

CHAPTER

6

Psychological/ Trait Theories of Crime



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INTRODUCTION

Most sociological theories of crime focus on shared factors that influence offenders rather than factors that are unique to individuals:

Individual difference variables are relegated to a minor, if not trivial, status in favor of influences that are thought to homogenize a collection of individuals into a population that is at risk for crime. At-risk populations are produced when social-cultural conditions combine to lower some groups' endorsement of legal norms and prohibitions.¹

In contrast to sociological theories, psychological theories of crime focus on the influence of individuals' experiences or their emotional adjustment, as well as on their personality traits and types.²

This chapter highlights various psychological theories, beginning with early psychological perspectives such as the theories developed by Sigmund Freud, Hans Eysenck, Lawrence Kohlberg, and John Bowlby. The next portion of this chapter reviews what are considered more contemporary psychological theories of criminal behavior. This section begins with the controversial perspective concerning intelligence (e.g., IQ) and criminality. This section also discusses the theoretical perspective developed by James Q. Wilson and Richard J. Herrnstein. While these scholars never formally labeled their theory, one researcher suggested the name *operant-utilitarian theory of criminality*. Although Wilson and Herrnstein suggest that various factors influence criminal behavior, the most controversial aspect of their perspective was the biological factors, which include gender, low intelligence, impulsiveness, and body type. The following section explores research that has linked psychopathy with criminality. The last section in this chapter examines issues pertaining to mental illness and the criminal justice system. Specifically, we briefly discuss treatment, mental health courts, and the insanity defense.

EARLY PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIZING REGARDING CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR

FREUD'S MODEL OF THE PSYCHE AND IMPLICATIONS FOR CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR

Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) originated psychoanalysis, which is founded on the perception of resistance used by individuals when therapists attempt to make them conscious of their unconscious.³ The **psychoanalytic perspective** is both complex and extremely systematized. This discussion provides an overview of the general principles of psychoanalysis.

First, an individual's behavior is presumed to be due to the three aspects of his or her personality: the **id**, **ego**, and **superego**. The id is the source of instinctual drives; it contains everything that is present at birth.⁴ Essentially, there are two types of instinctual drives: constructive and destructive. Constructive drives are usually sexual in nature. These drives make up the *libido*. Freud used the term *sex* in a broader context; thus, *sex* included

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

As students are reading this chapter, they should consider the following topics:

- Identify the general principles of psychoanalysis.
- Describe how psychoanalysis applies to criminal behavior.
- List and describe the three dimensions associated with Hans Eysenck's *theory of crime and personality*.
- Identify some of the key distinctions of the various stages of moral development.
- Describe some of the essential features of attachment theory.
- Identify some of the main issues concerning the debate over intelligence and criminality.
- Referring to James Q. Wilson and Richard J. Herrnstein, describe the three factors associated with street crime and human nature.
- List and describe the key features that distinguish a psychopath from other criminal offenders.
- Distinguish the M'Naghten rule, irresistible impulse test, Durham test, and American Law Institute's Model Penal Code.

CASE STUDY

ALBERT FISH

Albert Fish has been dubbed “America’s boogeyman.” From his physical appearance, many considered him a gentle, kind old man. Soon, it was revealed that this man was a serial killer, committing numerous depraved and unspeakable acts against children. Fish was brought to the attention of law enforcement after the 1928 kidnapping of a 12-year-old girl named Grace Budd. After befriending her parents, Fish told them that his niece was having a birthday party and asked if Grace would like to attend. Not suspicious of Fish’s intentions, Mr. and Mrs. Budd gave their permission. Fish then escorted Grace to an isolated house in a northern suburb of New York City. He proceeded to strangle her and later mutilated her body and engaged in cannibalism.

The crime remained unsolved for 6 years. A New York City detective, William King, did not let up on the hunt for Grace’s killer. He continued to question Fish during this time. Some contend that Fish would have gotten away with Grace’s murder but was caught due to his arrogant and brazen behavior. In 1934, Fish sent a letter to Mrs. Budd, Grace’s mother. The letter described, in gruesome detail, what he had done to Grace. Subsequently, King was able to link the letter to Fish.

While Fish was in custody, it soon became apparent that he was “a killer of unimaginable depravity, one who had spent his whole lifetime inflicting pain—on himself as well as others.”⁵ He considered the children he mutilated and murdered to be sacrificial offerings to the Lord. During his confession, Fish stated that he wanted to kill Edward Budd, but when he saw Edward’s sister, Grace, he decided he wanted to kill her instead.⁶ He later confessed to killing many children and molesting hundreds. Dr. Frederic Wertham, a New York City psychologist assigned to examine Fish, noted that he had engaged



Albert Fish, nicknamed “America’s boogeyman,” was a notorious serial killer in the 1930s.

in “every sexual perversion known,” as well as a few others that no one had heard of before that time.⁷

IT SOON BECAME APPARENT THAT HE WAS "A KILLER OF UNIMAGINABLE DEPRAVITY, ONE WHO HAD SPENT HIS WHOLE LIFETIME INFLICTING PAIN-ON HIMSELF AS WELL AS OTHERS."

While the jurors at his trial acknowledged that Fish was insane, they maintained that he should be executed. Fish was executed in January of 1936 in Sing Sing Prison. He was 65 years old. It was reported that prior to his electrocution, Fish stated, “What a thrill it will be to die in the electric chair! It will be the supreme thrill—the only one I haven’t tried.”⁸ How would you explain Fish’s criminal behavior? Some would maintain that his behavior exceeds other types of murder because of the brutal, perverse nature of his crimes as well as the fact that he preyed on children.

those things, such as painting, that give people pleasure. The other type of instinctual drive is destructive. Destructive drives refer to such things as aggression, destruction, and death.⁹

The ego is the moderator between the demands of an instinct (i.e., the id), the *superego*, and reality. When discussing the relationship between the id and the ego, Freud noted that the ego characterizes what is referred to as reason and sanity, while the id refers to passions. Further, there are no conflicts in the id, whereas in the ego conflicts between impulses need to be resolved.¹⁰ The superego is also designated as a conscience. This evolves during the course of an individual's development, during which he or she learns the restrictions, mores, and values of society.

Second, *anxiety*, *defense mechanisms*, and the *unconscious* are also key principles of the psychoanalytical perspective. In terms of *anxiety*, this is considered a warning of looming danger or a painful experience. This results in the individual attempting to correct the situation. In most instances, the ego can cope with this anxiety through rational measures. When this does not work, however, the ego uses irrational measures, such as rationalization. These are referred to as *ego-defense mechanisms*:¹¹

Example: A woman harassed by her boss at work initiates an argument with her husband. **Displacement Mechanism:** Discharging pent-up feelings, often of hostility, on objects less dangerous than those arousing the feelings.¹²

Freud maintained that large portions of the ego and superego can remain unconscious (see Figure 6.1). Further, it takes a great deal of effort for individuals to recognize their unconscious.¹³ The unconscious can include disturbing memories, forbidden urges, and other experiences that have been repressed or pushed out of the conscious. While individuals may be unaware of their unconscious experiences, they continue to seek some form of expression, such as in fantasies and dreams. Until these unconscious experiences are brought to awareness, the individual could engage in irrational and destructive behavior.¹⁴

In reference to criminal behavior, Freud stated the following:

I must work out an analogy between the criminal and the hysteric. In both we are concerned with a secret, with something hidden. . . . In the case of the criminal, it is a secret which he knows and hides from you, but in the case of the hysteric it is a secret hidden from him, a secret he himself does not know.¹⁵

One of the most well-known psychoanalysts to apply psychoanalysis to criminal behavior was August Aichhorn.¹⁶ While most applications of psychoanalysis treated nervous disorders, he attempted to apply this method to uncover the unconscious motives of juveniles engaging in delinquent behavior. Aichhorn distinguished between *manifest* and *latent* delinquency. Delinquency is considered manifest when it results in antisocial behavior; latent delinquency is when the same state of mind exists but has not yet expressed itself through such behavior.¹⁷

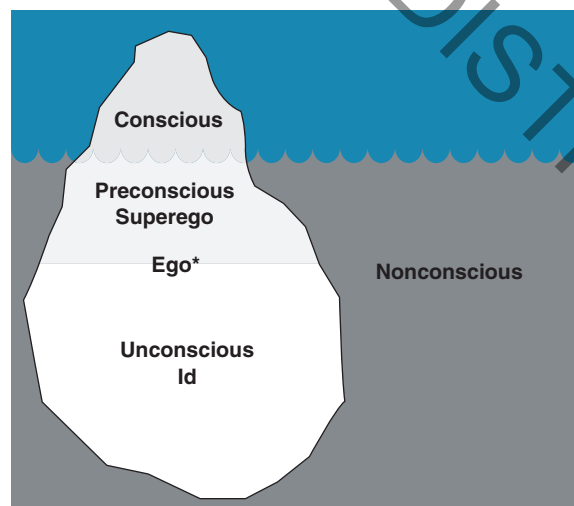


Figure 6.1 Freud's Conception of the Human Psyche (The Iceberg Metaphor)

*Note: Ego is free-floating in all three levels

REFERENCE ARTICLE

Psychoanalytic Perspective

VIDEO

Albert Fish

PERSONAL PERSPECTIVE

Psychological Traits

AUDIO

Freud

psychoanalytic

perspective: first, an individual's behavior is presumed to be due to the three aspects of his or her personality: the id, ego, and superego. *Anxiety*, *defense mechanisms*, and the *unconscious* are also key principles of the psychoanalytical perspective

id: a subconscious domain of the psyche, according to Freud, with which we are all born; it is responsible for our innate desires and drives (such as libido [sex drive]) and it battles the moral conscience of the superego

ego: the only conscious domain of the psyche; according to Freud, it functions to mediate the battle between id and superego

superego: a subconscious domain of the psyche, according to Freud; it is not part of our nature but must be developed through early social attachments

