



The psychopathological profile of the criminal between recognition, interpretation, diversity

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Abstract

Clinical criminology and forensic psychiatry today tend towards an integrated approach of analysis, through the simultaneous use of criminological and psychiatric content and methods for the prevention of antisocial behaviour, search, diagnosis and treatment of offenders. The identification and examination of criminal personality characteristics and the identification of psychological frameworks systematically linked to criminal behaviour are important resources in the course of investigations, particularly in the face of cases of a serial and particularly violent nature. This type of analysis may be useful in providing investigators with a closer pool of suspects, more appropriately characterized in psychological and existential terms. The Criminal Profile or Criminal Profiling is an investigative tool that, through an accurate analysis of the crime scene, the findings obtained through the autopsy and a precise reconstruction of the dynamics of all aspects of the crime, aims to draw a psychological profile of who committed the crime.

Keywords: criminal profile; society; behavioral sciences; techniques; forensics.

1. Introduction

Clinical criminology and forensic psychiatry, for years now, tend to an integrated approach of analysis, through the simultaneous use of criminological and psychiatric content and methods for the prevention of antisocial behavior, search, diagnosis and treatment of offenders. The analysis of criminal personality constitutes the fundamental field of common interest of these two closely related disciplines, which also takes great account of an assessment of the environmental factors possibly predisposed to antisocial behaviour

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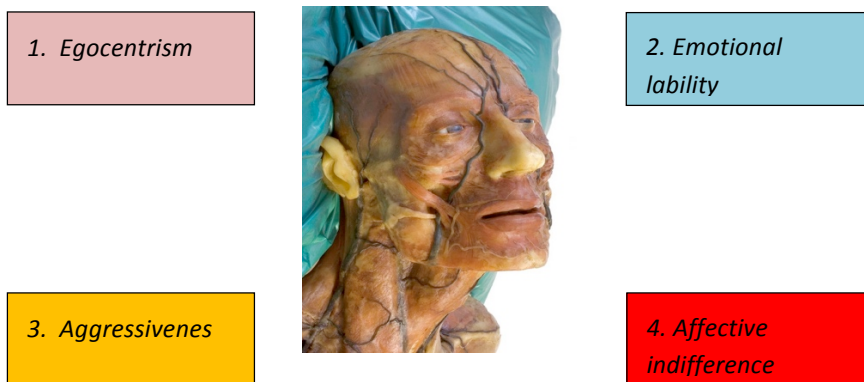
(Rossi and Zappalà 2005). The first studies that focused attention on the possible correlations between personality type and crime are to be traced back to the Belgian scholar De Greef (1946), who by "personality" meant a fixed disposition to react with a precise mode to a stimulus, also derived from all past experiences. De Greef (1946) identified some particular phases constituting criminology: crimogenesis, characterized by an "affective silence" resulting from the conviction of the offender to be subjected to an injustice; the criminodynamics that explains criminal behavior and that introduces the concept of "dangerous state", phase of unstable psychic balance that precedes the execution of a crime. Then follows the "passage to the act", in which the situation falls with the execution of the crime (De Greef 1946).

2. The study of criminal personality

Crimes represent an abnormal field of human conduct, deformed by a varied and complex spectrum of presentation of so-called normality, but not alien to it. Crime, today, is analyzed in particular through the tools of criminal psychology, using numerous theoretical references, from psychopathology to legal psychology, to psychodynamics (Baccaro 2017). Over time, the experience of individual criminological profiling cases has multiplied and today we need to reconsider the range of criminal profiles based on all the temperamental, family, social and therefore subcultural factors, and relating to the instinctual satisfaction of the basic needs rational or instinctual of the individual case in its kaleidoscope of human reactions, sometimes only instinctual, sometimes perverse and frankly pathological. The term "profile" is used imprecisely not only with reference to its meaning, but also to its application. The process of deducting distinctive personality characteristics responsible for the conduct of criminal acts has been commonly referred to as "criminal profiling" but has also been called, among other less common definitions, "profiling of behaviour", "crime scene profiling", "criminal personality profiling", "criminal profiling" and "psychological profiling". It can be said today that each of these definitions represents a very specific theme in its own right, just as often the one flows into the other and in some cases the one is complementary to the other (Palermo and Mastronardi 2021). The criminal personality is particularly analyzed by Pinatel (1999): he identifies four main traits determining the core of the criminal personality (Fig.1) that underlie the passage to the act and are present in each of us. The strokes are characterized by:



Fig. 1 traits determining the core of the criminal personality



1. *Egocentrism*: psychoanalysis defines "egocentric" a person who always puts himself at the center of attention and tends to absolutize his own judgments and perceptions. This behavior, which is normal in childhood, becomes evidently problematic in adulthood when "self-centered thinking" should give way to "socialized thinking" (Thakar 2014). According to Freud (Finelli and Vinci 2015), egocentrism is the consequence of an Es - the part of the human soul that contains the drives - hyper-developed. This entails the need to give immediate satisfaction to one's instincts and impulses, without taking into account those that are indirectly imposed by the context, the social environment and the needs of other people. There are several behaviors that indicate that a person puts himself at the center of the world or, in any case, in a priority position with respect to others. First of all, the egomaniac lacks a gift - empathy - and that leads him to have difficulty understanding other people's feelings or really listening to them. Not only that. On the contrary, it tends to always bring the conversation back to itself. This shows little interest in others and inability to share their views and moods. Personal needs always take priority over those of others. As the views of others are of little relevance to the egomaniac, criticism of him tends to be rejected, with the idea that there can be no other perspective than his own. The egocentric has a high regard for himself, so on the one hand he does not accept the idea that he can make mistakes and often puts the blame on others. On the other hand, he is obsessed with the need to always give the best impression of himself. Self-criticism is also misled by an overestimation of one's own abilities.

2. *Emotional (or affective) lability*: is a clinical manifestation of some psychic disorders such as "Major Depression". It is a symptom that can result from disorders in the relational affective sphere and lead to a further reduction in social relations. Physical and emotional abuse during childhood or adulthood as well as alcohol abuse are factors that can favor the manifestation of affective lability. Childhood abuse and alcohol abuse are very common among young people with hyperactivity attention disorder (ADHD). A potential mechanism of mediation would be represented precisely by emotional lability. In a 2020 research, a sample of 122 subjects at risk of ADHD (37% male) was evaluated, that is, with child abuse and with alcohol abuse in juvenile age (Mencacci and Migliarese 2021). The results showed that the presence of emotional lability mediated the association between negligence or emotional coldness and problems related to alcohol use. Child abuse would increase the risk of alcohol abuse at a young age. The association between emotional abuse and alcohol problems depended on both emotional lability and sex. During the research, the low presence of emotional lability has determined in men a poor association between childhood abuse and the risk of developing alcohol abuse. The association between the two factors, however, was strong in men with marked emotional lability and in women (Bunford et al., 2017). Childhood abuse can increase the risk of experiencing depression, anxiety, and alcohol abuse. There are, however, subjects who, despite these antecedents, do not suffer from such ailments. This was verified in a sample of 10980 (in 2019) adult participants who had suffered severe child abuse. Compared to men, women recruited in the study reported more emotional and sexual abuse, as well as less emotional regulation. For both genders severe emotional abuse, severe physical abuse, intense emotions, and physical neglect were associated with symptoms of depression and anxiety while only severe physical abuse increased the risk of engaging in alcohol abuse. In men severe emotional abuse and physical abuse were associated with clinical levels of depression and anxiety. In women, sexual abuse, emotional neglect and severe physical neglect were associated with clinical levels of depression and anxiety. Severe emotional abuse in men and severe physical abuse in women was associated with alcohol abuse. With regard to resilience, the majority of study participants and severely abused in childhood did not report clinical levels of depression or anxiety (72%) or alcohol abuse (93%) in adulthood. Although the majority of severely abused or neglected individuals have not shown clinical levels of depression, anxiety, or alcohol abuse, severe child abuse can still increase the risk of developing psychopathology in adulthood (Rehan et al., 2017). Emotional lability can also occur in conditions of extreme vulnerability such as pregnancy and post-partum. Childbirth is a significant event in a woman's life and in the couple's relationship. Organizational changes that follow childbirth require the reorganization of previous daily lifestyles and the development of new methods of adaptation that often prove difficult to implement. One study assessed to what extent the development of postpartum depression symptoms in new mothers may be associated with their level of marital satisfaction. In the research 100 women were recruited in the first month after childbirth (Pinna and Del Zompo 2012). Women completed questionnaires regarding



