, and this personality disorder persons do engage in criminal behaviour or it may be stated that those who indulge in criminal behaviours, may suffer from

this personality disorder. While personality is linked to criminal behaviour, many researches have shown that the environment too plays a significant role in criminality. For instance a person having anti social personality trait may not necessarily indulge in criminal behaviour. However if the environment in which he/ she lives and brought up is conducive to criminality, this individual too would indulge in criminal acts.

According to Moffitt (2006), persistence in antisocial behaviour is the result of the interaction between individual traits and environmental reactions to the personal traits of the person concerned.

5.2.5 Theories of Intelligence and Criminal Behaviour

Until now we explained criminal behaviour by different psychological theories, such as the psychodynamic theory, cognitive theory, behavioural theory and personality theory. Now we will discuss criminal behaviour from intelligence perspective, that is intelligence theory.

Before proceeding, let us define intelligence generally and from psychology point of view. According to the general definition, intelligence is the ability to acquire and apply knowledge and skills. The Merriam Webster dictionary states that Intelligence refers to 'having or indicating a high or satisfactory degree of intelligence and mental capacity. Intelligence refers to 'revealing or reflecting good judgment or sound thought, that is skilful. Psychologists define intelligence as the functioning of a number of related faculties and abilities that enable the individual to respond to the different environmental pressures appropriately. It may however be kept in mind that even though there is no single or 'correct' definition of intelligence, most definitions have certain common features . For instance, intelligence is a property of an individual which interacts with its various aspects of the individual's environment. Intelligence is also related to the individual's ability to succeed in realising an objective or reaching a goal. The ability to adapt oneself to the different objectives and environments. When these are combined, we obtain the definition of 'intelligence' as one that measures an individual's ability to achieve goals with the ability to learn and adapt, to understand and succeed in a wide range of environments.

Whether intelligence is in any way related to criminality, has been a topic researched a great deal. The research results over centuries have demonstrated that individuals with low intelligence quotient (IQ) tend to be more likely to engage in criminal behaviour. An important research in this regard is associating school performance with intelligence and criminal behaviour. Studies that have worked on future delinquency and adult criminality have demonstrated that the IQ and poor school performance are linked to each other and the youngsters who fail or drop out of school due to poor performance and low IQ and also having very few career options, indulge in criminality and antisocial behaviours. Thus, it may be mentioned that based on research work relating IQ with criminality and low school performance, those youngsters who drop out of school without even obtaining the minimum level of education, have relatively less opportunity to get any suitable vocation or job and thus tend to indulge in crime. Some studies have also indicated that low verbal intelligence (low verbal IQ) is

obtained in those children who are considered poor school performers and who are also low in academic achievement, both of which together lead to their likelihood of indulging in criminal activities. Many theories of intelligence have shown that people with low IQ are likely to be impulsive, break the law, do not have social bonding, struggle at school etc. all of which are related to criminal behaviour.

At the same time people with high IQ also indulge in criminal behaviours. In this context there are many examples of genius (high IQ) indulging in crimes as for instance many white collar crimes that go undetected. Such high IQ persons plan meticulously every detail so that their crimes go undetected and even if detected they will be able to escape as no evidence of any kind is left back. Many computer related crimes, money being drained out of someone's account etc. are typical crimes committed by persons with high IQ.

Oleson (2003) took one group of persons with high IQ and the other control group and compared crime rate between the two groups, for 72 types of crime, that included minor offences as trespassing, copyright violation to serious crimes like arson, kidnapping and fraud. he/ she concluded that the high IQ offenders got away with their crimes and very few convictions for the reported offences by them. Oleson interviewed these offenders, and reported that the exceptionally bright persons appear to be more inclined to commit crimes because they do feel alienated from others because of their high IQ. They suffer from social maladjustment, and experience more isolation, bullying by peers and difficulty in forming attachments and bonding with significant others.

All these characteristics make them at risk for committing crimes. Despite the fact they do commit crimes, the rate of crime committed by them is far lower than those committed by persons with low IQ. Oleson's book, "Criminal Genius- A portrait of High offenders (2016) published by California university press, has brought out the high IQ crimes and the findings has implications for criminal justice and public policy. While there is a relationship between IQ and criminality, the debate continues about the extent or degree of this relationship between lower IQ and crime. One of the criticisms against this relationship is the measurement of IQ itself. It is argued that the IQ tests measures only middle-class knowledge and values rather than innate intelligence. Furthermore those who score low on IQ tests also belong to different cultural backgrounds and suffer from certain structural disadvantages, as a result of which these persons are involved in more criminality. However, there are explanations about IQ being a causal factor in crime related behaviours.

However, research results to quite an extent appear to be contradictory with some researches showing no significant relationship between IQ and criminality. Despite all these, one may conclude this section by stating that intelligence theories do indicate IQ being a correlational factor to crime. Low verbal IQ and poor school performance and lack of education etc do lead persons to take to criminal activities to survive and sustain living. However IQ alone is not the deciding factor in criminality. As pointed out in this section there are many biological, psychological and sociological theories

which have put forward many factors which all combine together contributing to criminal behaviour.

Check Your Progress I

- 1) How does cognitive theory explain criminal behaviour?

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5.3 BIOLOGICAL AND INTEGRATED THEORIES

These theories focus on neurobiological factors contributing to criminality. Amongst various factors, three biological factors have been found to be associated with crime related behaviours, and these are psychophysiology, brain and genetics. These are discussed in detail in this section.

5.3.1 Psychophysiology and Criminal Behaviour

This refers to the arousal levels within the individuals which can be measured. Heart rate and skin conductance are the two common psychophysiological measures, that explain antisocial and criminal behaviours. While both these measures are related to autonomic nervous system functioning, the skin conductance, reflects sympathetic nervous system functioning whereas heart rate reflects both sympathetic and parasympathetic functioning. Antisocial and criminal behaviours are explained by the functioning of these physiological measures. Blunted functioning of these systems causes antisocial and criminal behaviours. (Choy, et al., 2015; Portnoy and Farrington, 2015, Choy, et al., 2018)

Elaborating the blunted physiology explanation, it may be stated that as the physical and mental state is disturbed by the blunted physiology, the individual feels extremely uncomfortable and wants to do something (even indulging in criminal behaviour) that would relieve him/ her from the state of discomfort. In other words, indulging in criminal behaviour, leads to higher arousal level which reduces the state of discomfort.

When there is disruption to the autonomic functioning, the individual fails to associate cognitively the physiological responses with his emotional state. This leads to inappropriate behaviours such as antisocial behaviours due to the so called “somatic aphasia” in which the individual cannot identify accurately his own bodily state. Also, blunted autonomic functioning affects adversely the emotional intelligence, thereby increasing the psychopathic traits in the person, which in turn disrupts the development of moral emotions such as shame, guilt and empathy. Such persons would not hesitate indulging in anti social and unlawful activities.

While biological factors do contribute to criminality as pointed out above, there are different types of criminals and these different criminals may not share the same kind of blunting of autonomous functioning. Research shows that persons who are high on reactive aggression may manifest hyperactive autonomic functioning (Hubbard et al., 2010).

Thus, one may conclude that dysfunctional or blunted autonomic functioning appear to be an important correlate of antisocial and criminal behaviours.