AUDIO



Analyzing Freud

Since Aichhorn, there have been various adaptations of Freudian theory to understanding delinquency; some of these adaptations differ a great deal from the work of Freud and Aichhorn. For instance, Erik Erikson examined adolescents struggling to discover their own ego identity while negotiating, learning, and understanding social interactions, as well as developing a sense of morality and right and wrong.¹⁸ David Abrahamsen maintained that criminal behavior is a symptom of more complex personality distortions; there is a conflict between the ego and superego, as well as the inability to control impulsive and pleasure-seeking drives, because these influences are rooted in early childhood and later reinforced through reactions to familial and social stresses.¹⁹ As with these theories, other psychoanalytic perspectives focused on family experiences that resulted in unconscious, internal conflicts during early childhood. These conflicts can explain why one engages in delinquent behavior.²⁰

HANS EYSENCK: THEORY OF CRIME AND PERSONALITY

For more than 20 years, Hans J. Eysenck developed a theory that linked personality to criminality.²¹ Often, discussions of this theory emphasize that human personality can be viewed in three dimensions (i.e., the **PEN model**). He developed the Eysenck Personality Questionnaire to measure individuals on these three dimensions (see Table 6.1). The first dimension is **psychoticism**. Individuals considered to have high psychoticism are associated with being aggressive, cold, egocentric, impersonal, impulsive, antisocial, unempathic, creative, and tough-minded; individuals with low psychoticism are characterized as being empathic, unselfish, altruistic, warm, peaceful, and generally more pleasant.²²

PEN model: discussions of this theory emphasize that human personality can be viewed in three dimensions: psychoticism, extroversion, and neuroticism

psychoticism: individuals considered to have high psychoticism are associated with being aggressive, cold, egocentric, impersonal, impulsive, antisocial, unempathic, creative, and tough-minded; individuals with low psychoticism are characterized as being empathic, unselfish, altruistic, warm, peaceful, and generally more pleasant

extroversion: in reference to the PEN model, traits associated with extroversion include being sociable, lively, active, assertive, sensation-seeking, carefree, dominant, surgent, and venturesome

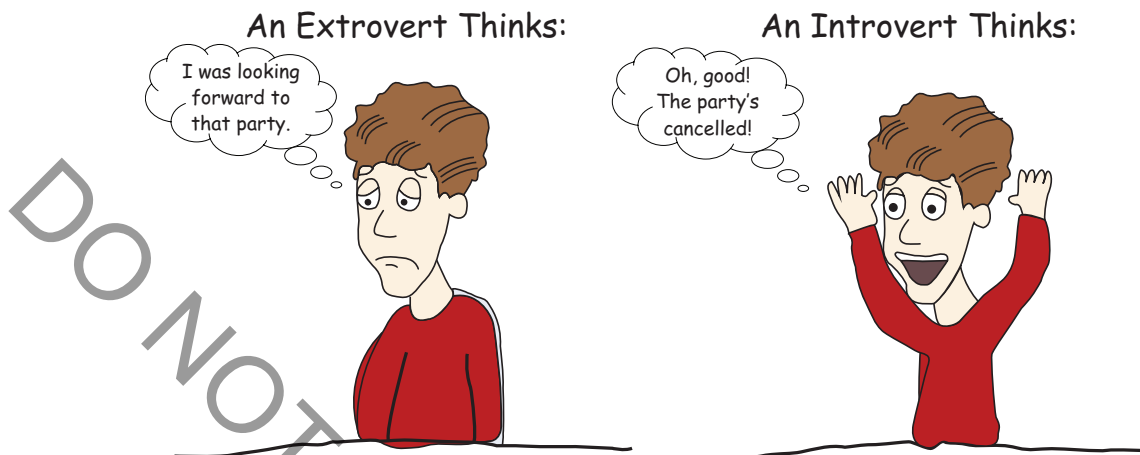
neuroticism: in reference to the PEN model, neuroticism is often linked with such traits as being anxious, depressed, tense, irrational, shy, moody, and emotional and having guilty feelings and low self-esteem

EXTROVERSION
Do you like telling jokes and funny stories to your friends?
Do you prefer reading to meeting people?
NEUROTICISM
Are you a worrier?
PSYCHOTICISM
Do you enjoy hurting people you love?
Would it upset you a lot to see a child or an animal suffer?

Table 6.1 Example Questionnaire Items From the Eysenck Personality Questionnaire–Revised

Source: Miles, J., & Hempell, S. (2004). The Eysenck personality scales: The Eysenck Personality Questionnaire–Revised (EPQ-R) and the Eysenck Personality Profiler (EPP). In M. J. Hilsenroth, D. L. Segal, & M. Hersen (Eds.), *Comprehensive handbook of psychological assessment: Personality assessment* (Vol. 2, pp. 99–100). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley.

The second dimension is **extroversion**, with the associated traits of being sociable, lively, active, assertive, sensation-seeking, carefree, dominant, surgent, and venturesome. Introverts are usually characterized with the opposite type of traits (e.g., passive, cautious). Most individuals, however, are not exclusively extroverted or introverted; rather, these personality dimensions and associated traits are more on a continuum with a majority of individuals in the middle and not at the extremes. The last dimension is **neuroticism**, or instability, which is linked with such traits as anxiety, depression, guilty feelings, low self-esteem, tension, irrationality, shyness, moodiness, and emotionality.²³



These two examples illustrate how an extrovert and an introvert would react to staying home.

Nicole Hahn Rafter provided an insightful description of Eysenck's evolving development of linking criminality and personality.²⁴ Initially, Eysenck focused on two personality dimensions: neuroticism and extroversion. During this stage of theoretical development, he emphasized the extroversion dimension. Subsequently, he incorporated the psychoticism dimension. Thus, he moved "from his original concept of criminals as extroverts to identifying them with arch-villainous psychopaths."²⁵ In an effort to explain individual differences in criminality, Eysenck maintained that these can be understood in terms of biology. He offered three arguments: (1) genetics, (2) Pavlovian conditioning, and (3) neurophysiology.

In terms of genetics, or heredity, Eysenck drew on data collected from twins. He stated that "these data . . . demonstrate, beyond any question, that heredity plays an important, and possibly a vital part, in predisposing a given individual to crime."²⁶ This type of assertion, however, is what made many critics *distrustful* of Eysenck's conclusions.²⁷ The second argument, Pavlovian conditioning, is an essential part of his biological explanation, which is that

socialized and altruistic behavior had to be learned and that this learning was mediated by means of Pavlovian conditioning. The newborn and the young child have no social conscience and behave in a purely egocentric manner. They have to acquire a "conscience" through a process of conditioning.²⁸

The argument was that it is more difficult to condition extroverts than introverts. Further, he maintained that classical conditioning is associated with moral behavior. Referring to various studies, Eysenck argued that "conscience is . . . a conditioned reflex."²⁹ The last type of argument was initially based on brain physiology. When he raised this argument, it was relatively undeveloped. Later, he noted that the differences between extroverted and introverted behavior were due to cortical arousal. Eysenck maintained that cortical arousal differs among individuals "with respect to the ease or difficulty with which their level of arousal can be increased (arousability), their usual level of arousal, and the ease with which this arousal level can be maintained."³⁰

According to Eysenck, extroverts are characterized by a low level of cortical arousal. To achieve an ideal level of arousal, extroverts need more excitement and stimuli in their environment. Further, they are less susceptible to pain and punishment, and experience less fear and anxiety. For neurotics, the biological link is in the sympathetic part of the autonomic nervous system, which involves the fight and flight reactions. Finally, the cortical arousal level is also associated with psychoticism. Like those scoring high on

JOURNAL ARTICLE

Personality Questionnaire

VIDEO

Pavlovian Conditioning

extroversion, those scoring high on psychoticism have low levels of cortical arousal and are more difficult to condition, as well as more prone to developing antisocial behavior.³¹

Eysenck's model of personality and criminality has received mixed support.³² For instance, individuals scoring high on psychoticism are often linked to criminal behavior regardless of the methodology (e.g., self-report among the general population or offender samples). Compared with the general population, neuroticism is higher among criminal offender samples. When employing self-report methods, extroversion is usually higher among the general population but not among criminal offender samples.³³

AUTHOR VIDEO



Psychological Models

LAWRENCE KOHLBERG: MORAL DEVELOPMENT

A central feature of Lawrence Kohlberg's theory is that moral development occurs in stages.³⁴ According to Kohlberg, moral judgment evolves in children in a three-level progression, each level consisting of two stages (see Table 6.2). The **preconventional level of morality** is characteristic of designating what is considered "right" and "wrong." For instance, "telling on your brother is wrong because it is 'tattling,' breaking into the drug-gist's store is wrong because 'you're not supposed to steal.'" What is deemed "right" and "wrong" is defined by those in authority. Within this level, Stage 1 is characterized as a "punishment and obedience orientation"; rewards and punishments are key components of this stage. An individual follows the rules for his or her benefit as well as to avoid punishment.³⁶ Stage 2 is when one develops moral relativity. A person recognizes that different people have varying, yet just as valid, justifications for their claims of justice.³⁷ Thus, an individual views justice as an equal exchange of favors, such as "you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours." Or one may view justice as a "settling of scores," such as "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth."³⁸

Stages 3 and 4 on the **conventional level of morality** are what Kohlberg considered the normal adult approaches used to maintain the family and social order. At Stage 3, individuals begin to understand and live by the principle of the golden rule; they appreciate such acts as generosity for those in need and forgiving those who do wrong. At Stage 4, these values of justice are expanded to the social order, such as establishing good citizenship, instilling a strong work ethic, and following the laws of society.³⁹ Kohlberg identified various types of justice as corrective justice (i.e., impartiality in the application

preconventional level of morality: level of morality characteristic of designating what is considered "right" and "wrong"

conventional level of morality: level of morality considered the normal adult approach used to maintain the family and social order such as the principle of the golden rule and appreciating social order

LEVEL OF MORAL DEVELOPMENT	STAGE OF REASONING
Preconventional	<i>Stage 1:</i> Right is obedience to power and avoidance of punishment.
	<i>Stage 2:</i> Right is taking responsibility and leaving others to be responsible for themselves.
Conventional	<i>Stage 3:</i> Right is being considerate: "uphold the values of other adolescents and adults' rules of society at large."
	<i>Stage 4:</i> Right is being good, with the values and norms of family and society at large.
Postconventional	<i>Stage 5:</i> Right is finding inner "universal rights" balance between self-rights and societal rules—a social contract.
	<i>Stage 6:</i> Right is based on a higher order of applying principles to all humankind; being nonjudgmental and respecting all human life.