postpartum depression and the quality of the marital relationship. The results showed a significant correlation between the level of postpartum depression and the quality of interpersonal relationships. Increased severity of postpartum depression symptoms (sleep disturbances, lability or affective passivity, anxiety/insecurity, mental confusion, loss of self esteem, guilt/shame, thoughts of death) occurred in women less satisfied with their relationship, that is, in those who have experienced a reduced level of intimacy, ability to fulfill tasks and similarities with the partner, as well as a deep sense of disillusionment. Women who declared a deep satisfaction of their marital relationship showed a greater feeling of psychophysical well-being (Giorgetti 2021). No correlation was found between the occurrence of postpartum depression and socio-demographic factors (age, level of education, place of residence) or factors associated with pregnancy history (number of children, number of pregnancies, history of abortions, early diagnosis of depression, type of childbirth, condition of the newborn after birth, method of feeding the newborn). Women who are dissatisfied with the quality of their marital relationship would therefore experience the symptoms of postpartum depression more severely (Malus et al. 2016).

3. *Aggression*: is a state of mind that leads the person to put in place behaviors to attack and cause harm to others, through physical and verbal violence. A person who often reacts aggressively can have problems at the social or work level, that is, the causes can be entirely personal (Krahè 2005). Aggression is usually an instinctive reaction, a defense mechanism, that can manifest itself through the use of violence. However, aggression and violence are not necessarily synonymous. Violence, in fact, is a conscious act that is used with the aim of harming others. A person can be aggressive for a number of different causes (Pellicanò 2009). This reaction can also be caused by environmental or biological factors. In several cases, aggression is also a symptom of some psychological disorders. Among the main causes of aggressive behavior we find: addiction to substances such as alcohol and drugs; anxiety; autism; depression; bipolar disorder; schizophrenia; climatic and environmental conditions such as heat, pollution and noise; frustration; trauma during childhood; Alzheimer's; use of certain types of drugs; low serotonin levels.

4. *Affective indifference*: it is characterized by coldness towards the pain of others, suffering. This type of attitude is a signal that can be seen in a criminal personality. Emotional indifference is a dangerous form of moral inertia, existential passivity,