5.3.2 Brain and Criminal Behaviour

In this section we will be discussing the functions of the brain and criminal behaviour. Amongst the most important organs of the brain that appear to be associated with criminal behaviours, prefrontal cortex, amygdala, striatum and genetics will be discussed. The neuromoral theory of antisocial behaviour explaining criminality will be taken up followed by an integrated theory of biological, genetic, neurological and psychological aspects.

It is well known that research studies linking brain functions to criminality had started somewhere in the late 17th-18th century. Since then there has been no looking back and from associating mental retardation and abnormality in brain function to criminal behaviour, the present day research has taken up typical areas of the brain like the pre frontal cortex, amygdala etc to criminal behaviour.

As for the brain, relatively recent research shows that antisocial and criminal behaviours are found in those persons who exhibit reduced brain volumes and impaired functioning in those areas related to executive functions in the brain. (Meijers, Harte, Meynen, & Cuijpers, 2017)

Other researchers (for example, Banks et al., 2007) pointed out that impaired functioning of emotional regulation is associated with criminal behaviour.

On the other hand researchers working on decision making , pointed out that For example, Coutlee and Huettel, 2012) the executive functions of the brain shows abnormality in decision making in cases of criminal behaviour.

Thus, brain has an important role to play in criminal behaviour especially when the area related to executive functioning is adversely affected or is not active or functions inappropriately, thereby impacting negatively the decision making and emotion regulation functions thereby leading to antisocial and criminal behaviours.

Most of these criminal behaviours are attributed to the prefrontal cortex which is responsible for the executive functions of the brain such as the decision making, attention, emotion regulation, impulse control and moral aspects of behaviours. This prefrontal cortex in criminals and antisocial persons, is considered to suffer from structural and functional abnormality, affecting the executive functions of the brain (Yuvan and Raz, 2014)

Furthermore, findings from research (for example, Taber-Thomas et al., 2014) on prefrontal lesions, categorically showed that these lesions at younger age level, disrupt the moral and social development of the individuals. Relatively more recently, Darby et al., 2018, studied 17 patients

who, developed criminal tendencies after they were found to have developed lesions in the prefrontal cortex and other locations in the brain. They concluded that even though brain lesions may be in different locations they were all connected functionally to regions activated by moral decision making, implying there on that disruption of neuromoral network and criminality are associated.

However, it may be mentioned here that the prefrontal cortex malfunctioning may differ amongst criminals. For instance, the lesions mentioned above and the malfunctioning etc. are obtained more in the conventional criminals rather than in white collar criminals and other high level operating criminals like the drug lord etc. Hence, it is important to recognise that It is therefore important to acknowledge that there may exist different neurobiological causes in different types of antisocial and criminal behaviours. Hence prefrontal cortex lesions or brain lesions need not necessarily lead to all types of criminal behaviours. As of the present day research, it is more associated with conventional criminality than other modern day white collar, cyber crimes, IT (information technology) crimes, etc.

Another important region of the brain associated with criminality is the amygdala. This organ of the brain is involved with emotional processes and is implicated more for negative emotions such as fear etc. Normal functioning of the amygdala is important for fear conditioning and when amygdala is appropriately integrated with prefrontal cortex, it leads to the development of morality in the individual. In cases where there is maldevelopment of amygdala and where stimulus reinforcement learning is not present, this leads to an increased aggressive and antisocial behaviours. It has been pointed out that amygdala is associated with stimulus-reinforcement learning that discourages anti social and criminal behaviours (Sterzer. 2010).

Also, it has been stated (Pardini et al., 2014) that if amygdala volume is reduced in adulthood it may lead to aggressive and criminal behaviours, and be also associated with increased risk for future antisocial and psychopathic behaviour.

Another organ in the brain in explaining criminality, is the striatum, which is involved in reward and emotional processing. Increased activity in the striatum has been associated with impulsive and antisocial behaviours. According to recent research findings (for example, Geurts, et al., 2016), those individuals who are high on impulsive and antisocial traits, show also higher level of activity in the striatum.

Under 'brain' abnormalities, neuromoral theory is an important theory that explains criminality. According to this, impaired brain regions, other than PFC, amygdala and striatum overlap regions, such as the frontopolar, medial, and ventral PFC regions, and the anterior cingulate, insula, superior temporal gyrus, etc. which are involved in moral decision making. (Raine, 2019)

One implication of the model is that significant impairment to the neuromoral circuit could constitute diminished criminal responsibility.

5.3.3 Genetics and Criminal Behaviour

The aspect of hereditary factors associated with criminality has been researched comprehensively though no specific conclusions could be arrived at as many of these factors are impacted and influenced by social and environmental factors also. For instance, a large number of psychological and psychiatric variables, such as intelligence, personality and mental disorders etc. have been associated with criminal behaviours. Almost all these factors are heritable and 40-60% of these heritable factors contribute to antisocial and criminal behaviours (Raine, 2013).

Another important factor to note is the interaction of gene with the environment. The predisposition of indulging in criminality by an individual is determined by the gene. However, the individual may not necessarily become a criminal or indulge in criminal behaviour due to this predisposition. However if the environment is such that, as for instance, residing in a criminal neighbourhood or community or being neglected and maltreated by people, family and society, it would render the individual susceptible to indulge in criminal behaviour. For instance a particular genotype DRD2 (Dopamine genes) when combined with having a criminal father increased the risk for serious delinquency, violent behaviours and being apprehended by the police (Delisi et al., 2009).

Thus, the gene-environment interaction contributing to criminal behaviours indicates, how the genotypes influence the sensitivity of the persons to environmental stressors. Thus, one may categorically state that the gene environment interaction is an important factor causing criminal behaviour. Just as biological mechanisms influence environmental factors, so also the environmental factors such as environmental stressors can influence biological factors and their expressions.

While biological factors interacting with environmental factors are considered to cause criminal behaviours, quite often the interaction between and amongst different biological factors can also influence criminal behaviour. For instance, as mentioned earlier the pre frontal cortex which regulates the amygdala activity if disrupted or the connectivity between PFC and amygdala is disrupted, it leads to increased antisocial /criminal behaviours. It is therefore important to also consider the working together of the different biological systems in producing criminal behaviours.

In addition to the above factors, based on the many theories discussed above, another important factor is the social environment, which is unhealthy or abnormal or criminalistic, may lead to criminality. Studies in this regard (for example, Tottenham, et al., 2011) have identified early adversity and childhood maltreatment as two important risk factors that may lead to both neurobiological and behavioural problems in the individuals.

Furthermore, it has been shown that for normative brain development and its function, there is a need for a healthy social environment. This knowledge regarding the association between healthy social environment, brain functioning and criminality helps in changing the social environment in such a manner that the criminal behaviours could be reduced in the individuals and in turn in the society.

Check Your Progress II

- 1) List the most important organs of the brain that appear to be associated with criminal behaviours.

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5.4 LET US SUM UP

To summarise in this section we discussed about the psychodynamic theories and also cognitive theories in order to explain criminal behaviour. While linking personality with criminal behaviours, one may reiterate the statement made by Miller and Lyman (2001), who used five factor model as a common denominator, and stated that those who are low on agreeableness trait, conscientiousness trait, and having poor control over impulsiveness and lack motivation to change behaviour for the better, are more likely to indulge in criminal or anti social behaviours as compared to those who are high on the traits and have motivation to change their behaviour in a more positive direction. Also, since environment too plays an important role in behaviours of the individual, it may be stated that if an individual is brought up in an environment wherein the child through early attachments and social bonds learn to control his impulses, delay short term gain for long term personal and collective interests, when interact with the personality traits within the person, may explain the presence or absence of criminal behaviour.