Table 6.2 Level of Moral Development

Source: Adapted from Kohlberg, L. (1986). The just community approach to corrections. *Journal of Correctional Education*, 37, 57–58.

of the law and the offender paying his or her debt to society) and commutative justice (i.e., importance of contractual agreements for maintaining social order). Below is an example of commutative justice:

Question—Is it important to keep a promise to someone you don't know well?

Answer—Yes. Perhaps even more so than keeping a promise to someone you know well. A man is often judged by his actions in such situations, and to be described as being a “man of honour,” or a “man of integrity” is very fulfilling indeed.⁴⁰

On the **postconventional level of morality**, at Stage 5 an individual considers such “meta-ethical” issues as “why one should be moral.” There is an attempt to balance between an individual's rights and societal rules; this is considered a “social contract” perspective of morality.⁴¹ Kohlberg designated Stage 6 “the moral point of view.” A key aspect to this stage is that a person takes equal consideration of each individual's point of view in terms of the moral decision to be made. Various principles are characterized by Stage 6, such as the principle of the maximum quality of life for each, equity or fairness in the distribution of goods and respect, and the principle of utility or benevolence.⁴²

An interesting facet to understanding moral development was Carol Gilligan's work, which explored gender differences in terms of moral orientations.⁴³ Gilligan distinguished between the moral orientations toward “care” and those toward “justice”:

In early childhood, girls often gravitate towards the morality of care, whereas boys often gravitate towards the morality of justice. . . . Males and females alike can develop an awareness of both care and justice; but because of widespread patterns of early experience, girls often orient more towards the former and boys towards the latter.⁴⁴

Gilligan notes that women may construct a problem differently than do men. Thus, women may fail to develop within the constraints of Kohlberg's system of moral development.⁴⁵ She noted that Kohlberg's six stages of moral development were based on a study of 84 boys whose development Kohlberg followed for more than 20 years.⁴⁶

JOHN BOWLBY: ATTACHMENT THEORY

Development of **attachment theory** is the combined work of John Bowlby and Mary Ainsworth. Bowlby formulated the basic propositions of the theory; the roots of Bowlby's interest studying separation are in his own early childhood and in his clinical experiences while training as a psychoanalyst prior to World War II.⁴⁷ Ainsworth implemented innovated methodology to test some of Bowlby's concepts, as well as to further refine the perspective. While these scholars initially worked independently of each other, both were influenced by the work of Freud and other psychoanalytic theorists.⁴⁸ In discussing attachment theory, reference is often made to research examining the effects of separation on mother and infant monkeys. Bowlby cited this research and noted that these types of studies “show plainly not only that the attachment behaviour of young non-human primates is very similar to the attachment behaviour of young children but that their responses to separation are very similar also.”⁴⁹

Bowlby maintained that this theoretical perspective has seven essential features:

Specificity—Attachments are selective or “choosy”; these attachments are often focused on one or more individuals, usually with some order of preference.

Duration—Attachments are enduring and persistent; these attachments can sometimes last throughout a person's life.



VIDEO

Attachment Theory

postconventional level of morality:

when a person attempts to balance between individual rights and societal rules

attachment theory:

there are seven essential features of this theoretical perspective focusing on attachment: specificity, duration, engagement of emotion, course of development, learning, organization, and biological function

STATE CRIME RANKINGS



Reported Arrests: Rape

CITY CRIME RANKINGS



Rape

Engagement of emotion—Some of the most intense and passionate emotions are associated with attachment relationships.

Course of development—In the first 9 months of an infant's life, he or she develops an attachment to a primary figure. This primary figure is the person who provides the most fulfilling and pleasing social interaction.

Learning—While learning does have some influence on a person's attachments, the key component is social interaction.

Organization—Attachment behavior follows cognitive development as well as interpersonal maturation from birth.

Biological function—Attachment behavior has a biological function in terms of survival, which is supported by research on various species.⁵⁰

For example, in terms of *engagement of emotion*, Bowlby discussed the emotion of fear:

In the presence of a trusted companion, fear of situations of every kind diminishes; when, by contrast, one is alone, fear of situations of every kind is magnified. Since in the lives of all of us our most trusted companions are our attachment figures, it follows that the degree to which each of us is susceptible to fear turns in great part on whether our attachment figures are present or absent.⁵¹

Bowlby's interest in early parent–infant interactions evolved from his clinical work with young offenders; his theoretical framework evolved from this work.⁵² From 1936 to 1939, Bowlby assessed and treated 88 children between the ages of 5 and 16 at the London Child Guidance Clinic. In his study, “Forty-Four Juvenile Thieves,” he stressed the importance of studying the mother–child relationship. As Bowlby noted, inquiries were made into not only the mother's conscious attitude but also her unconscious attitude. He developed a classification procedure to distinguish the various character types. Of the 44 juveniles in his study, 14 were classified affectionless, followed by 13 classified as hyperthymic (i.e., children who tend toward constant overactivity) and 9 designated as depressed.⁵³ See Box 6.1 for a case history of one of the youths designated as *affectionless*.



Bowlby's research focused on the effects of early parent–infant interactions and attachments.

MODERN VERSIONS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES OF CRIMINALITY

IQ AND CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW. As noted in an earlier chapter, in the early 1900s, French psychologist Alfred Binet, along with his colleague Theodore Simon, developed what was considered a more quantified measure of intelligence—the **intelligence quotient (IQ)**. Binet noted that this new approach was a “metric scale of intelligence.” The Binet-Simon Intelligence Test was initially developed to study intellectual disabilities among French schoolchildren.⁵⁴ A Stanford University professor of educational psychology, Lewis M. Terman, revised the Binet-Simon Intelligence Test. Since its publication in 1916, it has been known as the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Test. Two American psychologists often considered Terman's rivals in the area of developing a scaled mental test were Henry H. Goddard and Robert Yerkes.⁵⁵

.....
intelligence quotient (IQ): a quantified measure of intelligence

BOX 6.1: EXAMPLE CASE HISTORY—DEREK B.

History. He was the second of two boys, the elder being a cheerful, normal lad who had never got into trouble. He lived with his mother and father, whose marriage was happy and who appeared to treat the children sensibly and kindly and without discriminating between them. On enquiry into his early history it was found that he was a wanted child and had been breast-fed for three months, after which he thrived on the bottle. Indeed he was said to be a happy normal child until the age of 18 months, when he got diphtheria. Because of this he was away in [the] hospital for nine months, during the whole of which he remained unvisited by his parents. In [the] hospital he was said to have been adored by everyone, but when he returned home he was a "little stranger." He refused all food and finally was left to starve for a while. His mother described how "it seemed like looking after someone else's baby. He did not know us, he called me 'nurse' and seemed to have no affection for us at all." She said it was fully 18 months before he settled down, although to an external eye it appeared that in fact he had never done so yet.

Personality. He seemed not to care for anyone except possibly his elder brother, but even with him there were spells of unreasonable temper. Usually he was happiest when playing alone. He was markedly undemonstrative and his schoolteacher commented that emotionally he was "very controlled for a young boy." The mother also remarked on this, saying that he was quite unmoved by either affection or punishment, and she had come to regard him as hard-boiled. On the other hand he was always fighting and was at times destructive of both his

own and his brother's toys. The teacher complained particularly of his untruthfulness, "wanton destructiveness" and habits of annoying other children.

Stealing and Truancy. He began school at 4½ and liked it at first. But later he disliked the teacher and wanted his brother's teacher. This led to truancy on and off for about a month. The pilfering was noticed soon after his beginning school. It seems to have been quite indiscriminating, for he was said to pilfer from children's pockets, the teacher's desk, from shops and from his mother. Any money he obtained he spent on sweets which he would share with his brother and other children, but not with his parents. He had been repeatedly beaten both by school authorities and at home for stealing, but the beating had no effect on him beyond making him cry for a few moments.

Examination. On tests he was found to have an [IQ] of 125 and to be slow, careful and deliberate in his work. To the psychiatrist he gave the impression of being an engaging, sociable kid. But in his play there was much violent destructiveness. On many occasions he pilfered toys from the Clinic.

Diagnosis. His superficial geniality was misleading at first. As time went on it was clear that his mother's and school-teacher's accounts of his detachment represented the truth. In view of this, his destructiveness, his hard-boiledness, and his unresponsiveness, he seemed to be a typical case of *Affectionless Character*. This was clearly related to his prolonged hospitalization.

Source: Bowlby, J. (1944). Forty-four juvenile thieves: Their character and home-life. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 25, 27–28.