superficiality, which the criminal uses against the existence of another individual and in general the truest and deepest values inherent in that person. Indifference is a dark evil that devours humanity, that bewilders, that devours society (Zamperini 2007). These hypotheses seem to have been confirmed by verification studies carried out by Canepa (1974) on samples of criminals. However, subsequent research has not been able to clarify whether typical personality traits exist in criminal subjects or whether these lend a particular intensity of traits widespread in all individuals and whether these characteristics are the cause or effect of a life of criminal. Tracing the history of this field of research, a "criminal personality syndrome" has been identified, characterized by a specific psychopathological structure, which favors the acting-out (transition to criminal action) and is characterized by three fundamental traits: Criminal hyperactivity, antisociality, and a remarkable egocentrism. It has been shown that environmental and social factors are always mediated by the above syndrome, which frequently overlaps with other personality structures (Strano et al. 2000). Yochelson and Samenow (1977), while highlighting recurrent psychological features in criminology, such as ease of excitement, fantasies of domination, power and triumph, widespread fear and persistent suspicions (traits that lead to thinking about the presence of narcissistic and paranoid components in the structure of the character), argues, *aktresi*, that the personality traits of the person committing a crime are present even in an attenuated form in most individuals. Some criminals may also be driven to seek illegality and domination by low self-esteem, a feeling of desperation, feelings of pride, and a quest for power. Forensic psychiatry has for many years been a field that makes use of psychological theories, experiences and methodologies to respond to the increasingly frequent needs of the legal system, especially in the criminological field (Nivoli et al. 2019). The identification and examination of criminal personality characteristics and the identification of psychopathological frameworks systematically linked to criminal behaviour are important resources during investigations, particularly in the face of cases of a serial and particularly violent nature. This socio-psychological perspective also offers a fundamental contribution of information useful for conducting interrogations according to the type of personality of the possible accused, deviating from the usual standard procedures (Russo 2018). Specifically, the task of the psychiatrist proves complex, especially for the variability of human behavior and antisocial behavior, and this means that there is no universally recognized typology for offenders (Volterra 2015). To this is added the fact that there is no language common to the Police Forces and Mental Health Workers that allows to describe the violent criminal behavior, the motives and its meanings (Sanza 1999).

2. The passage to the criminal act (acting out)

The understanding of the criminal act cannot be separated from the attempt to provide a dynamic explanation of the act itself (criminodynamic). Criminal acts (especially in cases of crimes for which it is difficult to find an understandable motive) can be the expression of a compromise formation, a derivative of an internal conflict or a distorted mental



representation of which the crime becomes a concrete manifestation (Elbert and Natali 2013). The action is never an uncontrolled event, indeed it recognizes in itself a succession of organized actions so it is not so much the intensity of the motor discharge to define it as "set in motion" as the fact that they are discharged, in a disguised manner, aggressive and destructive drives on a replacement object. On the contrary, an action that presented itself, albeit with characteristics of suddenness and discharge, but from which it was not possible to derive elements of conflict, if the instances of the ego and the most internal drives and regulations were correctly considered, should not be considered an implementation, but a correct mode of "doing" (Jervis 2001). Acting out differs from "symptomatic actions" (although this differentiation operation can sometimes be clinically difficult). In them, too, the action seems inappropriate with the context, but there is an element of continuity between the subject and his being caught by an irrepressible request to action. Symptomatic actions are not organized and consistent, they are experienced as bizarre, alien to the ego and can represent its failure (the presence of a psychiatric pathology is frequent for criminal purposes). In symptomatic action the past event is greatly deformed and only a fragment can be represented. The symptomatic action is an act in which the patient feels involved negatively, that gives suffering inducing fear and anxiety, and that happens despite himself: it also implies a subjective split, that is "egodystonic" and on it the subject can ask questions. The acting out instead has been and is often considered improperly a direct impulse discharge, tending to lighten a tension. In this sense, the term assumes a more extensive and therefore less comprehensive character. It is sometimes attributed to antisocial or dangerous impulsive actions, poorly motivated, for example in people with psychotic disorders, or personality disorders, in people addicted to substance use, binding, in a psychodynamic perspective, to a personality structure and its functioning (Lykken 1995). The criminal action in this perspective necessarily presents characteristics from which it can be derived, through the study of the place, the circumstances, the victim, different information on the psychology of the author, which will allow to narrow the field of investigation. In people who become authors of criminal acting out there is often a permanent imbalance, inherent in the psychic structure, which produces a chronic destructive action in the external world. This action, however, is always an expression of compromise formations, distorted derivatives and masquerades of inner conflicts: they are never direct discharges. Despite the above details, in psychiatric clinics, the term is used in its most extensive sense, that is, of an action agitated by a patient. The question has been asked as to why there are subjects who tend to act more than others or whose actions are