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5.6 KEY WORDS

Behaviour theory: The main tenet of this theory is that all behaviours are learned and hence can be unlearned and a new behaviour which is more appropriate and desired can be learned in place of the undesirable behaviour. By the same logic, criminal behaviour or violent behaviours too are learned and so can be unlearned, and in their place new and desirable behaviours can be learned afresh.

Cognitive theory: According to this theory, criminal behaviour is explained in terms of the mental processes of the individual. The focus of this theory is to understand how criminals perceive the world around them, and how the individuals solve problems. Cognitive theory has two sub disciplines, viz., a) moral development, and b) information processing.

Psychodynamic theory: According to the psychodynamic theory, the early childhood experiences of the individual is responsible for such behaviours. The proponent of this theory was Sigmund Freud and this theory had three basic elements, viz., a) The Id, b) The Ego and c) The Super Ego.

Psychophysiology: This refers to the arousal levels within the individuals which can be measured. Heart rate and skin conductance are the two common psychophysiological measures, that explain antisocial and criminal behaviours.

5.7 ANSWERS TO CHEK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress I

- 1) How does cognitive theory explain criminal behaviour?

According to this theory, criminal behaviour is explained in terms of the mental processes of the individual. The focus of this theory is to understand how criminals perceive the world around them, and how the individuals solve problems.

Check Your Progress II

- 1) List the most important organs of the brain that appear to be associated with criminal behaviours.

The most important organs of the brain that appear to be associated with criminal behaviours are prefrontal cortex, amygdala, striatum and genetics

5.8 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- 1) Describe the psychodynamic theory, cognitive theory and behaviour theory of criminal behaviour.
- 2) Explain personality theory of criminal behaviour.
- 3) Discuss the theories of intelligence and criminal behaviour.
- 4) Explain the biological and integrated theories of criminal behaviour.



UNIT 6 OFFENDER TYPOLOGIES AND CRIMINAL PROFILING¹

Structure

- 6.0 Objectives
- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Offender Typologies
 - 6.2.1 Theories of Classification Regarding Offenders (Offender Typologies)
- 6.3 Juvenile Delinquency
- 6.4 Forensic Psychologist and Crime Investigation
 - 6.4.1 Crime
 - 6.4.2 Role of a Forensic Psychologist in Crime Investigation
 - 6.4.3 Criminal Profiling
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6.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you will be able to,

- discuss offender typologies;
- explain juvenile delinquency; and
- discuss forensic psychology and criminal investigation.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

One of the most important roles that a forensic psychologists will play is in criminal or offender profiling. Thus, in this context, we also need to learn about offender typologies. And the present unit will focus on exactly that, that is, offender typologies and criminal profiling. The unit will also touch upon juvenile delinquency as this is one category of offenders that differs from adult offenders. The unit will also discuss forensic psychology and criminal investigation in which we will discuss about what crime is, the role of a forensic psychologist in criminal investigation, criminal profiling and psychological autopsy.

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6.2 OFFENDER TYPOLOGIES²

According to the Webster's Revised Unabridged Dictionary, offender is one who violates any law, divine or human; a wrongdoer. Crime is the breach of rules or laws for which some governing authority (via mechanisms such as legal systems) can ultimately prescribe a conviction. Individual human societies may each define crime and crimes differently. While every crime violates the law, not every violation of the law counts as a crime. For example, breaches of contract and of other civil laws may rank as "offences" or as "infractions".

Modern societies generally regard crimes as offences against the public or the state, distinguished from torts. The latter are offences against private parties that can give rise to a civil cause of action. When informal relationships and sanctions prove insufficient to establish and maintain a desired social order, a government or a state may impose more formalised or stricter systems of social control. With institutional and legal machinery at their disposal, agents of the State can compel populations to conform to codes, and can opt to punish or attempt to reform those who do not conform.

A method for classifying offenders or creating offender typologies has to be based upon personal or psychiatric or psychological factors, or situational environmental factors, or a combination of both psychological and situational elements. Besides the above, there are also the personality involvement in every criminal act and the presence of a certain situation or set of circumstances. The issue that should be considered here is that when classifying any offender one must take the history of the individual's criminal behaviour.

A person who commits only a single crime differs in personality make up from the one who repeats a criminal act several times or commits various crimes. The classification must reflect this, and the history of the offender's antisocial and criminal behaviour will indicate whether the person should be labeled an acute (momentary) or a chronic (habitual) offender.

Any classification, be it of plants, animals, or human beings, is to some extent artificial because there will always be individual characteristics or a set of characteristics which can properly be placed in more than one group. In our own attempt at classification, dealing as we often do with emotionally and mentally abnormal offenders, it is frequently difficult to distinguish between a criminal who is neurotic and one who suffers from a character disorder. Yet in spite of the shortcomings inherent in classification, we must attempt to categorise offenders if we are going to be successful in dealing with them. If we can classify them in a rational way, we can diagnose their characteristics, treat them, and predict their future behaviour. However, such classification means that we will have to examine carefully each criminal to be able to find the characteristic and predominant traits that will tell us in which particular category the individual (offender) belongs.

² Section 6.2 is adapted from Unit 1, Block 2 of BPCE-021 and is authored by Anuja Kapur, Freelance Forensic Scientist, Delhi

In trying to arrive at a system of classification in the field of criminology, we are faced with two problems, classifying the crimes and classifying the criminals. The first classification is a legal one, having its origin in criminal law. The law differentiates between crimes committed against the person (that is, crimes of violence, such as assault, murder, or sexual attacks), those committed against property (burglary or robbery), and crimes against the State. The law thus attempts to classify the criminal according to his/her act. This legally and sociologically coloured method of classification is imperfect and unrealistic in the great majority of cases because an offender may very easily fit into two or all three of the categories. For example, he/ she may kill and commit a burglary, thus committing crimes against person and property.

One way of classifying offenders is to divide them according to those who commit crimes which are primarily directed against society (manifest criminals, such as gangsters), and those who commit crimes which primarily express their inner conflicts which are symptomatic or reactive criminals, such as the kleptomaniac, pyromaniac, sex offender, and a certain type of murderer. On the whole, individuals suffering from a neurotic or psychotic condition or from a character disturbance can also commit crimes which are mainly due to their mental condition. However, the drawback to such a classification is that the overwhelming majority of all offenders manifest inner conflicts.

6.2.1 Theories of Classification Regarding Offenders (Offender Typologies)

There are many theories of classification of offenders. Let us look at some of the theories.

Lombroso expounded a type of classification based upon different criminal types. He divided criminals into the born criminal, the epileptic criminal, the criminal of irresistible passion, the insane and the feeble-minded criminal, including those of border-line mentality and the occasional criminal. The last group, that is the occasional criminal was subdivided into pseudo-criminal, the criminaloid, and the persistent offender of non-abnormal type.

Enrico Ferri divided criminals into occasional offenders and habitual offenders. To the first group belonged those whose criminal acts were due to external circumstances and who were driven to commit crimes because of a special passion. To the second group belonged those who were obviously insane or mentally defective, and those mental deviates with inborn criminal tendencies (the so-called psychopaths), and finally the persistent early offenders whose criminal behaviour was caused by environmental elements. Franz von Liszt criticised the classification based upon the motivation of the criminal and instead followed a penological and sociological viewpoint, distinguishing between momentary offenders and corrigible and incorrigible permanent offenders. Although this classification is clear-cut, it neglects to include offenders who are legally insane and is therefore incomplete and inaccurate. In order to avoid such a pitfall, Charles Goring classified criminals into physical, mental, and moral types.