Goddard is credited with bringing intelligence testing to the United States.⁵⁶ He translated and adapted Binet's model to study immigrants who were coming into the United States. An interesting difference between Goddard's and Binet's assumptions about intelligence or IQ was that Goddard maintained that intelligence or IQ was static or innate; thus, an individual's IQ could not change. He argued that intelligence was passed from generation to generation; intelligence was inherited from parents. As noted earlier in this book, Goddard labeled low IQ as "feeble-mindedness." There were specified levels of feeble-mindedness, such as *moron*, *imbecile*, and *idiot*.⁵⁷ Goddard's *The Kallikak Family: A Study in Hereditary Feeble-Mindedness* has been considered one of the major contributions to the menace, or threat, myth considered to be linked to feeble-mindedness, as well as to the eugenic prescriptions suggested to address such problems of poverty and crime.

Goddard's *The Kallikak Family* was a genealogical study of two branches of one family. One branch had descended from a relationship between Martin Kallikak and a

LEARNING CHECK 6.1

1. According to Freud, this is also designated as a conscience:
 - a. Ego
 - b. Superego
 - c. Libido
 - d. Id
2. According to Kohlberg, this level of morality is characteristic of designating what is considered “right” and “wrong”:
 - a. Preconventional
 - b. Conventional
 - c. Postconventional
 - d. Nonconventional
3. According to Eysenck, which of the following is not associated with one of the three dimensions linked to criminality?
 - a. Psychoticism
 - b. Extroversion
 - c. Anxiety
 - d. Neuroticism

Answers located at www.sagepub.com/schram

feeble-minded tavern girl. This union produced generations of indigents, criminals, prostitutes, and alcoholics. The other branch, from Martin’s marriage to a Quaker, produced what were considered “good” citizens. When applying the threat, or menace, myth to the Kallikak family and others, eugenicists were not describing what were considered low-functioning *idiots* or *imbeciles* who were considered harmless and often institutionalized. Rather, they claimed that a significant number of Americans, “especially racial and ethnic minorities, did not have the inherited intelligence necessary to control their passions and that these higher-functioning morons were doomed to pauperism and crime.”⁵⁸

Between 1888 and 1915, various researchers administered intelligence tests to prisoners and boys in reform schools. For instance, in the early 1900s, the Ohio Board of Administration was convinced that more than 40% of the juveniles incarcerated in the state reformatories were “definitely feeble-minded.” Further, the board maintained that it was “folly” to try to reform these juveniles because they were not immoral;


APPLYING THEORY TO CRIME: RAPE

Many feminists maintain that when placing rape in a historical context, one needs to realize that women have historically been considered the property of either their fathers or their husbands, and thereby denied equal status within patriarchal societies. Thus, rape has been considered only within the realm of the male’s perspective (i.e., a violation of his property) rather than within the realm of a female’s perspective (i.e., a violation of her body).⁵⁹ In ancient history, according to *lex talionis*—or the “an-eye-for-an-eye” philosophy when dealing with offenders—the father of a raped daughter was allowed to rape the rapist’s wife. “Bride capture” involved a man raping a woman to establish a permanent relationship with her.⁶⁰

Some feminists argue that the 19th century approaches to protecting women (e.g., chivalry) were actually efforts among the middle class to control the activities of women working in the public sphere as opposed to the private sphere (i.e., the home). Anne Clark maintains that such efforts perpetuated the myth that as long as “proper” women remained in the home, rather than “roaming the streets,” they would not be vulnerable to rape.⁶¹ During this time, it was even more difficult if women attempted to involve the court system to seek justice for the crime of rape.

Some have maintained “that the victim of a sexual assault is actually assaulted twice—once by the

offender and once by the criminal justice system.”⁶² Since the increasing public awareness of rape in the 1970s, various legislative reforms were enacted in an effort to modify rape statutes. Changes in the legal definitions of rape reflect society’s changing attitudes regarding this crime. These changes have been especially influenced by the feminist movement. In 1975, the state of Michigan led the country in reforming rape laws. First, it replaced the term *rape* with *criminal sexual conduct*. Second, it identified four degrees of criminal sexual conduct, which were differentiated by the amount of force used, resulting injury, and the age as well as mental state of the victim. This change emphasized the force or coercion


APPLYING THEORY TO CRIME: (CONTINUED)

used by the perpetrator rather than focusing on the resistance (or lack thereof) of the victim. This shift in perspective incorporated rape with other violent offenses. For instance, a prosecutor does not have to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that a robbery victim did not consent to the offense; thus, why should the prosecutor have to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that a rape victim did not consent to the offense?⁶³

A key issue in the definition of rape is whether to include the term *sexual*. One perspective maintains that it is essential to take the “sex out of” rape; rather, rape should be viewed as a crime of violence. Rape is no different than other crimes of violence such as murder and robbery. Another perspective argues that rape is essentially sexual in nature but also violent (i.e., sexual violence). Thus, “to take the sex out of rape is to make it something it is not.”⁶⁴

These variations have two important implications regarding measuring rape in the United States. First, because of these differing definitions and procedures, state comparisons are difficult. Second, while some states may have similar legal definitions, the enforcement, prosecution, and conviction procedures may emphasize different legal and possibly extralegal factors.⁶⁵

Given the above definitional issues pertaining to rape, it is essential to note that the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) define forcible rape as “the carnal knowledge of a female forcibly and against her will. Attempts or assaults to commit rape by force or threat of force are also included.”⁶⁶ Statutory rape and other sex offenses are not included in the UCR definition of forcible rape. In 2011, 83,425 forcible rape offenses were reported to law enforcement agencies. Of

these, 93.0% were rapes by force, and the remaining were attempts. The rate of forcible rape was about 52.7 rape offenses per 100,000 female inhabitants. When comparing these rates by region, the South has the highest rate per 100,000 female inhabitants at 37.8, followed by the Midwest at 25.3, the West at 24.1, and the Northeast at 12.8 rape offenses per 100,000 female inhabitants.

The Behavioral Science Unit of the FBI has attempted to provide a classification of rapists. Researchers have also attempted to categorize various types of rapists.⁶⁷ One such typology was developed by Raymond Knight and Robert Prentky.⁶⁸ They classified rapists into four categories: compensatory, displaced-anger, exploitive, and sadistic rapists (see Table 6.3 for a more detailed description of each type).

Four Categories of Rape

Compensatory rapists—Compensatory rapists, also referred to as power-reassurance rapists, reveal the least amount of sexual and general aggression when compared with the other typologies. These individuals also demonstrate little evidence of childhood and adolescent impulsivity, such as running away, involvement in the juvenile justice system, and problems in grammar school. Compared with the other typologies, these offenders most often come from stable families with intact parental marriages; fewer of these individuals experienced neglect and physical abuse.

In reference to adult social characteristics, compensatory rapists average a 10th-grade education level. They often are single and live with either one or both parents; this type of rapist is most likely to be dominated by an aggressive and sometimes seductive mother. They are most likely employed in menial occupations and considered steady and reliable employees. In reference to sexual deviance, the compensatory rapist may be involved in transvestism or such behavior as voyeurism, fetishism, or excessive masturbation.⁶⁹

Displaced-anger rapists—The displaced-anger, or anger-retaliation, rapists had the most chaotic and unstable childhoods. Compared with the other typologies, more of these rapists were either adopted or placed in foster homes. They often come from single-parent homes; as with the exploitive and sadistic groups, a number of these individuals were neglected and abused.⁷⁰ In reference to adult social characteristics, the displaced-anger group’s primary reason to rape is to hurt women. Rapes by such men are characterized by

- (1) the presence of a high degree of nonsexualized aggression or rage, expressed through verbal and physical assaults that clearly exceed what is necessary to force the compliance of the victim;
- (2) clear evidence, in verbalizations or behavior, of the intent to demean, degrade, or humiliate the victim;
- (3) no evidence that aggression is eroticized or that sexual pleasure is derived from injurious acts;
- (4) injurious acts are *not* focused on parts of the body that have sexual significance.⁷¹

This group averages a 9th-grade education. This type of offender perceives himself as athletic and masculine. Thus, he may engage in sports and work in an action-oriented occupation, as well as engage in extramarital affairs. While this offender is often married, he is not violent toward his partner.

(Continued)


APPLYING THEORY TO CRIME: (CONTINUED)

Exploitive rapists—Exploitive, or power-assertive, rapists are twice as likely to have some contact with youth services compared with the other groups. Many of these offenders were raised in single-parent families; almost one third lived in foster homes. As with the displaced-anger rapists, a large number of these offenders were physically abused.

In reference to adult characteristics, these rapists have many domestic issues; they also may have experienced a number of unhappy marriages. They are typically well dressed and may frequent singles bars to pick up women. This type of offender may be employed in a traditionally male occupation, such as construction. He attempts to exude an image of masculinity in his physical appearance and demeanor.⁷² For this offender, the “sexual behavior is hypothesized to be an impulsive, predatory act. . . . The victim seems to have little or no psychological meaning to the offender, and represents, hypothetically, a masturbatory object.”⁷³

Sadistic rapists—Of the various typologies, the sadistic rapist is the most dangerous. With this type of offender, as sexual arousal increases, the aggressive nature of the offense emerges; this usually results in the most bizarre and intense forms of sexually aggressive violence.⁷⁴ More than half of those designated as sadistic rapists were raised in single-parent homes. Many of these offenders were physically abused; a number of them also experienced some type of sexual deviance during childhood.

In reference to adult characteristics, the sadistic rapist is usually married, and some consider him to be a “good family man.” He often lives in a middle-class residential area with low criminal activity; he typically has a better-than-average education and is employed in a white-collar occupation.⁷⁵

Table 6.3 Four Categories of Rapists

Ian could be characterized as an *exploitive rapist* (see Table 6.3). As with many of these types of rapists, Ian was raised in various foster homes from the age of 2. During this time, he was physically abused and neglected. In his adult years, Ian had difficulty establishing and maintaining relationships, especially with women. He had two failed marriages; he had three children by these two women but was not actively involved in their lives. He had a tendency to meet women in situations that did not involve a great deal of emotional intimacy, such as in singles bars.