particularly destructive (Lusa and Borrini 2013). The explanation that has been credited is that those who have conflicts that are situable in the preverbal age or who have had inhibitions to verbal communication act more and therefore prefer motor expression, to indicate a relevant depth of the level of functional disturbance; the reflective function, that is, the ability to give understandable psychological significance to one's thoughts, is markedly deficient. People with a type of disorder that frequently induces strongly aggressive "step-to-act" behaviors both hetero-aggressive and self-aggressive, frequently have severe alterations of the personality structure (although this does not necessarily lead to a reduction in their imputability) (Allen and Anderson 2017). Often, the relational modalities of the disturbed subject on the level of the personality are such as to determine abrupt passages from relationships of dependence from an external object lived as omnipotent or potentially rewarding, to aggressive relations, in which the other is characterized as rejecting or expelling or the object of particularly envious attacks, assume the distorted meaning of "doing justice", in the perverse perspective of the subject. It is in this way that you can have "put in place" extremely aggressive; the implementation is often preceded by a lifetime of unconfessed fantasies, returns to the past, perverse desires. It is as if the subject, lived a whole life in a split dimension, outwardly normal but inwardly dominated and populated by vindictive fantasies connoted in a sadistic and violent sense, yielded to the impulse to "give breath" to their own inner demands.

3. Personological profile and psychological investigation

The typical practical procedure to arrive at the psychological profile is divided into several phases described by De Luca (2000). It is obvious that the psychopathological profile of a person who committed a crime can only start from the specific analysis of the crimes committed and the crime scene. The first element that should be considered is precisely the crime scene, which constitutes a living document of the subject's actions and is the basis for most behavioral interpretations (Bruno and Marrazzi 2000). The reconstruction of the crime scene starts from the use of scientific methods, physical evidence and deductive reasoning to achieve a specific knowledge related to the series of events related to the crime. Using the basic principles of applied psychopathology, it is sometimes possible to draw from the scene of the crime scientific and psychological evidence relating to the subject. In other words, it is as if something very specific about the subject remains at the scene (Holmes and Holmes 2008). Another discipline that makes a fundamental contribution to the drafting of a personological profile of offenders is victimology, which lays its foundations in the study of the victim with the tools of applied psychology. The definition of victimology varies from author to author, but it is basically a collection of the most complete possible history of/and victim/s, including his lifestyle, personality traits, information about the family environment, (Wilson and Seaman 1990). Every answer given to these questions represents further information on the possible criminal. At this point, it is appropriate to deepen in detail the treatment of psychopathology of perpetrators of serious crime. Classically it was spoken of responsibility "psychopathic" or



"sociopathic" to indicate those personalities characterized by difficulties of adaptation in any environment, behavioural instability, precariousness in the affective relations, ease of passage to the act, such as scams, robberies, murders, carried out coldly and with brutality; in the face of such examples there has also been talk of "perverse" personalities. Schneider (Andreoli 2004) identifies the disorder "where there is suffering, for the patient and for others, caused by the personological anomaly", distinguishing psychopathic personalities, which "make society suffer" from those who "suffer". In the course of this century, different fields of study have been studied, which have enhanced affective-behavioral aspects (Douglas 2000), subjective aspects (Abrahamson 1973), but also cognitive and constitutional aspects until the most recent bio-modelpsychosocial behaviour proposed by Cloninger (1993). The term "psychopath" fell into disuse in the following decades, until being completely eliminated and replaced in the various Diagnostic and Statistical Manuals of Mental Disorders (DSM) by the generic diction of personality disorders, intended as a hardening of the pattern of daily behavior with the constant presence of maladaptation and subjective suffering. Sociopathic personality is thus divided into behavioral behaviors characterized by alcoholism, sexual deviations, antisocial and dissocial reactions. Subjects with an "Antisocial Personality Disorder" have a behavior characterized by frequent acts of aggression and intolerance to social norms (Velotti 2015). They also tend to be insensitive to other people's feelings and intolerant to the frustrations they respond to with violence; they are reckless and careless about their own safety and that of others and are rarely able to maintain stable relationships over time. The most modern interpretation, certainly restrictive, indicates that the peculiar trait of the subject with "Antisocial Personality Disorder" is the absence of guilt: this is why we can speak of "antisocial trait" but the diagnostic criteria for Antisocial Disorder are not met on the psychodynamic level (Fornari 1989). Among the various personality disorders, to present the closest and constant relationship with aggressive and violent behaviors are the Antisocial Disorder, which with high frequency is associated with hetero-aggressive behaviors, the Borderline, for the characteristics of instability and ease of transition to the act (Kernberg 1987) and the syndrome of "malignant narcissism" (Fornari 1989), characterized by a malignant sense of omnipotence and invincibility, the feeling of impunity, lack of empathy and moral sense, prevalence of a lived in which "everything is feasible" in order to satisfy their impulses. Borderline Disorder develops more on the psychophysiological side, characterized by an impulsive dis-regulation, an emotional instability with marked traits of mood reactivity, a lack of control over anger, with even