An interesting method of classification was proposed by Ernst Kretschmer, who was the first to try to correlate the physical appearance of a person with his/her mental condition. Kretschmer's constitutional classification is based upon the study of people as psychobiological, or mental-physiological entities. He established three types of personalities the athletic, the asthenic-schizothymic-leptosomic, and the pyknic. He stated that there exists a clear biological connection between mental disposition toward schizophrenia and the asthenic-schizothymic-leptosomic and the athletic body builds and also between mental disposition toward a manic-depressive condition and the pyknic body type. His theory was applied to the classification of criminals, noting in particular that offenders who committed serious crimes were of the asthenic-schizothymic-leptosomic body build, while those offenders who committed less serious crimes had a pyknic body build. While Kretschmer's idea of constitution is limited to a person's hereditary qualities, Olof Kinberg includes a person's reactions if they are the result of his/her predisposition or of his/her environment. Kinberg, in collaboration with Sjobring, gives a psychological classification wherein psychobiological correlation is not so predominant as in Kretschmer's hypothesis.

In classification of offenders, it must be noted that can only be valid on a causative or on an etiological basis. To classify according to the crime committed is untenable because the cause or causes of the crime are interrelated with the perpetrator and the person's environmental situation. Therefore, we can classify an offender only if we see the seriousness of the individuals' crime in relation to that person's personality make up. This is as true for the momentary offender as for the habitual one.

While classifying the crime one must also consider the frequency of the commission of the crime as it reflects the degree of inclination toward crime and of abnormality present in the offender. Such classification, however, presupposes that criminals be carefully examined, particularly to determine how much of the ego participated in the criminal act.

Also, to ascertain the causative factors responsible for criminal activities in the offender, we must examine each person individually and give each case a special consideration. Sometimes an offender manifests signs of a character disturbance and yet still may have anxieties and feelings of guilt. Or, on the surface the offender may show signs indicating a neurosis, while deep within, the individual may have a character deformation, which will put the offender into another group altogether. Also it must be kept in mind that a criminal may appear to be suffering from an anxiety hysteria, which may very well cover up a schizophrenic condition. The latter condition will place the offender in the psychotic classification, and not the neurotic one.

Another important point to consider is whether or not a criminal's aggressive drive, which has become antisocial and which is the product of the offender's distorted emotional and mental condition. Only a careful examination of, the offender, including his psychobiological development and the person's own personality reaction, will determine the causative factors responsible for the crime and the offender's place in the classification system.

A system of classification which is methodologically sound may be limited in scope. The purpose of the formation of categories in criminology is to

determine how to deal with the offender in a rational way, be it by the court, the district attorney, the prison official, the probation officer, or the psychiatrist. An operational approach is therefore necessary, which must take into consideration the offender's environmental background, immediate situation, and personality make up.

The classification will also have to be based on both sociological and psychological factors, the division of physical and mental diseases into acute and chronic ones and the degree of severity of the disorder. This division can also be used to great advantage in classifying offenders because it connotes at once the degree of criminal involvement of the personality of the perpetrator. Therefore, offenders can be divided into two groups viz., (i) acute or momentary offenders and (ii) chronic or habitual offenders.

In designating a criminal as acute or chronic, we must take into consideration the seriousness of the crime or crimes committed, as well as the frequency and time factor. Otherwise, an individual who commits one premeditated murder would be considered simply an acute criminal, while another individual who repeatedly commits harmless or nuisance thefts would be considered a chronic offender. Obviously, this is wrong because the first individual is more dangerous than the second, even though the latter may have a personality defect. While such a personality defect may also be true of the murderer, the person might display definitely some emotional or mental imbalance. Such a person's personality make up will be involved too much with the person's act to put him/ her into the category of an acute offender.

The offenders could also be classified as given below:

- **Opportunist:** An opportunist offender seeks out his/her victim's regularly until caught.
- **Experimenter:** This type of offenders abuses as a part of sexual exploitation.
- **Inadequate and opportunistic:** This type of offender is mentally inadequate or has a stunted mental development.
- **Pedophile:** A pedophile has no sexual interest in adults and is sexually attracted to only prepubescent children, under the age of thirteen.
- **Ephrophile:** An ephrophile is sexually attracted to only post-pubescent children, adolescents between the ages of fourteen and eighteen.
- **Pederast:** This type of offender engages in anal intercourse with boys under the age of eighteen.
- **Nonexclusive:** This type of offender is married or in a relationship with another adult but clearly desires children sexually and uses every opportunity to find situations where sexual contact with a child can happen.
- **Exclusive offender:** This type of offender is attracted only to children.
- **Sex offenders:** A sex offender is an individual who is either an ephrophile or a pedophile.

Check Your Progress I

1) Explain nonexclusive offenders

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6.3 JUVENILE DELIQUENCY

We need to discuss about juvenile delinquency in the context of offenders as in this case the offender is below a certain age and is not considered as an adult. Thus, the offence committed is to be perceived under different circumstances and is also to be dealt with differently than that of offenders who are adults.

Juvenile delinquency refers to the violation of law by a child. The person's age is under 18 years and is not yet considered an adult. Juvenile delinquency consists of two types of behaviours:

Status offence: Status offence includes drinking, smoking, playing truant, running away from home etc. These children behave in such a way they are uncontrollable and are generally treated by the juvenile justice system.

Delinquency offence: Delinquent offences include that are considered violent involve murder, rape, armed robbery, aggravated and simple assaults, stalking, menacing, vandalising etc.

There are various factors that can could cause delinquency. One such factor is substance abuse. It is not that substance abuse causes delinquency or persons who are identified as delinquents use drugs and intoxicants and mind altering drugs to get excited etc. At the same time, substance abuse as such is highly and positively correlated with delinquency. In fact, those youngsters who take to drug abuse etc., do suffer from many kinds of mental and physical health problems. All these eventually lead to delinquency.

Poverty is another major problem that leads to delinquency. Though there is no direct relationship between the two factors, invariably research has indicated that high rates of delinquency are attributed to poverty and poor welfare. Children who engage in delinquent activities have been associated with poor families of origin. An assessment conducted on the causes of female delinquency also indicated that the female delinquency and conflict with the law were mainly lack of income, children school fees not being paid, not having enough money to pay for their clothes or feed the family etc.

The youngsters often have too much energy and time on hand and could find it boring and time hanging, and thus he/she may look for some excitement that would satisfy his/her need for excitement and activities. When these are not available, his/her tendency is to indulge in some exciting activity which

may end up in delinquency; that is doing something in conflict with the Law or doing something wrong and not getting caught being kind of an adventure to such youngsters. It is important to keep a young person meaningfully occupied and productive, as the person feels he/ she is "doing something" and "earning" his living. Even adventure sports would take care of the youngster's energy and keep him/her occupied and excited.

It has also been observed that youngsters from the villages migrate to the urban areas in search of employment and work that could earn them some money. It is also noticed that they take up jobs that may not be fitting into their qualifications, but far lesser than justified, but yet go on with it as it gets them some money. These also cause frustrations and annoyance in them. Engaging in such jobs makes these youngsters resort to violence and at times to activities that bring them into conflict with the law.