After his first failed marriage, Ian committed his first rape. He met

the woman, Darlene, in a singles bar. They were talking in the bar and drinking quite heavily. Once the bar closed, he suggested that Darlene meet him at his house. She agreed. Soon after they arrived at his house, Ian attacked Darlene. Ian later acknowledged that he never “planned” on raping Darlene. Rather, he stated that it was more of an impulsive act—in the “spur of the moment.” He had no ill feelings toward Darlene; in fact, Ian stated that “he had no feelings toward her whatsoever.”

One theoretical perspective that could possibly be applied to this offense is Bowlby’s *attachment*

theory. Due to Ian’s unstable childhood, he was unable to form healthy attachments, especially with his mother. Further, these attachments lacked specificity given the various foster homes he was placed in throughout childhood. Related to this, the attachments lacked duration; they were short-lived and sporadic, at best. The problems associated with Ian establishing healthy attachments in childhood were reflected during his adulthood. He had difficulty developing strong relationships, especially with women. This may also have contributed to his ability to rape by perceiving the victim as having “little or no psychological meaning.”

rather, they were unmoral.⁷⁶ There were critics, however, of such research and the subsequent findings. Edwin Sutherland maintained that the intelligence tests administered were inadequate and there were too many variations of such tests. He also maintained that delinquency is associated more with social and environmental influences than with IQ or intelligence.⁷⁷

RECENT DISCUSSIONS ON IQ AND CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR. For decades, the link between IQ and criminal behavior was neither studied nor discussed often in the literature. This

COMPARATIVE CRIMINOLOGY: *SEXUAL OFFENSES*

Ranking of Countries According to Sexual Offenses or Incidents Against Women

Sexual assault/rape offenses are some of the most difficult crimes for which to obtain accurate numbers. This is especially problematic when comparing such offenses across various countries. Specifically, “perceptions as to what is unacceptable sexual behavior may differ significantly across countries, even in the current era of increasingly globalized norms and values.”⁷⁸ One question on the International Crime Victimization Survey asked the following:

People sometimes grab, touch, or assault others for sexual reasons in a really offensive way. This can happen either at home or elsewhere, for instance, in a pub, the street, at school, on public transport, in cinemas, on the beach, or at one’s workplace. Over the past five years has anyone done this to you?⁷⁹

In terms of victimization, only those incidents that occurred in the previous year were included. It is

essential to stress that this item covers a broad range of behaviors; these range from rape and attempted rape to less serious offenses. Table 6.4 summarizes the rates of sexual offenses or incidents against women among the various countries.

Van Dijk (2008) highlighted a few key findings from these analyses. In the group with the highest rates, the first 10 countries are considered to be “low gender equality.” Low gender equality is when the social position of women is rather weak; women are oftentimes considered inferior in various social contexts, such as the family and the workplace. When looking at countries such as Finland, Denmark, the United States, the Netherlands, Canada, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, Germany, and New Zealand, their rates are relatively high considering that these countries are deemed to have higher gender equality. Citing Kangaspunta’s work,⁸⁰ Van Dijk states that this may be because individuals living in countries with a more liberal view of women are more likely to report such sexual incidents or crimes.

FIFTEEN COUNTRIES WITH THE HIGHEST RATES

1 Papua, New Guinea	11.8	6 Swaziland	6.2	11 Namibia	4.8
2 Colombia	10.2	7 Lesotho	5.7	12 Peru	4.7
3 Nigeria	8.8	8 Costa Rica	5.5	13 Serbia and Montenegro	4.6
4 India	7.0	9 Zambia	5.4	14 Finland	4.3
5 Albania	6.7	10 Botswana	5.0	15 Denmark	3.8

FIFTEEN COUNTRIES WITH MEDIUM-HIGH RATES

16 United States	3.5	28 Germany	2.5	45 Austria	1.3
20 Netherlands	3.2	29 New Zealand	2.4	46 Brazil	1.3
21 Canada	3.1	36 Bolivia	1.8	49 Hong Kong, China	1.2
22 Switzerland	3.1	39 Mexico	1.7	51 Greece	1.1
25 United Kingdom	3.0	40 Japan	1.7	52 Italy	0.9

FIFTEEN COUNTRIES WITH THE LOWEST RATES

58 Turkey	17.9	63 Italy	16.6	68 Japan	10.8
59 France	17.8	64 Spain	13.7	69 Portugal	9.7
60 Austria	17.2	65 Greece	13.5	70 Philippines	9.1
61 Australia	16.9	66 Croatia	12.9	71 Hong Kong, China	7.8
62 Korea, Rep.	16.7	67 Hungary	12.6	72 Azerbaijan	7.7

Table 6.4 Ranking of Countries According to Sexual Offenses or Incidents Against Women

Source: Van Dijk, J. (2008). *The world of crime: Breaking the silence on problems of security, justice, and development across the world*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, p. 85.

Sources: ICVS, 1996–2005.

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Alfred Binet, a French psychologist, developed a measure of intelligence known as the IQ test.

changed, however, in the 1977 study by Travis Hirschi and Michael Hindelang.⁸¹ Hirschi and Hindelang analyzed the history of the research on the link between IQ and delinquency. They maintained that recent research on intelligence and delinquency suggests that (a) the relation is at least as strong as the relation of either class or race to official delinquency, and (b) the relation is stronger than the relation of either class or race to self-reported delinquency.

In reference to official delinquency, they analyzed various studies such as Hirschi's research on more than 3,600 boys in California.⁸² Using these data, the results revealed that family status and IQ are independently related to official delinquency. Wolfgang and his colleagues' study of 8,700 boys in Philadelphia revealed a strong association between IQ and delinquency independent of class.⁸³ In reference to self-reported delinquency, West found that 28.4% of the worst quarter of his sample on self-reported delinquency had low IQs compared with 16.6% of the remaining three quarters.⁸⁴ Hirschi and Hindelang noted that "however delinquency is measured, IQ is able to compete on at least equal terms with class and race, the major basis of most sociological theories of delinquency."⁸⁵

This study led to a resurgence in research on intelligence testing within the criminological perspective. Recent studies have revealed that certain types of intelligence are more important than others. For instance, several studies have shown that low verbal intelligence has the most significant influence on predicting delinquent and criminal behavior.⁸⁶ This resurgence peaked with the 1994 publication of Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray's *The Bell Curve*. In their preface, Herrnstein and Murray stated the following:

We are not indifferent to the ways in which this book, wrongly construed, might do harm. We have worried about them from the day we set to work. But there can be no real progress in solving America's social problems when they are as misperceived as they are today. What good can come of understanding the relationship of intelligence to social structure and public policy? Little good can come without it.⁸⁷

While the authors changed the terminology of *moron*, *imbecile*, and *idiot* to relatively benign terms such as *cognitively disadvantaged*, their argument was consistent with the feeble-mindedness research of the early 20th century. Thus, people with low IQ scores are somewhat destined to be unsuccessful in school, become unemployed, produce illegitimate children, and commit crime. Herrnstein and Murray also maintained that IQ or intelligence is essentially innate, or genetically determined. Thus, there is small chance of one improving one's IQ or intelligence.⁸⁸ Stephen Tibbetts noted that *The Bell Curve* resulted in a public outcry. Symposiums at major universities and other venues essentially condemned Herrnstein and Murray's findings. Some professors at public universities were sued in court because they used this book in their classes. Further, the book received critical reviews from other scientists.⁸⁹

JAMES Q. WILSON AND RICHARD J. HERRNSTEIN: *CRIME AND HUMAN NATURE*

In their book *Crime and Human Nature*, Wilson and Herrnstein reviewed a considerable number of criminological studies that examined the influence of genetic and familial

VIDEO



Rapists

CRIME IN
THE NEWS



Rapists

factors on criminal behavior.⁹⁰ Lawrence Wrightsman noted that such a shift in focus may be due to the changing political climate. During the 1960s, the dominant liberal political climate was one of optimism; there was a perception that any social problem could be solved. Environmental or sociological explanations of crime were more “palatable,” while biological explanations “lost favor” among many social scientists. In the 1980s, however, there was a political shift to a more conservative perspective. Wrightsman maintained that this pendulum shift was more tolerant of hereditary factors being considered to explain criminal behavior.⁹¹ In this vein, conservatives are more likely to consider causes of crime within the individual as well as to blame the behavior on the criminal’s lack of moral sense; liberals are more likely to consider the causes of crime in society, such as unequal distribution of wealth. Thus, “conservatives are much more likely to see criminals as different from normal citizens, while liberals are more likely to see them as people who have simply reacted differently to different situations they find themselves in.”⁹²

Wilson (at the time, a Harvard University political scientist) and Herrnstein (a Harvard University psychologist) never explicitly “named” their theory,⁹³ but Jack Gibbs has suggested that they use the label *operant-utilitarian theory of criminality*, since they often use concepts associated with operant psychology.⁹⁴ They maintained that there had been an overemphasis on sociological explanations for criminal behavior:

The existence of biological predispositions means that circumstances that activate criminal behavior in one person will not do so in another, that social forces cannot deter criminal behavior in 100 percent of a population, and that the distributions of crime within and across societies may, to some extent, reflect underlying distributions of constitutional factors. *Perhaps the simplest thing to say at this point is that crime cannot be understood without taking into account individual predispositions and their biological roots* [italics added].⁹⁵

They attempted to explain street crime by demonstrating how human nature develops and evolves from the interaction of three factors:

1. *Social environment.* While broad societal values have often been neglected as explanations, they maintained that the shift in American culture from valuing restraint and discipline to the recent narcissistic “me-first” orientation has a strong influence on the individual level and has contributed to the increasing crime rate during the previous two decades.