violent expressions of the same, and an important difficulty in interpersonal relationships (Gunderson and Hoffman 2010). It is also essential to mention other psychological contributions that have provided interpretative paradigms in the field of criminology. Among all, psychoanalytic theory, which offers an interpretation of crime linked to the psychological structure and dynamic mechanisms acting in man. According to Dazzi and Madeddu (2009) antisociality, and consequently criminal behavior, would constitute a personological predisposition, the result of interactions of the subject, with the environment, not separately from the components of the subject itself and aroused to express themselves when the control requests lose effectiveness. In particular, criminal behavior would be put in place when the lipid or aggressive drives of the Es overcome the opposing pressures towards social compliance dictated by the Super-Me or when the narcissistic components are so whipped to induce a passage to the act, perceived and lived as a sort of heroic act. Crime can thus be interpreted as a pathology of the Super-Ego, in whose realization of structure the process of identification with socio-parental models, but also more modern, plays a fundamental role, as the expression of malignant narcissistic traits of pathological significance (Giusti and Bianchi 2010). Classically, the psychodynamic interpretation of the criminal fact takes into account the release from super-controlegoic, the decrease of the ability to delay the drives by the ego and the production of the id of instinctual drives particularly uncontrollable and virulent; in today's reality we are increasingly faced with subjects that are devoid of internal references, not for the failure of the same, but for the real absence of internal representations validating a socially adequate behavior. According to other authors, environmental stimuli and conditionings, in the behavioral perspective of stimulus-response, root in the individual elements related to criminal behavior, through the mechanism of reinforcement (Della Sala and Beschin 2007). Within the vast field of criminology, in literature there is a wide interest of scholars particularly focused on psychological profiles of subjects who have committed serial murders, tragic form and complex human destructiveness. Serial killer classifications consider a personality, ranging from a perverse pole to a psychotic pole. It is now classic the description made by Holmes and De Burger (1985) of the different types identified through the analysis of the motivations and incentive type that inspired the work of the killer. They describe a serial killer "hallucinated", psychotic subject with serious detachment from reality that commits completely incomprehensible acts, with scenes from the chaotic presentation. This type of killer can be forced to kill by voices or visions, which can also have only temporary character. He is driven to act by his own inner motives, because something deep within his personality drives him to do so. His victim is in most cases unknown, being a relatively fortuitous and random selection. The same classification also identifies the serial killer "missionary": non-psychotic subject, who manifests a compulsion to kill that type of people in his opinion worthy of being exterminated. He consciously decides to carry out the murders, almost a sort of "mission", to obtain a psychological benefit. The murderer in this way is convinced of the correctness of his actions, which comes to him from his own system of values. This killer does not have the same detachment from the reality of the hallucinated serial killer, he is largely in