Another cause for delinquency could be the low or poor education amongst the youngsters. Lack of education and lack of skills are a few of the leading reasons for these youngsters not getting employment. Thus, as the frustration and disappointment mount along with the loss of a support system due to leaving the family cocoon in the village, make the youngster indulge in activities that are delinquent in nature.

In addition to the above factors, dysfunctional family is also another important factor in leading to delinquency. Broken family, constant quarrels between partners in the family, rejection children or being violent towards them, using corporal punishment, not giving adequate care love and affection to children etc all these form part of social disorganisation. Delinquency is attributed in all these cases to the absence of family, which is essential for children and youths development of personality.

The next important factor causing delinquency is identified as 'violence'. Here violence refers to the children and youth being subjected to violence leading to psychological trauma. Such children and youngsters as they grow up resort to violent behaviours and many other behaviours that bring them into conflict with the law. Thus, children brought up in families and have been subjected to violence and abuse, turn up as delinquent as they grow up.

The next factor contributing to delinquency is the peer influence. Many research studies (for example, Smith et al., 2005) have shown a significant relationship in the positive direction between these two factors. Thus association with deviant youths is one of the important reasons for delinquency.

In a relatively more recent study, by Yusuf et al (2021), the authors pointed out that there is a negative and significant correlation between these two factors, viz., juvenile delinquency and peer influence. They suggested that every effort should be put in to educate these youths and train them so that they do not make friends with the deviant peers but with the right persons.

As a forensic psychologist it is important to focus on these factors as based on this information, suitable intervention strategies could be developed to prevent the children and youth from becoming delinquents. In regard to interventions to help youngsters indulging in activities that conflict with the

Law, one of the more effective programmes focused on interpersonal skill development, such as social skill training, anger management, and an important measure of reducing the youngsters' exposure to deviant peers. In addition some of the community based interventions such as providing recreational facilities and many after-school programmes including sports, music and professional club activities etc., have been found to be effective in reducing delinquency. Furthermore, delinquency has been also associated with age, gender, prior delinquent activities, family support system, etc. also play a role in causing delinquency. Education, mental health services, juvenile justice and community programmes in combination could help a great deal in reducing delinquency.

Juvenile delinquency will be further discussed by us in detail in unit 13 of this course.

Box 6.2 Causes of Crimes Committed by Young Offenders³

A young offender or juvenile offender is a person who has been convicted or cautioned for a criminal offence. Criminal justice systems often deal with young offenders differently from adult offenders, but different countries apply the term 'young offender' to different age groups depending on the age of criminal responsibility in that country. The United Kingdom has three separate and distinct criminal justice systems: England & Wales, Northern Ireland, and Scotland. Young offenders are often dealt with by the Youth Offending Team.

A juvenile delinquent is one who repeatedly commits crime. These juvenile delinquents sometimes have mental disorders/behavioural issues such as post traumatic stress disorder or bipolar disorder, and are sometimes diagnosed with conduct disorder partially as a result of their delinquent behaviours.

In England & Wales the age of criminal responsibility is set at 10. Young offenders aged 10 to 17 (i.e. up to their eighteenth birthday) are classed as a juvenile offender. Between the ages of 18 and 21 (i.e. up to their twenty-first birthday) they are classed as young offenders. Offenders aged 21 and over are known as adult offenders. In Northern Ireland it is 10, and in Scotland the age of criminal responsibility is set at 8, one of the lowest ages of criminal responsibility in Europe.

Minors who commit sexual crimes are adjudicated in a criminal court as sexual crimes are defined as sexually abusive behaviour committed by a person under the age of 18 that is perpetrated "against the victim's will, without consent, and in an aggressive, exploitative, manipulative, or threatening manner.

It is important to examine the prevalence data and the characteristics of juvenile sex offenders, in order to obtain a precise understanding of this heterogeneous group. In the Europe and other advanced countries, there is a mandatory reporting of such offences and this mandatory reporting laws

³ Box 6.1 is authored by Ms. Anuja Kapur, Freelance Forensic Scientist, Delhi and is adapted from unit 1, Block 2 of BPCE021

makes it a necessity for the law enforcement agency to report any incidents of disclosed sexual abuse.

Criminal youths or young offenders may further be classified as:

- i) Pseudo criminals: Those who may commit a criminal act but are not seriously out of social control. Their criminality is only incidental to the central problem they represent, namely, failure of society at large.
- ii) Amoral criminals: Those who have somehow failed to internalise and fully accept the moral principles of their socially-oriented families and sub-culture.
- iii) Real criminals: Those who have imbibed criminal values and do not suffer from any guilt-feeling when violating the law.

It is important to find out the various causes for youth crimes or crimes committed by young offenders. These causes are presented below.

Social disorganisation: Social disorganisation is one of the important causes. Current positivist approaches generally focus on the culture. A type of criminological theory attributes variation in crime and delinquency over time and among territories, to the absence or breakdown of communal institutions (e.g. family, school, church and social groups.) and communal relationships that traditionally encouraged cooperative relationships among people.

Merton, a sociologist suggested five adaptations to the above approach based on his Strain theory, and these are (i) Innovation (ii) Retreatism (iii) Ritualism (iv) Conformity (v) Rebellion. Let us elaborate each of these below.

- i) Innovation: Individuals who accept socially approved goals, but not necessarily the socially approved means.
- ii) Retreatism: Those who reject socially approved goals and the means for acquiring them.
- iii) Ritualism: Those who buy into a system of socially approved means, but lose sight of the goals. Merton believed that drug users are in this category.
- iv) Conformity: Those who conform to the system's means and goals.
- v) Rebellion: People who negate socially approved goals and means by creating a new system of acceptable goals and means.

A difficulty with strain theory is that it does not explore why children of low income families would have poor educational attainment in the first place. More importantly is the fact that much youth crime does not have an economic motivation. Strain theory fails to explain violent crime, the type of youth crime which causes most anxiety to the public.

Differential Association: The theory of differential association also deals with young people in a group context, and looks at how peer pressure and the existence of gangs could lead them into crime. It suggests that young people

are motivated to commit crimes by delinquent peers, and also they learn criminal skills from them. The diminished influence of peers after men marry has also been cited as a factor in desisting from offending. There is strong evidence that young people with criminal friends are more likely to commit crimes themselves. However it can also be that the offenders prefer to associate with one another, rather than delinquent peers causing someone to start offending. Furthermore there is the question of how the delinquent peer group became delinquent initially.

Labelling: Labelling theory states that once young people have been labeled as criminal they are more likely to offend. (Eadie & Morley: 2003 page 552) The idea is that once labeled as deviant a young person may accept that role, and be more likely to associate with others who have been similarly labeled. (Eadie & Morley: 2003 page 552). Labelling theorists say that male children from poor families are more likely to be labeled deviant, and that this may partially explain why there are more lower-class young male offenders. (Walklate: 2003 page 24).

Male Phenomenon: Youth crime is disproportionately male and theorists and others have examined why this is the case. One suggestion is that ideas of masculinity may make young men more likely to offend. Being tough, and reckless may be a way young men attempt to express their masculinity. Acting out these ideals may make young men more likely to engage in antisocial and criminal behaviour. Alternatively, rather than young men acting as they do because of societal pressure to conform to masculine ideals; young men may actually be naturally more aggressive, daring etc. As well as biological or psychological factors, the way young men are treated by their parents may make them more susceptible to offending. According to a study, adolescent males who possess a certain type of variation in a specific gene are more likely to flock to delinquent peers.