2. *Family relationships.* Parents who are uncaring, inconsistent in the treatment of their children, or unskilled in dispensing rewards and punishments contribute to their children’s criminal behavior. Further, a child from a broken home, or a single-parent household, is not necessarily an influential factor; rather, it is the parent’s failure to teach the child the consequences of his or her actions.

3. *Biological makeup.* Qualities considered influential include gender, low intelligence, impulsiveness, and body type. These are at least partly hereditary.⁹⁶

The third factor, *biological makeup*, is considered the most controversial aspect of Wilson and Herrnstein’s theoretical perspective. They stressed that this theory was not one of predestination. Rather, they argued that the question of whether criminals are “born or made” is poorly phrased. The word *born* implies that some part of criminality may be due, categorically and permanently, to assigned constitutional factors (e.g., genetics); the word *made* implies that some aspect of criminality may be due, categorically and permanently, to social factors. They maintained that such a viewpoint “neglects, obviously, the complex interactions that exist between those causes.”⁹⁷

 REFERENCE ARTICLE

 Wilson and
Herrnstein

Wilson and Herrnstein contend that at any time, a person can choose between committing a crime and not committing a crime. The consequences of committing a crime consist of rewards and punishments. The greater the ratio of net rewards of crime to net rewards of noncrime, the greater the tendency to commit the crime.⁹⁸ Further, constitutional factors, such as intelligence and impulsivity, can influence an individual's ability to judge future and immediate rewards and punishments. Thus, "aggressive and impulsive males with low intelligence are at a greater risk for committing crimes than are young males who have developed 'the bite of conscience,' which reflects higher cognitive and intellectual development."⁹⁹ In reference to intelligence, Wilson and Herrnstein argued that social scientists have maintained that individuals identified as offenders have an average IQ of 92, which is about 8 points below the population average. Further, they contend that a low IQ may result in offenders' inability to think past "short-term" situations or difficulty understanding society's rules and the consequences of their actions.¹⁰⁰

There have been various criticisms of Wilson and Herrnstein's theoretical perspective.¹⁰¹ One is that they failed to empirically test their terms, such as *ratio of rewards*. Specifically, they did not adequately operationalize these terms; this makes it difficult for researchers to test their theory. Another concern was the focus on street and predatory crimes, such as murder, robbery, and burglary. They did not include other offenses such as white-collar crimes. As Gibbs questioned, "Are some white-collar crimes predatory?"¹⁰² Some argued that while Wilson and Herrnstein objectively selected and presented relevant literature, they may have actually selectively reviewed literature that supported their theory. Thus, "although readers were given the impression that the authors' arguments were based on solid *science* and, therefore, should be *believed*, critics asserted that, in more than one instance, these arguments were based on shaky evidence."¹⁰³

PSYCHOPATHY AND CRIME

David Lykken distinguished between the terms *sociopath* and *psychopath*. **Sociopath** refers specifically to antisocial personalities attributed to social or familial dysfunction. **Psychopath** refers to individuals whose antisocial behavior may be a result of a defect or abnormality within themselves, rather than in their rearing or socialization. In his classic book *Mask of Sanity*, Hervey Cleckley maintained that psychopaths are intelligent, self-centered, glib, superficially charming, verbally shallow, and manipulative. In terms of emotions, these individuals lack essential human characteristics such as empathy and remorse. Behaviorally, psychopaths engage in irresponsible behavior, are prone to seek novelty and excitation, and often engage in moral transgressions or antisocial acts.¹⁰⁴

While there were various attempts to develop an assessment tool measuring psychopathy, it was not until the mid-1980s that major advances were made. Robert Hare developed the Psychopathy Checklist-Revised (PCL-R) to examine psychopathy in adult samples. His scale adapted some of Cleckley's concepts of psychopathic individuals, as well as including such factors as impulsivity and criminological components (e.g., criminal versatility).¹⁰⁵ The Hare PCL-R includes scales measuring two factors: (1) the callous, selfish, remorseless use of others, and (2) a chronically unstable and antisocial lifestyle.¹⁰⁶

While a majority of the research on psychopathy has considered it as one construct, other studies in the adult literature have focused on possible subtypes or subgroups of psychopathy.¹⁰⁷ One subgroup is consistent with Cleckley's original concept of the *primary* psychopath:

[An individual] who displays certain characteristics that are maladaptive and pathological (e.g., lack of conscience, irresponsibility, failure to learn from

AUDIO



Psychopathy

sociopath: refers specifically to antisocial personalities that are due to social or familial dysfunction

psychopath: refers to individuals whose antisocial behavior may result from a defect or abnormality within themselves rather than in their rearing or socialization

experience)—as well as key traits that appear ostensibly adaptive, or at least nonpathological (e.g., low anxiety, interpersonal charm, absence of irrational thinking).¹⁰⁸

Another subgroup also has many of the same *maladaptive* traits as the primary psychopath. However, this subtype, or *secondary* psychopath, seems to be more prone to exhibit extensive symptoms of psychological turmoil and emotional reactivity. Also, these individuals tend to be more reactive, antagonistic, and impulsive; they are also more at risk for engaging in self- and other-destructive behavior such as drug use/abuse, suicidal ideation/gestures, and interpersonal aggression.¹⁰⁹

Various theories have attempted to explain psychopathy. Lykken suggested the *low fear-quotient theory*. He maintained that all individuals have an innate propensity to fear certain stimuli, such as loss of support, snakes, or strangers. Individuals subsequently associate, or condition, fear of stimuli and situations that they have previously experienced with pain or punishment. This is referred to as an innate *fear quotient*; this fear quotient varies from person to person. Primary psychopaths are at the low end of this fear-quotient continuum. Further, most of the normal socialization process relies on punishing antisocial behavior. However, “someone who is relatively fearless will be relatively harder to socialize in this way”¹¹⁰ (see Box 6.2).

Another explanation of psychopathy is *inhibitory defect* or *underendowment*. Some psychopathic individuals seem to act impulsively without assessing the situation, appreciating the dangers, or considering the consequences. This perspective maintains that lesions in certain areas of the brain can cause a decrease in inhibitory control in animals as well as humans. This view does not argue that *all* psychopaths have lesions or qualitative defects in their frontal cortex areas; rather, frontal lesions can produce a syndrome similar to psychopathy.¹¹¹

The interpersonal and affective factors associated with psychopathy often are related to a socially deviant lifestyle, including irresponsible and impulsive behavior; these behaviors tend to ignore or violate social rules and mores. While not all psychopaths have any type of formal contact with the criminal justice system, the interpersonal, affective, and behavioral features of psychopathy place them at a high risk for aggression and violence.¹¹² With the



VIDEO

Psychopathy

CRIME
IN THE NEWS

Psychopathy

WHAT WERE THEY
THINKING?!

Assault

BOX 6.2: EXAMPLE OF FEARLESSNESS

Lykken provided the following example of a child who demonstrated fearlessness. The letter was written by the mother of a teenage daughter in response to an article Lykken wrote for a popular magazine:

Your article on fearlessness was very informative. I was able to identify with many of the traits. However, being thirty-six and a single parent of three children, I have managed to backpack on the “edge” without breaking my neck. I have a 14-year-old daughter who seems to be almost fearless to anything in her environment. She jumps out second-story windows.

When she was in first grade, I came home from work one afternoon and found her hanging by her fingers from our upstairs window. I “calmly” asked her what she was doing. She replied that she was “getting refreshed.” Later, she stated that she did things like that when she needed a lift—that she was bored and it made her feel better. Nancy is bright, witty, attractive, charismatic, and meets people easily. She tends to choose friends who are offbeat, antisocial, and into dope, alcohol, etc. During her month’s visit here with me, she stole money from my purse, my bank card, etc., etc.

Source: Lykken, D. T. (1996). Psychopathy, sociopathy, and crime. *Society*, 34, 32.

LEARNING CHECK 6.2

1. Goddard maintained that intelligence or IQ . . .
 - a. was influenced by one's environment
 - b. was influenced by one's socialization
 - c. was static or innate
 - d. did not influence criminality
2. Wilson and Herrnstein argued that street crime is associated with human nature and maintained that human nature develops and evolves from the interaction of three factors. Which of the following is **NOT** one of those three factors?
 - a. Social environment
 - b. Peer relationships
 - c. Family relationships
 - d. Biological makeup
3. According to Cleckley, this is an individual who displays certain characteristics that are maladaptive and pathological, as well as key traits that appear ostensibly adaptive or at least nonpathological:
 - a. Primary
 - b. Secondary
 - c. Sociopath
 - d. Nonpsychopath

Answers located at www.sagepub.com/schram

widespread adoption of the PCL-R to assess psychopathy, there is empirical evidence on the association between psychopathy and criminal behavior.¹¹³ Research has revealed that while psychopathy occurs in about 1% of the general population, these individuals make up a significant proportion of the prison population.¹¹⁴

Hare stressed that while psychopathy is closely associated with antisocial and criminal behavior, it should not be confused with criminality in general.¹¹⁵ He noted that psychopaths are *qualitatively* different from other individuals involved in criminal behavior. Specifically, he noted that psychopaths have a distinct criminal career in terms of the number and type of antisocial behaviors as well as the ages when they engage in these behaviors. Also, the motivation to engage in these antisocial behaviors differs between psychopaths and nonpsychopaths.