contact with reality, which takes charge of freeing from a certain group of people, to him usually strangers. Another type of serial killer is the serial murderer "hedonist", where the hedonist is intended to obtain pleasure through a series of aggressive acts. Among them, for the sex-oriented killer, sexual justification represents the ultimate goal and the primary role in murder. The motivations stem from an inner need to kill and satisfy one's compulsive mechanisms, because of its need for sexual satisfaction. The second type of "hedonist" acts for the sake of the thrill, so he feels a sense of gratification when the victim reacts with pain and horror to his acts. The killer in search of extreme emotions needs his victim to be alive and aware of what is happening to get full enjoyment; in fact, most of the pleasure is derived from the very process behind the killing, rather than from the killer himself. The third type of serial killer "hedonist" instead kills for personal gain, ie for reasons of personal convenience, such as money, economic interests, insurance premiums or other. These are expectations of material gain, while psychological gratification comes from the pleasure of obtaining these profits through the murder of another person (Leccese 2001). This summary description of the different types of serial killers can be considered an example of the psychodynamic elements that should be taken into account in the drafting of a personological profile in criminology. It is understood, of course, that only in the event that the crime scene is sufficiently documented and the evidence shows peculiar characteristics can a criminological profile be made as close as possible to the perpetrator. This means that the scientific and physical reconstruction of the scene of the crime must be the starting point of the observation and all the highlighted elements must match the deductions made.

4. The role of forensic medicine: the inspection

An important factor for the acquisition of useful elements is the on-site inspection, a forensic operation, which, unfortunately, is very difficult for a forensic psychiatrist in Italy to be able to participate. In order to be of criminological value, the inspection of the scene of a murder must be carried out in accordance with general criteria of proper conduct in order to ensure the preservation of evidence, with particular attention to those that can be useful clues for the reconstruction of the criminal's personality and modus operandi. Each activity carried out during the site inspection is defined as "that set of activities, of a scientific nature, aimed at the preservation of the state of the places, the search for and the insurance of the things and traces relevant to the crime, useful for the identification of the

offender and/or the victim, as well as for the complete reconstruction of the dynamics of the event and for the assessment of the circumstances in which it took place, also in relation to the verification of the operative modalities of the offender" (Dobosz 2013). The on-the-spot inspection is a planned investigation among the urgent investigations and is a means of searching for evidence; if the judicial police are to carry out acts or operations requiring specific technical competence, may make use of suitable persons who cannot refuse their work. Therefore, figures such as the doctor, general practitioner or forensic specialist or psychiatrist, can be called to intervene at the scene of a murder and must provide their expertise in inspections (Lorè 2012). It is important, therefore, to know the methodology behind the inspection. From this brief description it can be inferred how important it could be for the forensic psychiatrist to participate in the operations of medical-legal importance in order to carry out a psychopathological profile of the offender; there could be in fact in the environment nuanced elements or seemingly insignificant details that escape precisely because they do not possess those characteristics of concreteness such that a forensic psychiatrist is used to.

Conclusions

The psychological profile of an offender is a complex activity that requires specific empirical and theoretical skills. Inevitably, a psychological profile may help the investigative bodies to narrow the field of investigation, but it can never, if not rarely, provide conclusive elements for the investigation. According to De Luca (2000), FBI research - on how useful it is to write a psychological profile - reported that in 72% of the investigations the profile addressed the same; in 20% the profile was useful to draw up a list of suspects; in 17% of cases contributed directly to the capture of subjects. It is important to keep in mind that a psychological profile is not comparable to a psychiatric evaluation, because the psychological profile has a deductive retrospective character, while the expert report is a specialist examination on a subject present, carried out with a methodology more closely linked to clinical activity. It is becoming increasingly clear that criminology is today an interdisciplinary science, in which legal, clinical and social disciplines collaborate concretely. It is to be hoped that these areas of research do not simply come together, but that there will be a real reciprocal cultural and methodological interchange. It is in this dynamic that interdisciplinary research in criminology will find ample opportunity for future development.

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