Other Causative Conditions Leading to Criminal Behaviour: There are many reasons why young people may get into trouble. These may stem from reasons including lack of discipline at home and in school, bad communication between parents and teenagers, peer pressure, violence at home, money problems, poor housing, instability, low grades at school, availability of drugs and alcohol, bullying and alienation, hyperactivity, learning problems and mental health problems.

Check Your Progress II

1) What is status offence?

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6.4 FORENSIC PSYCHOLOGY AND CRIME INVESTIGATION

Before we focus on forensic psychology and crime investigation, let us explain about crime.

6.4.1 Crime

Crime can be explained as an act which contradicts the legal code and laws of the land. The study of crimes and deviance have been researched a great deal to find out who are the persons who commit the crimes and what is the motivation or cause for them to commit such crimes. Some of the definitions of crime have been given in box 6.2.

Box 6.2 Definitions of Crime⁴

A normative definition views crime as deviant behaviour that violates prevailing norms – cultural standards prescribing how humans ought to behave normally. This approach considers the complex realities surrounding the concept of crime and seeks to understand how changing social, political, psychological, and economic conditions may affect changing definitions of crime and the form of the legal, law-enforcement, and penal responses made by society.

In other words, crime is the breach of rules or laws for which some governing authority (via mechanisms such as legal systems) can ultimately prescribe a conviction. Individual human societies may each define crime and crimes differently. While every crime violates the law, not every violation of the law counts as a crime; for example: breaches of contract and of other civil law may rank as “offences” or as “infractions”. Modern societies generally regard crimes as offences against the public or the state, distinguished from *torts* (offences against private parties that can give rise to a civil cause of action).

According to C. Darrow, “Crime is an act forbidden by the law of the land and for which penalty is prescribed”. This constitutes a definition of a crime from the social viewpoint. From the legal viewpoint, violation of law constitutes crime. In other words of Branes and Teeters, “The term Crime technically means a form of anti-social behaviour that has violated public sentiment to such an extent as to be forbidden by statute”.

Garofalo developed a concept of the “natural crime” and defined it as a violation of the prevailing sentiments of pity and probity. Radcliff Brown defined crime as the violation of usage which gives rise to the exercise of a sanction. The crime any act which causes harm to man’s social interests. The criminal is a person who commits crime. According to law a criminal is one who has intentionally violated a criminal law. Sometimes a criminal is not treated as such until his criminal acts are proved in court.

⁴ Box 6.2 is authored by Ms. Anuja Kapur, Freelance Forensic Scientist, Delhi and is adapted from unit 3, Block 2 of BPCE021

There are seven interrelated but overlapping criteria to call an act as a crime. Ideally behaviour would not be a crime unless all the seven conditions are present.

Harm: Before a behaviour can be called crime there must be certain external consequences or 'harm'. A crime has a harmful impact on social interests.

Illegal: The harm must be legally forbidden, must have been prescribed in penal law. Anti-social behaviour is not crime unless it is prohibited by law.

Malafide intention: There must be the criminal conduct, that is, there must be an intentional or reckless action or inaction which brings about the harmful consequences, for example, Doctor's negligence.

Criminal intention: Criminal intent must be present. Hall suggests that legal scholars have confused between intention and motive. The motives for a crime may be good but the intention is criminal. Thus if a man kills his starving children his motive is good but killing is legally forbidden and so his intention is criminal.

Concurrence of intention and conduct: There must be a concurrence of criminal intention and conduct.e.g: if a policeman, who goes into a house to make an arrest goes into a house to make an arrest is not a trespasser from the beginning.

Casual relationship: There must be a casual relationship between the legally forbidden harm and the voluntary misconduct.e.g: if a man dies of suffocation after being shot at, the relationship between conduct and the harm is not clear cut.

Prescription of punishment: There must be legally prescribed punishment. The voluntary misconduct must be punishable by law.

Various types of crime have been discussed as follows:

Crimes against persons: Crimes against persons can take any form, as for instance against children, adolescents, youths, adults and old persons. These crimes are also called as Personal crimes. These include murder, rape, robbery and aggravated assaults.

Crimes against property: These consist of causing bodily harm to other persons, burglary, looting a person's home and the belongings thereof, stealing cars, and many electronic and other appliances of great value. Larceny is another crime that comes in this category. Larceny means theft of physical items, whereas theft refers to all variations of stealing property from another person. Many other crimes such as stealing cars, thefts of many articles kept within the car or automobile of any type, are all crime against properties. Arson is another major crime that causes untold harm to public and private property. This is a criminal act in which a person deliberately sets fire to property. It is a wilful act of destroying someone's property by deliberately burning the same. The individual who commits arson has a fraudulent or criminal intent.

Hate crimes: Another category of serious crime is hate crimes. These are against persons or property belonging to a certain religion, caste, community or group against which there is considerable degree of prejudice.

Crimes against morality: These are crimes in which there is no victim and no complainant. Examples of such crimes for instance are illegal gambling, prostitution, illegal drug use etc. Morality refers here to social and personal values of people in a society that defines how people should behave, it is a kind of "code of conduct" for people. When crimes of morality occurs, it is against these moral values and the code of conduct. It includes soliciting or selling or buying sex for profit, and is considered not respectable.

White-collar crime: The term was coined in 1939, by Edwin Sutherland, it refers to the full range of frauds committed by businessmen and government officials. White-collar crimes are crimes committed by people of high social status who commit their crimes in the context of their occupation. This includes embezzling (stealing money from one's employer), insider trading, tax evasion, and other violations of income tax laws.

Organised crimes: In addition to the above, there are also organised crimes, which involves distribution and sale of illegal and goods and services such as the sand mafia etc. These are organised crimes as a particular group exercises control over large illegal enterprises, as for example it can also involve trading in drugs, weapon smuggling, money laundering etc. These are also kind of big industries taking on the corporate form. The owners of these corporates control all the profits, They have under them a large number of employees working for them and also they supply huge amounts of these materials to many businesses who are their clients.

6.4.2 Role of a Forensic Psychologist in Crime Investigation

The role a forensic psychologist in crime investigation mainly focuses on detailed explanation of the behaviours of the individual at the time of crime and before, to help the court and the Law to deliver fair justice to the persons concerned. Forensic psychology associates the criminal's behaviour and personality to the crime investigation and thereby an explanation and interpretation of the individual's behaviour observed at the crime scene. The appropriate and adequate as well as evidence based interpretation is very important for a successful investigation.

Forensic psychologist collects five types of behavioural characteristics including

- 1) The amount of planning that went into committing the crime.
- 2) The degree of control used by the offender.
- 3) The escalation of emotion at the scene.
- 4) The risk level of both offender and the victim.
- 5) Whether it is organised or unorganised crime scene. All these five characteristics become part of the evidence.

In crime investigation, the forensic psychologist carries out profiling of the criminals called as criminal profiling. They also interview suspects, victims and their relatives etc. They also serve as expert witnesses in the court regarding the cases.