In terms of treatment of psychopaths, most clinicians and researchers are less than optimistic about successful outcomes. A major reason is that unlike most other types of offenders, psychopaths do not experience personal distress and do not appreciate the problems associated with their attitudes and behavior. Further, when they do seek treatment, it is usually in an effort to benefit their situation, such as seeking probation

and parole, rather than to improve themselves. Thus, "it is not surprising that they derive little benefit from traditional treatment programs, particularly those aimed at the development of empathy, conscience, and interpersonal skills."¹¹⁶

MENTAL HEALTH AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

Research has revealed that the proportion of male and female jail detainees with a mental health disorder is significantly higher than in the general population.¹¹⁷ Based on a 2006 Bureau of Justice Statistics Report, 56% of state prisoners, 45% of federal prisoners, and 64% of jail inmates had a mental health problem. Almost 25% of both state prisoners and jail inmates who had a mental health problem had served three or more prior incarcerations.¹¹⁸ Some have referred to the "in and out" of prison and/or jail among offenders with mental health disorders as "the revolving door."¹¹⁹ Various issues are associated with mental health and the criminal justice system. In this section, we briefly present some of these issues, beginning with treatment approaches.

TREATMENT

Different types of treatment methods have been implemented to address problems linked to criminality, including coping and problem-solving skills, conflict resolution, empathy, and relationships with peers, parents, and other adults.

WHY
DO THEY
DO IT?

ADAM LANZA



On December 14, 2012, 20-year-old Adam Lanza burst into Sandy Hook Elementary School, in Newtown, Connecticut. He was wearing a bullet-proof vest and carrying various assault weapons. Upon entering the school, he passed through two rooms, shooting school staff and elementary school students as he went. Afterward, Lanza killed himself. Lanza killed 20 children and six school staff members before his rampage was done. A secondary investigation revealed that prior to Lanza's arriving at Sandy Hook Elementary School, he had fatally shot his mother. This was the deadliest school shooting since the 2007 rampage at Virginia Tech. A disturbing distinction between these two shootings, however, is that the victims involved in the Sandy Hook attack included children ranging from kindergarten to fourth grade.¹²⁰

Friends of the family reported that Lanza suffered from Asperger's syndrome, a form of autism. After finishing high school, Lanza spent a great deal of time alone; many commented that he was "reserved" and did not demonstrate any type of violent behavior. However, John Wlasuk, who played Babe Ruth baseball with Lanza as a child, would sometimes accompany his father, a plumber, to the Lanza home. Wlasuk stated that Lanza spent a great deal of time in the basement playing video games, many of them violent.

In the basement, Lanza had posters of military weapons. A former adviser of the Newtown High School tech club, Richard Novia, stated that Lanza was placed in a special program for those children considered at risk of being bullied. Novia, however, did not recall Lanza ever being bullied in school.¹²¹

During the days following this tragic event, the country went through periods of grief, mourning, shock, and anger. Governor Dannel Malloy stated that "shortly after the initial horror and the immediate grief over what occurred at Sandy Hook Elementary School . . . there was one question on the lips of many of our residents: How do we make sure this never happens again."¹²² There has been a great deal of focus among the media, citizens, and policymakers on two central concerns arising from this massacre: mental health issues and access to weapons and ammunition.

One reporter noted that we still know very little about Lanza. Apparently, he spent most of his time in his room; he socialized via computer, especially with gamers. He would order computer parts and buy books without leaving his room. In fact, after the shooting, the police investigation revealed that Lanza had destroyed the hard drive on his computer. This may have provided the only true insight into his thoughts and motives.¹²³ Many have asked, "Why did he do it?" This is especially troubling given that he had no connection with his victims. Could there be an association between Asperger's syndrome and violent behavior? Some studies have suggested a link between violent crime and Asperger's syndrome.¹²⁴ Some also want to consider other factors such as his inclination to play violent video games, limited human contact, and accessibility to weapons.

For instance, in 1997 the **Thinking for a Change** program was developed by Glick, Bush, and Taymans, in cooperation with the National Institute of Corrections. Thinking for a Change is an integrated cognitive behavioral change program that includes cognitive restructuring, social skill development, and development of problem-solving skills. The program was designed to be used with offender populations in prisons, jails, community corrections, and probation and parole settings.¹²⁵ Generally, cognitive intervention is

an approach that focuses on the ways that offenders think. Thinking includes a wide array of skills and processes, such as problem-solving skills, the ability to empathize with others and victims, the ability to formulate and then achieve plans for the future, and the ability to foresee the consequences of one's own behavior.¹²⁶

Thinking for a Change:

an integrated cognitive behavioral change program that includes cognitive restructuring, social skill development, and the development of problem-solving skills

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ARTICLE

Treatment

A major impetus to developing this program was based on the experience that criminal behavior was more vulnerable to positive social change when offenders were able to apply, and incorporate, both cognitive restructuring and cognitive skills programs.¹²⁷

In reference to studies evaluating the Thinking for a Change program, Golden, Gatchel, and Cahill's study revealed some "mixed" results concerning recidivism.¹²⁸ They concluded that the program does improve problem-solving skills among those who have completed the program. These skills may subsequently deter them from engaging in future criminal activity. The researchers also noted that future research might consider exploring whether "booster sessions," such as an aftercare group or relapse prevention measures, could further deter future criminal behavior. While cognitive-behavioral approaches have been applied to various types of programs such as case management, psychologically oriented treatments, and psychoeducational programs, such applications have, according to Wilson, resulted in there being no differences between offenders who participate in a problem-solving skills development program and those who do not.¹²⁹

MENTAL HEALTH COURTS

The concept of **mental health courts** developed from the drug court model in the late 1980s. The first mental health court was created in 1997 in Broward County, Florida. In 2000, President Clinton signed the America's Law Enforcement and Mental Health Project bill. This bill authorized the establishment of up to 100 mental health courts and allocated \$10 million a year, for up to 4 years, to maintain these courts.¹³⁰ As with drug courts, a major reason for establishing mental health courts was to address the large proportion of individuals with mental illnesses involved in the criminal justice system. Thus, "like drug courts and other 'problem-solving courts,' . . . mental health courts move beyond the criminal court's traditional focus on case processing to address the root causes of behaviors that bring people before the court."¹³¹ The goals of mental health courts include increasing public safety for communities, increasing treatment participation and quality of life for offenders, and enhancing the use of resources in various communities.¹³²

Based on a "working definition," mental health courts share some common features. First, this is a specialized court for offenders with mental health illnesses. Second, as noted above, this court focuses more on problem-solving approaches. Third, participants in this court are identified through a series of mental health screenings and assessments. Fourth, these offenders voluntarily participate in a judicially supervised treatment plan. Finally, there are incentives for adherence to the treatment, as well as sanctions for nonadherence.¹³³ There are, however, variations among the different mental health courts, such as target population, charge accepted (i.e., misdemeanor or felony), plea arrangement, intensity of supervision, program duration, and type of treatment available.

Most of the mental health court participants suffer from serious mental illnesses. The term *mental illness* covers a broad range of psychological disorders. Within the group of disorders considered serious are those illnesses that are severe and persistent, such as schizophrenia, schizoaffective disorder, bipolar disorder, severe depression, and anxiety disorders. Most states, when determining the criteria for participating in mental health courts, consider offenders' level of functioning as well as "severe and persistent" disorders to prioritize their access to mental health services. Some mental health courts accept individuals with a broad range of mental conditions.

INSANITY DEFENSE

Society has often been challenged with the idea that a mentally ill person should not be held criminally responsible for his or her actions.¹³⁴ The idea of excusing offenders for

AUDIO



Mental Health Courts

VIDEO

Mental
Health Courts

mental health courts:

established to address the large proportion of individuals with mental illnesses involved in the criminal justice system

their criminal actions due to a mental disease has been in existence for centuries.¹³⁵ **Insanity** is not a medical term; rather, it is a legal term. In this context, questions such as the following are raised:

- Is the person so insane that he or she cannot make a valid will?
- Is the person so insane that he or she should be civilly committed?
- Is the person so insane that he or she cannot be tried for his or her alleged crime?¹³⁶

The general rationale for an insanity defense is that a person should not be punished for engaging in a criminal act if he or she could not refrain from committing the act. The law is established to punish those individuals who make the wrong choices; thus, those people who do not have free choice, due to a mental illness, should not be punished for such acts.¹³⁷

The standards for establishing an insanity defense vary extensively among the different states. Four states—Kansas, Montana, Idaho, and Utah—do not allow for an insanity defense. However, Montana, Idaho, and Utah do have a provision under which an offender can receive a guilty but insane, or mentally ill, verdict.¹³⁸ Among the states that do allow an insanity defense, there are essentially four types of tests—again, with modified versions as well. These include the M’Naghten rule, irresistible impulse test, Durham test, and American Law Institute’s Model Penal Code (see Table 6.5).

THE M’NAGHTEN RULE. This is the oldest rule for determining insanity.¹³⁹ The M’Naghten case introduced the modern concept of insanity into English Common Law, which later



Mental health courts, modeled after drug courts, attempt to address the issues that bring a person to court.