Forensic psychologists also help in police identification parade where the victim is required to identify from amongst a number of persons the one who had committed the offence. This kind of identification is based on the memory of the individual who is asked to identify. Many times, the person's ability to call may be contaminated because of his/her own biases, emotional lability, and stress factors arising due to the trauma experienced during the crime. Also, other factors that can affect the memory are the poor light conditions that affect the visibility, when the crime was committed as well as the time gap between the time the entire crime was committed and the time when the parade identification was scheduled. Since the identification of the culprit is important evidence, every effort to address the above-mentioned factors is important and here comes the role of forensic psychologists who can state on the basis of their scientific understanding of memory etc whether the person who is called to identify can really do justice, and how far the identification is devoid of any false recall.

Forensic psychologists are called upon by both criminal and civil courts, to ascertain if the defendant is mentally capable of standing trial in the courts. The forensic psychologist evaluates the defendant and presents his/her opinion about the individual's ability to understand the proceedings happening in the court, and whether the accused can understand and direct his lawyer as to how he/ she is not guilty etc. The forensic psychologist thus evaluates and assesses the cognitive, emotional and psychological competence of the person standing trial in the court. They integrate mental health evidence and practices with the court proceedings. They help to determine the causes underlying the crime which goes a long way in the accused being liable for the commission of the crime. Thus, the expert testimony by forensic psychologists helps to overcome false convictions, inappropriate sentencing and many other wrong judgements, including wrongful acquittals.

Forensic psychology thus focuses on behaviours, cognition, emotion, intelligence and other important aspects of the accused, witness and relevant others, are also involved in rehabilitating the individual, both victim and the accused (when released from the prison). Forensic psychologists not only provide a diagnosis of a crime, why, what and how as well as the motive underlying the commission of a crime, also helps in treating the accused for his wrong behaviours, setting right his thinking processes and making him/her more responsible and capable of contributing to the society by controlling his behaviours and criminal tendencies.

Thus, forensic psychologists are very closely associated with a criminal investigation, in addition to many contributions that they make during criminal or civil trials and later on contribute to the delivery of fair justice by providing behavioural and psychological perspectives to the individual perpetrator standing as accused in the courts and provides treatment and rehabilitation programmes for the convicts within the prison and when released on bail or on parole or from prison after the sentence is completed.

6.4.3 Criminal Profiling

Criminal profiling is also known as offender profiling and is used by police and law enforcement agencies to identify likely suspects during their investigation. Once they have the profile of a certain type of criminal, then shortlisting criminals and looking for a certain group makes it easier to identify the culprit. This profiling is an investigative strategy used by law enforcement agencies to identify likely suspects

Forensic psychologists work out a psychological profile of the offender based on various aspects like

- The state of the crime scene.
- Behaviours of the criminals in the present situation.
- Behaviours of criminals in different situations.
- Personality traits of different criminals.
- Whether the person is organised, disorganised or a mix of organised and disorganised personality features.
- Synopsis of the crime and description of the crime scene.
- The weather that prevailed at the time when the crime was committed
- Political and social environment.
- Autopsy report, photos and sketches of the crime scene.
- Background information of the victim.
- Crime assessment which consists of reconstruction of the sequence of events, behaviours of the offender and victim, classification of the crime, strategies used by the victim, stages in committing the crime, motivation for committing the crime, and crime scene dynamics.

Thus, based on the above a criminal profile is created that can help in understanding the type of person who committed the crime, and the person's behaviour in relation to the crime. Further, once apprehended and the accused offender admits guilt, forensic psychologist conducts a detailed interview to check the validity of the profiling made by him/ her .

Other questions for which forensic psychologists try to find answer include whether the crime was planned; was the crime committed on an impulse; and was there any strong emotional circumstances that led to committing the crime etc. Yet another question deals with the gender and approximate age of the offender, his residence or living area and its proximity to the crime scene, etc. This information is extremely useful to target the culprit.

Also in order to collect the required information the forensic psychologist conducts a thorough interview of not only the offender but also the witnesses, relatives, friends and acquaintances who could or are even remotely connected with the crime. Each of these persons requires a different approach and interviewing style. To take an example, if a child is a witness to a crime, interviewing the child is to be very different using other appropriate techniques like drawing, painting, play etc. On the same line, if the offender decides to confess, instead of the police, the forensic psychologist could get

the most relevant and factual information using special skills in which they have been trained. The forensic psychologist uses the offender's profile that he/ she has created, to determine the typical approach they have to use so that correct information and facts are obtained.

6.4.4 Psychological Autopsy

A psychological autopsy is a very valuable tool in a criminal investigation. Through this, the forensic psychologist is able to collect all the available information regarding the victim of the crime (the deceased) through interviews of family members, relatives, friends as well as health personnel. In addition, information is collected from available health care and psychiatric records, other documents, and forensic examination. Thus, a psychological autopsy integrates and synthesises all the information obtained from multiple sources, informants and records. The psychological autopsy which is a standard approach gathers information through a semi-structured interview of key informants. Whenever there is a discrepancy, they reinterview the informant, hold a case conference and use the 'best estimate' procedures.

The report of the psychological autopsy provides the following:

1. In-depth information is presented about the cause of death based on interviews with key persons, the medical autopsy report, medical records, and relevant documents. The sources from where the information was acquired have to be clearly documented for evaluation and its potential validity.
2. The forensic psychologist and other mental health professionals provide systematic details about the important psychological stages in the person's thought processes including the personality trait, psychopathic/sociopathic personality, motivation to commit the crime etc.
3. Since the forensic psychologist is presenting his/her interpretation of the facts, which are again limited, makes the forensic psychology evidences somewhat not very valid, as in any case the final judgement as to the mode of death will be based upon a review of all the known facts and circumstances, including the magisterial report, forensic medical report, police reports, crime scene analyst reports, and the psychological reconstruction.

While in a physical autopsy, the causes for death are explained, similarly, in psychological autopsy, an attempt is made to explain why a person has taken their life. This is done as mentioned earlier, through analysing medical records, interviewing friends and family, and conducting research into a person's state of mind prior to their death.

There are many reasons to ordering psychological autopsy. Most importantly, it is carried out in suicide cases, to decide without any doubt that the person had committed suicide. It is a useful tool to gather information for understanding why a person committed suicide, and then onwards to work out strategies to prevent suicides.

The indications for psychological autopsy are as follows:

- To decide whether a case is suicidal or accident or murder.
- Drug ingested deaths also raises doubts about accost all or suicidal
- Fire arm related deaths require an indepth analysis of the history of the individual, the obsession of the person to on weapons, carelessness in handling weapons, etc.
- In the cases of suicides by drowning, whether it was suicide or homicide is determined by not only evidence left by the victim, but also by psychological autopsy.

Two main investigations are carried out using psychological autopsy, and these include the psychosocial factors contributing to death and determining the manner of death.

Towards the completion of the investigations, the forensic psychologist collects information by collecting details of the medical and case history of events surrounding the case concerned, the details of the scene of crime and the quality of the autopsy. In this, the forensic pathologist and the doctor conducting the postmortem, provide the results of the medico-legal autopsy and indicate the cause of death, the manner in which the death occurred, the circumstance of death etc. The forensic pathologist works almost like a detective and probes and investigates the truth behind the death. The medical doctor or the medical examiner certifies the many aspects related to death. This certification by the doctor or the medical examiner who conducted the post mortem, is of great importance for legal, social, medical and research implications.

The forensic team that investigates the death in detail often consists of magistrate, medical examiner/doctor conducting the post mortem, forensic psychologist, psychiatrist, a psychiatric social worker, police and the law enforcement official dealing with the crime.

The psychological autopsy functions as an important investigative tool which covers many factors that have contributed to death. The forensic psychologist uses his/her skills and training as well as typical techniques to assess the deceased person's behaviour, thoughts, feelings and the relationships he/ she had it's different people both nears and dears and friends and other persons with whom he/ she had interacted and who could have some information to provide in regard to the death that occurred. They conduct interviews with the relevant people identified as informants, in addition to the deceased person's doctor, physician and other relevant persons to prepare th psychological autopsy report. Such a psychological autopsy report becomes essential and important mainly because the medical examiner, or the forensic scientists and forensic pathologists do not have the skill or have had any training in the behavioural aspects of humans. These behavioural aspects provide a very important contribution to understanding of both the perpetrator of the crime and the victims in terms of their motivation, state of mind, impulsivity, the kind of relationship negative or positive and the mental health as well as other psychological factors that gives clue to determining how far the accused is responsible for the crime and what factors within the victim had also led to the crime.

Thus, it may be stated that psychological autopsy is conducted to obtain information in regard to the many behavioural and psychological factors within the perpetrator as well as the victim which all could have led to the concerned crime. Whatever motivated the perpetrator to commit the crime, what were the typical characteristic traits or behaviours in the victim that led to choosing him/ her as a target for attack.

The major criticism against psychological autopsy focuses on its limitations.

There is no standard measurement tool to ascertain if the interviewee is telling the truth and whether his statements are valid and reliable. The records related to the accused and the victim may be so many years ago that it may not be very relevant at the time the crime was committed.

In interview, many of the individual's recollections may not be totally accurate as over time, many things in the memory may have been erased and many associated but irrelevant things would have been added. All these would vitiate the psychological autopsy report.

Another drawback is the information related to the mental state and behaviour of the victim. Quite often those who are interviewed may give distorted information about the victim's mental state, and based on that the report presents the mental status of the victim which may not be the correct one.

Many times, during the interview by the forensic psychologist, the interview will try to recall certain incidents and events that had occurs in the past having some bearing on the crime. However many of these recalls may not be accurate and the respondents may have the tendency to recall more of positive than negative aspects thus rendering the psychological autopsy unreliable as it may thus contain biased information based on false and biased information also, a researchers and practitioners have pointed out over the years, serious methodological problems in the psychological autopsy reports.

Most psychological autopsies are conducted more on medical model paradigm and the report relates the crime with mental disorder (Pouliot and D Leo, 2006). This is one type of wrong association as mental disorder may not necessarily caused the person to indulge in the offence. For instance in the case of suicide, mental disorder may not be the real cause but various other factors may be linked to suicide. By using the medical paradigm the tendency will be to associate the offence with mental disorder.

Another drawback is that forensic psychologists do not use standardised measuring instrument to assess the mental disorder and its severity. They invariably use non standardised and ill defined instruments for diagnostic purposes. Often they use unstandardised semi structured questionnaire which leaves the results open to interviewer bias.

Another limitation is related to the informants. Very often the informants are highly emotional and thus their response will be tinged with exaggeration of the negatives. Since there is no systematic control in the selection of informants, their attitudes towards crime, murder or suicide, as well as their emotion-laden responses render the results biased, and thus the psychological autopsy report becomes un-reliable.

One other important problem in regard to the psychological autopsy is related to the interviewers themselves. Before interview, whether the interviewers were well trained, whether they were alerted to look for their own bias and errors that may creep into the interviewing situation. This adds to the report being again not very reliable and valid.

The next problem in psychological autopsy is concerned with the time lapse between the occurrence of the offence and the interview. If there is a very long gap, the memory of the event gets considerably changed with addition of materials or deletion of materials from the factual narrative. This would affect the report adversely.

Despite the many adverse aspects and many limitations that are considered a part of psychological autopsy, yet this is an invaluable tool in criminal investigations, diagnosis and finding out the causative factors leading to the offence. Though physical evidences are maximally taken to explain an offence, in quite a few cases, psychological autopsy provides such information on the behaviour, thought patterns, cognitive abilities, emotions and motivation to commit a crime etc., that these psychological aspects over rule the physical evidence and the judgement given becomes quite different from what is thought of based on physical evidence.

Thus, psychological autopsy in both criminal and civil cases presents the mental state of the individual prior to death. In countries such as the USA psychological autopsies are permitted as evidence in the courts, criminal or civil. Psychological autopsy is a very useful investigative tool in criminal investigations. It examines all factors that are around the crime concerned and also includes the mental health and well being of the witnesses being questioned regarding the crime that took place.

In India, psychological autopsy is used more as a research instrument to understand the various factors in the case of suicidal deaths and the causes that led to suicide. It works out the association and dynamic interaction between mental health issues and risk factors associated with suicidal deaths. It throws light on the various stressful life events in the individual's life ultimately culminating in suicide. Psychological autopsy is a very sensitive and important tool to examine the state of mind of the people close to the deceased in order to reconstruct events leading up to the death.

Check Your Progress III

- 1) What is crimes against morality?

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6.5 LET US SUM UP

In the present unit, we focused on offender typologies and criminal profiling. According to the Webster's Revised Unabridged Dictionary, offender is one who violates any law, divine or human; a wrongdoer. We also focused on various theories with regard to classification of offenders. Further, the unit also explained juvenile delinquency. We need to discuss about juvenile delinquency in the context of offenders as in this case the offender is below a certain age and is not considered as an adult. Thus, the offence committed is to be perceived under different circumstances and is also to be dealt with differently than that of offenders who are adults. Juvenile delinquency refers to the violation of law by a child. The person's age is under 18 years and is not yet considered an adult. We also discussed about forensic psychology and crime investigation in which we explained about crime and types of crime, role of a forensic psychologists in crime investigation, criminal profiling and psychological autopsy.

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6.7 KEY WORDS

Crime: Crime can be explained as an act which contradicts the legal code and laws of the land.

Juvenile delinquency: Juvenile delinquency refers to the violation of law by a child. The person's age is under 18 years and is not yet considered an adult.

Offender: According to the Webster's Revised Unabridged Dictionary, offender is one who violates any law, divine or human; a wrongdoer.

6.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress I

- 1) Explain nonexclusive offenders

A nonexclusive offender is married or in a relationship with another adult but clearly desires children sexually and uses every opportunity to find situations where sexual contact with a child can happen.

Check Your Progress II

- 1) What is status offence?

Status offence includes drinking, smoking, playing truant, running away from home etc. These children behave in such a way they are uncontrollable and are generally treated by the juvenile justice system.

Check Your Progress III

- 1) What is crimes against morality?

Crimes against morality are crimes in which there is no victim and no complainant. Examples of such crimes for instance are illegal gambling, prostitution, illegal drug use etc. Morality refers here to social and

personal values of people in a society that defines how people should behave, it is a kind of "code of conduct" for people. When crimes of morality occurs, it is against these moral values and the code of conduct. It includes soliciting or selling or buying sex for profit, and is considered not respectable.

6.9 UNIT END QUESTIONS

- 1) Explain the theories of classification regarding offenders.
- 2) Define crime and describe its types.
- 3) Explain the role of a forensic psychologists in crime investigation.
- 4) Explain criminal profiling.
- 5) Describe psychological autopsy.



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