CRIME IN THE NEWS

Insanity Defense: James Holmes

TEST	LEGAL STANDARD BECAUSE OF MENTAL ILLNESS	FINAL BURDEN OF PROOF	WHO BEARS THE BURDEN OF PROOF
M’Naghten	“Didn’t know what he was doing or didn’t know it was wrong”	Varies between proof by a balance of probabilities on the defense to proof beyond a reasonable doubt on the prosecutor	
Irresistible impulse	“Could not control his conduct”		
Durham	“The criminal act was caused by his mental illness”	Beyond reasonable doubt	Prosecutor
Browner-A.L.I.	“Lacks substantial capacity to appreciate the wrongfulness of his conduct or to control it”	Beyond reasonable doubt	Prosecutor
Present Federal Law	“Lacks capacity to appreciate the wrongfulness of his conduct”	Clear and convincing evidence	Defense

Table 6.5 Various Insanity Defense Standards

Source: Morris, N. (n.d.). Insanity defense. *Crime File*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice, p. 3. Retrieved from <https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/Digitization/100742NCJRS.pdf>

insanity: the idea of excusing offenders for their criminal actions due to a mental disease has been in existence for centuries. The term *insanity* is not a medical term; rather it is a legal term

VIDEO



Insanity Defense:
Hemy Neuman

influenced law in the United States. In 1843, Daniel M’Naghten shot Edward Drummond, who was the secretary to the British prime minister, Sir Robert Peel. M’Naghten thought that Peel, along with the “Tories,” was involved in a conspiracy against him. He believed that the only feasible way to resolve this issue was to kill Peel. Unfortunately, M’Naghten mistook Drummond for Peel. The issue of insanity was formally introduced in M’Naghten’s trial. He was subsequently acquitted by a jury on the grounds of insanity.¹⁴⁰ As noted in Table 6.5, the legal standard is that “he didn’t know what he was doing or didn’t know it was wrong.” Specifically, the **M’Naghten rule** is as follows:

1. Every person is presumed sane unless the contrary can be proven.
2. A person suffering a “partial” delusion should be dealt with as if the circumstance of the delusion was real.
3. To establish a defence on the grounds of insanity, it must be clearly proved that
 - at the *time of committing the act*,
 - the accused was laboring under such a *defect of reason*,
 - from a *disease of the mind*,
 - as *not to know the nature and quality of the act he was doing*
 - and if he did know it (the nature and quality of the act he was doing), that *he did not know what he was doing was wrong*.¹⁴¹



A jury found Lorena Bobbitt not guilty due to insanity under the irresistible impulse test.

M’Naghten rule: the M’Naghten case introduced the modern concept of insanity into English Common Law. The legal standard is that “he didn’t know what he was doing or didn’t know it was wrong”

irresistible impulse: one standard for the insanity defense. Offenders can claim that, due to a mental disease, they were unable to control their behavior

Durham: offenders are not criminally responsible, even if they are aware of their conduct, if this behavior was the “product of mental disease or defect”

IRRESISTIBLE IMPULSE. In 1897, the federal courts, and subsequently many state courts, included the **irresistible impulse** test with the M’Naghten “right–wrong” test. With this test, offenders can claim that, due to a mental disease, they were unable to control their behavior.¹⁴² The standard for this test is that the individual could not control his or her conduct. One well-known case that used this defense was that of Lorena Bobbitt. In 1993, Lorena Bobbitt severed her husband’s penis with a kitchen knife.

During the testimony, Mrs. Bobbitt stated that minutes after her drunken husband raped her, she was drinking a glass of water in the kitchen. It was at this time that she noticed a 12-inch knife. She picked up the knife and cut off her husband’s penis while he was sleeping. She further testified that she had not realized what she had done until later. She noticed the knife in one hand and her husband’s penis in the other. The defense argued that, given the abuse from her husband and also her various mental illnesses, after her husband raped her, Mrs. Bobbitt experienced an “irresistible impulse” to retaliate against him.¹⁴³

DURHAM. In the 1954 case *Durham v. United States*, the court included a volitional or free choice component to the insanity defense. Thus, according to the **Durham** rule, offenders are not criminally responsible, even if they are aware of their conduct, if this behavior was the “product of mental disease or defect.”¹⁴⁴ Judge David Bazelon noted that the M’Naghten rule was too narrow. The court argued that the test should incorporate the situation in which psychopathic disorders are qualifying conditions.¹⁴⁵

AMERICAN LAW INSTITUTE'S MODEL PENAL CODE.

About one year after the Durham decision, the **American Law Institute's Model Penal Code (ALI/MPC)** developed the substantial capacity test. Due to vague and contradictory rules about insanity, a number of states adopted the ALI test. The test includes the following, in Section 4.01 of the Model Penal Code:

A person is not responsible for criminal conduct if at the time of such conduct as a result of mental disease or defect he lacks substantial capacity either to appreciate the criminality (wrongfulness) or his conduct or to conform his conduct to the requirements of the law.¹⁴⁶

A key difference between the M'Naghten and ALI/MPC tests is that the M'Naghten test stipulates that the offender must demonstrate *total* mental impairment; the ALI/MPC test stipulates that the offender must demonstrate a lack of *substantial capacity*.

LEARNING CHECK 6.3

1. Some have referred to the "in and out" of prison and/or jail among offenders with mental health disorders as . . .
 - a. the downward spiral
 - b. the revolving door
 - c. the elevator system of justice
 - d. the inverted sieve
2. Mental health courts were modeled after . . .
 - a. the American Psychological Association's Model Health Court
 - b. civil court procedures
 - c. drug courts
 - d. family courts
3. For this standard, the court included a volitional or free choice component to the insanity defense:
 - a. M'Naghten rule
 - b. Irresistible impulse
 - c. Durham
 - d. ALI/MPC

Answers located at www.sagepub.com/schram



REFERENCE
ARTICLE

Mental Health
and Crime



AUTHOR
PODCAST

Mental Illness

American Law Institute's Model Penal Code (ALI/MPC): One standard for the insanity defense. The ALI/MPC test stipulates that the offender demonstrate a lack of *substantial capacity*

CONCLUSION

This chapter summarized theories that focus on psychological aspects of criminality rather than sociological aspects. According to Mischel, there are various fundamental assumptions of psychological theories of criminality.¹⁴⁷ Some of these assumptions include the following:

1. Personality is the major motivational element within individuals because it is the seat of drives and the source of motives.
2. Crimes result from abnormal, dysfunctional, or inappropriate mental processes within the personality.
3. Criminal behavior, although condemned by the social group, may be purposeful for the individual insofar as it addresses certain felt needs.
4. Normality is generally defined by social consensus.
5. Defective, or abnormal, mental processes may have a variety of causes, including a diseased mind, inappropriate learning or improper conditioning, the copying of inappropriate role models, and adjustment to inner conflicts.¹⁴⁸

This chapter started with early psychological perspectives such as psychoanalysis, dimensions of an individual's personality (e.g., psychoticism, extroversion, and neuroticism) and criminal behavior, moral development, and attachment to significant others. The following section presented more current psychological perspectives, beginning with the controversial discussion concerning intelligence and criminality. Next, we reviewed the theoretical perspective some have named *operant-utilitarian theory of criminality*, which maintains that various factors influence criminal behavior, including biological factors such as gender, low intelligence, impulsiveness, and body type. We concluded this section with various issues pertaining to mental health in the criminal justice system.

At the beginning of this chapter, we presented the case of Albert Fish. It is interesting to note that while the jurors acknowledged that Fish was insane, they still argued he should be executed. This raises some interesting questions in terms of mental health and the criminal justice system. While this case was heard more than 70 years ago, these issues are central to many horrific crimes we read about in the newspaper or see on the news today. Can a person be insane but still guilty of committing a crime?

SUMMARY OF THEORIES IN CHAPTER 6

THEORY	CONCEPTS	PROponents	KEY PROPOSITIONS
Psychoanalytic perspective	The id, ego, and superego; anxiety, defense mechanisms, and the unconscious	Sigmund Freud, August Aichhorn	Individuals may be unaware of their unconscious experiences; they seek some form of expression until these experiences are brought to their awareness. Attempt to uncover unconscious motives of individuals engaging in criminal behavior.
Theory of crime and personality	Personality can be viewed in three dimensions: psychoticism, extroversion, and neuroticism (the PEN model)	Hans Eysenck	Initially, Eysenck focused on two personality dimensions (neuroticism and extroversion) in terms of how they are linked to criminality; later, he incorporated the psychoticism dimension.
Moral development	Three levels of morality: preconventional, conventional, and postconventional. Within each level are two stages.	Lawrence Kohlberg	Depending on an individual's level of moral development, he or she will perceive issues such as right and wrong, avoiding punishment, responsibility, societal rules, and respecting human life in a different form of reasoning.
Attachment theory	Seven essential features: specificity, duration, engagement of emotion, course of development, learning, organization, and biological function.	John Bowlby, Mary Ainsworth	Individuals may react in certain ways if they experienced some type of separation or if they have weak attachments to significant others.
Operant-utilitarian theory of criminality	Overemphasis on sociological explanations; human nature develops and evolves from the interaction of three factors: social environment, family relationships, and biological makeup.	James Q. Wilson, Richard J. Herrnstein	Crime cannot be understood without considering the individual predispositions and their biological makeup. Constitutional factors, such as intelligence and impulsivity, can influence an individual's ability to judge future and immediate rewards and punishments.
Low fear-quotient theory	Fear quotient; fear quotient continuum; normal socialization process; psychopathy	David Lykken	Individuals have an innate propensity to fear certain stimuli, or an innate <i>fear quotient</i> . Psychopaths are at the low end of this fear-quotient continuum.

KEY TERMS

American Law Institute's
Model Penal Code (ALI/
MPC)

attachment theory

conventional level of
morality

Durham

ego

extroversion

id

insanity

intelligence quotient (IQ)

irresistible impulse

mental health courts

M'Naghten rule

neuroticism

PEN model

postconventional level of
morality

preconventional level of
morality

psychoanalytic perspective

psychopath

psychoticism

sociopath

superego

Thinking for a Change

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DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What are some of the key principles of Freud's psychoanalytic perspective?
2. How did Aichhorn apply some of these principles to juvenile offenders?
3. What is the PEN model?
4. How would you distinguish the various levels of moral development?
5. What are the key features of attachment theory?
6. What are some of the main issues regarding the link between intelligence and criminality?
7. According to Wilson and Herrnstein, what are the three factors associated with street crime and human nature?
8. How would you distinguish between a psychopath and other criminal offenders?
9. What are the key differences between the M'Naghten, irresistible impulse, Durham, and ALI/MPC tests?

WEB RESOURCES

American Bar Association

<http://www.americanbar.org/aba.html>

IQ Comparison Site

<http://www.iqcomparisonsite.com/iqbasics.aspx>